Sharḥ al-Akhbār fī Faḍāʾil al-Aʾimma al-Aṭhār

by Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Maghribī, d. 363 AH

Part Six

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

[They Defected to Muʿāwiya]

As for those who defected from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, to Muʿāwiya, none of them defected from him to Muʿāwiya out of preference for their religion or with consideration for the affairs of their Hereafter. Rather, whoever defected from him to Muʿāwiya did so for the reasons we have already mentioned: ʿAlī's demanding from them what they had allocated and appropriated for themselves from the property of God, and their fear that he would impose upon them the prescribed punishments of God; and because they trusted Muʿāwiya to give them from the property of God, to flatter them in their acts of disobedience to God, and thereby protect them from the implementation of the prescribed punishments of God that had become binding upon them.

Among them was ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who fled to him after killing al-Hurmuzān—which we have already related the story of—and after ʿUthmān had released him, while ʿAlī, peace be upon him, had threatened to kill him and carry out the just punishment against him if he gained power over him. He therefore joined Muʿāwiya, who granted him security.

Likewise, there was al-Najāshī, when he drank wine and ʿAlī, peace be upon him, carried out the prescribed punishment upon him. Fearing this, he joined Muʿāwiya, and thereafter he used to drink it openly in Syria.

Likewise, there was Musqila ibn Hubayra. He purchased the captives of Banū Nājiya and emancipated them, so ʿAlī, peace be upon him, demanded from him their price. He fled from him to Muʿāwiya, accompanied by the majority of Banū Shaybān—a large and well-known number of people, whose residence with him was established and whose exploits were renowned.

Yazīd ibn Ḥajaba was also one of the prominent companions of ʿAlī, peace be upon him. ʿAlī discovered that he had taken some money from the revenues of the Muslims. He demanded it from him and imprisoned him because he had failed to pay it. He escaped from his prison and joined Muʿāwiya, accompanied by a large number of his people.

Khālid ibn Maʿmar likewise joined Muʿāwiya, accompanied by the majority of Banū Sadūs, because of something he resented against ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and because of his standing and the large number of his people whom he brought to Muʿāwiya.

A poet said:

"Muʿāwiya, command Khālid ibn Maʿmar,
For had it not been for Khālid, you would never have become commander."

Among those who fled from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, to Muʿāwiya in circumstances like these were many of the prominent Arabs and their chiefs, and men of strength, courage, and leadership among their tribes. This was because news had spread of Muʿāwiya's expenditure of wealth, his generosity toward men, and his granting of estates—such as his giving ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ the revenues of Egypt, and granting estates to Dhū al-Kalāʿ, Ḥabīb ibn Maslama, Yazīd ibn Ḥajaba, and others, giving and granting them what he gave and granted them.

They also knew what ʿAlī, peace be upon him, was like in his severity toward the treacherous, his suppression of the oppressor, his justice among the people, and his reclaiming of what ʿUthmān had granted away. This became widely known about him, and those who were greedy and lacking in scrupulousness discussed it among themselves, until Khālid ibn al-Maʿmar said to al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Haytham:

"Fight them, capture some of them, and bring them to the Commander of the Believers."

So Musqila came and purchased them for five hundred thousand dirhams, then fled to Muʿāwiya. It was said to the Commander of the Believers, peace be upon him, "Will you not seize the women and children?" He said, "No," and did not molest them.

[The text then continues:]

"Fear God concerning your tribe, and consider yourself: what do you expect from a man whom you asked to increase the allowances of his two sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, by a few dirhams when you saw their circumstances, but ʿAlī refused and became angry that I had asked him for that?"

Thus this was among the things by which Muʿāwiya was enabled to accomplish what he wanted. Yet in this matter he is blameworthy, while ʿAlī is praiseworthy; Muʿāwiya is sinful and burdened with guilt, while ʿAlī is rewarded and deserving of praise. It was among the trials with which God tested ʿAlī, and through which he was praiseworthy, deserving of thanks, rewarded, and deserving of recompense; and in what he withheld, he was excused.

Moreover, most of those who defected from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and joined Muʿāwiya were not ignorant of ʿAlī's merit, nor were they unaware of Muʿāwiya's deficiency. Rather, they sought him for the worldly things they desired and pursued.

Muʿāwiya himself was contradicted by many of them, as is related concerning ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ: when he came to him, Muʿāwiya began speaking to him about the merit of avenging the blood of ʿUthmān, and the reward and recompense in doing so, and the reward for following him in undertaking it.

ʿAmr said to him:

"Leave me this, Muʿāwiya. I came to you only seeking the world. Had I wanted the Hereafter, I would have joined ʿAlī."

So Muʿāwiya granted him Egypt.

ʿAmr's son had disliked his father's journey to Muʿāwiya. When he heard what his father had said, he said:

"Father, what can Egypt possibly amount to, that you should prefer falsehood to truth on account of it?"

ʿAmr replied:

"If Egypt does not satisfy you, may God never satisfy your belly."

Likewise, it is related that Muʿāwiya said to al-Najāshī, after granting him an estate and pleasing him:

"Which of us is superior: I or ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib?"

Al-Najāshī replied in verse:

"Yes, what an excellent young man you are,
Were it not that between the two of you
There is the difference between the light of the sun and the moon."

Muʿāwiya was satisfied with this from him.

One who criticized al-Najāshī for this statement said:

"I have never known anyone among people of discernment who says that the difference in merit between ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and Muʿāwiya is anything other than the difference between the sun and the moon; nor anyone who gives Muʿāwiya any share or portion of merit alongside ʿAlī, peace be upon him, except in the manner of the difference between Hāshim and ʿAbd Shams, between ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Ḥarb, and between Abū Sufyān and [those superior to him]—differences by which the righteous and the wicked are distinguished, and in which the Jāhilī and the Muslim are made equal, according to what the Arabs boast of among themselves."

I have composed a book which I called *Kitāb al-Manāqib wa-l-Mathālib* [The Book of Virtues and Defects]. In it I mentioned the merit of Hāshim and his descendants, and what virtues they possessed in the Jāhiliyya and Islam, and their superiority in this over ʿAbd Shams and his descendants; and I mentioned the defects of ʿAbd Shams and his descendants in the Jāhiliyya and Islam, comparing one man with another, up to the time when I composed that book and expanded upon it.

Whoever wishes to know this may examine it. If I were to mention it in this book, it would exceed its proper bounds, for that book is approximately half the size of this one.

Nevertheless, there is a subtle meaning in al-Najāshī's statement: the light of the moon comes only from the light of the sun. Likewise, Muʿāwiya's Islam is only one of the good effects of ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

Moreover, in many of his gatherings and assemblies, Muʿāwiya did not deny or reject the merit of ʿAlī, peace be upon him. An example is what is related about a man from among

ʿAlī's companions who defected to him. Muʿāwiya admitted him to his presence while a group of Syrians and prominent men from among his other companions were with him.

Muʿāwiya asked him:

"Where have you come from?"

He replied:

"From that cowardly miser"—meaning ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

Muʿāwiya remained silent.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ rose and said to Muʿāwiya:

"Commander, do not let yourself be pleased by one who deceives you."

Muʿāwiya said to him:

"Sit down, Abū ʿAbd Allāh. You are like the man who said in verse:

'Whatever pleases you of Tamīm in one quality,
What displeases you of Tamīm is greater.'"

He disliked that the man should say such things in the presence of those who were there. When they had departed, he summoned ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and ordered that the man be brought before him.

He then said to him:

"Whom did you mean by 'the cowardly miser'?"

He replied:

"ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."

Muʿāwiya said:

"By God, you have lied in what you said. If the community possessed nothing but ʿAlī's tongue, that alone would suffice it.

"ʿAlī was never defeated, nor was he cowardly in any battle in which he fought. No one ever confronted him in single combat except that he killed him.

"Had he possessed two houses, one made of straw and one made of gold, he would have spent his gold before his straw."

The man said:

"If ʿAlī is of such a rank in your estimation, why then did you fight him?"

He replied:

“Because of this ring: whoever overcomes its wearer, his clay is permitted.”

[As for ʿAqīl]

Likewise, there is the report concerning ʿAqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib. He came to ʿAlī, peace be upon him, asking him to give him something.

ʿAlī said to him:

“Stay with me until my allowance is issued, and I will give you some of it.”

He replied:

“Is that all you have?”

He said:

“Yes.”

So ʿAqīl went to Muʿāwiya.

When he reached him, Muʿāwiya received him with great honor, was pleased by his arrival, gave him a generous allowance, and treated him with hospitality.

Then he gathered the prominent men among those with him, sat down, and spoke to them about ʿAqīl’s arrival. He said:

“What do you think of a man who could not get along with his own brother until he left him, preferred us to him, and came to us?”

When ʿAqīl entered, Muʿāwiya welcomed him, brought him close, turned toward him, joked with him, and said:

“Abū Yazīd, who is better for you and your family, I or ʿAlī?”

ʿAqīl replied:

“You are better for us than ʿAlī, while ʿAlī is better for himself than you are for yourself.”

Muʿāwiya laughed—intending by his laughter to conceal from those present what ʿAqīl had said—and remained silent.

ʿAqīl began looking at those in Muʿāwiya’s assembly and laughing.

Muʿāwiya said to him:

“What makes you laugh, Abū Yazīd?”

He replied:

“By God, I laughed because when I was with ʿAlī, I looked around at those sitting with him and saw the Emigrants, the Helpers, the veterans of Badr, the people of the Pledge of Good Pleasure, and the finest of the companions of the Prophet, may God bless him and his family.

“Then I examined those in this assembly of yours, and I saw nothing but the freed captives [al-ṭulaqāʾ] who are my companions, and the remnants of the Confederates [al-aḥzāb] who are your companions.”

ʿAqīl had been among those captured on the day of Badr, and among those released through a ransom which al-ʿAbbās paid for himself and for him.

Muʿāwiya said to him:

“And you are one of the freed captives, Abū Yazīd?”

He said:

“Yes, by God. But I returned to the truth, while these people with you departed from it.”

Muʿāwiya said:

“Then why did you come to us?”

He replied:

“To seek the world.”

Muʿāwiya wanted to cut short what he had said, so he turned to the people of Syria and said:

“People of Syria, have you heard the saying of God, Exalted and Glorious is He:

‘Perish the hands of Abū Lahab’?”

They said:

“Yes.”

He said:

“Abū Lahab is the uncle of this old man who is speaking”—meaning ʿAqīl.

He and they laughed.

ʿAqīl said to them:

“Have you also heard the saying of God, Exalted and Glorious is He:

‘And his wife, the carrier of firewood’?”

“She is the aunt of your commander, Muʿāwiya: she is the daughter of Ḥarb ibn Umayya, the wife of my paternal uncle Abū Lahab. Both of them are in the Fire.

“So look and see which is superior: the rider or the ridden.”

When Muʿāwiya considered his answer, he said:

“If you came to us, Abū Yazīd, only for the world, we have given you what was allotted to you, and we will increase it for you. Now return to your brother. We have had enough of what we have received from you.”

ʿAqīl said:

“By God, I left religion with him and came to your world. Yet I have obtained neither anything of his religion nor, in exchange for it, attained anything of your world.

“Whether your giving to me is much or little is the same to me. All of it is little in my estimation compared with what I left with ʿAlī.”

And he returned to ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

Reports of this kind are numerous. If we were to relate everything that has reached us, the book would become excessively long.

No one is ignorant of ʿAlī’s superiority over Muʿāwiya except one who has no knowledge of the reports concerning people and their wicked ones, and of who among them is superior and who is inferior.

I have already mentioned in the earlier portions of this book—and will mention in what remains of it—enough, even in the smallest portion of it, to make clear to anyone who is granted understanding of it the extent of ʿAlī’s unsurpassed excellence, such as cannot be claimed for anyone after the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family.

Muʿāwiya cannot be compared with him in this respect, nor can he approach or equal him. Rather, his defects and discrediting qualities outweigh and predominate over what is found in him.

Even if he possessed no defect or matter of reproach other than his fighting ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and his hostility toward him, despite the Messenger of God’s statement to ʿAlī:

“Your war is my war, and your peace is my peace,”

and his statement:

“Whoever I am his master, then ʿAlī is his master. O God, befriend whoever befriends him and oppose whoever opposes him.”

Then, if God, Exalted and Glorious is He, opposes him, and he is at war with His Messenger, may God bless him and his family, what share does he have in Islam? How, then, can any virtue in Islam be attributed to him?

[The Alleged Virtues]

Most of the virtues claimed for him were claimed by those who inclined toward him and supported him for the sake of their worldly interests, and by those who used him as a means to falsehood in order to obtain the trifling goods of this world and prefer them to the Hereafter.

They said:

“He was forbearing, patient, and enduring.”

But forbearance, patience, and endurance are only praiseworthy when the person employs them in obedience to God, Exalted and Glorious is He: when he exercises forbearance toward what one ought to exercise forbearance toward in this world; when he is patient in obedience to God and patient in refraining from disobedience to Him; and when he endures what is disliked for the sake of God, Exalted and Glorious is He.

As for someone who exercises forbearance, patience, and endurance in acts of disobedience to God, Exalted and Glorious is He, and in what incurs His anger, and employs these qualities in opposing God, His Messenger, and His friends, thereby strengthening himself through them in the acts of disobedience and obstinacy he has undertaken—as Muʿāwiya employed them to attract the hearts of the people of falsehood to himself, thereby strengthening himself through them against the friend of God and fighting him—then this is counted among his defects, discrediting qualities, and sins. It is not a virtue for him.

Likewise, they said:

“He was generous, munificent, freely giving, and exceedingly bountiful.”

But generosity, giving, beneficence, and munificence are only praised and attributed to the one who gives his wealth in seeking the pleasure of God, Glorious is His remembrance, and spends it in His way.

As for one who hoards the wealth of the Muslims, betrays it, appropriates it, grants it away, and gives it freely to those whom he supports in disobeying God, Glorious is His remembrance, and in fighting His friend, whose obedience God has commanded and whose love He has made obligatory—as Muʿāwiya did—then one who acts in this manner is not counted among the people of generosity, munificence, and beneficence. Rather, he is counted among the people of betrayal, embezzlement, and warfare against God, Exalted and Glorious is He, and against the Messenger.

It has been related from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, that he said:

“The servant will be questioned on the Day of Resurrection about his wealth: from where he accumulated it and on what he spent it.”

It is known how much wealth Muʿāwiya accumulated. I have already mentioned this, as well as his giving and generosity. His generosity was directed toward those who defected to him, as we have described, among those who sought such things from him.

They said:

“He possessed sound judgment, intelligence, and political skill, through which he united the hearts of those who were with him against ʿAlī and toward himself, and thereby put their affairs in order for his own benefit.”

But sound judgment is praiseworthy only when it is used to attain truth rather than falsehood. Judgment by which its possessor reaches falsehood is blameworthy and must not be employed.

The intelligent person is the one who acts in obedience to God. As for one who acts through disobedience to Him, he is the ignorant one.

As for political governance, God, Exalted and Glorious is He, established its principles for His servants in His Book, upon the tongue of His Messenger, may God bless him and his family, and in his Sunnah. If they act according to these principles, their religious affairs—which God has commanded them to establish—will be set right.

Whoever is appointed by God, Exalted and Glorious is He, to govern creation and governs them according to His commands and prohibitions, making them adhere to His Book and the Sunnah of His Messenger—as ʿAlī, peace be upon him, did—has saved himself and those among them who obey him from the punishment of God, and has secured for himself—and they have secured through him—His reward, Glorious is His remembrance.

But whoever seizes authority over something which God, Exalted and Glorious is He, did not assign to him, as Muʿāwiya seized authority, and governs those who follow him in a manner by which he leads them to disobedience of God and disobedience of His friends, whose obedience God has made obligatory, as Muʿāwiya and his companions did, and leads them to it—such a person has destroyed himself and destroyed those who follow him.

His political governance is not praised by those knowledgeable in the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Messenger, may God bless him and his family. Rather, praiseworthy governance is that which proceeds according to what the Book and the Sunnah require.

They said:

“He was knowledgeable about warfare and perceptive regarding its stratagems, deception, and tactics, in addition to the cunning of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ which he brought together with his own.”

But stratagems, deception, and tactics in warfare are only praiseworthy for the people of truth when they employ what is necessary and permissible against the people of falsehood.

As for the deception and scheming of the people of falsehood against the people of truth, that is not praiseworthy for them. Rather, it adds to the evil of their condition, their errors, and their sins.

Something similar was suggested to ʿAlī, peace be upon him. As we have mentioned, some who considered deception and scheming against Muʿāwiya advised him to write to Muʿāwiya

granting him authority over Syria, so that once he had pledged allegiance to him and the matter had become established among the people, he could remove him.

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, said:

"This judgment concerns a worldly matter. As for the matter of religion, this is not permissible and cannot be accepted:

'And I would never take the misguiders as supporters.'"

The reason is that had he done this, appointing Muʿāwiya while knowing that he did not deserve authority and was not permitted to rule over the Muslims, he would have been disobeying God, Exalted and Glorious is He, and opposing what He had commanded.

He would bear the sin of the violations of God's sacred limits that Muʿāwiya committed and of the acts of obedience to God that he neglected. He would also bear his own sin and the sin of whatever acts of wrongdoing Muʿāwiya committed among the Muslims, and whatever sin resulted from the time of his appointment until the time when he removed him.

Moreover, if he removed him after appointing him while Muʿāwiya, on the day he removed him, remained as he had been on the day he appointed him, ʿAlī would have no justification for removing him except repentance for the act by which he had appointed him.

It has been said:

"Abandoning the sin is more obligatory than seeking repentance."

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, used to say:

"Had I resorted to deception"—meaning in a case such as this—"Muʿāwiya would not have been more cunning than I."

[A Point Requiring Attention]

Among the things they criticized ʿAlī, peace be upon him, for was that he called Muʿāwiya and the people of Syria **al-qāsiṭūn**, "the unjust" or "those who deviate from justice."

They said:

"If he called Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and their companions 'the breakers of the oath' because they broke their pledge to him, and called the Khārijites 'the apostates/departers' because they departed from him, then how did the people of Syria come to be called 'the qāsiṭūn'? Muʿāwiya and his people had not committed any injustice in judgment."

The answer to the one who says this is that ʿAlī, peace be upon him, did not give them this name himself. Rather, the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, gave them this name. If you object to this, then object to him.

ʿAlī merely related what he had heard and transmitted from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family. If you accuse him and reject his transmission from the Messenger of

God, then you know best—and you have only harmed yourself. By doing so you have departed from the community of Muslims.

Moreover, this has been narrated by many of the Companions, and trustworthy transmitters among the people of ḥadīth transmitted it from them.

We have already mentioned some of those Companions who transmitted it from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, and explicitly identified them as the people of Syria.

ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir narrated it, and his standing in virtue is such that it cannot be disputed.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar also narrated it, although he did not participate in their war; he regretted and repented that he had not participated.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd narrated it as well, and he died before this war occurred, along with a large number of the Companions.

As for their injustice in judgment, what injustice is greater than the injustice of one who rebels against the Imam of his time, fights him, and deems it permissible to kill the most excellent of the Companions—those whom the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, testified would enter Paradise, including the veterans of Badr and the people of the Pledge of Good Pleasure—and concerning one of whom he informed them that the rebellious faction would kill him?

Injustice, linguistically, is deviation from the truth. So what deviation could be greater than this?

And what greater deviation from truth is there than withholding the zakāt from the one entitled to receive it, withholding prayer from the one entitled to establish it, and withholding judgments from the one who possesses authority to execute them, while another assumes that authority?

Does anything remain of deviation from truth toward falsehood that is not encompassed by the one who does this?

Muʿāwiya and those who followed him among the people of Syria and others did this.

If they were upon the truth, then ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and those who followed him among the Emigrants, the Helpers, and those who followed them in righteousness would have been upon falsehood.

And if ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and his companions were not among those who deviated from the truth, then those who deviated from it were those who fought and opposed them.

The statement of the person whose words we have related is the statement of someone who did not examine what he said and did not recognize the truth as belonging to its rightful people.

This is an argument which, as far as we know, neither Muʿāwiya nor any of his companions used against ʿAlī, peace be upon him, or anyone else. They could not establish it in their favor. Had it been established, they would have been the first to use it as an argument.

Likewise, most of what we relate here are arguments put forward by those who defend him and who, as they claim, mention his virtues. They are merely shoots that grew afterward, bringing forth embellished speech through which they sought worldly gain from those for whom they embellished it: the Umayyads and those who supported them out of desire for their worldly interests.

Had these arguments been used by Muʿāwiya or one of his companions, they would have been mentioned in their reports. Yet we have not found them mentioned in any of them.

Nevertheless, I have established them in this book and refuted them, so that truth will not become confused with falsehood for whoever hears them but whose understanding is limited and whose discernment is weak.

I seek God's assistance concerning the cause of His friend, and upon Him I rely in this matter. There is no power and no strength except through God, the Most High, the Most Great.

They said:

"He is the maternal uncle of the believers," because he was the brother of Ramla, daughter of Abū Sufyān, the wife of the Prophet, may God bless him and his family.

And because God, Exalted and Glorious is He, says:

"The Prophet has greater claim upon the believers than they have upon themselves, and his wives are their mothers."

They neglected to use this verse in the same way in which the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, used it when establishing the authority of ʿAlī, peace be upon him, when he said:

"Do I not have greater authority over you than you have over yourselves?"

Because of the word of God, Exalted and Glorious is He:

"The Prophet has greater claim upon the believers than they have upon themselves."

They said:

"Yes indeed."

He said:

"Then whoever I am his master, ʿAlī is his master."

Yet they use the verse to establish something that does not entail any of what they claim.

For God's saying:

"and his wives are their mothers"

only establishes the prohibition of marrying them to anyone else, as He, Glorious is He, says:

"It is not for you to harm the Messenger of God, nor to marry his wives after him, ever."

We know of no relative of the wives of the Prophet, may God bless him and his family, who claimed this as a virtue for himself, nor who used it to establish kinship with the believers, since God did not intend kinship or lineage by this statement such that their relatives would thereby acquire it.

Nor did they thereby inherit from the believers, nor did they prevent anyone from inheriting, as a mother does.

God has said:

"The believers are only brothers."

Yet they did not draw nearer to one another through blood relationship in the manner of kinship, nor did those who were not believers draw near to them by virtue of it.

The wives of the Prophet, may God bless him and his family, had relatives among both the Muslims and the polytheists. Yet none of them drew near to the believers by virtue of this relationship, nor did anyone draw near to him through it.

No one said that Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, or Abū Sufyān were the grandfathers of the believers; nor that ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān, or Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr were the maternal uncles of the believers; nor did any other relative of the wives of the Prophet, may God bless him and his family, whom we know use his relationship to them as a means of gaining closeness to the believers.

This statement by those who make it is foolish and weak, and does not establish a virtue for someone who wishes to make it a virtue for him.

Had it been a virtue, it would have been counted for others like him, and for his father and brother before him, and for Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and the other relatives of the wives of the Prophet, may God bless him and his family.

Yet we do not know anyone who attributed this to any of them in the manner in which Muʿāwiya is attributed it.

This is because he lacked what would establish virtue for him and because such a virtue did not exist.

They said:

"Muʿāwiya was a scribe of revelation and wrote the revelation for the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family"—meaning what was revealed to him of the Qurʾān.

A number of people who, at that time, knew how to write used to write it, although they were few, such as ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ had written it before Muʿāwiya, but then apostatized and became an unbeliever and fled to Mecca before the conquest. On the day Mecca was conquered, the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, declared his blood forfeit. We have already mentioned his story and how ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān secured his safety.

We know of no one who regarded writing the revelation as a virtue by which a person could seek to establish that he was therefore worthy of being an Imam. People continue to write the Qurʾān to this day.

Seeking such a thing as a basis for the superiority of a person merely demonstrates how far he falls short of genuine virtues.

[Seeking the Blood as a Pretext]

As for Muʿāwiya's using as a pretext his opposition to ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and his taking a hostile stance toward him after ʿAlī dismissed him from the office he had held, and his claiming that he sought the blood of ʿUthmān—following in this the precedent of Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr—when they could find nothing by which they could justify rising on their own behalf and which, in the eyes of the general populace, would legitimize their attempt to seize by force the affairs of the community, they made rising in pursuit of the blood of ʿUthmān a pretext for this.

We have already mentioned what the people did not disagree about concerning the uprising of the Emigrants, the Helpers, and the rest of the Muslims against ʿUthmān because of his innovations, and what they demanded from him: that he retract what he had done or withdraw from office.

But he refused.

So they united against him, some abandoning him and some killing him.

We have already related his story and what occurred when those who were with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, responded to the people of Syria when they said:

"Hand over to us the killers of ʿUthmān."

They replied with one voice:

"We all killed him."

And they numbered one hundred thousand or more.

If the matter were truly one of seeking vengeance for the blood of ʿUthmān, then this would belong only to his children, for he left children and descendants, many of whom remain to this day.

Yet we do not know that any of them sought vengeance for his blood.

Even had they sought it, they would only have been permitted to seek it from the Imam of the Muslims, or from one whom the Imam appointed to execute the legal judgments concerning retaliation and retribution.

As for Muʿāwiya and the people of Syria seeking it, they were neither the legal heirs entitled to demand the blood nor those entitled to pursue it.

For this reason ʿAlī, peace be upon him, turned away from them, just as if someone were to bring before a judge a claim to something that did not belong to him, the judge would have no response to his claim.

Even if those accused of killing ʿUthmān were known individuals among those who were with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and retaliation were legally due from them, it would still not have been permissible to hand them over to Muʿāwiya and the people of Syria, since they were neither the legal heirs entitled to seek retaliation nor people who possessed the right to exact retaliation, pardon, or accept blood-money.

Furthermore, they could not be trusted with the accused if they were handed over to them.

And even if Muʿāwiya and the people of Syria had been entitled—as they claimed—to seek vengeance for ʿUthmān's blood, it would not have been permissible for them to wage war against the Imam of the Muslims before first presenting their claim to him and bringing before him those whom they accused of this.

For them then to say:

"If you do not hand over to us those whom we accuse of the blood of our ally, we will fight you and kill you if we are able to do so, and we will kill whichever of your companions we are able to overcome"

—that is rebellion and aggression against the Imams and the people of truth itself. It is not the manner of pursuing legitimate rights.

Therefore, Muʿāwiya and his companions' public claim that they were seeking and avenging the blood of ʿUthmān was invalid and impossible from every angle and according to every formulation.

At that time Muʿāwiya was not claiming the imamate, nor did anyone among those with him claim it for him.

He was not called "Commander of the Believers" until after he had overcome the outward authority of al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, following the killing of ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

Nor has it reached us, nor have we heard, that any of the legal heirs of ʿUthmān's blood came to Muʿāwiya after his seizure of power and sought vengeance for it.

[Continued: Seeking the Blood of ʿUthmān]

Nor did he exact retaliation from any of them—from anyone who had been accused of killing him. Rather, when his daughter—ʿĀʾisha—came to him after he had gained power and entered his house in Medina, she mentioned the calamity that had befallen her father.

He said to her:

“Daughter of my brother, these people gave us authority, so we gave them security. We displayed forbearance toward them, beneath which was anger, and they displayed obedience toward us, beneath which was resentment. We bought this from them in exchange for that, while they have their swords with them and they see where their supporters are. If we break our agreement with them, they will break theirs with us, and we do not know whether the outcome will be against us or for us.

“And it is better for you to be the daughter of the Commander of the Believers than to be merely an ordinary woman.”

Why, then, did he not direct her to those who had risen against her father yesterday in pursuit of his blood? Or why did he not say to her:

“Seek your right and bring your adversaries before me”?

And why did he himself not seek it, if he was the legal heir entitled to demand his blood, as he claimed, when he was not his legal heir according to the consensus of the community?

Even if the children of ʿUthmān had pardoned him, neither he nor anyone else would have had the right to pursue the matter. Likewise, if they did not seek it, it was not permissible for anyone else to seek it on their behalf.

This is the position of all the people of the qibla concerning the pursuit of blood vengeance. God, Mighty and Majestic is He, has said:

“Whoever is killed unjustly, We have given his heir authority.”

That means that the heir seeks his right before the appropriate authority, and that authority delivers to him what is legally due to him.

God did not grant people the right to exact retaliation themselves, nor to judge their own cases, nor to seize by force their rights from those who owe them, nor did He permit someone whom they had not appointed to seek their rights on their behalf to pursue them for them.

Nor did He permit anyone to judge in their favor except the one to whom God, Exalted and Glorious is He, has entrusted judgment.

This is the only permissible course, and legal judgments are valid only through it.

[The Strongest Argument of the Umayyads]

There are many considerations demonstrating the invalidity of Muʿāwiya's claim, and that of everyone else who claimed the blood of ʿUthmān and undertook to pursue it—quite apart from the shedding of blood, fighting the Muslims and their Imam, and killing them on that account.

No rational and discerning person who knows Muʿāwiya's conduct and what he did in this matter can doubt that his opposition to and fighting of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him, was only because ʿAlī dismissed him from the position he held.

One thing that supports this is the report they transmit from him: when ʿAlī intended to remove him, he used as an argument against ʿAlī—and others later used the same argument on his behalf—that he said:

"This is a position in which ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb placed me, and he did not remove me from it from the time he appointed me to it.

"He never left a governor in office without replacing him or becoming angry with him over something he had done. Sometimes he would order him to be brought before him.

"But he did not become angry with me after being pleased with me, nor did he remove me after appointing me.

"Then he added the surrounding districts to my authority, after having initially appointed me over one district, strengthening my authority and establishing my position.

"Then ʿUthmān reinforced this, strengthened it, and consolidated it for me.

"Then you ordered me to withdraw, even though I had committed no act of treachery, introduced no innovation, and given shelter to no innovator.

"You did not obtain your authority through consultation in the way ʿUthmān obtained it, nor did ʿUthmān designate you explicitly as Abū Bakr designated ʿUmar, nor did the community unanimously agree upon you as they agreed upon Abū Bakr.

"Therefore, I was not obliged to surrender to you an authority which I had received from its rightful holders through the community.

"If you fight me over what is in my hands, I will prevent you from taking it. If you leave me, I will surrender it to whoever the people unite upon, if they order me to surrender it to him.

"I have the right to defend myself against you with weapons if you raise weapons against me, and with argument if you demand it from me by argument."

It is also said that he said—or that this was said to him as an argument:

"Suppose that this authority which came into my hands was something I found lying on the ground, and then ʿAlī claimed it from me. Would I not have the right to prevent him from taking it until it became clear that it belonged to him through some identifying mark or evidence?

“If he fights me over it, I will fight him. If he refrains from fighting me until this becomes clear to me, I will refrain from fighting him.

“In preventing him from taking it, I am in the right; and in trying to take it from me before the evidence is established, he is in the wrong.”

This is the strongest argument available to Muʿāwiya according to the Sufyānids and those among the Marwānids who followed their methods.

Few of them know this argument. And whoever knows an argument belonging to his opponent which the opponent himself does not know has a greater right to be considered stronger in argument than him.

Likewise, whoever turns away from his opponent’s argument when arguing against him is likely to encounter someone who will establish that argument against him.

These arguments, as well as those we mentioned previously, were fabricated by those who wished to draw close through them to the rulers from the family of Abū Sufyān and the family of Marwān.

This is demonstrated by the fact that they are not mentioned in any of the accounts of Ṣiffīn, nor in what passed between ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and Muʿāwiya.

Those with sectarian inclinations on both sides, as well as people known for truthful transmission and for avoiding partiality toward either side, compiled accounts of these events.

Even if he had actually said this and used it as an argument, his argument would be so weak and unsound that it would not deserve to be considered.

By God’s praise, the truth is with us. It destroys and refutes these arguments and makes their defects clear to anyone who looks at them with impartiality.

As for his statement that ʿUmar had appointed him and had neither removed him nor become angry with him, and that ʿUthmān confirmed him in what he held, reinforced his authority, and strengthened it—and that Muʿāwiya believed this meant ʿAlī should not remove him—

if we wished, we could discuss the appointments made by the caliphs and those whom they confirmed in office.

But it is sufficient to say that, according to what he claims, his appointment and confirmation were legitimate and binding upon him so long as he fulfilled the duties of the office to which he had been appointed and remained in the position in which he had been confirmed.

Is there any disagreement among the Muslims that the person who appoints a governor has the right to remove him, and that if he removes him, the governor has no right to object or refuse removal by saying, as Muʿāwiya said:

“I have committed no wrongdoing and given shelter to no wrongdoer”?

If the person using this argument on his behalf accepts this, then he must also accept that the same applies to whoever assumes authority after the one who appointed him.

This is what Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān did when they appointed many of those whom they appointed and removed them whenever they wished to remove them.

One of them appointed a man, and those who came after him removed him.

For if the first person had the right to remove someone whom he appointed and approved when he considered his removal appropriate, then the person who came after him has an even greater right to remove him if he did not approve of him.

As far as I know, there is no disagreement among them concerning this, because there are many such examples among them.

If we were to name those whom they appointed and removed, the discussion would become lengthy. There is no benefit in listing them all because of their agreement on the principle.

Nevertheless, we shall mention a portion of them, so that perhaps someone to whom this has remained hidden may hear it.

[Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ]

Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ was from Quraysh. He was Saʿd ibn Mālik ibn Uhayb ibn ʿAbd Manāf ibn Zuhra ibn Kilāb ibn Murra ibn Kaʿb ibn Luʾayy ibn Ghālib. He and the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, meet after four ancestors.

According to the reports transmitted about him, Saʿd was one of the ten whom the Messenger of God testified would enter Paradise.

The Messenger of God prayed for him:

“O God, answer his supplication and make his shooting accurate.”

He was the most accurate of people in shooting.

He was commander of the people on the day of al-Qādisiyya. He prayed against a man, saying:

“O God, suffice us against his hand and his tongue.”

His hand was subsequently cut off and his tongue became unable to speak, because of the Prophet’s prayer and God’s answering his supplication.

I have already mentioned earlier that Saʿd refrained from going out with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, because of an excuse—for someone like him would not have refrained from supporting him except for such a reason.

Afterward, in Medina, Muʿāwiya said to him:

“You, Saʿd, are the one who did not recognize our right as opposed to the falsehood of others, so that you might be either with us or against us?”

In the exchange that took place between them, Saʿd replied:

“Since you refuse to accept it, I heard the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, say to ʿAlī, peace be upon him:

‘You are with the truth and the truth is with you.’”

Muʿāwiya accused him of lying about this and threatened him, demanding that he produce someone else who had heard it with him.

He sought testimony from Umm Salama, who said:

“Yes. The Messenger of God said that in my house.”

I have already related the full report earlier.

Saʿd was regarded among them as one of the foremost Companions. He was one of the six whom ʿUmar appointed for consultation concerning the succession.

ʿUmar appointed him over Kūfa, then removed him from it, while nevertheless regarding him as suitable for the caliphate.

Afterward, ʿUthmān appointed him over Kūfa, and then removed him from it.

[al-Walīd ibn ʿUqba]

He appointed in his place al-Walīd ibn ʿUqba ibn Abī Muʿayṭ ibn Abī ʿAmr ibn Umayya.

According to al-Kalbī, Umayya ibn ʿAbd Shams had gone to Syria, where he had relations with a Jewish slave-woman belonging to Lakhm, from Ṣaffūriyya. She had a Jewish husband from Ṣaffūriyya.

She gave birth to a son named Dhakwān. Umayya claimed him and took him from his mother.

Her Jewish husband, who was the man in whose bed the child had been born, handed him over to Umayya, who brought him to Mecca and gave him the kunya Abū ʿAmr.

For this reason, when the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, ordered ʿUqba ibn Abī Muʿayṭ to be killed—this being the same man whom ʿUthmān later appointed in place of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ—ʿUqba appealed to him on the basis of kinship.

The Messenger of God said to him:

“What kinship do you have? You are only a Jew from Ṣaffūriyya.”

He said:

“Then what will become of the children?”

He replied:

“The Fire.”

Among his children was this al-Walīd, who was one of those concerning whom the Messenger of God testified that they would be in the Fire.

The Messenger of God had appointed al-Walīd over the alms of Banū al-Muṣṭaliq.

He returned and said:

“They refused to give me the alms”—and he was lying.

The Messenger of God therefore ordered weapons to be sent against them.

Then God, Exalted and Glorious is He, revealed:

“O you who believe! If a sinful person brings you news, verify it.”

There was also an exchange between him and ʿAlī, peace be upon him. He said:

“I am the one who turns back the battalion, and I strike against it a hundred times with the heroic warrior from you.”

Then God, Exalted and Glorious is He, revealed concerning this:

“Is then he who is a believer like he who is a sinner?”

—the remainder of the verse.

This al-Walīd was also ʿUthmān’s maternal brother.

His grandfather, Abū ʿAmr, had married his father’s wife after his death during the Jāhiliyya.

With this evil lineage and corrupt origin, together with what God, Exalted and Glorious is He, revealed concerning him, his being among the people of the Fire, and the Prophet’s testimony concerning him that he would be in the Fire, his bad condition was such that it could not be hidden.

When ʿUthmān appointed him over Kūfa, he led the people in prayer while drunk. When he finished the prayer, he turned toward them and said:

“Shall I give you more?”

This was testified against him before ʿUthmān, leaving him no choice but to remove him.

[Returning to the Argument]

Thus, ʿUthmān removed Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and appointed this al-Walīd in his place, despite what we have described of Saʿd's status.

Saʿd did not refuse to withdraw, nor did he say to ʿUthmān—or to ʿUmar before him when he removed him:

"Why have you removed me? I have committed no wrongdoing and given shelter to no wrongdoer,"

as Muʿāwiya said, or anything similar.

Nor did he refuse.

The most he said concerning the matter was that when al-Walīd ibn ʿUqba came to him as governor in his place and brought the order of his removal, Saʿd said:

"I wonder: have you become more intelligent after us, or have we become foolish after you?"

Al-Walīd replied:

"Abū Isḥāq, neither have we become intelligent nor have you become foolish. Rather, these people have preferred themselves [over us]."

This was ʿUthmān's action—and Muʿāwiya considered ʿUthmān his Imam and patron—so it would have been more appropriate for him to follow his example rather than use an argument that contradicted it.

As for his statement that ʿAlī, peace be upon him, did not obtain the caliphate through consultation in the manner in which ʿUthmān obtained it; nor did ʿUthmān explicitly designate him as Abū Bakr designated ʿUmar; nor did the community unanimously agree upon him as they had supposedly agreed upon Abū Bakr—

the Imamate is an obligation from God, Exalted and Glorious is He, which He imposed upon His servants.

He commanded them to obey the one whom He appointed as an Imam of their religion, just as He imposed upon them obedience to Him and obedience to His Messenger, may God bless him and his family.

He joined these three obediences together, saying:

"Obey God, and obey the Messenger, and those vested with authority among you."

He did not delegate the matter of obedience to them, saying:

"Obey whichever person you choose,"

so that they would have the right to appoint an Imam for themselves and obey him, or establish a prophet or a god besides Him.

Rather, they were commanded to obey the one whom He selected over them and appointed for them from among His messengers.

He said:

“God chooses messengers from among the angels and from among mankind.”

And He said:

“Indeed, I am placing a successor upon the earth.”

And He said to Abraham:

“Indeed, I am making you an Imam for mankind.”

He said:

“And from my descendants?”

He said:

“My covenant does not reach the wrongdoers.”

The Prophet, may God bless him and his family, did not allow the people during his lifetime to appoint a governor over themselves or to appoint an amīr over themselves.

Rather, during his lifetime, he himself appointed commanders over them and appointed governors.

His obedience was obligatory upon the servants during his lifetime and after his death, and his Sunnah was to be followed after him just as it was followed during his lifetime.

He appointed ʿAlī over them and took their pledge of allegiance to him at a certain place, as we have mentioned and explained in this book.

Thus ʿAlī, peace be upon him, was the Imam of the community by the explicit designation of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, and by the divinely established appointment of him.

This is how the Imamate must be established—not as this speaker claims, that it comes about through the choice and consensus of the people.

He claims that they agreed upon Abū Bakr, yet they did not agree upon him as he claims. Nor was Abū Bakr’s appointment contracted by anyone except a small number among them.

This is something that cannot be denied or disputed.

Indeed, if the Imamate did not become obligatory for the Imam until the people unanimously agreed upon him, they would never have unanimously agreed upon anyone.

If, as he claims, the Imamate becomes obligatory only through the consensus of the people, why then did Abū Bakr appoint ʿUmar without consulting them?

They objected to his appointment of him, but he paid no attention to their objection.

They gathered around him and said:

“We adjure you by God not to appoint over us a harsh and severe man.”

He said:

“Are you trying to frighten me concerning God?”

They made him sit down.

Then he said:

“Yes. When I meet God, I will say to Him: I appointed over them the best of your household.”

If the Imamate becomes obligatory only through the consensus of the people, then Abū Bakr was mistaken in appointing ʿUmar over them while they disliked it.

And ʿUmar was likewise mistaken in appointing them under his authority while they were united upon him.

Likewise, in restricting the matter after himself to six men whom he appointed to consult among themselves, excluding all the other Muslims:

He neither followed their method with Abū Bakr by gathering all the people so that, as this speaker claims, they could agree upon whoever they chose; nor did he explicitly designate one particular man as Abū Bakr had explicitly designated him.

The Imamate is an obligation among the obligations of religion.

People do not have the right to alter one of the obligations of their religion, nor to add to it, nor to subtract from it.

The invalidity occurred in the establishment of the Imamate by those whom this speaker claims as an authority for himself.

As for ʿAlī, peace be upon him, his taking the Imamate was from the one whom God, Exalted and Glorious is He, had commanded him to take it from—the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family.

The argument concerning this has already been established earlier in this book by mentioning the relevant reports, together with what supports, testifies to, establishes, and confirms their authenticity.

As for his statement that ʿAlī had no right to surrender to him an authority which he had received from its rightful holders collectively—

[The Community — al-Jamāʿa]

The word **jamāʿa**, according to its conventional linguistic meaning, refers to a group of people gathered together upon some matter, whatever that matter may be.

If they gather upon truth, their gathering is a praiseworthy community.

If they gather upon falsehood, their gathering is a blameworthy community.

The discussion of *jamāʿa* and gathering goes beyond the scope of this book. We have established a sufficient portion of it in *Kitāb Ikhtilāf Uṣūl al-Madhāhib* [The Book of the Differences in the Foundations of the Schools]. Whoever wishes to know this may find it there.

Nevertheless, we shall mention a portion of it in this book, which, God willing, will suffice.

We have found the word *jamāʿa* commonly mentioned together with their expression "Ahl al-Sunna wa-l-Jamāʿa."

The Sunnah is the Sunnah of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family.

The praiseworthy *jamāʿa* is the community that gathers upon adherence to the Book of God, Exalted and Glorious is He, and upon what came from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family.

Just as the community that was with the Messenger of God, following him, learning from him, and never separating from him, was the praiseworthy community.

Those who separated from him—even if they gathered together and became numerous—were not a praiseworthy community.

The same principle applies to the communities after him.

It has been related from him, may God bless him and his family:

"The Children of Israel divided into seventy-two sects, and my community will divide into seventy-three sects. One sect will be saved, while all the rest will perish in the Fire."

It was said:

"O Messenger of God, who is the saved sect?"

He said:

"The people of the Sunnah and the community."

It was said:

“And who are the people of the Sunnah and the community?”

He said:

“Those who are upon what I and my Companions are upon today.”

I have already mentioned that what the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, and his Companions were upon was that no one would take precedence over them or exercise authority over them except someone whom the Messenger of God had appointed and commanded.

As far as I know, there is no disagreement among the Muslims concerning this.

Therefore, the people of the Sunnah and the community after him are likewise those who follow the one whom the Messenger of God appointed and entrusted with authority over them, even if their number is small.

Whoever opposes this Sunnah, appoints someone whom he was not appointed by the Prophet, and gives authority to someone whom he was not commanded to give authority to, is not among the people of the praiseworthy Sunnah and community.

Rather, he belongs to the people of a blameworthy community.

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, was asked:

“Who are the people of the Sunnah, who are the people of the community, and who are the people of innovation?”

He said:

“As for the people of the Sunnah, they are those who hold firmly to what the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, established as Sunnah, even if they are few.

“As for the people of the community, they are me and whoever follows me, even if they are few.

“As for the people of innovation, they are those who oppose the command of God, Exalted and Glorious is He, His Book, and His Messenger; those who act according to their opinions and passions concerning His religion; and those who introduce into religion things that did not come from God Most High or from His Messenger, may God bless him and his family.”

The name *jamāʿa* does not properly apply to a group whose members differ among themselves regarding their religion, rulings, what is lawful and what is unlawful, with each person expressing his own opinion, until they unite upon what is in the Book of God, Exalted and Glorious is He, and the Sunnah of His Messenger, may God bless him and his family.

The praiseworthy community is therefore the community of truth: the community united upon truth, with truth being what unites and elevates them.

Whoever is upon it belongs to the praiseworthy community, even if he is only one person.

It has been related from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, that he said to the believer:

“The believer alone is a community.”

And God, Exalted and Glorious is He, said:

“Indeed, Abraham was a community.”

It has also been related from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, concerning one particular person:

“He will be resurrected on the Day of Resurrection as a community by himself.”

Thus, the separation of people from the possessor of truth does not diminish him or lower him from his rank; nor does their gathering around him increase him in that respect.

[Preferring the Inferior over the Superior]

It has been related from one of the theologians that he said—concerning the people of excellence whom we have been discussing specifically:

“Most people make a mistake regarding the ruling of consensus in this matter and assume that people united upon the preference of the superior only because of a virtue they found in him.

But consensus follows an existing virtue; virtue does not follow the consensus that they formed.

When excellence exists in the excellent person, they are obliged to reach consensus upon him.

If they disagree, then may God remove from His mercy only the one who commits injustice and opposes the truth.

The truth belongs to the superior, and he will not attain it merely because those who agree with him are weak and those who oppose him are strong.

If the possessor of the truth finds consensus formed around him, he should give thanks, and the truth remains his.

If he encounters disagreement, he should be patient, and the truth remains his.”

ʿAlī’s excellence, peace be upon him, had been manifest, openly evident, clear, and well known.

The Messenger's designation of him had been recorded, and the reports concerning it were known and famous.

Whoever reached consensus upon him attained his share, while whoever opposed him erred and was deprived of right guidance.

This happened to ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

He was patient when they differed concerning him and when his supporters and followers became few; and he was grateful when some of them united around him and supported him.

When he found a way to rise against those who opposed him, he did so, as was obligatory upon him.

His reward for his trial and patience was like his reward for giving and gratitude.

It is not that truth becomes obligatory or more deserving of consensus merely because people agree upon it.

Rather, truth is truth.

People are required to unite upon it.

It does not become false simply because they disagree concerning it and none of them accepts it.

Rather, falsehood belongs to the one who departs from truth; it is its opposite and its contrary.

If truth became truth only through consensus, then falsehood would have an even greater claim to being truth, because most people have united upon it.

God, Exalted and Glorious is He, has mentioned this in several places in His Book.

He says:

"Most people, however eager you may be, will not be believers."

And He says:

"But most of them do not know."

And:

"But most of them are ignorant."

And He says:

"Those who believe and do righteous deeds—and how few they are."

This is a summary of the discussion concerning consensus and the community, and a refutation of what Muʿāwiya said.

It contains what makes the truth unmistakable to whoever is granted the ability to understand it, as well as sufficient material comparable to much more of the same.

God guides whomever He wills to a straight path.

[The Argument of the Khārijites]

As for the argument used by the Khārijites in separating themselves from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and fighting him, I have already mentioned what they said about him, and what has been related from them and from those who transmitted their position.

They objected to him because he had appointed the two arbiters.

They said:

"His pledge of allegiance was rightly guided, and it was stronger and more sound than every pledge that preceded it. The people came to him voluntarily, desiring his leadership and hastening to pledge allegiance to him.

"Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr broke their pledge to him and rebelled against him, and he was correct and rightly guided in fighting them.

"He was also correct in fighting Muʿāwiya until he appointed the two arbiters."

But, they said, after that:

"He was wrong.

"He appointed arbitration concerning the blood of the Muslims, and he appointed ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ as an arbiter concerning himself, even though ʿAmr was someone whose testimony was not legally acceptable. How, then, could he appoint him as an arbiter?

"They said:

"His acceptance of arbitration constituted doubt concerning his own position. If he was in doubt, why did he fight and kill those whom he killed while in doubt?

"And if he was not in doubt concerning his position, then arbitration was obligatory in a matter concerning which there was no doubt.

"They said:

"Even if we and other members of his army initially considered arbitration appropriate when Muʿāwiya and his companions raised the copies of the Qurʾān and we all agreed to it, he had no right to reverse his position because of us while we were mistaken.

“It was obligatory upon him to continue upon what he knew to be truth and correctness.

“Since he did this, his Imamate ceased, his obedience was no longer obligatory, and it became obligatory to fight him if he continued upon that position or claimed it and did not retract.”

This is a summary of the Khārijites’ position concerning ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

The answer to them is:

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, was not in doubt that he and those with him were upon the truth, and that Muʿāwiya and those with him were upon falsehood.

Nor was he unaware of their deception in raising the copies of the Qurʾān.

He knew that what they had done was a trick when defeat had begun to fall upon them and victory was going against them.

He knew that the copies of the Qurʾān they raised contained evidence in his favor and testified to his right.

Yet ʿAlī, peace be upon him, did not accept their proposal and ordered you to fight them with determination.

You refused to do so and withdrew from him.

You said to him:

“They have called us to the truth to which we were calling them, and they have agreed to what we asked of them: to return to judgment according to what is in the Book of God. Therefore we will not fight them.”

He went back to those among you who had said this and tried to make them understand.

They did not return to his position or gain insight.

Yet according to your own claim, he was your Imam whose obedience was obligatory.

You disobeyed him and opposed his command to the point that some among you threatened him with killing and arresting him and handing him over to Muʿāwiya if he persisted in his position.

Those who were fighting Muʿāwiya were thereby left without your support, while those who were refusing to obey you were strengthened by the threat you made against them because they had affirmed the arbitration which you had condemned and declared disbelief in.

Were you the ones who forced him to accept the arbitration which you condemned and declared disbelief in?

Or was he the one who accepted something from it in which there was no blame upon him, and for which there was no alternative once you had disobeyed him and opposed his command?

He rejected the arbitration when he was able to reject it and when he knew that it was a trick and stratagem by his enemy.

Then he accepted it when he could find no alternative and was unable to reject it.

He also knew that it established and confirmed his right according to the conditions stipulated and affirmed in it, and according to what he had called the people to: judgment according to the Book of God, Exalted and Glorious is He.

God, Glorious and Exalted is He, says:

“Whoever does not judge according to what God has revealed—those are the wrongdoers.”

And:

“Those are the unbelievers.”

And:

“Those are the defiantly disobedient.”

And He says:

“Judge between them according to what God has revealed.”

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, appointed the person he appointed for arbitration on the condition that he judge according to the Book of God—the very Book according to which they had called for judgment at that time.

He knew that the Book of God testified in his favor and against Muʿāwiya.

Had they judged according to the Book, they would have judged that ʿAlī, peace be upon him, was the Imam and that Muʿāwiya should be removed from the position from which ʿAlī had removed him.

This was precisely what ʿAlī called Muʿāwiya to and what he desired from him.

As for your objection that ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ should not have been appointed to judge by the Book, ask yourselves: was ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, in your view, worse than the Christians?

God, Exalted and Glorious is He, said:

“Let the people of the Gospel judge according to what God has revealed therein.”

If they judged according to it, they would enter Islam.

Likewise, if ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ judged according to the Book, he would enter into the Imamate of ʿAlī, peace be upon him, because the Book testifies to ʿAlī's superiority over Muʿāwiya.

God says:

"God will raise those of you who believe and those who have been given knowledge by degrees."

And He says:

"Those of you who spent and fought before the conquest are not equal to those who spent and fought afterward. Those are greater in rank."

And He says:

"And the foremost are the foremost. They are those brought near."

And He says:

"Say: I ask of you no reward for it except love for my near relatives."

Thus ʿAlī, peace be upon him, is of a higher rank than Muʿāwiya in precedence in accepting Islam, knowledge, jihad, and spending in the path of God before the conquest.

He is closer to the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, and more entitled to the fifth than Muʿāwiya.

Muʿāwiya would therefore have to give him one-fifth of what he acquired, while he has no share of what ʿAlī, peace be upon him, acquired.

This is in addition to what we have mentioned and what we shall mention in this book concerning ʿAlī's virtues and what was revealed in the Qurʾān concerning him, all of which establishes his superiority over Muʿāwiya and others.

There is no virtue attributed to any of the Companions except that ʿAlī, peace be upon him, possesses its equivalent.

He shared with all of them in their virtues, while all the virtues that were distributed among them were gathered together in him.

He was also distinguished by many virtues in which none of them shared with him.

When Muʿāwiya agreed with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, to submit the matter to judgment according to the Book, he thereby agreed to enter into his obedience and acknowledged his Imamate without realizing it.

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, only wanted the people to gather for judgment according to the Book of God, Exalted and Glorious is He, in order to establish Muʿāwiya's position concerning his own Imamate through the Book, since he had been unable to overcome him by force

because his own companions had disagreed with him after Muʿāwiya introduced into them the doubt by which, through his stratagem, he prevented himself from being overcome.

ʿAlī therefore wanted the people who had been confused by this stratagem to see its falsity and to understand the corruption of what had been made to appear persuasive to them.

He wanted them to recognize the correctness of his own right and the falsehood upon which Muʿāwiya stood, and to know that Muʿāwiya's raising of the copies of the Qurʾān was merely a deception, a stratagem, and a trick.

God, Exalted and Glorious is He, said to Muḥammad, may God bless him and his family, when the polytheists disputed with him:

"Say: Come, let us call our sons and your sons, our women and your women, and ourselves and yourselves; then let us earnestly pray and invoke God's curse upon the liars."

It was known that the polytheists were the liars.

This is a form of submitting a dispute to God, Exalted and Glorious is He, and contains justice between the disputing parties.

Likewise, God, Most High, says—and He is the truest of speakers:

"Say: Then bring a scripture from God that is more guiding than either of them, and I will follow it, if you are truthful."

He intended thereby to establish justice between them outwardly, while knowing that the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was upon the truth.

Likewise, ʿAlī, peace be upon him, was not in doubt concerning his position, as you claim.

Rather, he wanted to establish his opponent's position concerning what he had denied of ʿAlī's right and virtue through the Book of God, Glorious is His remembrance.

He had called for judgment by the Book in order to expose the deception and trickery through which Muʿāwiya had called for it, and so that those who had been confused by it might come to know the truth.

When the person appointed for this purpose abandoned judgment according to the Book and judged according to his own desire rather than according to the Book, his judgment was invalid by consensus.

For someone entrusted with a particular matter does not have the right to go beyond it to something else.

We have already mentioned earlier God's appointment of human arbitration concerning the compensation for game, and concerning the dispute between spouses; and the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, appointing Saʿd to judge concerning Banū Qurayẓa.

We have also mentioned ʿAlī's arguments and the arguments of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās against them concerning what they objected to regarding arbitration, as well as the return to the truth of those among them who returned after hearing those arguments.

That is sufficient for whoever is granted understanding and guided to sound judgment.

[A Discussion Concerning the Arbitration Document]

As for the account of what is said to have been contained in the document of arbitration written between ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and Muʿāwiya, concerning which there has been disagreement, no sound report establishing its authenticity through a reliable chain has reached us.

Among what has been established concerning this is what al-Zuhrī and ʿAlī ibn Isḥāq were able to report, although neither of them lived during the time in question.

Therefore, what is related from them on this matter is likewise not established.

It has also been criticized because of the weakness of its wording, the triviality of its meanings, and the fact that it contains expressions resembling foreign speech.

Those who criticized it said:

"The speech of those people was well known, and its essential character was known. Whenever someone born later tries to reproduce it, he cannot do so, and whatever foreign material has entered into it can be recognized."

We shall mention what has been transmitted concerning it. At the very least, we shall treat it as something that has been reported and then explain the argument concerning it.

According to what has been transmitted from al-Zuhrī and Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, they said:

The arbitration agreement between ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and Muʿāwiya began:

"In the name of God, the Most Merciful, the Compassionate. This is what ʿAlī, Commander of the Believers, and Muʿāwiya have agreed to adjudicate between themselves…"

Muʿāwiya said:

"If you acknowledged that you are Commander of the Believers, I would not have fought you. And were it not that you are older than me, I would not have put you forward. Therefore write:

'This is what ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān have agreed to adjudicate between themselves.'

"Leave out the mention of 'Commander of the Believers.'"

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, refused to omit it for the duration of a day, and then eventually agreed to omit it…

[Continuation of the discussion of the arbitration document]

This is like what took place between the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, on the day of al-Ḥudaybiyya and the polytheists of Quraysh, when he negotiated with them and wrote the document between them. He wrote:

“This is what Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, has agreed upon.”

The polytheists said:

“If we knew that you were the Messenger of God, we would not have prevented you. But write, if you wish: ‘This is what Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh has agreed upon.’”

The person who wrote the agreement in the presence of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, was ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him. The Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, said to him:

“Erase ‘Messenger of God,’ for God knows that I am His Messenger, and write ‘Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh.’”

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, hesitated out of reverence for doing so. The Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, then said:

“Show me where it is.”

So he showed him its place, and the Prophet erased it.

We have already mentioned the Kharijites' argument with Ibn ʿAbbās concerning this, and their statement to him:

“Why did he erase his name from ‘Commander of the Believers’?”

Ibn ʿAbbās argued against them with what the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, had done in this instance, and that this did not erase his name from prophethood. Likewise, that did not erase the name of ʿAlī, peace be upon him, from the imamate.

[The arbitration document]

According to the report transmitted concerning it, the following was written:

“This is what ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān have agreed upon.

ʿAlī, on behalf of the people of Iraq and those believers and Muslims who are with him, and Muʿāwiya, on behalf of the people of Syria and those believers and Muslims who are with him, agree that we submit to the judgment of God in His Book concerning that over which we

have differed, from its beginning to its end. We revive whatever it revives and we cause to die whatever it causes to die.

Whatever we find named explicitly in the Book of God, may He be glorified and exalted, we shall accept and act upon. Whatever we do not find named explicitly in the Book of God, then the just Sunnah, which encompasses and distinguishes the matters over which we have differed, shall apply.

The two arbiters are ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qays al-Ashʿarī and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ.

ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya took from the two arbiters the covenant and pledge of God that they would judge according to whatever they found named explicitly in the Book of God, and whatever they did not find named explicitly in the Book of God, according to the just Sunnah, which encompasses and distinguishes the matters over which we have differed.

The two arbiters took from ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān whatever covenant and pledge they required, that they would accept whatever judgment the two arbiters rendered concerning them, whether it involved removing either of them whom the arbiters removed, or appointing either of them whom the arbiters appointed.

And the two arbiters took from ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, and from both armies, whatever covenant and pledge they required, that the two arbiters were to be trusted with regard to themselves, their persons, their property, and the community; that the two sides would be supporters of the arbiters concerning whatever they judged for or against them; and that they would be helpers against anyone who altered or changed anything of their judgment.

And the agreement has established security among the believers and the laying down of arms wherever they travel or reside. They shall be secure with regard to themselves, their families, their property, and their lands, whether present or absent.

And ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qays and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ have the covenant and pledge of God that they will judge between the community with justice and will not leave it in a state of division through war until they have rendered their judgment.

The final deadline for the judgment between the people is the end of the month of Ramaḍān. If the two arbiters wish to hasten it, they may hasten it; and if they wish to postpone it, or see that it should be postponed by mutual agreement between them, they may postpone it.

If either of the two arbiters dies before rendering judgment, then the Commander of the Shiʿa and the Shiʿa shall choose a man in his place, without failing to exercise due care in selecting someone from among the people of justice and moderation.

The appointed place for the judgment is a location in which the people of Kufa, the people of the Ḥijāz, and the people of Syria have equal access. No one shall attend it except those whom the two arbiters wish to attend. If they wish it to be at Dūmat al-Jandal,[i] then it shall be there; and if they agree upon another place, wherever they wish, they shall render judgment there.

And ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya are obligated to bring the two arbiters together.

[And we disavow the judgment of anyone who judges by other than what God has revealed. O God, we seek Your help against whoever abandons what is contained in this document and seeks therein deviation and injustice.]

Those who witnessed what is contained in the document were:

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, al-Ashʿath ibn Qays, Saʿīd ibn Qays, Warqāʾ ibn Samī al-Bakrī — also said to be al-Ḥārithī — ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ṭufayl al-Bakāwī — also said to be ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṭulayq — also said to be ʿUqba ibn Zayd — also said to be Ziyād ibn Kaʿb — Ḥujr ibn Yazīd al-Kalbī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaḥfal al-ʿAjalī, ʿUqba ibn Ziyād al-Madḥajī — or al-Anṣārī — and Mālik ibn Kaʿb al-Bajali — or al-Hamdānī.

ʿUmayra wrote it on Wednesday, thirteen days remaining in Ṣafar, in the year 37 [AH].

This, then, is the substance of what is found concerning the arbitration, and what has been transmitted from al-Zuhrī and Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq concerning it.

Although this is not established according to the scholars of ḥadīth because it is a disconnected report, nevertheless the least that can be said is that the matter was something like this.

The basis upon which the arbitration took place, and upon which the agreement was concluded, was that judgment would be according to the Book of God, exalted and mighty is His remembrance, and the Sunnah of Muḥammad, His Messenger, may God bless him and grant him peace.

Had the judgment not taken place and the agreement not been concluded upon that basis, it would not have been binding, because God, may He be glorified and exalted, says — and He is the most truthful of speakers:

"Whoever does not judge according to what God has revealed — those are the unbelievers,"[1]

and the wrongdoers and the transgressors.

And He, exalted is He, says:

"And judge between them according to what God has revealed."[2]

Therefore, whoever judges contrary to that, his judgment is not valid.

There is another point: the arbitration and agreement were concluded between ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and Muʿāwiya concerning the matter over which they were disputing. Accordingly, the two arbiters were appointed to agree upon a judgment concerning that over which they had disputed, and their judgment was to be according to the Book of God, may He be glorified and exalted, and the Sunnah of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace.

It happened that one of the two arbiters, namely ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, was among the most cunning of the Arabs and the strongest of them in deception, scheming, stratagem, and

trickery. He was also an enemy of ʿAlī, peace be upon him, openly opposed to him in his enmity.

And it happened that the other, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, possessed certain tendencies that made him susceptible to being drawn toward what ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ attempted through his scheming, plotting, and deception.

[The positions of al-Ashʿarī]

Among these was what we have previously mentioned: his view had been to refrain and sit back from both parties.

It has been mentioned that when al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir came to the people of Kufa with ʿAlī's letter, he instructed them to remain behind and not participate.

Another was that he had a strong inclination and affection for ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, as we have mentioned. At first, he preferred to stay behind rather than join ʿAlī, peace be upon him, but later he regretted it.

We have mentioned his regret at having stayed behind from fighting the people of the Battle of the Camel and the companions of Muʿāwiya — namely the people of Syria and the people of Nahrawān.

Another was that he was inclined away from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and from his side, and that he had some inclination toward Muʿāwiya. ʿAlī, peace be upon him, described him in this manner, and his statement concerning him has already been related.

Another was that he was inclined away from the ʿAdnānites toward the Qaḥṭānites,[ii] as demonstrated by his statement at that time:

“If authority could only be attained through precedence and nobility, then a man descended from Abraha ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ would have more right to it.”

Another was that he fell short of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in cunning, scheming, stratagem, and deception.

[The meeting of the two arbiters]

When he met with ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, ʿAmr — because of the deception he had concealed against him — displayed veneration and exaltation toward him and placed him before himself. He made him believe that this was obligatory upon him because of Abū Mūsā's age, knowledge, and virtue.

Once this had become firmly established in him, and he had become accustomed to it, ʿAmr began approaching him from the direction in which he knew Abū Mūsā was inclined: that the proper course and correct opinion was to refrain from war, stay away from entering into the fitna, and work toward reconciliation between the two sides.

He continued doing this until Abū Mūsā had no doubt that ʿAmr's opinion on the matter was the same as his own.

Then he began mentioning the virtue and standing of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar to him. He repeatedly mentioned him, praised him, and spoke highly of him. Abū Mūsā likewise spoke of him in the same way, until Abū Mūsā came to believe that ʿAbd Allāh held the same standing in ʿAmr's eyes that he held in his own — or even a higher one.

Few people are ever approached through what they love, desire, want, agree with, or believe in without inclining toward whoever agrees with them in those matters, relying upon whoever shares their opinion and embracing whatever course that person has embraced.

Once this had become firmly established with ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in the mind of Abū Mūsā — together with all the veneration, exaltation, inclination, and humility that ʿAmr had shown toward him, and his agreement with him in what he believed — ʿAmr said to him:

"O Abū Mūsā, if we begin examining the superiority of ʿAlī over Muʿāwiya, the superiority of Muʿāwiya over ʿAlī, and what each of them claims for himself, the matter will become lengthy.

We fear that such a judgment will not resolve the matter for us. For if we judge that Muʿāwiya is to be removed and ʿAlī affirmed, we will inevitably have people among the Syrians who challenge our judgment and reject what we decide.

Muʿāwiya has won over most of the people of Syria. They will not abandon supporting him or standing with him, nor will he abandon the position he has taken and the authority he seeks.

And if we affirm Muʿāwiya and remove ʿAlī, the fear arising from him and those with him will be even greater, and the fitna will remain as it is, with people perishing in it.

But do you have any idea by which God might set the affairs of the community right, cut off the fitna, accomplish this through your hands, and grant you an abundant reward?"

Abū Mūsā said:

"What is it?"

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said:

"That you remove ʿAlī and I remove Muʿāwiya. Then we say to the people: 'Choose whoever you wish other than these two, for each of them now has supporters, parties, and factions who will not surrender authority to the other because of the disagreement and bloodshed that have occurred between them.'

"And we choose ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar for them.

"His situation is as you know. He has withdrawn from these wars, so no one who participated in them has any reason to dislike him on account of them. Both parties have grown weary of the war because of the killing, wounds, loss of property, and estrangement from their homelands that they have suffered.

“There is therefore no doubt that they will accept this, approve of it, and welcome it.

“Everyone who withdrew from the two factions will also accept it and hasten toward it, since ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar's view on this matter is the same as theirs. He is one of them, holds their position, and you know the position of his father among them.”

Thus ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ brought to Abū Mūsā everything that he believed, desired, loved, and inclined toward, as we have explained regarding the things that predominated in his nature.

He searched out what lay in the innermost part of Abū Mūsā's heart and approached him through what he believed and considered correct, until it was as though ʿAmr himself were Abū Mūsā.

He did not bring him anything that Abū Mūsā found objectionable, disliked, or contrary to his natural inclination.

Abū Mūsā therefore agreed to it, and the two agreed upon the matter. They sent for whoever they wished to have present and summoned ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, asking him to join them for the arbitration at Dūmat al-Jandal.

When those whom they had summoned arrived, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar was present, unaware of what had transpired between ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Abū Mūsā concerning the agreement they had made about him.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī:

“Rise, O Abū Mūsā — may God guide you — and speak according to what God has shown you concerning the matter entrusted to you and placed in your hands.”

This was in accordance with what ʿAmr had arranged, because of the stratagem and deception he intended against him, having put Abū Mūsā ahead of himself in everything that had occurred between them previously.

Indeed, whenever the two walked together, ʿAmr would fall behind Abū Mūsā and put him ahead. When he encountered him and wanted to speak with him, he would lower his voice somewhat and would not walk alongside him.

So Abū Mūsā rose and advanced ahead of ʿAmr, in accordance with the custom that had developed between them.

He praised and glorified God, then said:

“O people, you know that ʿAlī placed me before you and appointed me as arbiter. The people have now reached the state into which they have fallen — of fitna, bloodshed, and killing. Between him and Muʿāwiya, as you know, many of God's creatures have been killed.

“I have concluded that what is most beneficial for the community is to remove him, so that the war may lay down its burdens, blood may be spared, and the masses may become tranquil.

“I have removed him just as I remove this ring of mine.”

He took his ring and removed it from his finger, then sat down.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ then stood.

He praised and glorified God, then said:

“O people, you know that your caliph ʿUthmān was unjustly killed, and that Muʿāwiya is his cousin and the one responsible for seeking vengeance for his blood. He and ʿUmar before him were entrusted with the authority they held. Therefore, he remains in that position.

“I affirm him just as I affirm this ring of mine upon this finger.”

He took his ring and placed it upon his finger, then sat down.

Abū Mūsā rose and said:

“God forbid! We agreed only upon removing both ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya.”

ʿAmr said:

“Glory be to God, O Abū Mūsā! When was this?”

They went back and forth in discussion, and the dispute became heated until each of them cursed the other.

The people departed without having established any binding resolution, and most of them had no doubt that ʿAmr had deceived Abū Mūsā.

The people of Syria remained upon their support for Muʿāwiya, and the people of Iraq remained upon their support for ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

This included the partisans of each of them, apart from the Kharijites whom we have previously mentioned — those who separated from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, because of what they rejected concerning the arbitration. They regretted it after witnessing its outcome and after having called for it.

Muʿāwiya remained in his position, claiming the title of commander, while ʿAlī, peace be upon him, continued in his position, being called Commander of the Believers, until he was killed, peace be upon him.

No one subsequently established anything based upon what had occurred between Abū Mūsā and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, nor did anyone use it as an argument.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ returned to Muʿāwiya, and Abū Mūsā returned to ʿAlī, peace be upon him, apologizing for what he had done.

The situation remained as it had been until ʿAlī, peace be upon him, was killed.

This is a summary of what occurred between ʿAlī and those who fought him from among those who claimed the religion of Islam.

The proof concerning their having rebelled against him, and concerning his faction being the faction of the people of justice, while every faction that fought him was a faction of the people of rebellion, is that God, may He be glorified and exalted, commanded in His Book that they be fought until they return to His command.

These are some points and summaries from the reports concerning Muʿāwiya, his predecessors, and his successors, which reveal the evil nature of their beliefs and what they were upon.

We have previously mentioned in this book Abū Sufyān's hostility toward the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, the wars he waged against him, his incitement against him, and his advancing against him with those Arab tribes who sought his assistance.

All of Banū ʿAbd Shams in general, and Banū Umayya in particular, joined him in this. Muʿāwiya, his son, was also with him in this until God granted His Messenger, may God bless him and grant him peace, power, strengthened His religion, and granted him victory over Mecca.

Then Abū Sufyān surrendered, as did those of his sons and relatives who had joined together with him in fighting the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, as well as those among Banū Umayya and others who held views like his. They outwardly professed Islam and clung to it after the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, had overcome them and after the supporters of God's religion came against them in numbers they could not withstand.

God, may He be glorified and exalted, knows best what each of them believed in his heart.

But in this chapter of the book, we shall mention some of what has been reported from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, concerning them, and what occurred from them after they outwardly professed Islam.

I have mentioned in the book *al-Manāqib wa-l-Mathālib* the ancient hostility of Banū ʿAbd Shams toward Banū ʿAbd Manāf, and subsequently the hostility of Banū Umayya toward Banū Hāshim.

The discussion of that would exceed the scope of this book, and it is not among the matters upon which this book was founded.

I have mentioned in it, and in some preceding parts of this book, the utmost effort they expended in fighting the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, opposing him, and striving to extinguish the light of God, may He be glorified and exalted — which God refused to do anything but complete — and to sever His religion, whose manifestation He had guaranteed.

[Abū Sufyān]

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As for Abū Sufyān, among the things reported from him after his Islam is that one day he said to the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace — while his daughter Umm Ḥabība[iii] was with the Messenger of God in her house, and Abū Sufyān was joking with the Messenger of God:

“By God, it is nothing more than that you abandoned them, and the Arabs abandoned you, when a bald one and a horned one butt heads.”

The Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, laughed and said:

“Is that what you say, O Abū Ḥanẓala?”[iv]

This is an instance of the saying:

“Only a joking person or a drunkard would speak truthfully to you.”

Had Abū Sufyān truly believed in Islam and recognized the Messenger of God's excellence as a messenger, he would not have joked with him by saying such a thing, nor would he have believed it.

[446]

Among the reports is that one day the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, saw Abū Sufyān approaching, with his son Muʿāwiya behind him, and said:

“O God, curse the follower and the followed. O God, deal with al-Uqayṣ — meaning Muʿāwiya.”

On another occasion, the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, saw Abū Sufyān riding while Muʿāwiya was leading him and Yazīd was driving him, and he said:

“O God, curse the rider, the leader, and the driver.”

[448]

After Abū Sufyān had become blind, he entered the mosque for some need. The prayer was then established, so he stood with the people.

When the imam bowed, he prolonged the bowing. Abū Sufyān began saying to his guide, who was beside him:

“Have they not raised their heads yet?”

He replied:

“No.”

Abū Sufyān said:

“May they never raise them.”

This is the statement of someone who treats Islam with contempt, and it demonstrates that he did not truly believe in it, and that his outward participation in it and his entering into prayer were merely for show.

[449]

It is also reported that one day he entered upon ʿUthmān, having become blind. He sat down and then said to ʿUthmān:

“Do I have an eye?”

He said:

“No.”

He said:

“O ʿUthmān, do not be like Ḥujr ibn Ḥujr. Look at this wealth and make it circulate among yourselves, and seize this authority like a ball.”

Al-Barāʾ ibn ʿĀzib was present.

ʿUthmān was embarrassed before al-Barāʾ and said to him:

“Abū Sufyān has become senile.”

[450]

Abū Laylā ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, through his chain of transmission, attributes to the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, that he was sitting among a gathering of his Companions, among whom was Muʿāwiya.

The Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, said to ʿAlī, peace be upon him:

“This one” — and he pointed with his hand toward Muʿāwiya — “will seek authority. When he does so, split open his belly.”

[451]

Sayān, through his chain of transmission from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, said:

We were with the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, when he said:

“A man will emerge upon you from this mountain pass who will die while remaining upon my religion.”

ʿAbd Allāh said:

“I had left my father behind, and he had put on his clothes intending to come to the Messenger of God. I was like someone holding back urine, fearing that he might be the one who would emerge.”

Then Muʿāwiya emerged.

[Banū Umayya]

[452]

Sufyān al-Thawrī, through Ibn Ṭāwūs, said:

My father became ill, and one of the governors of Banū Umayya entered upon him to visit him. He sat upon a chair. When he left, my father ordered that the chair be washed, and that the place where he had sat in the house be washed.

He was asked about this, and he said:

“Had Ḥudhayfa lived to see these people, he would neither have sought shade in their shade nor drunk from the water they drink.”

[453]

Ṣāliḥ ibn Aḥmad, through his chain of transmission from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, said that he used to say:

“Everything has a scourge, and the scourge of Islam is Banū Umayya and Banū Marwān.”

[454]

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUbayd, through his chain of transmission from ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, said:

“We used to read among what we read: ‘And strive for God with the striving due to Him.’”[3]

“—at the end of time, just as you strove at its beginning.”

He was asked:

“When will that be?”

He said:

“When Banū Umayya are the rulers and Banū al-Mughīra are the ministers.”

This statement specifying Banū Umayya is not the sort of thing that could ordinarily be attributed merely to ʿUmar, because it concerns knowledge of what will and will not happen. Such knowledge could only have come from something ʿUmar heard from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, even if he did not explicitly attribute it to him.

[455]

Another report, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, says:

“I heard the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, say: ‘When Banū Abī al-ʿĀṣ reach thirty men, they will take God's religion as a means of corruption, His wealth as something circulating among themselves, and His servants as slaves.’”

[456]

Yaʿlā ibn ʿUbayd, through his chain of transmission from Saʿīd al-Musayyab,[v] attributes to the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, that he saw the young men of Banū Umayya ascending and descending his pulpit. He was distressed by this, so God, may He be glorified and exalted, revealed:

“And We did not make the vision which We showed you except as a trial for the people, and the accursed tree in the Qur’an.”[4]

— meaning Banū Umayya.

And it was said to him:

“It is merely worldly prosperity that will be given to them, after which they will end up in the Fire.”

[457]

Al-Aʿmash, through his chain of transmission from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, said:

“Everything has a scourge, and the scourge of **this** religion is Banū Umayya.”

[458]

Wakīʿ, through his chain of transmission, attributes to the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, that:

“The people most hated by the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, were Banū Umayya.”

[459]

Ismāʿīl ibn Abān, through his chain of transmission from Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, peace be upon him, said concerning the verse of the Exalted:

“And that you may warn thereby a people given to disputation.”[5]

He said:

“It refers to Banū Umayya.”

[460]

Ḥammād ibn Salama, from Abū Hurayra, said:

“I heard the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, say: ‘A tyrant from among the tyrants of Banū Umayya will vomit blood upon this pulpit of mine.’”

ʿAlī ibn Zayd said:

“Someone who had seen ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ told me that he suffered a nosebleed while upon the pulpit of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, and his blood flowed down the steps of the pulpit.”

[Banū Marwān]

[461]

Another report, attributed to the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, states that he cursed al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ and said:

“He came until he pressed through the wall toward me while I was with one of my wives. He grimaced at me.”

Then he, may God bless him and grant him peace, said:

“It is as though I can see young men ascending my pulpit and descending from it.”

The Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, then exiled him from Medina.

He remained in exile, as a result of the Messenger of God's exile, throughout the lifetime of the Messenger of God, Abū Bakr, and ʿUmar, and through the beginning of ʿUthmān's reign.

Then ʿUthmān brought him back, provided for him generously, favored him, and brought him close.

This was among the things for which the people censured ʿUthmān, because he had violated the Messenger of God's ruling concerning him.

For this reason al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, peace be upon him, said to Marwān:

“The Messenger of God cursed your father while you were still in his loins.”

Isḥāq, through his chain of transmission from Abū Isrāʾīl, from Muḥammad ibn Kaʿb al-Quraẓī, said:

“The Messenger of God cursed al-Ḥakam, and only a few emerged from his loins.”

ʿAmr ibn Abī Bakr al-Qurashī said:

“We rejoiced at this on behalf of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz” — meaning that he was among the few descendants of al-Ḥakam who were not overtaken by the Messenger of God's curse.

[463]

Al-Aʿmash, through his chain of transmission from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, said that he addressed the people in a sermon in which he mentioned Banū Umayya. Concerning them he said:

“If you see a man from Banū Umayya in the water up to his throat, immerse him in the water until he drowns. For even if only one man among them remained, he would distort God's religion.”

[464]

ʿAbbād ibn Yaʿqūb, through his chain of transmission from Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Yamān, said:

“I heard the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, say: ‘If you see al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ,[vi] even if he is beneath the curtains of the Kaʿba, kill him.’”

And he exiled him to Dahlak, in the land of Abyssinia.

[465]

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣāliḥ, through his chain of transmission from ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr,[vii] said — while he was upon the pulpit, leaning against the Kaʿba:

“By the Lord of this Sacred House and this Sacred City, al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ and his descendants are accursed.”

[466]

Another report from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, says that Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam was brought to him when he was born so that the Prophet might perform *taḥnīk* for him, as he used to do for the children of the Muslims when they were brought to him.

The Prophet rejected him, did not perform *taḥnīk* for him, did not take him, and said:

“Bring me their blue-eyed one.”

[Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān]

[467]

Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn, through his chain of transmission from Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, said:

“I heard the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, say: ‘Muʿāwiya will die upon my religion.’”

[468]

Another report from Ṭāwūs[viii] says:

“Muʿāwiya was not a believer.”

[469]

Another report from Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab says:

Muʿāwiya fell ill with the illness from which he died. A Christian doctor of his entered upon him.

Muʿāwiya said to him:

“Woe to you! It seems that with your treatment I only increase in illness and sickness.”

The doctor replied:

“By God, I have left nothing in the way of treatment by which I hope to restore your health without having already treated you with it. I have cured a group of people with one particular treatment. If you approve of it and order me to treat you with it, I will do so.”

Muʿāwiya said:

“What is it?”

He said:

“A cross. Among us, if it is hung around the neck of a sick person, he recovers.”

Muʿāwiya said:

“Bring it to me.”

So the doctor brought it and hung it around his neck. Muʿāwiya died that very night, with the cross hanging around his neck.

In the morning, the skin between his eyes had become contracted, with folds running across his forehead. Written upon it, it was readable by everyone who saw him: **“disbeliever.”**

Ismāʿīl ibn ʿĀmir, through his chain of transmission, relates that when Muʿāwiya was near death, he wept.

He was asked:

“What makes you weep?”

He said:

“I am not weeping out of fear of death, but I remembered the people of the well at Badr.”

The area between his eyes then contracted from his weeping, with the word **“disbeliever”** remaining there. Everyone who witnessed him saw it, and he remained that way when he was washed, shrouded, and buried.

[471]

Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, through his chain of transmission, said:

The bishop of Najrān[ix] wrote to Muʿāwiya asking him for assistance in constructing a church.

Muʿāwiya sent him two hundred thousand dirhams from the treasury of the Muslims.

[472]

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUbayd Allāh, through his chain of transmission from Abū Shīrīn, said that he recited the words of God, may He be glorified and exalted:

"We shall gradually lead them on from where they do not know. And I shall give them respite; indeed, My plan is firm."[6]

He said:

"If these people are not Muʿāwiya and his companions, then we do not know who they are."

[474]

Ibn ʿAwn, through his chain of transmission, said:

"The first person concerning whom the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, rendered judgment was Muʿāwiya."

The Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, said:

"The child belongs to the marriage bed, and the adulterer receives the stone."

Thus he attributed Muʿāwiya to Abū Sufyān because he had committed adultery with his mother and, according to what is alleged here, she became pregnant by him.

[474]

Abū Nuʿaym, through his chain of transmission from Masrūq, said:

A ship carrying idols passed by him.

He asked:

"What is this?"

They said:

"Muʿāwiya has sent these idols to India to be sold to those who worship them."

Masrūq said:

“By God, I do not know which of the two Muʿāwiyas he is: a man who has despaired of the Hereafter and is therefore enjoying his worldly life, or a man whose evil deeds have been made attractive to him.

“By God, if I knew that he would only kill me, I would sink them. But I fear that he might torture me and cause me to be tempted away from my religion.”

[475]

Ismāʿīl ibn Abān, through his chain of transmission, said:

When ʿAlī, peace be upon him, saw Muʿāwiya's banners on the day of Ṣiffīn, he said:

“These are the banners of Abū Sufyān with which he fought the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace.”

Then ʿAlī, peace be upon him, said:

“By God, these people did not embrace Islam; rather, they surrendered, and concealed disbelief until they found supporters for it.”

[They returned to their former hostility toward us, except that they did not abandon the prayer.]

(This addition is from Waqʿat Ṣiffīn, p. 215.)

[476]

Hawdha ibn Khalīfa, through his chain of transmission from Abū Bakra, said:

“Do people think that I only criticized these people — meaning Banū Umayya — over worldly matters? They appointed ʿAbd Allāh over Fāris, Dāwūd over the treasury of provisions, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān over the treasury and the administrative register.

“Do I not have a religious objection to these people? No, by God! Rather, I criticized them because they openly disbelieved.”

[477]

Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, through his chain of transmission, said:

Muʿāwiya became angry with a man and ordered that his head be shaved and that he be paraded around.

When this reached Ibn ʿAbbās and Kaʿb, they said:

“What is wrong with Muʿāwiya? May God destroy him! He has introduced an innovation, making shaving a punishment and mutilation, whereas God has made it an act of worship and a Sunnah.”

[478]

Yaḥyā al-Ḥimānī, through his chain of transmission from Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, said:

It was said to him:

“Muʿāwiya forbids *tamattuʿ* in the pilgrimage.”

He said:

“By God, it was practiced by whoever believed in God and His Messenger, while Muʿāwiya disbelieved in both of them.”

Footnotes

[1] al-Māʾida 5:44.
[2] al-Māʾida 5:49.
[3] al-Ḥajj 22:78.
[4] al-Isrāʾ 17:60.
[5] Maryam 19:97.
[6] al-Qalam 68:44–45.

Endnotes

[1]
He is Qays b. ʿUmar, the poet, from Banū al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb.

[2]
They were a group of Christians from among the people of Basra who accepted Islam and then apostatized. They were invited to Islam, but they refused.

[3]
Ibn Qutayba mentioned him in *al-Imāma wa’l-Siyāsa* under the name ʿAbd Allah b. Abī Miḥjan al-Thaqafī.

[4]
They are those whom the Noble Messenger pardoned when he conquered Mecca. After having tasted various forms of suffering at their hands, he addressed them with words to the following effect: “What do you think I am going to do with you?” They said: “A generous brother and the son of a generous brother.” He ﷺ said: “Go, for you are the pardoned/released ones (*al-ṭulaqā’*).”

[5]
Ibn Ḥajar related in *al-Iṣāba*, 2/319: Abū Nuʿaym and others said: “He died in the year 32 AH.”

[6]
She had been married to ʿUbayd Allah b. Jaḥsh al-Asadī. He emigrated with her to Abyssinia and became a Christian there, and died there. The Messenger of God subsequently married her.

(See *Iʿlām al-Warāʾ*, p. 141.)

[7]
Among them were Zayd b. Arqam, Zayd b. Thābit, Ḥanẓala b. al-Rabīʿ, and ʿAbd Allah b. Khaṭal.

[8]
A place in the land of Iraq where a battle took place between the Muslims and the Magians, and where the Muslims were victorious over the state of Kisrā.

[9]
Abū Wahb, the maternal brother of ʿUthmān. He composed an elegy for ʿUthmān and died at al-Raqqa in 61 AH.

[10]
He is Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy, the pre-Islamic ancestor of the Umayyads. He lived until after the birth of the Prophet ﷺ.

[11]
Lakhm: a tribal group from Yemen.

[12]
Al-Ṣafūriyya is a village in Palestine, northwest of the city of Nazareth. It contains Greek and Roman remains.

[13]
The mother of ʿUthmān: Āmina bint Kurayz b. Ḥabīb.

[i] **Dūmat al-Jandal:** With the initial letter pronounced with either ḍamma or fatḥa; a town in the interior of the Sarḥān region, belonging to the administrative territory of Medina. It was named after Dūm ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm.

[ii] **The ʿAdnānites:** The tribe to which the Commander of the Believers [ʿAlī] belonged. **The Qaḥṭānites:** The tribe to which he [al-Ashʿarī] and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar belonged.

[iii] **Umm Ḥabība:** Ramla bint Abī Sufyān. She died in 44 AH. The Messenger married her after her husband, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Jaḥsh, died.

[iv] **Abū Ḥanẓala:** The eldest son of Abū Sufyān; he was killed as a disbeliever at Badr fighting alongside the polytheists.

[v] **Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab:** Abū Muḥammad Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab ibn Ḥazn ibn Abī Wahb al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashī. He was born in 13 AH and died in Medina in 94 AH.

[vi] **al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ ibn Umayya ibn ʿAbd Shams al-Qurashī:** The Messenger exiled him to al-Ṭāʾif, and ʿUthmān returned him to Medina. He was ʿUthmān's paternal uncle and the father of Marwān, founder of the Marwānid state.

[vii] **ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr:** Born in 1 AH. He was the son of al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām and Asmāʾ, the eldest daughter of Abū Bakr. He participated alongside ʿĀʾisha. He declared himself caliph and opposed the Umayyads. He was killed by al-Ḥajjāj in 73 AH.

[viii] **Ṭāwūs:** Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ṭāwūs ibn Kaysān al-Khawlānī al-Hamdānī. He was born in Yemen in 33 AH and died at Minā in 106 AH.

[ix] **Najrān:** A valley in Yemen.

[479]

Hawdha ibn Khalīfa, through his chain of transmission from Abū al-ʿĀliya, said:

Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān went on a military expedition with the people — he being the governor of Syria — and they acquired spoils. They divided the spoils, and a slave girl fell to the share of one of the Muslims. She was beautiful, and Yazīd was told about her, so he took her away from the man.

Abū Dharr was in Syria at that time. The man came to him, complained to him, and sought his help against Yazīd so that he would return the slave girl to him.

Abū Dharr went with him to Yazīd and asked him to do so. Yazīd hesitated.

Abū Dharr said to him:

“By God, if you do this, I have heard the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, say: ‘The first person to alter my Sunnah will be a man from Banū Umayya.’”

Then he got up and Yazīd followed him. Yazīd said to him:

“I adjure you by God, may He be glorified and exalted: am I that man?”

He said:

“No.”

So Yazīd returned the slave girl to him.

[480]

Al-Shaʿbī, through his chain of transmission from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, said:

“I heard the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, say: ‘The leaders of disbelief are five: Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr’” — and he mentioned the other three.

[481]

Yaḥyā ibn Yaʿlā, through his chain of transmission from Ṣaʿṣaʿa ibn Ṣūḥān, said:

“I heard ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd say:

‘Five men from Quraysh are astray and lead others astray. Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ are among them.’”

[482]

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ, through his chain of transmission from ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, said that on the day of Ṣiffīn, when he looked at Muʿāwiya and his companions, he said:

“By God, they did not embrace Islam; rather, they surrendered, and concealed disbelief until they found supporters for it.”

[483]

Yaʿlā ibn ʿUbayd, through his chain of transmission from Saʿīd ibn Suwayd, said:

Muʿāwiya addressed us at al-Nukhayla,[i] saying:

“O people of Iraq, do you think that I fought you only because you do not pray? By God, I know that you do pray, and that you perform the ritual bath for major impurity. I only fought you so that I could rule over you, and indeed I have gained authority.”

[484]

Abū Nuʿaym, through his chain of transmission from Muʿāwiya, said that he said:

“I am the first of the kings.”

[485]

Shihāb ibn ʿAbbād, through his chain of transmission from al-Shaʿbī, said:

Muʿāwiya became ill and wept. Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam said to him:

“Why are you weeping, O Commander of the Believers?”

He replied:

“My age has advanced, my bones have become thin, my skin has become delicate, and my eyes have shed many tears. I have reconsidered matters from which I used to turn away. Had it not been for my desire concerning Yazīd, I would have recognized the right course.”

[486]

ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Jaʿd, through his chain of transmission from al-Shaʿbī, said:

Muʿāwiya addressed the people of Kufa after allegiance had been given to him.

In his sermon he said:

“No community has differed after its prophet except that the people of falsehood among them have overcome the people of truth.”

This was a statement attributed to the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, which God caused to come forth from his tongue. When he said it, however, he regretted it and said:

“Except this community.”

His tongue became hesitant, and he did not know what to say concerning that, so he moved on to another subject.

[487]

Ḥammād ibn Salama, from Muḥammad ibn Ziyād, said:

Muʿāwiya wrote to Marwān — who was governor of Medina — ordering him to take allegiance from the people for Yazīd.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr said:

“Muʿāwiya has brought us a Heraclius![ii]”

Marwān said:

“O people, this is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr, concerning whom God, may He be glorified and exalted, revealed: ‘And the one who said to his parents, “Fie upon you! Do you promise me that I will be brought forth...”’”[1]

This reached his sister ʿĀʾisha, and she became angry. She said:

“No, by God, that is not him. Had I wished to name him, I would have named him. But God cursed your father, O Marwān, through the tongue of His Messenger while you were still in his loins. You are therefore a piece of God's curse, may He be glorified and exalted.”

[488]

Yaḥyā ibn Ghaylān, through his chain of transmission from ʿAbd al-Malik, said:

Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ entered upon Muʿāwiya and said:

“Peace be upon you.”

Muʿāwiya said to him:

“What prevents you from saying, ‘Peace be upon you, O Commander of the Believers’?”

Saʿīd replied:

“You are not Commander of the Believers. By God, we have not approved of you.”

[489]

Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh, through his chain of transmission from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, said:

“May God destroy Muʿāwiya! He stripped this community of its affair and disputed authority with those who were entitled to it. He appointed over the believers a foreigner” — meaning Ziyād.

[490]

Another report from al-Aswad says:

I said to ʿĀʾisha:

“Are you not amazed at a man from the *ṭulaqāʾ* — those who were released at the conquest — disputing the caliphate with a man who was among the people of Badr?”

He meant Muʿāwiya disputing with ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

ʿĀʾisha said:

“Do not be amazed. Pharaoh ruled the Children of Israel for four hundred years. Sovereignty belongs to God; He gives it to the righteous and the wicked.”

[491]

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣāliḥ, through his chain of transmission from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAṭāʾ, said:

“Sumayya did not give birth to a child on Ziyād's marriage bed. She gave birth to him on ʿUbayd's marriage bed.”

[492]

Another report states:

Abū Sufyān passed by Bilāl, Salmān, and Ṣuhayb. They said:

“Indeed, there were places on this neck of the enemy of God where the swords of the Muslims could have been.”

Abū Bakr heard them and said:

“Do you say something like this about one of the elders of Quraysh?”

He went to the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, and informed him of what they had said.

The Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, said to him:

“Perhaps you have angered them? If you have angered them, then you have angered your Lord.”

[So Abū Bakr came to them, sought to reconcile with them, and asked them to seek forgiveness for him. They said: 'May God forgive you.']

(This addition is from the chapter of al-Ḥākim, p. 20.)

[493]

Another report states:

Abū Sufyān became ill during ʿUmar's days. ʿUthmān came in to visit him. When ʿUthmān was about to leave, Abū Sufyān held onto him and said:

"O ʿUthmān, I have a request of you."

He said:

"What is it?"

Abū Sufyān said:

"If I die, let no one succeed me except you, and let no one perform the funeral prayer over me except you."

ʿUthmān said:

"How could I do that with ʿUmar?"

Abū Sufyān said:

"Then bury me at night and do not tell him."

ʿUthmān said:

"I will do so."

Abū Sufyān said:

"Then swear to me by al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā that you will do it!"

ʿUthmān said to him:

"You have become senile, Abū Sufyān."

He recovered from that illness and died during the reign of ʿUthmān, who performed the funeral prayer over him.

Another report states that the following was revealed concerning the leaders of the Confederates — Abū Sufyān, al-Ḥakam, and others:

"Indeed, those who disbelieve — it is all the same for them whether you warn them or do not warn them; they will not believe."[2]

Thus God, may He be glorified and exalted, informed that they had not believed in their hearts even though they professed Islam with their tongues.

And concerning them was revealed:

“Have you not seen those who exchanged God's favor for disbelief and brought their people down to the abode of ruin — Hell, in which they will burn? And what an evil settlement!”[3]

None of the leaders and prominent figures of the Confederates — Abū Sufyān and al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ — became Muslim in the sense of genuine faith, nor did they truly believe, because God, may He be glorified and exalted, had informed that they had not believed.

[495]

Another report states that Abū Sufyān said after the death of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace:

“I did not know that he was a prophet until I saw him at ʿArafa during the Farewell Pilgrimage, delivering his sermon, and I saw the multitudes surrounding him. I said to myself: ‘If I had half as many men with me as these, I would rise against him.’

“He stopped his sermon, turned his face toward me, and said: ‘Then God will cast you into Hell upon your face.’

“At that point I knew that he was a prophet.

“On another occasion he passed by me while Hind was with me. I said to her: ‘Hind, how has this young man from Banū Hāshim overcome me, when I am older than him and greater in honor among my people?’ We were traveling.

“When he stopped that day, I went and greeted him. He said: ‘By God — by God, I have defeated you, O Abū Sufyān.’

“I said to myself: ‘When did Hind meet him?’ He told her what I had said. By God, no one had heard me say that except her. He did not strike her severely; he remained silent and pretended not to notice what I had said.

“When I was about to leave, he said: ‘What is it, O Abū Sufyān? Did you say to yourself that Hind told me what you said and that you intended to strike her? No, by God, she did not tell me.’

“Then Abū Sufyān said: ‘At that point I knew that revelation from God was coming to him.’”

Abū Sufyān and his son Muʿāwiya were among those whose hearts were to be reconciled [to Islam]. We have previously mentioned in this book what the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, gave them, together with those to whom he gave from among those whose hearts were to be reconciled, from the spoils of Hawāzin on the day of Ḥunayn.

Those among the Sunnī community who are regarded as knowledgeable in historical reports have agreed upon this. They mentioned those whose hearts were to be reconciled in one of their works and said:

"Those whose hearts were to be reconciled were people to whom the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, used to give gifts in order to reconcile them to Islam and, through them, reconcile others to Islam, when they were leaders of their people."

Since God had granted him the right to give them a share from the alms, He — exalted is He — mentioned them when speaking of the recipients of alms.

They said that they included:

Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb; Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, his son; Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām; Suhayl ibn ʿAmr; Ḥuwayṭib ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā; Ṣafwān ibn Umayya; al-ʿAlāʾ ibn al-Ḥāritha al-Thaqafī; ʿUyayna ibn Ḥiṣn ibn Ḥudhayfa ibn Badr; al-Aqraʿ ibn Ḥābis; Mālik ibn ʿAwf al-Baṣrī; al-ʿAbbās ibn Mirdās al-Sulamī; Qays ibn Muḥarrama; and Jubayr ibn Muṭʿim.

We know of no one regarded as a scholar who says that any of these men can be compared with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, or with any of the people of precedence in Islam, among those who fought at Badr and others.

Nor do they say that any of them was suitable for the caliphate and therefore deserved it, or that he could be compared with one of the people of precedence in Islam such that Muʿāwiya could compete with ʿAlī, peace be upon him, for the imamate — or with al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, after him, as he in fact did — nor that someone acting on his behalf could claim it or compete for it.

Ibn Isḥāq, the author of the *Maghāzī*, mentioned in his work on the biographies those among the people whose hearts were to be reconciled whose Islam subsequently became good, after the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, had reconciled them through what he gave them.

He said:

"Among those whose Islam became good, from Quraysh among those who accepted Islam at the conquest, were Qays ibn Muḥarrama, Jubayr ibn Muṭʿim, al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām, Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām, Ḥuwayṭib ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, and Suhayl ibn ʿAmr."

These are among those whom he specifically mentioned as having subsequently become good in their Islam.

He did not mention among them Abū Sufyān or Muʿāwiya, even though both were among those who accepted Islam at the conquest — those whom the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, had overcome when he conquered Mecca, so they embraced Islam because they had been overcome.

When the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, conquered al-Ṭāʾif,[iii] its inhabitants asked him to leave al-Lāt — which they worshipped — for a specified period. They said:

“We fear for our foolish people if we destroy it.”

He refused their request.

He sent Abū Sufyān to destroy it, and al-Mughīra ibn Shuʿba[iv] went with him.

Abū Sufyān stopped short of destroying it and remained before it, sending al-Mughīra instead. He refused to enter al-Ṭāʾif.

He said to al-Mughīra:

“Go to your people.”

So al-Mughīra went and destroyed it.

When Abū Sufyān saw it being destroyed, he began saying:

“Alas, al-Lāt!”

expressing his grief over its destruction.

It has also been mentioned that he went out to Ḥunayn with the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, carrying divining arrows (*azlām*) with him. When the Muslims were defeated, he took them out and cast them, saying:

“This is a defeat that will not stop before the sea.”

It is also said that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb once looked at Muʿāwiya and said:

“This is the Chosroes of the Arabs.”

[496]

Another report from Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī says:

“Muʿāwiya showed hostility toward ʿAlī, peace be upon him, only because of his hatred for the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace. ʿAlī fought him and fought his father, while saying: ‘God and His Messenger have spoken the truth,’ whereas they said: ‘God and His Messenger have lied.’

“By God, one cannot equate the people of Badr and those who preceded others in Islam with the *ṭulaqāʾ* and hypocrites.”

[497]

It was said to Muʿāwiya when he had gained control of the affair:

“If you were to remain in Medina, it is the abode of the Hijra, and the grave of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, is there.”

He replied:

“Then I would have gone astray, and I would not be among those rightly guided.”

[498]

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, mentioned Muʿāwiya and said:

“Muʿāwiya is a released captive, son of a released captive; a hypocrite, son of a hypocrite. The Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, cursed Abū Sufyān, Muʿāwiya, and Yazīd.”

[499]

The Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, heard Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ singing, and said:

“O God, plunge them deeply into the fitna and drive them toward the Fire.”

[500]

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, heard a man cursing the people of Syria. He said:

“Woe to you! Do not curse them. Rather, curse Muʿāwiya, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, and their followers.”

[501]

ʿAlī, peace be upon him, used to curse them during his *qunūt*.

[502]

It is related from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, that one day he looked down upon the army of the polytheists at Uḥud and said:

“O God, curse the commanders among them and the followers.”

As for the followers, God may pardon whichever of them He wishes.

But as for the commanders and leaders, there is among them neither one who responds nor one who escapes.

Among their commanders on that day was Abū Sufyān, with his son Muʿāwiya.

[503]

It is related from him, may God bless him and grant him peace, that he said:

“Muʿāwiya will be in a chest of Fire, locked inside it, and beneath him there will be none except Pharaoh, in the lowest level of Hell. Had Pharaoh not said, ‘I am your highest lord,’[4] he would not have been beneath Muʿāwiya.”

[504]

He, may God bless him and grant him peace, said:

“Those from this community who were admitted to the Fire will emerge from it after whatever period God wills, but one man will remain in it beneath a rock for a thousand years, calling: ‘O Most Compassionate! O Bestower!’”

It was said:

“He is Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān.”

[505]

It is related from Ṣaʿṣaʿa ibn Ṣūḥān that during the days of Yazīd he said:

“If only the earth would cast Muʿāwiya back to us so that we could see how God punished him, and he could see how we have punished his son.”

[506]

It is related from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, that one day he sent for Muʿāwiya.

They said:

“He is eating.”

He waited for an hour.

Then he sent for him again. They said:

“He is eating.”

He waited for an hour.

Then he sent for him a third time. They said:

“He is eating.”

He said:

“May God never satisfy his belly.”

After that, he was never satisfied, even if he ate whatever amount he could possibly eat.

[507]

It is related from him, may God bless him and grant him peace, that he said:

“When you see Muʿāwiya delivering a sermon from the pulpit, kill him.”

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said:

“By God, they saw him delivering a sermon, yet they did not do it [and they did not prosper].”

(The addition is from the book Waqʿat Ṣiffīn.)

[508]

It is related from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, that one day he looked at Muʿāwiya and said:

“This man will seek this authority after me. Whoever among you encounters him while he seeks it, let him split open his belly with the sword.”

[509]

It is related from him that he said:

“When you see ʿAmr with Muʿāwiya, separate the two of them, for they will never come together for anything good.”

Muʿāwiya caused water to be brought to the location of the graves of the martyrs at Uḥud and ordered that they be exhumed. They were exhumed and brought out of their graves while their bodies were still moist and flexible.

The digging tool struck the leg of Ḥamza — may God be pleased with him — and it bled.

Muʿāwiya removed them from their graves.

The Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, had ordered that they be buried there, at the places where they had fallen. Some of them had been carried to Medina.

The Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, ordered that they be returned and buried at the places where they had fallen.

Muʿāwiya changed this and violated the Messenger of God's command concerning them.

[510]

It is related from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī that he was asked about Muʿāwiya's fighting ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

He said:

“Muʿāwiya, the transgressor, disputed with the people who possessed the truth over their right.”

[511]

When Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ heard something Muʿāwiya had said, he said:

“How would this transgressor know?”

[512]

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī mentioned Muʿāwiya and said:

“A tyrant, a transgressor.”

[513]

It is related from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, that he saw Muʿāwiya swaggering in a *ḥibara* cloak and looking at his sides, so he cursed him.

He said:

“What an evil day for my community you will be, and what an evil day for my descendants because of a puppy that will emerge from your loins, who will treat God's signs as objects of mockery and regard as lawful concerning my sacred status what God has forbidden.”

[514]

It is related from Abū Dharr, may God be pleased with him, that he said:

“I heard the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, say: ‘My community will come to me at the Pool under five banners.’”

Then he mentioned a lengthy ḥadīth in which he said:

“Then Pharaoh of my community will come with his followers. I will take him by the hand, and when I take it, his face will become black, his feet will dry up, and his innards will tremble. The same will happen to his followers.”

Then he said:

“He is Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān.”

I will say:

“What did you leave behind for me concerning the Two Weighty Things after me?”

They will say:

“We denied the greater one and tore it apart, and we fought the lesser one and killed it.”

I will say:

“Take the path of your companions.”

They will depart thirsty, their faces blackened, because they will never taste a single drop from it.

Because of this ḥadīth and other reports that Abū Dharr — may God have mercy upon him — transmitted from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, concerning Banū Umayya, he suffered what he suffered of exile and denial.

The Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, had testified to his truthfulness, saying:

“Neither the dusty earth has carried, nor the green sky has shaded, anyone with a tongue more truthful than Abū Dharr.”

Thus ʿUthmān exiled him to al-Rabdha, where he died an outcast and alone, just as the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, had foretold when he saw him walking alone at the rear of the army during the expedition to Tabūk.

He said:

“May God have mercy upon Abū Dharr. He walks alone, dies alone, and will be resurrected alone.”

[Some of Muʿāwiya's actions]

It was said that Muʿāwiya poisoned Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, causing his death because of what he used to transmit from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, concerning him.

It was said to Mālik ibn Anas:

“Was Muʿāwiya forbearing?”

He replied:

“How could someone be forbearing when he sent Busr ibn Abī Arṭāt throughout the lands between himself and Yemen, and Busr would not hear of anyone there possessing information that might be feared without killing him? After he had killed people, and then exercised forbearance, was he therefore a forbearing or blessed man?”

Al-Shaʿbī mentioned Muʿāwiya and said:

“He was like a skilled camel: if you leave it alone, it advances; and if you advance toward it, it retreats.”

[Clarification of the unusual expression]

A *skilled camel* (*al-jamal al-ṭabb*) is one that carefully watches where it places its hoof, as though the comparison were to such a camel.

He examines the affairs of people as that camel examines where to place its hooves: if he sees someone advancing against him, he retreats from him; and if he sees someone holding back from him, he advances against him.

It was said to Sharīk ibn ʿAbd Allāh:

“Was Muʿāwiya, as people say, forbearing?”

He replied:

“No. How could someone be forbearing when he treated the truth with contempt?”

[515]

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said:

“I went on an expedition to al-Dūb during the time of Muʿāwiya. We had with us a man from the Successors — I have never seen a man better than him.

“News reached us that Muʿāwiya had killed Ḥujr ibn ʿAdī and his companions. He led us in the noon prayer and then delivered a sermon.

“He praised and glorified God and invoked blessings upon the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace. Then he said:

“‘To proceed: Something has occurred in Islam that had never occurred since the Messenger of God died: Muʿāwiya has killed Ḥujr ibn ʿAdī and his companions from among the Muslims, having them executed while restrained.

“‘If people are going to object to this, then let them object. Otherwise, I ask God to take me to Him.’”

Al-Ḥasan said:

“By God, we did not perform the afternoon prayer that day before he died. May God have mercy upon him.”

[The killing of Ḥujr ibn ʿAdī]

Ḥujr ibn ʿAdī was among the best of the Companions, and no Muslim before him had been executed while restrained in this manner.

Muʿāwiya and his companions killed him after they had brought him to him bound and shackled in a garden.[v]

It is said that the trees of that garden withered from that day onward.

He had been one of the companions of ʿAlī, peace be upon him.

[516]

It is said that after killing Ḥujr and his companions,[vi] Muʿāwiya entered upon ʿĀʾisha.

She said to him:

“Do you enter upon me after killing Ḥujr and his companions? Were you not afraid that I might appoint one of the Muslims to kill you?”

Muʿāwiya replied:

“I do not fear that, because I am in a place of security. But how am I doing regarding your needs?”

She said:

“You are doing well.”

He said:

“Then leave me and them until we meet before God.”

She said:

“How can I leave you when you have committed such an act and altered the ruling of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace? He said: ‘The child belongs to the marriage bed,’ yet you disassociated Ziyād from the man upon whose marriage bed he was born and attributed him to your father; and you appointed Yazīd on the basis of your own judgment.”

He said:

“O Mother of the Believers, since you refuse [to accept my explanation], had I not killed Ḥujr, many people would have been killed between him and me.

“As for Ziyād, my father entrusted him to me.

“As for Yazīd, I saw him as the person most entitled to this authority, so I appointed him.”

Al-Mughīra ibn Shuʿba and al-Miswar ibn Makhrama[vii] were present with ʿĀʾisha.

She said to them:

“Do you not hear Muʿāwiya's excuse?”

As for al-Mughīra, he was gentle with him in his response.

As for al-Miswar, he was harsh with him concerning it.

Then they parted.

Afterward, al-Miswar came to Muʿāwiya with a group of people. Muʿāwiya kept him waiting outside while he admitted the others, attended to their needs, and delayed him.

Then he admitted him and said:

“Do you remember what you said in the presence of ʿĀʾisha?”

He said:

“Yes, by God. I intended nothing by it except God.”

Muʿāwiya said:

“Leave that aside and tell me your needs.”

As for Muʿāwiya's admission that he killed Ḥujr and his companions, it was because of something he imagined — which may or may not have been true. Thus, that killing was unjust, and God Most High has threatened the unjust with the Fire.

As for his excuse that his father had entrusted Ziyād to him and commanded him to affiliate Ziyād with himself, his following his father's command while opposing the command of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, is among the things for which God Most High has threatened people with fitna and painful punishment.

As for his statement that he considered Yazīd the person most entitled to the imamate, that was his corrupt personal opinion. The Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, cursed him — as I have mentioned — and cursed his father and his son Yazīd.

Whoever the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, cursed is accursed, and an accursed person cannot be an imam.

These, then, are some points that we have mentioned, as we stipulated, in abbreviated form, concerning the defects of Muʿāwiya and Banū Umayya.

We have given the complete discussion of this matter in the book *al-Manāqib wa-l-Mathālib*. Whoever wishes to investigate it in full should consult that work, although we have also abbreviated it there.

Even one of the matters we have mentioned here is sufficient to necessitate the rejection of the one concerning whom it is mentioned, and he cannot be compared with the people of virtue whose excellence the Qur'an explicitly proclaimed and whom the Messenger made distinct through it, may God bless him and grant him peace — namely, those who followed his appointed successor and the Imams from his descendants, peace be upon them.

We have mentioned, and shall mention in this book, such virtues of him and of the Imams among his descendants, peace be upon them, that their excellence and the difference between them and those who claimed their stations are unmistakable.

Along with what we have mentioned and shall mention concerning this, it will be clear to whoever is granted the ability to understand it and is guided to the right course, God willing, exalted is He.

The sixth part of the book *Sharḥ al-Akhbār* is complete.

And praise belongs to God, Lord of the worlds, and may God bless His Messenger and all his family.

Footnotes

[1] al-Aḥqāf 46:17.
[2] al-Baqara 2:6.
[3] Ibrāhīm 14:28–29.
[4] al-Nāziʿāt 79:24.

Endnotes

[i] **Al-Nukhayla:** Approximately two *farsakhs* from Kufa.

[ii] **Heraclius:** A king of the Byzantine/Roman Empire.

[iii] **Al-Ṭā'if:** A city southeast of Mecca, situated atop Mount Ghazwān, and one of the principal summer resorts of the Ḥijāz.

[iv] **Al-Mughīra ibn Shuʿba:** Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Mughīra ibn Shuʿba ibn Abī ʿĀmir ibn Masʿūd al-Thaqafī. Muʿāwiya appointed him governor of Kufa, and he died there in 50 AH.

[v] **The garden:** It is said to have been called Marj al-ʿAdhrāʾ, a village in the Ghūṭa of Damascus, in the district of Khawlān.

[vi] **Ḥujr's companions:** (1) his son Hammām; (2) Sharīk ibn Shaddād al-Ḥaḍramī; (3) Muḥriz ibn Shihāb al-Tamīmī; (4) Qabīṣa ibn Rabiʿa al-ʿAbsī; (5) Kidām ibn Ḥayyān al-ʿAnzī; (6) Ṣayfī ibn Fusail al-Shaybānī.
(Ibn al-ʿImād, Shadharāt al-Dhahab, 1/130.)

[vii] **Al-Miswar ibn Makhrama:** Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Miswar ibn Makhrama ibn Nawfal ibn Uhayb al-Qurashī. His maternal uncle was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf. He was born in 2 AH and met and heard from the Prophet. He was with Ibn al-Zubayr and was struck by a stone from a catapult during the siege of Mecca, dying in 64 AH.