The Community Divided
Volume XVI
Translated by Adrian Brockett

This volume of al-Ṭabarî’s history deals with the traumatic breakup of the Muslim community following the assassination of the Caliph ʿUthmān. It begins with the first seriously contested succession to the caliphate, that of ʿAlī, and proceeds inexorably through the rebellion of ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr, to the Battle of the Camel, the first time Muslim army faced Muslim army. It thus deals with the very first violent response to the two central problems of Muslim history: who is the rightful leader, and which is the true community? It is a section with the weightiest implications for the Muslim interpretation of history, wide open to special pleading.

There are the Shiʿa who depict ʿAlī as a spiritual leader fighting against false accusations and the worldly ambitious. Conversely, there are those who would depict him or his followers in a negative light. There are also the ʿAbbasid historians, who, though anti-Umayyad, must balance a reverence for the Prophet’s household (ahl al-bayt) with a denunciation of ʿAlid antiestablishmentarianism. All these points of view, and more, are represented in al-Ṭabarî’s compilation, illustrating the difficulty the Muslim community as a whole has faced in coming to terms with these disastrous events.

SUNY Series in Near Eastern Studies
Said Amir Arjomand, Editor
VOLUME XVI

The Community Divided
The Caliphate of 'Alī I
A.D. 656–657/A.H. 35–36
The preparation of this volume was made possible in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency.
The History of Prophets and Kings (Taʾrīkh al-rūsul waʾl-mulūk) by Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jaʿjir al-Ṭabārī (839–923), here rendered as the History of al-Ṭabārī, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabārī’s monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabārī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The History has been divided here into 39 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabārī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (isnād) to an original source. The chains of
transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (!) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, “According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Iṣḥāq” means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Iṣḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī’s text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as “dirham” and “imām,” have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater
To
Fiona and Andrew
with love
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Abbreviations

IJMES: International Journal of Middle East Studies
IQ: Islamic Quarterly
JESHO: Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
RSO: Rivista degli Studi Orientali
The section of al-Ṭabari’s History dealt with in the present volume covers pp. 3066–3256 of the Prima Series in the Leiden edition, which was prepared under the general direction of M. J. de Goeje. It deals with the events of the latter part of the year 35/656, beginning with the election of ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib as caliph after the assassination of ‘Uthmān, and the events of ‘Ali’s reign in the greater part of 36/656–57. The chronicler then passes on to an account of the confrontation between ‘Ali and Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān at Ṣīffīn on the upper Euphrates, the Khārijite secession, and the murder of the caliph by a Khārijite assassin.

The events during this single year or so were momentous and were to have resonance through much of subsequent Islamic history. In dealing with them al-Ṭabari was almost exclusively concerned with the heartland of the caliphate, that is, northern and central Arabia (including the original centers of the new faith of Islam, Mecca and Medina) and southern and central Iraq, where, during the reign of the second caliph, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the Arab muqāṭilah, or warriors, had defeated the might of Sasanian Persia and driven the Sasanian ruler and his demoralized forces east across the Iranian plateau. It was along the fringes of the Mesopotamian lowlands and the northern Arabian desert—from which access to reserves of fresh Bedouin manpower was easy—that ‘Umar had set up the two great military encampments (miṣr) for his warriors, al- Başrah and al-Kūfah. ‘Ali was eventually to move his capital to al-Kūfah from Medina, the home of the Prophet Muḥammad for the ten years before his conquest of Mecca and
the capital of the first three Rightly Guided caliphs; the political capital of the Islamic world was never again to return to the Arabian peninsula, which became increasingly a backwater, often held by sectarian groups like the Khārijites and, nearly three centuries later, the radical Shi‘ite Carmathians.

Although al-Kūfah, with a strongly, but not exclusively Yemeni, or southern Arab, tribal element in its population, proved generally sympathetic to ‘Alī and, at various points in the following Umayyad and early ‘Abbasid periods, to his descendants, al-‘Baṣrah speedily became the epicenter of resistance to ‘Alī’s claim to the caliphate after ‘Uthmān’s murder. A rebellion of anti-‘Alid forces took shape there, under the leadership of two veteran Companions of the prophet, Ṭālhah b. ‘Ubaydallāh al-Taymi and al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām al-‘Asadi, both from aristocratic clans of Quraysh and former members of the shūrā, or consultative council, that ‘Umar, on his deathbed, had appointed to regulate the succession. They thus considered themselves to have as valid a claim to become Commander of the Faithful as did ‘Alī. These two leaders had the backing of ‘Ā’ishah bint ‘Abī Bakr, the Prophet’s favorite wife and daughter of the first caliph. Although ‘Ā’ishah had supported the opposition to ‘Uthmān, she had had no hand in the tragic events leading to his death and had come to regard ‘Alī as at least a passive accomplice in the killing. All three rebel leaders feared that the infant Arab state would be dominated by anarchic and uncontrollable Bedouins in al-Kūfah and elsewhere, who were becoming ‘Alī’s main supporters. There was thus a distinct possibility that the more aristocratic and conservative elements of Quraysh, which these leaders represented, would be relegated to a less powerful role in the state.

The outcome of this clash of interests was the Battle of the Camel on 10 or 15 Jumādā II 36/4 or 9 December 656, in which Ṭālhah and al-Zubayr were killed; ‘Ā’ishah was subsequently deported under escort to retirement in Medina by the victorious ‘Alī. In the present volume al-Ṭabarī gives a highly detailed account of the events leading up to the battle, from the bay’ah, or giving of allegiance to ‘Alī in Medina (accounts vary as to whether Ṭālhah and al-Zubayr gave their allegiance to the new caliph willingly, grudgingly, or not at all), and ‘Ā’ishah’s raising the call for “vengeance for ‘Uthmān.” Then there is a lengthy account of the
battle itself, which took place outside al-Baṣrah, the center of support for the rebels, in which ‘Ā’ishah, in an armored howdah on her camel, was the insurgents’ rallying point and the real instigator and inspiration of the troops. Talḥah and al-Zubayr were quarrelsome and somewhat indecisive leaders, both laboring under the handicap of accusations that they had broken their oath of allegiance to `Ali.

This volume ends with the triumphant caliph precariously in control of Arabia and Iraq and sending governors to such provinces as Egypt and Khurāsān. He had to accept a de facto division of the Islamic lands, with his rival Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān as governor of Syria and the Byzantine marches and the latter’s influential supporter Amr b. al-‘Āṣ al-Sahmī as governor of Egypt. The remainder of `Ali’s rather brief caliphate was to be spent in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to humble the much more experienced and sagacious Mu‘āwiya, to restore the unity of the caliphate under his own leadership, and to combat the violent and irreconcilable Kharijite secessionists from his own army, who would, in fact, bring about his death.

All these events left a legacy of dissension that was to resound through Islamic history for centuries to come, involving such basic political and religious questions as how the caliph or imām was to be chosen, what should be his qualifications for office, and what should be the basis of the ummah, the community of true believers? Above all, these events were part of the prehistory of the Shi‘ite movement in Islam, which came to involve such vexed points as the position of `Ali and his descendants: Should they be regarded, as Shi‘ite partisans were to assert, as the rightful spiritual and political heirs of `Ali’s cousin Muḥammad and the Prophet’s daughter Fāṭimah, possessors of a divine light of guidance for the faithful implanted in all the ‘Alids by God? Or had their political and military incompetence disqualifed them from leadership of the community in favor of the much more capable Umayyads and `Abbāsids? The debate continues today.

For this section of al-Tabari’s text the editor was the Bonn scholar Eugen Prym. For the earlier part of the preceding section on ‘Uthmān’s caliphate Prym had at his disposal as many as four manuscripts (see R. Stephen Humphreys, “Translator’s Foreword” in Volume XV The Crisis of the Early Caliphate, pp. xviii–xix),
but for the latter part of that caliph's reign he had only the Berlin manuscript Springer 41 (siglum B). This manuscript was also the only one available for the present volume, and Prym had to seek elucidation of difficult passages and readings in the works of the later historians Ibn al-Athir, in his al-Kāmil fi al-ta'rikh, and al-Nuwayri, in his Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab, supplemented by occasional references to such historical and biographical works as al-Dinawari's al-Akhbār al-tiwal, al-Mas'ūdi's Murūj al-dhahab, Ibn al-Athir's Usd al-ghābah, Ibn Ḥajar's Isābah, al-Dhahabi's Mizān al-i'tidal and al-Mushtabih fī asmā' al-rijāl, and Ibn Taghribirdi's al-Nujum al-zāhirah, as well as to such geographical works (primarily for place names) as al-Bakri's Mu'jam mā ista'jam and Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-buldān.
Translator's Foreword

This volume of al-Ṭabari’s history deals with the traumatic break-up of the Muslim community following the assassination of the caliph 'Uthmān. It begins with the first seriously contested succession to the caliphate, that of 'Āli, and proceeds inexorably through the rebellion of 'A'īshah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr, to the Battle of the Camel, the first time Muslim army faced Muslim army. As such, it deals with the very first violent response to the two central problems of Muslim history: Who is the rightful leader? Which is the true community? It is therefore a section with the most weighty implications for the Muslim interpretation of history, wide open to special pleading. There are the Shi‘a who depict 'Alī as a spiritual leader fighting against false accusation and the worldly ambitious. Conversely, there are those who would depict him or his followers in a negative light, and there are the ‘Abbāsid historians, who, while anti-Umayyad, have to balance reverence for the Prophet's household (ahl al-bayt) with a denunciation of ‘Alid antiestablishmentarianism. All these points of view, and more, are represented in al-Ṭabari’s compilation, illustrating the difficulty the Muslim community has had as a whole in coming to terms with these disastrous events.

Acknowledgment

Many thanks to my friend, Muhammad Munir ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, for many enjoyable discussions about the text.

Adrian Brockett
The Caliphate of the Commander of the Faithful
‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib
'Ali b. Abi Ṭālib was given allegiance as caliph in Medina in this year.

*An Account of the Allegiance—Who Gave It and When*

Earlier biographers give different accounts. According to some of them, the Companions of the Messenger of Allāh asked 'Ali whether he would accept investiture on their behalf and on behalf of the Muslims, but he declined. When they refused to accept his decision, however, and asked him again, he did accept.

Details of this account and its authorities.

According to Ja'far b. 'Abdallāh al-Muḥammadī—'Amr b. Ḥammād and 'Ali b. Ḥusayn—'Isā; see I, 2986.

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1. Done with a handclasp, as in any contractual agreement; see Lane, 285a–b; *EP*, s.v. Bay'a.
2. For this informant, see also I, 2983, 2986, 3004.
3. Ibn Ṭalḥah; see I, 2986.
4. 'Isā; see I, 2986.
The Caliphate of 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib

Malik b. Abī Sulaymān al-Fażārī—Sālim b. Abī al-Jaʿd al-Ashjāʾī—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyyah: I was with my father when 'Uthmān was killed. He got up and entered his house, and the Companions of the Messenger of Allāh came to him and said, “This man has been killed, and the people must have an imām. We know of no one at this time more suitable for this, of greater precedence in Islam, and of closer relationship to the Messenger of Allāh than yourself.” He said, “Don’t do this. It’s better that I be a wazīr than an amīr.” They replied, “No, by Allāh! We will go no farther until we have given allegiance to you.” He said, “It should be done in the mosque then. Allegiance must not be given secretly or without the approval of the Muslims.”

According to Sālim b. Abī al-Jaʿd—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās: I did not like the idea of 'Ali’s going to the mosque because I was afraid there would be a commotion around him, but he insisted on going there. When he went in, the Muhājirūn and the Anšār went in too and gave him allegiance, and everyone else followed suit.

According to Jaʿfar [b. ʿAbdallāh al-Muḥammadi]—ʿAmr and 'Ali—Ḥusayn—his father—Abū Maymūnah—Abū Bashīr al-ʿĀbdī: I was in Medina when 'Uthmān was killed. The Muhājirūn and the Anšār gathered, among them ʿAlī and al-Zubayr, and they came to 'Ali and said, “ʿAbū Ḥasan, let us give you allegiance.” He said, “I have no need to be caliph; I am with you anyway and whomever you choose, I will be satisfied. So just make your choice.” They replied, “We’ll choose no one but you.” They came and saw him a number of times after the murder of 'Uthmān, and on the last visit they said to him, “The people’s interests are not served except by a single authority, and things

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6. D. 100/718; known as a muḥaddith; U. Sezgin, 193.
9. In the Qur'ān these twice form a pair. The Muhājirūn were Meccans who had performed the *hijrah*, or emigration, to Medina, and the Anšār were Medinan allies, or helpers.
11. Ibn 'Ubaydallāh; *EI*, s.v.
12. *EI*, s.v.
have taken too long." He replied, "You have come to see me a number of times, and here you are again, so let me make a suggestion. If you accept it, I will agree to take command; but, if you don't, I'll be quit of it." They replied, "Whatever you say we will accept, Allah willing." So he mounted the minbar (pulpit), and the people crowded around, and he said, "I was unwilling to take command of you, but you insisted that I should. You must be aware, however, that I ask for no authority from which you are excluded, other than to hold the keys to your treasury. Know also that I would never take a dirham from it without your permission. Is this acceptable?" They agreed. So he said, "O Allah, bear witness against them!" and he accepted their allegiance on this condition. Abū Bashīr added, "I was standing that very day by the Messenger of Allah's minbar, and I heard his words."

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Āli b. Muhammad—Abū Bakr al-Hudhali—Abū al-Mulayh: On Saturday, 18 Dhū al-Hijjah (June 17), when 'Uthmān was killed, 'Ālī went out to the market. A crowd followed him and hurried up to him, so he went into the courtyard of Banū 'Amr b. Mabdhūl and said to Abū 'Amrah b. 'Amr b. Miḥṣan, "Lock the door!" The crowd then came and knocked at the door, and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr entered with them and said, "Stretch out your hand, 'Āli!" and the two of them gave allegiance to him. Ḥabib b. Dhu'ayb was

13. Caetani, VIII, 372 n. 1, rejects these accounts of delay and says that 'Āli allowed himself to be proclaimed on the very day of 'Uthmān's murder, as in 'Umar b. Shabbah's report, and al-Ṭabari's remark, (p. 15, below) that people reckon 'Āli's caliphate from Uthman's murder.
15. More usually called Abū al-Hasan al-Madā'inī, from Baṣrah, b. 135/752, d. 215-31/830-45; EI², s.v. al-Madā'inī. See also Petersen, 92-99, esp. 98.
16. Following Ibrāhīm's vocalization.
18. A tribe of the Ānār (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 186).
20. Al-Balādhūrī calls him Qabiṣah b. Dhu'ayb al-Asadi but is probably confused. Qabiṣah b. Dhu'ayb al-Khuza'ī was the well-known secretary to 'Abd al-Malik (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 454; VIII, 329) but is not known to have had a brother Ḥabib (Caskel, table 199).
looking at Talhah when he gave allegiance and said, “It is a withered hand that first gave allegiance. No good will come of this!” 21

‘Ali then went out to the mosque and ascended the minbar, his sandals in his hand, wearing a waist wrap and a cape 22 and a silk turban, supporting himself on a bow. All those there gave him allegiance. Then they brought Sa’d, 23 and ‘Ali said, “Give allegiance.” But he replied, “I won’t do so until the people have, but, believe me, you’ve nothing to fear from me.” 24 ‘Ali said, “Let him go.” Then they brought Ibn ‘Umar, 25 and ‘Ali said, “Give allegiance.” And he replied, “I won’t do so until the people have.”

“Bring me a guarantor,” 26 ‘Ali said to him. “I don’t see why I should,” 27 replied Ibn ‘Umar. “Let me cut his head off,” said al-Ashtar, 28 to which ‘Ali replied, “No, leave him alone! I’ll be his guarantor. I knew it; you are as rude as a man as you were as a child.”


21. La yatimmu hādha al-amr, as also p. 14, below. “This affair will not finish well”; (Caetani, VIII, 324).  
22. Perhaps sleeved like a taylasān; cf. Lane, r894c, 1886c.  
23. Ibn Abi Waqqas [cf. p. 9, below], the famous Meccan general and governor of Kūfah. He is said to have retired from politics at this time; hence, “you have nothing to fear from me” (EI1, s.v.). He was a member of the electoral council that elected ‘Uthmān; see p. 10, below.  
24. ‘Abdallāh, son of the caliph preceding ‘Uthmān (and therefore especially esteemed). He was a nonvoting adviser to the electoral council and at the election of other caliphs is said to have conformed to the will of the majority, as here (EI2, s.v.). See also Caetani, IX, 22 n. 4.  
25. Hamil, glossed kafil in IA, 191, and in an editor’s note in lbrāhim, 428 n. 3.  
26. A rude reply; cf. p. 34, below.  
27. Mālik b. al-Jārīth al-Nakha‘i, an early comer to Kūfah and one of the qurā‘ or paratribal elements [Hinds, “Alignments,” 357ff., esp. 360], a persistent agitator against ‘Uthmān and the ruling elite and a supporter of ‘All. He is said to have been one of those who besieged ‘Uthmān’s house [L, 2989–90] and regarded as one of his murderers [Hinds, “Murder,” 460]. For his threats against those reluctant to give ‘Ali allegiance, see also pp. 12–14, below; al-Dinawari, 152. See also EI2, 1, 704. He died in 37/658.  
28. I.e., Ibn ‘Umar; cf. IA, 205, where ‘Ali says it to him after trying to persuade him to join him against ‘A’ishah. See Glossarium, ccxxxii; p. 34, below.  
30. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Sa’id! [Wellhausen, 5]. See also Juynboll.
allegiance to `Ali b. Abi Talib, so he sent for al-Zubayr and Talhah. He then invited them to give allegiance, but Talhah delayed. Unsheathing his sword Malik al-Ashtar then said, "By Allah! You had better give allegiance, or else I will strike you through the forehead." "There is no way out of this," said Talhah, and he gave allegiance, followed by al-Zubayr and everyone else. Talhah and al-Zubayr then asked `Ali to give them the governorships of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. "You are to stay with me. I need you to share the burden," he replied. "I would be lost without you."

According to al-Zuhri: There is another report according to which he said to them, "If you wish, give allegiance to me, or, if you wish, I'll do so to you." They replied, "We'll give allegiance to you." A little later they explained, "We only did it out of fear for our lives, since we knew that he would never give us allegiance."

Four months after `Uthmān's murder, they went down to Mecca.

According to `Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madāʾini]—Abū Mikhnaf—`Abd al-Malik b. Abi Sulaymān—Ṣālim b. Abi Ja'd—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah: The evening `Uthmān was killed I was with my father ['Ali] until he withdrew to his house. A group of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah then came to him and said, "This man has been killed, and the people must have an imām." "Maybe there should be an electoral council," he replied. "You are our choice," they replied, to which he said, "To the mosque then! For it must be all the people's choice." So `Ali went to the mosque, where he was given allegiance. Apart from a very small number, all the Anṣār gave him allegiance. At this Talhah remarked, "A dog just licking its nose is all we'll get from this!"
According to 'Umar [b. Shabbah]—Abū al-Hasan [al-Madā‘īni]—
an elder from Banū Hāshim—'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan: When
'Uthmān was killed the Anṣār gave allegiance to 'Ali, apart from a
very small number of them, among whom were Ḥassān b. Thābit,35 Ka‘b b. Mālik,36 Maslamah b. Mukhallad,37 Abū Sa‘īd al-
Khudri,38 Muḥammad b. Maslamah,39 al-Nu‘mān b. Bashir,40
'Ujrah.44 They were all of the 'Uthmāniyyah.45

According to 'Abdallah b. Hasan: Someone then asked him,
"How come these men of the 'Uthmāniyyah refused to give alle-
giance?" He replied, "As for Hassan, he was a poet who didn't
care what he did. As for Zayd b. Thābit, 'Uthmān put him in
charge of the diwān46 and the treasury,47 and, when 'Uthmān was
besieged, he twice called out, 'Anṣār! Be helpers48 of Allah!' to
which Abū Ayyūb49 replied, 'You're only supporting him because
he gave you many date palms.'50 And, as for Ka‘b b. Mālik, 'Uth-
mān had put him in charge of alms from Muzaynah and let him
keep what he took from them."51
The Events of the Year 35 (cont'd)

Zuhri: A group of people fled from Medina to Syria without giving allegiance to 'Ali, and Qudamah b. Maz'ūn,52 'Abdallāh b. Sallām,53 and al-Mughirah b. Shu'bah54 did not give allegiance either.

According to others, Ṭālḥah and al-Zubayr only gave allegiance to 'Ali unwillingly, and some said al-Zubayr did not give it at all.

Those who said this

According to 'Abdallāh b. Ahmād al-Marwazi—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh—Ja'far b. Ḥāzim—Hishām b. Abī Hishām, mawltā bi'īnī fil55 'Uthmān b. 'Affān—a Kūfīn elder—another elder: 'Uthmān was besieged while 'Ali was in Khaybar,56 and, when he came back, 'Uthmān sent a message for him to come, so he set off quickly. So I said, "I'll set off with him and overhear their conversation." When 'Ali came to him, 'Uthmān spoke with him, praised Allāh, and continued: "I have certain legal claims on you, the claim of Islam, the claim of brotherhood—as you know, the Messenger of Allāh made you and me brothers at the time he made the Companions brothers—and claims of blood and marriage, and the pacts and agreements you swore with me individually. By Allāh! Let's suppose none of these claims had any force and we behaved as if we were back in a jāhiliyyah. Then it would be thanks to the neglect of Banū 'Abd Manāf57 if the Taymi58 usurped their power." 'Ali praised Allāh and said, "All that you

52. Al-Qurashī, fought at Badr and was governor of Baḥrayn under 'Uthmān [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 24, II, 470].
53. Is this the Medinan Jewish convert? [EP, s.v.; Watt, 197]. Ibn Khaldūn I, 439. The ms. has 'Abdallāh b. Salāmah [al-Aslāmi?] the companion of the Prophet; Caskel, table 201, no. 118; Ibn Hishām, 837, 842], but Prym suggests that the ms. originally may have read 'Abdallāh b. Salāmah wa-Salāmah b. Salāmah, presumably following IA, 191, who has 'Abdallāh b. Salāmah wa-Suḥayb b. Sinān wa-Salāmah b. Salāmah b. Waqšī. Cf. p. 9, below.
54. A Thaqafi from Ṭā'if and governor of al-Baṣrāh under 'Umar [who was killed by his slave] and of al-Kūfah under Mu'āwiyyah. During the caliphates of 'Uthmān and 'Ali he retired from prominence [EI1, s.v.].
55. Prym [followed by Caetani, VIII, 326] suggests inserting "the family of," but it was customary to refer to people in this way long after the original client and patron were dead.
56. An oasis, said to have been largely Jewish at the time of the Prophet, c. 150 km/95 miles to the north of Medina [EP, s.v.].
57. The clan of 'Uthmān [ʿAbd Shams] and 'Ali [Ḥāshim].
58. Banū Taym was Ṭālḥah's clan; i.e., "Ṭālḥah will become caliph."
have mentioned about your claims on me is quite right, and your remark that, were we in such a jähiliyyah, then it would be thanks to the neglect of Banū 'Abd Manāf if the Taymi usurped their power is also true. I'll show you.59 So 'Ali then left and went to the mosque, where he saw Usāmah sitting, so he called him and took hold of his arm and then set off for Ṭalḥah. I followed him, and we went into Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh's house, which was crowded61 with people. 'Ali went up to Ṭalḥah and said, "What's this awful situation you've fallen into?" He replied, "Abū Hasan, you blame me after things have gotten so far out of control?"62 'Ali said nothing in reply and came to the treasury and said, "Open this door!" When he could not get the keys he said, "Break it down!" So the door of the treasury was forced open, and he said, "Bring out the money!" He then began distributing the money to all the people.63 When those who were in Ṭalḥah's house heard what 'Ali was doing, they began secretly slipping away to him until Ṭalḥah was left on his own. When 'Uthmān heard of this, he was pleased. Ṭalḥah then walked back to 'Uthmān's house. I said to myself, "By Allah! I'll see what he says." So I followed him. He asked 'Uthmān's permission to enter, and when he went in he said, "Commander of the Faithful, Allah have mercy on me, I repent to him. I wanted something, but Allah prevented me from attaining it." 'Uthmān replied, "By Allah! You haven't come repentant but defeated. Allah will punish you, Ṭalḥah."


59. I.e., "I won't let Ṭalḥah take over."
60. Ibn Zayd b. Ĥāriṯah. Zayd was the Prophet's adopted son and former slave [EI, s.v.]. Usāmah was a protégé of the Prophet and later of 'Uthmān and is said not to have given 'Ali allegiance; see p. 9, below, and EI, s.v.
61. Reading diḥās as in Ibrāhīm, Addenda, Dcxxx, and Glossarium, ccxxxvi.
62. Lit., "after the girth has touched the two teats"; it should be much farther forward; see Freytag, I, 293.
63. To wrong-foot Ṭalḥah.
64. D. 207/823 [EI]. See also Petersen, 84 n. 5.
Waqqāş—his father [Ismā‘īl]—Sa‘d [b. Abī Waqqāş]. 66 Ṭalḥah said, “I gave allegiance with a sword over my head.” I do not know whether the sword was over his head or not, but I do know he gave allegiance unwillingly. The people gave allegiance to ‘Alī in Medina, but seven men were cautious and did not give it. They were Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Ibn ‘Umar, Suhayb, Zayd b. Thābit, Muḥammad b. Maslamah, Salamah 68 b. Waqṣh, and Usāmah b. Zayd. As far as we know, not one of the Anṣār refrained from giving allegiance.

According to al-Zubayr b. Bakkār—his father’s brother Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abdallāh—his father, ‘Abdallāh b. Muṣ‘ab—Mūsā b. ‘Uqbah—Abū Ḥabibah, 70 mawlā of al-Zubayr: When the people killed ‘Uthmān and gave allegiance to ‘Alī, the latter went to al-Zubayr and asked if he could come in. I informed al-Zubayr so he unsheathed his sword and put it under his bed and said, “Let him in!” So I let him in, and he greeted al-Zubayr, who was standing opposite him. He then left, and al-Zubayr said, “Something occurred to the man that made him leave quickly. Stand where he was, and see whether any part of the sword would have been visible.” I did so and could see the point of the sword, so I told him, and he said, “That’s what hurried the man up.” As he left, the people questioned ‘Alī, and he answered, “I found the most dutiful and friendly nephew,” 72 so they thought it had gone well. ‘Alī said that al-Zubayr had given him allegiance.

66. Al-Qurashi, leader at Qādisiyyah; d. Kūfah 50 or 55 [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 20, II, 495; E1].
67. Ibn Sīnān of Taghlib b. Wa‘il [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 163, II, 540; cf. IA, 191, and p. 66, below].
68. As in the text and Ibrāhim. The ms. has Maslamah, apparently by dittography. IA has “Salamah b. Salamah b. Waqṣh [al-Anṣārī]”; cf. p. 7, above; Caskel and Strenziok, I, 179, II, 505.
69. Ibn Abī ‘Ayyash al-Asadi, an important early historical writer, d. 141/758 [F. Sezgin, 286].
70. See Ṭabarī, I, 2981.
71. Reading either bi-naḥwihi, as in the text, or bi-naḥrihi, as in Ibrāhim; Addenda, Dcxxx; Glossarium, uii.
72. Awwal refers to silat al-rabīm. Al-Zubayr was the son of Ṣafiyyah, sister of Abū Ṭalib. He was also the son of the Prophet’s wife Khadijah’s brother and married Asmā’, daughter of Abū Bakr and sister of ‘A’ishah.
According to al-Sāri (in writing)\(^\text{73}\)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf b. 'Umar—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Sawād b. Nuwayrah, Ṭālḥah b. al-
A‘lam,\(^\text{74}\) Abū Ḥārithah, and Abū 'Uthmān: Medina remained un-
der the [interim] governorship of al-Ghāfiqi b. Ḥarb\(^\text{75}\) for five days
after the murder of 'Uthmān. During this time all the parties
searched unsuccessfully for someone who would agree to take
command. The Egyptians approached 'Ali, but he hid from them
and took refuge in the walled gardens of Medina. When they
found him, he withdrew from them and repeatedly disowned
them and their plan. The Kūfans searched unsuccessfully for al-
Zubayr, so they sent messengers to wherever he was. He also
withdrew from them and disowned their plan. The Basrans
searched for Ṭālḥah, and when he encountered them he, too,
withdrew from them and repeatedly disowned their plan. They
were thus agreed about murdering 'Uthmān, but at odds over
whom they wanted next. On finding no one to assist or respond,
they adopted the evil course of accepting the first person to re-
serve and said, "We'll appoint none of these three." So they sent a
message to Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās: "You were a member of the elec-
toral council,\(^\text{76}\) and we are unanimous [that you should lead]. So
come forward for us to give you allegiance." He sent a message
back: "Ibn 'Umar\(^\text{77}\) and I are not candidates, so I do not want to be
involved in any way," and he quoted:

Never mix bad things with something good!
Disrobe yourself of them, and escape naked!

Then they came to Ibn 'Umar 'Abdallāh and said, "You are the son
of 'Umar, so take this leadership up!" "It involves vengeance," he
replied, "so I am not going to interfere with it. Look for someone
else." This left them at a loss, not knowing what to do, even
though they were in control of the city.

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\(^{73}\) Ibn Yahyā (Wellhausen, 5). See F. Sezgin's discussion of kitābah (241).

\(^{74}\) Al-Hanafi (see p. 52, below). A frequent authority of Sayf's but about whom
little is known; see Hinds, "Sayf b. 'Umar's Sources," 8.

\(^{75}\) Al-'Akki, participant in the Egyptian opposition to 'Uthmān in Medina; see

\(^{76}\) Al-shūrā, which elected 'Uthmān; see Smith, 142–63; Humphreys, 1990,
3 n. 5.

\(^{77}\) 'Abdallāh; see note 24, above.
According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: When they found Ṭalḥah he refused and said,

“One of the surprises of fate and time is that I have remained alone, able neither to make bitter nor sweet.”

When they heard this they said, “You are threatening us!” So they stood up and left him. When they found al-Zubayr and said they wanted him, he also refused and said,

“When you saddle up to leave a house in Fayḥān and its courtyard, the soldiers swear at you.”

When they heard this they said, “You are threatening us.” When they found ʿAlī and said they wanted him, he also refused and said,

“If the leaders of my people complied with me, I would give them a command that would subdue the enemies.”

When they heard this they said, “You are threatening us,” and they stood up and left him.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madāʾinī—Maslamah b. Muḥārib—Dāwūd b. Abī Hind—al-Shaʿbī: After Ḥijdān was killed the people came to ʿAlī in the market in Medina and said to him, “Stretch out your hand so we can give you allegiance!” “Don’t be precipitate!” he replied. “ʿUmar was a gifted man, yet he entrusted the matter to an electoral council, so wait until the people get together and consult.” At this the people
turned away from 'Ali. Some of them then said, "If the men return to their garrisons with the news of the murder of 'Uthmân, and no one taking on the command after him, we won't be safe from schism and the disintegration of the community." So they went back to 'Ali, and al-Ashtar took hold of 'Ali's hand, but 'Ali took his hand away and closed it. Al-Ashtar then said, "Yet again! After three times?!84 By Allah! If you reject the rule again, you will look at it with pain for a long time."85 The crowd then gave him allegiance. The Kûfans say that the first to give allegiance was al-Ashtar.

According to al-Sârî (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Abû Ḥâri-thah and Abû 'Uthmân: Early on the Thursday, the fifth day86 after 'Uthmân's assassination, [the besiegers]87 gathered the Medinese together. They then realized that Sa'd and al-Zubayr had left town, and they found that Talhah had gone off to a walled garden of his. They also found that the Umayyads had fled, all but those who were unable to do so. Al-Walid and Sa‘îd had fled to Mecca among the first who had left, and Marwân had followed them. Others followed successively. When the Medinese assembled before the [besiegers], the Egyptians said to the Medinese, "You are the people of the electoral council. You decide on the imamate and your decision holds good for the community as a whole. So, look for a man to appoint to office, and we will go along with you." At this most of them said, "'Ali b. Abî Ṭâlib! He is our choice."

According to 'Ali b. Muslim—Habbân88 b. Hilâl—Ja‘far b. Sulaymân—'Awf: As for me, I swear that I heard Muhammad b. Sirîn89 say that 'Ali came and said to Talhah, "Put out your hand, Talhah, so that I can give you allegiance." Talhah had replied, "You have more right. You are Commander of the Faithful, so put

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84. I.e., before allegiance was given to Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmân; see p. 51, below; Addenda, DCXXXI.
85. For the text's 'aynayka de Goeje suggests 'anyataka; see Glossarium, CDXXV, Addenda, DCXXXI. The latter is obscure and might mean "you will certainly confine your trouble to it for a time," i.e., "you will have trouble this time" [Lane, 2181a], but the text's reading is the famous one. IA conveniently omits this report.
86. See note 13, above.
87. The Kûfans, Başrans, and Egyptians.
88. Hîbbân, according to Caetani, VIII, 333.
89. The famous traditionist [EI² s.v.].
The Events of the Year 35 (cont'd)

out your hand." 'Ali put out his hand, and he gave him allegiance.

According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muhammad and Ţalḥah: The Egyptians then said, "It's up to you,⁹⁰ people of Medina! We've given you two days and, by Allah! if you don't sort it out,⁹¹ tomorrow we'll kill Ţalḥah and al-Zubayr and many others beside." The people then came to 'Ali and said, "We give you allegiance, for you see what has happened to Islam and how much we have suffered at the hands of relatives."⁹² "Leave me alone and look for someone else," 'Ali replied. "We are confronted with a problem that has so many different aspects that no agreement can be reached on it."⁹³ "We beg you by Allah," they said. "Don't you see what we see? Don't you see Islam? Don't you see civil war? Don't you fear Allah?" "I agree to your request on the basis of what I see," he replied, "but you must realize that I do so, provided that I may lead you the way I know. Should you leave me, then I am no different from any of you, except for the fact that I am the most ready of you to hear and obey the one you place in authority over you." On that understanding they dispersed to meet again the next day. The people then discussed it among themselves and said, "If Ţalḥah and al-Zubayr join in,⁹⁴ then things will come right." So the Basrans sent one of their number, Ḥakim b. Jabalah al-'Abdi,⁹⁵ with a group of men to al-Zubayr and said, "Be careful! Be straight with him!"⁹⁶ They brought him at sword point. To Ţalḥah they sent a Kūfan, al-Ashtar, with a group

⁹⁰. Dūnakum, or "Beware!"
⁹¹. Pointing the ms. tufrikhu, see Lane, 2362c. The text and Ibrāhim adopt IA's tafragū, meaning the same.
⁹². Min dhawi al-qurba, a reference to 'Uthman's nepotism. IA has min bayn al-qurā, "the villages."
⁹³. Lit., "many aspects, which hearts will not stand up to and minds will be puzzled by."
⁹⁴. The allegiance.
⁹⁵. Supporter of 'Ali and leader of the Basran opposition to 'Uthman. He was killed with seventy of his fellow 'Abdis defending al-Basrah before the Battle of the Camel; see p. 78, below. He was an outsider [Hinds, "Murder," 460-62]. For the vocalization Ḥakim, see Caskel and Strenziok, II, 295; Petersen, 81; Hinds, "Murder," 460. The text, IA (e.g., 214), Wellhausen [139], and Caetani, IX, 45-46, 65-66, have Ḥukaym.
⁹⁶. Ḥabā here means to show false respect in order to make someone approve of you, to say things you want people to hear [Lane, 507c, gives meanings like "treat gently"]. Ibrāhim and Wellhausen [159] emend the text's and IA's lā tuḥābīhi [here and with Ţalḥah below] to lā tuḥādīhi "Don't stand up against him!" [cf. p. 58], but this does not fit. De Goeje also dismisses this emendation [Addenda, DCXXXI; Glossarium, CLXXIX].
of men and said, "Be careful! Be straight with him!" They brought him at sword point. The Kufans and the Basrans were each well pleased at their captive's ignominy, and the Egyptians were delighted at what the Medinese had agreed to, the Kufans and the Basrans having been humiliated by being made subordinate to the Egyptians and a dependent group among them, and thus become even more enraged against Talhah and al-Zubayr. When Friday came and the people gathered in the mosque, 'Ali arrived to ascend the minbar and said, "Men! By common consent and permission the matter is in your hands. Nobody has a right to it but him whom you appoint. We dispersed yesterday in agreement on a decision, so if you wish, I will take control. But if not, I will bear no anger against anyone." "We hold to our opinion that we had when we left you yesterday," they replied, and they brought Talhah and said, "Give allegiance!" He said, "I only do this unwillingly." So it was a man with a withered hand who was the first to give allegiance. There was a man who was looking on disapprovingly from the back of the crowd, and when he saw that Talhah was the first to give allegiance he said, "We belong to Allah and to him we return. The first hand to give allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful is a withered hand. No good will come of this!" Al-Zubayr was then brought, and he said similar words to Talhah and gave allegiance. However, there are different accounts about him. Then a group of men were brought who had held back, and they said, "We give allegiance on the understanding that the Book of Allah is upheld toward both relative and stranger, rich man and poor." He accepted this and then everyone else proceeded to give allegiance.

According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Abū Zuhayr al-Azdi—'Abd al-Rahmân b. Jundab—his father: When 'Uthmân was killed and the people agreed on 'Ali, al-Ashtar went and brought Talhah [to the mosque], who said to him, "Let me see what the people will do." But he did not let him and brought him,

97. i.e., 'Ali. The Egyptian insurgents had always been pro-'Ali, whereas those from al-Kufah were pro-al-Zubayr and those from al-Baṣrah pro-Talhah.
98. Glossarium, CCCLXXXIV.
99. Said on hearing of someone's death (Qur'ān 2:156). On p. 3, above, the man was named as Ḥabīb b. Dhu‘ayb.
100. See p. 4, above.
pushing him violently. So he ascended the minbar and gave allegiance.


According to al-Sarî (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Talhah: Everyone then gave allegiance.

According to Abū Ja‘far [al-Tabari]: After these who had made stipulations, those who had been brought then complied as well. The authority of the Medinese was thus acknowledged as it had been in the past—except that the outsiders and riffraff came to have a say in it—and they returned to their homes.

**The Settlement of the Affair by Giving of Allegiance to ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭalib**

According to Abū Ja‘far [al-Tabari]: ‘Ali was given allegiance on Friday, 25 Dhūl-Hijjah [June 24], but people reckon it from the day that ‘Uthmān was killed.

According to al-Sarî (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Sulaymān b.

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101. I.e., Ḥākim; see p. 13, above.
102. Al-lujj. This was allegedly the name of al-Ashtar’s sword [al-Zabidi, II, 93] rather than that of Ḥākim.
103. The Medinans, specifically those who had held back.
104. Forcibly like Talbah and al-Zubayr. Tabari’s Arabic is not clear.
105. Law la makānu al-nuzzā’ wa-al-gawgā’ fihim. Generally al-nuzzā’/nuzzā’ al-qaba‘il/al-nuzzā’ min al-qaba‘il are strangers from certain tribes who live as neighbors to tribes other than theirs [Ibn Manẓūr, s.v.; Hinds, “Murder,” 462], but in this section of al-Tabari’s history the words always apply to some of ‘Uthmān’s killers, e.g., p. 55, below. In the text here there has been some misunderstanding of the phrase law la makānu al-nuzzā’ wa-al-gawgā’ fihim. Following Caetani [VIII, 335, 404], Petersen (152) takes this to be a thinly veiled reference to the Saba‘iyyah and translates here “[the discontent of as-Saba‘iyyah] already [then] was instrumental in fostering discords and tumults among them.” However, this is to vocalize the ms. makānu al-nizā’, to take gawgā’ to mean “clamor, confusion of noise,” and not to translate law la. The Saba‘iyyah were the alleged followers of ‘Abdallāh b. Saba’, accused by anti-Shi‘i factions of being a Jew who introduced extreme ‘Alid doctrine [EP, s.v.; al-‘Askari, passim; Husayn, I, 43, 98–100, 131; Petersen, 78 ff.; Wellhausen, 6]. He was probably not a Jew [Levi della Vida, 495].
106. The Saturday before, the 18th.
Abū al-Mughirah—‘Ali b. al-Husayn: ‘Ali, in his first khutbah (sermon) as caliph, praised and extolled Allāh and then said:

Almighty and Glorious Allāh has sent down a Book that guides. In it He has made clear what is good and what is evil, so take hold of the good and leave the evil. Perform the religious duties to Allāh, and He will lead you to Paradise. Allāh has made a number of inviolable ordinances, which are well known, and He has favored the inviolability of the Muslim over all others, strengthening the Muslims with the declaration and belief in one God. A Muslim is someone from whom people are safe, except when there is just cause; and it is not allowed to harm a Muslim, except when it is obligatory. Hasten to the common cause, because the particular cause of each individual is death. The people are in front of you and behind you, urging you on, remember, it is the Hour! Keep your load [of sins] light, and you will reach [Paradise quickly]. People are simply awaiting their Hereafter. Servants of Allāh! Fear Him in your dealings with His other servants and His places. You are responsible even for land and animals, so obey Almighty and Glorious Allāh! Don’t go against Him! So when you see good, follow it; when you see bad, leave it alone. “Remember when you were few in the land and considered weak.”

When ‘Ali had finished his sermon and was still on the minbar, the Egyptians recited:

Take it, but beware, Abū Hasan!

We are settling the leadership the way we fix a nose rein.

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107. Prym suggests deleting “Abī”; Caetani, VIII, 335, does not.
109. Lit., “from whose tongue and hand.”
110. Reading wa-innamā, as in the ms. This gives more emphasis than Prym’s wa-inna mā, in which the mā is presumably za’idah for the sake of rhetoric.
112. Qur’ān 8:26. the implied remainder of the verse tells of Allāh’s support.
113. This line also comes on p. 139, below.
The Events of the Year 35 (cont'd) 17

The line should read: 114

Take it to you, but beware, Abū Hasan!

ʿAlī recited in reply:

I was unable to do something and have no excuse.
I will be shrewd after this and carry on.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Talhah: As ʿAlī was about to leave for his house, the Sabaʿiyyah 115 recited:

Take it to you, but beware, Abū Hasan!
We are settling the leadership the way we fix a nose-rein,
With an army's assault like barriers against ships,
with Mashrafiyyah swords like rivers of milk.

And we stab the kingship with a flexible sword like a rope,
until it is trained not to resist.

ʿAlī then recited some verses, mentioning how they had left the camp, expecting the fulfillment of a promise they had been given, at a time when some people criticized them, so they had returned to them, unable to desist until:

I was unable to do something and have no excuse.
I will be shrewd after this and carry on.
I will lift from behind me what I have been dragging
and will join up what has been separated and scattered.

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114. To make the meter more correct.
115. Al-Sabāʿiyyah in the text, here as always.
116. Asdād, "mounds (cataracts) that obstruct sailing," with the strength of which the strength of a military marching column is being compared (Glossarium, CCLXXXVIII).
117. I.e., very many of them.
118. I.e., until it has been completely subdued (Glossarium, CXLXXIV).
119. Or "insisting on": wa-al-kaynūnah 'alā.
120. The ms. is corrupt; a line has been repeated by dittography but deleted, leaving a space. De Goeje translates this passage "and that they were holding the Medinans by promises that they had agreed with them, and motivated by which they had returned to them; whereas the Medinans were not able to resist" (Glossarium, CCCXCI).
If the speedy conqueror Death does not oppose me
or they desert me when weapons are hastily taken up.

Then, when ‘Ali had gone inside [his house], Ṭalhah and al-Zubayr,
along with a number of Companions, came to him in a group and
said: “‘Ali! We stipulated that Allah’s punishments should be
applied.121 These people participated in the death of this man and
have thereby forfeited their lives.” “My friends,” he replied, “I am
not unaware of what you know, but how can I deal with people
who rule us, not we them? Your own slaves have rebelled with
them, and your bedouin have joined them. They live with you,
imposing on you what they want. So can you see a way of achiev-
ing any of what you want?” “No,” they said. “No indeed,” replied
‘Ali. “I think there is only one thing to be said, and I expect you
will agree. This is something that does not belong to Islam,122 and
so these people will find that they have a persistent problem. This
is that Satan has never made a religious law,123 and those who
follow his decree will disappear from the earth forever. If it is
stirred up, Muslims will take up different positions with regard to
this matter. One group will share your views, another will have
views you do not share, and a third will disagree with both, until
the people calm down and return to their senses and claims can
be settled. So stop complaining to me, and see what will happen
to you. Then return to me.” ‘Ali was extremely restrictive with
Quraysh and prevented them from leaving town under any cir-
cumstances. This reaction in him had been stirred up by the
flight of the Umayyads. Then the people [who had assembled at
his house] dispersed, some of them saying: “If this upheaval goes
on, we won’t be able to overcome these corrupt men.124 Leaving

121. Ḩadḍ (sing. ḥadd). This phrase, translated as “Allah’s punish-
ments” or “restrictive ordinances,” occurs several times in the text [see index],
e.g., on p. 39, below, where ‘A’ishah claims Qur’ānic justification for setting up a
ḥadd over ‘Uthman’s murder by stating that it was unjust [maṣlūm], she is refer-
ing to Qur’ān 17:33, which allows blood revenge in such cases: wa-lā taqṭulū
al-nafsa allati ḥarrama Allāh illā bi-al-ḥaqiq wanā ṭūṭa maẓlūmān fa-qaq
ja’alnā li-walīhi sulfurān fa-lā yustirī si-al-qatīlin innahu kāna maṣṣūrān. Cf. El²,
s.v. al-Djamal.
122. Lit., “This is an affair of a jāhiliyyah.”
123. Shari‘ah.
124. The killers of ‘Uthmān.
this to what 'Ali said is better.” Others were saying: “We will fulfill our duty and won’t delay the matter. By Allah! In his opinions and orders 'Ali pays no attention to us, and we definitely see him being more harsh than anyone against Quraysh.”

When 'Ali was told this, he stood up, praised Allah, and magnified Him. He then mentioned their excellence, his need for them, and his regard for them and that he was working for their defense. He pointed out that he wanted no more power over them than that and that his reward was with Almighty and Glorious Allah. He then proclaimed, “The religious obligation to protect a slave who fails to return to his masters is null and void.” The Saba’iyyah then conspired with the bedouin to fight. “We'll get the same treatment tomorrow,” they said, “and we won’t have any argument against them.”

According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu’ayb—Sayf—Muhammad and Tahlah: 'Ali went out to the people on the third day and said: “All you citizens, expel the bedouin from among you! And all you bedouin, go back to your own wells!” But the Saba’iyyah refused, and the bedouin followed their lead. So 'Ali went into his house, followed by Tahlah and al-Zubayr and a number of the Companions of the Prophet. And 'Ali said: “Your revenge is right in front of you! So kill!” They replied, “They won’t understand that!” But 'Ali replied: “By Allah! Tomorrow they’ll be yet more dim-witted and rebellious,” and he recited:

If the majority of my people complied with me,
I would give them a command that would subdue the enemies.

125. I.e., temporizing.
126. I.e., kill the killers.
127. 'Ali's position.
128. An attempt to split off the slave elements of the opposition. See also EI², s.v. 'Abd, Dhimma; cf. Ayoub.
129. Fa-tadhāmarat. The fifth stem, “then angrily blamed each other over their loss,” might be preferable; it is a bit early for talk of fighting.
130. 'Ali is mocking Tahlah and al-Zubayr. They had advocated immediate revenge, but here they were retreating from the (alleged) regicides.
131. The Saba’iyyah and the bedouin.
132. I.e., “It’s no use trying to convince them that retaliation is right”; they are making excuses.
133. 'Ali is criticizing Tahlah and al-Zubayr and their followers for not listening to his advice. Cf. p. 11, above, and p. 40, below.
Talhah then said, "Allow me to go to al-Basrah, and you'll be shocked by how quickly I can rally a force." \(^{134}\) "Let me think about it," 'Ali replied. Al-Zubayr said, "Allow me to go to al-Kufah, and you'll be shocked by how quickly I can rally a force." 'Ali replied, "Let me think about it."

Al-Mughirah [b. Shu'bah] heard about this meeting. He came to see 'Ali and said: "You have the right of obedience and sincere advice. What will happen tomorrow is protected by a good decision today and destroyed by failing to make one today. Confirm Mu'awiya in his governorship; confirm Ibn 'Amir\(^{135}\) in his and the other governors over their provinces. Then, when you receive their obedience and the armies' allegiance, you can replace or leave them." "I will see," he said. Al-Mughirah then left 'Ali, but he returned the following day and said: "I advised you to make a decision yesterday, but now a better one is that you dismiss them from office with haste. Then it will be known who obeys you and who does not, and your authority will be accepted." As Al-Mughirah was leaving, 'Abdallah b. 'Abbās met him on his way in. When he got to 'Ali he said: "I've just seen Al-Mughirah leaving you. What did he come to you about?" "He came to me yesterday about such and such, and he came to me today about such and such." "As for yesterday," Ibn 'Abbās replied, "he advised you well, but, as for today, he misled you." "What should be done then?" asked 'Ali. Ibn 'Abbās said:

What you should have done was to have left when the man was killed or even before that and gone to Mecca, entered your house, and locked the door behind you. Then, if the Arabs\(^{136}\) should have amassed and become stirred up after your withdrawal, they would only have had you [to turn to]. But today there are among the Umay-

\(^{134}\) Lit. "horses," i.e., against the regicides, but there is an element of threat against 'Ali.

\(^{135}\) 'Abdallah b. 'Amir b. Kurayz of 'Abd Shams Quraysh, first maternal cousin of 'Uthmān, who made him governor of al-Basrah in 29 (649/50); see I, 282 ff.; Caskel and Strenziok, I, 13, II, 106. He joined forces with 'A'ishah in Mecca (Abbot, 'A'ishah, 133).

\(^{136}\) Al-'Arab, especially the settled ones, as opposed to al-'Arāb, the bedouin. Here they are assembling without a leader; cf. pp. 22, 41, below.
yads some\textsuperscript{137} who approve the search for revenge [for 'Uthmān], saying that you had a share in the affair. They will mislead the people and make demands similar to what the Medinese have made. You cannot fulfill what they\textsuperscript{138} want, but neither can they\textsuperscript{139}—even if matters should turn out in their favor\textsuperscript{140}—so they would be even more unable [than you] to fulfill their\textsuperscript{141} claims and more ineffective, except for the suspicions they have already managed to stir up [against you].

Al-Mughirah confessed, “I gave him good advice, by Allah! but when he didn’t accept it, I misled him.” And he left to go to Mecca.

According to al-Ḥarīth—Ibn Sa’d—al-Waqidi—Ibn Abi Sabrah—'Abd al-Majīd\textsuperscript{142} b. Suhayl—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah—Ibn 'Abbās: 'Uthmān called for me and appointed me over the Hajj. So I left for Mecca, organized the Hajj for the people, and read 'Uthmān’s letter to them. I then came to Medina. 'Alī had already been given allegiance there, and when I came to him in his house I found al-Mughirah b. Shu‘bah having a private interview with him. So he detained me until al-Mughirah had left him. Then I asked, “What did this man say to you?” 'Alī replied, “He said to me on a previous occasion: ‘Send 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir and Mu‘āwiyyah and 'Uthmān’s governors their contracts, confirming them in office and that they should get the people’s allegiance to you, for they will bring peace to the land and will calm the people.’ But I\textsuperscript{143} rejected his suggestion that day and said: ‘By Allah! Even if I had had only one hour of one day, I would have made the decision not to appoint any one of these. Nor should any of their ilk be appointed!’ As he left me I realized he thought I was mistaken. So he came back to me again today and said: ‘I made that first suggestion to you, but you disagreed with me. So

\textsuperscript{137} Nöldeke suggests reading qawm or rijāl “a group” \textit{[Addenda, DCXXXI].}
\textsuperscript{138} The Medinese.
\textsuperscript{139} The Umayyads.
\textsuperscript{140} I.e., “Should you let them stay in office,” as al-Mughirah advised.
\textsuperscript{141} The Medinese.
\textsuperscript{142} As in Ibrāhīm, \textit{Addenda, DCXXXI.} The text has al-Ḥamid.
\textsuperscript{143} I.e., ‘Alī.
I had another idea. That is that you do as you thought and dismiss them and look for assistance from those you trust. Allāh’s help will suffice; their\textsuperscript{144} fighting power is less than it was.’’

So I said to ‘Ali, “The first time he gave you good advice, but the last time he deceived you.” “Why do you say he gave me good advice?” asked ‘Ali. “Because you know that Mu‘āwiyyah and his allies are men of the world,” replied Ibn ‘Abbās, “and, should you confirm their posts, they wouldn’t care who had the overall command. But should you remove them they would say, ‘He has assumed overall command without an electoral assembly, and he killed our companion,’ and they would stir up the Syrians and Iraqis to rebel against you. I’m also not at all sure that Ṭālḥah and al-Zubayr won’t turn against you.” “Regarding what you said about confirming them, replied ‘Ali, “then, by Allāh I’ve no doubt that it would be best for ḥimāl\textsuperscript{145} in this life. But I have obligations to the truth, and I know ‘Uthmān’s governors, so by Allāh! I’ll never appoint a single one of them! If they come\textsuperscript{146} it’ll be best for them, for if they stay back I’ll be generous to them with the sword.” “Then do as I say,” Ibn ‘Abbās replied. “Enter your house and stay on your estate in Yanbū’.\textsuperscript{147} Lock the gate after you, for the Arabs are stirred up\textsuperscript{148} and milling around en masse, and they won’t find anyone apart from you [to turn to]. But, by Allāh! If you rise up with these men\textsuperscript{149} today, the people will make you responsible for the blood of ‘Uthmān tomorrow.’

But ‘Ali ignored this advice and said to Ibn ‘Abbās: “Go to Syria! I’ve appointed you its governor.” “This isn’t the right decision,” replied Ibn ‘Abbās. “Mu‘āwiyyah is a man\textsuperscript{150} of Banū Umayyah. He is the son of ‘Uthmān’s father’s brother and governor of Syria. I won’t be safe from his breaking my neck for ‘Uthmān. Or else the least he will do is throw me in jail and pass sentence on me.” “Why?” ‘Alī asked him. “Because you and I are related,” he said, “and because everything imputed to you is imputed to me also.

\textsuperscript{144} The Umayyads.
\textsuperscript{145} (Re)conciliation, setting things right (El\textsuperscript{1}, s.v.).
\textsuperscript{146} i.e., and give allegiance.
\textsuperscript{147} As in Ibrāhīm; IA. It is the port of Medina on the Red Sea (El\textsuperscript{1}, s.v.).
\textsuperscript{148} After ‘Alī’s withdrawal (cf. p. 20, above).
\textsuperscript{149} The regicides.
\textsuperscript{150} i.e., he has a responsibility to retaliate.
No, you should write to Mu‘āwiyyah, raise his hopes, and make him promises!” But ‘Ali refused and said, “By Allāh! This will never be.”

According to Muḥammad—Hishām b. Sa‘d—Abū Hilāl—Ibn ‘Abbās: Five days after the murder of ‘Uthmān, I arrived in Medina from Mecca. I went to go and visit ‘Ali but was told that al-Mughirah b. Shu‘bah was with him. So I sat at the entrance for an hour. When al-Mughirah came out, he greeted me and said, “How long ago did you get here?” “This past hour,” I replied. I then went into ‘Ali, and greeted him. He asked me, “Did you meet al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥah?” “I met them in al-Nawāṣif.”151 “Who was with them?” he asked. “Abu Sa‘īd b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām with a Qurashi force,” I replied. ‘Ali then said: “I’m sure they’ll never refrain from coming out and saying, ‘We seek repayment for ‘Uthmān’s blood.’ By Allāh! We know that they are the ones who killed ‘Uthmān.”

“Commander of the Faithful!” said Ibn ‘Abbās. “Tell me about the business with al-Mughirah and why he had a private audience with you.” He said: “He came to me two days after the murder of ‘Uthmān and said to me, ‘May I have a private word with you?’ I agreed, and he said: ‘Good advice costs nothing. You are the most excellent in the community, and I have some sincere advice for you. I advise you to return ‘Uthmān’s governors to office this year, so write to them confirming their governorships. When they have given you allegiance and things have settled down under your command, then you may remove or confirm whomever you wish.’ So I replied, ‘By Allāh! I don’t compromise my religion by cheating, nor do I give contemptible men [a say] in my command.’152 ‘If you insist on rejecting this suggestion,’ he replied, ‘then remove whomever you will, but leave Mu‘āwiyyah. Mu‘āwiyyah is daring, and the Syrians listen to him. Moreover, you have good reason to keep him in office, for ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb made him governor of the whole of Syria.’ ‘By Allāh! no,’ I replied. ‘I would never appoint Mu‘āwiyyah as governor, even for two days!’ Al-Mughirah then left me without further suggestion. However, he came back again and said to me: ‘I gave you some advice, but you didn’t agree with me.

151. Yāqūt has a place of this name only in what he thinks is ‘Umān [V, 306].
152. Cf. I, 1545 l. 18, 1546 l. 3, where ‘Umar says something similar.
So I thought about it and realized that you were right. You should not assume your authority deceitfully. There should be no fraud in your rule’”

“So I said to ‘Ali,” said Ibn ‘Abbās, “his first suggestion advised you well; his last deceived you. I advise you to confirm Mu‘āwiya. If he gives you allegiance, then I will undertake to topple him from his position.” ‘Ali replied, “By Allāh! no. I will give him nothing but the sword.” And he quoted the following verse:

Death, if I die without weakness, is no
disgrace when the soul meets its destruction.153

“Commander of the Faithful!” I replied, “you’re a courageous man, but you aren’t a warmonger. Didn’t you hear the Messenger of Allāh say, ‘War is deceit’?”154 “Indeed I did,” said ‘Ali. “By Allāh! If you do as I say,” replied Ibn ‘Abbās, “I’ll take them back to the desert after a watering,155 and I’ll leave them staring at the backside of things whose front side they have no idea of, and you will incur neither loss nor guilt.” “Ibn ‘Abbās,” said ‘Ali, “I don’t want anything to do with these mean schemes of yours or of Mu‘āwiya’s. You give me advice, and I consider it. If I go against you, then you do as I say.” “I will.” I replied. “Obedience is my first and foremost obligation to you.”

The Expedition of Qustantin, King of Rūm, against the Muslims

Abū Ja’far al-Ṭabarī said: According to Muhammad b. ‘Umar al-Wāqidi—Hishām b. al-Ghāz—Ubādah b. Nusayy: In this year, that is, 35, Qustantin b. Hirqa156 set sail with a thousand ships for the territory of the Muslims. But Allāh caused a windstorm157

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154. Al-harb khud‘ah; Wensinck, I, 443b. For slight variations in meaning, see Lane, 710a.
155. I.e., as above, “I’ll topple them.”
156. Rather than Constantine, son of Heraclius, who died in 641 (Bury, et al., 391) this was Constantine (popularly called Constans), the nephew of Heraclius, who became sole emperor in 641. See also Humphreys, 74 n. 128.
to overpower and drown them. Qustanțin b. Hirkal, however, survived and got to Sicily.158 But they prepared a bath for him there, and when he got in they killed him, saying, "You killed our leaders."

158. These events have been telescoped. Constantine went to Sicily in 663, some seven years later, and it was not until 668 that he was blinded by soap in the bath and killed by being hit on the head with a silver ewer (Bury et al., 394–95).
The Events of the Year

36

(JUNE 30, 656—JUNE 18, 657)

Ali Sends Out His Governors to the Garrison Cities

At the beginning of the year 36 'Ali despatched his governors. According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: 'Ali sent his governors to the garrison cities: 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf to al-Bagah; 'Umarah b. Shihāb, who had the merit of a hijrah, to al-Kūfah; 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās to Yemen; Qays b. Sa’d to Egypt; and Sahl b. Ḥunayf to Syria.

As for Sahl, he set off until he came to Tabūk, where some

159. IA, 201–5; Caetani, IX, 8–12.
160. Al-Anṣārī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 177, II, 579).
161. Wa-kānat lahu hijrah, i.e., with the Prophet, “one of the Muhājirūn” (Caetani, IX, 8). Al-Dinawārī (149) calls him 'Umārah b. Hassān, who was a Kalbī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 289, II, 571).
162. Brother of 'Abdallāh. Later he was joint leader of al-Hasan’s army but deserted to Mu‘āwiya.
163. Ibn 'Ubādah al-Anṣārī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 187, II, 462). See p. 175, below. Later he was joint leader of al-Hasan’s army.
164. Al-Anṣārī, brother of 'Uthmān, who fought at Badr (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 177, II, 498).
165. About 350 miles northwest of Medina.
horsemen met him and said, "Who are you?" He replied, "A commander." "Over what?" they asked. "Over Syria." "If 'Uthmân has sent you, you are more than welcome, but, if someone else has, go back to where you came from," they said. "Have you not heard what has happened?" he asked. "Indeed we have," they replied. So he went back to 'Alî.

As for Qays b. Sa'd, when he reached Aylah some horsemen met him and said, "Who are you?" "I am one of 'Uthmân's defeated fugitives, and I am looking for someone to take refuge with who will give me military support," he replied. "But who are you?" they asked. "Qays b. Sa'd." "You may pass," they said. So he continued on his way until he reached Egypt.

Now the Egyptians split into factions. One faction gave allegiance to 'Alî and so were with Qays b. Sa'd. Another faction refused to give allegiance and withdrew to Kharbitâ, saying: "We will join you if 'Uthmân's murderers are executed. Otherwise we will stay in this area to keep up our opposition unless we achieve what we want." A third faction said, "We are with 'Alî so long as he does not retaliate against our brothers," and thus they did give allegiance. Qays wrote to the Commander of the Faithful about all this.

As for 'Uthmân b. Hunayf, he set off, and no one resisted his entry into Bašrah. Ibn 'Amir showed no decisiveness, determination, or independent initiative to fight him. The people there

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166. Modern Eilat, at the top of the Gulf of 'Aqabah.
167. Fâllâh; Ibn Manṣûr, XIV, 46 ll. 12 ff.; Caetani, IX, 9. Qays was shrewder than Sahl. He mentioned 'Uthmân, rather than 'Alî. That he had to go to Egypt alone and disguised suggested to Caetani (IX, 11 n. 1) that Mu'āwiyyah had taken every precaution to prevent 'Alî's representatives from reaching Egypt.
168. Dakhalat fi al-jama'ah.
169. Following Ibrahim. The text has both Khiribtâ and Kharbitâ, the latter noted as corresponding more closely to the Coptic form. Hence it was preferred by Caetani (IX, 11 n. 2), who inferred that because it was west of Alexandria (al-hawf al-gharbi), this opposition to 'Alî was not instigated by Mu'āwiyyah. See also p. 179, below. IA, 201, 205, has Kharanbâ, which is an error; see Yaqût, II, 355, 362.
170. Fa-nâhnu 'ala jadilatina; see Lane, 392c; p. 105, below. Or perhaps "we will continue this course of action."
171. Hattâ nuharrik "and keep alive the agitation" (Caetani, IX, 8), "create trouble" (De Goeje's turbas movit, Glossarium, clxc).
172. I.e., those who killed 'Uthmân.
also were divided. One faction followed the opposition, another faction gave allegiance to ‘Ali, and a third said, “We shall see what the Medinans do, and we will do likewise.”

As for ‘Umārah, he advanced as far as Zubālah, where Tulayḥah b. Khuwaylid met him. Now this man, when he had heard of what had happened to ‘Uthmān, had gone out calling for revenge for his blood, saying: “How I regret what has happened! It has not escaped me, nor have I caught up with it.”

If only I had been a youth when it happened,

I would have turned and attacked in the fray and set to.”

Tulayḥah went out with those who had responded to al-Qa’qa’ and accompanied him until he got to al-Kūfah, whereupon he was met by ‘Umārah, who was approaching al-Kūfah. “Go back!” Tulayḥah said. “The people aren’t interested in anyone replacing their commander.” If you refuse, I will cut off your head.” So ‘Umārah went back, saying: ‘Beware of danger when it comes near you!”

174. On the Mecca-Kūfah road between Wāqisah and al-‘Tha’labiyah [Yāqūt, III, 129].

175. Al-Asadi, a riddah leader who was defeated by Khālid b. al-Walid at Buzākha in A.H. 11 yet distinguished himself at the battles of Qādisiyah and Nihāwānd [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 50, II, 559; cf. Hinds, “Kūfan Political Alignments,” 353]. Caetani [IX, 11 n. 3] thought it probable that the names of bedouin warriors like Tulayḥah and al-Qa’qa’ were simply added to the narration by Sayf to give it body.

176. I.e., “I was still living when it happened and have yet to fulfill my duty to retaliate.”

177. The last word, wa-‘ada’, might mean “and put in [my feet],” i.e. “I would fight mounted and on foot.” The religious poet Waraqah b. Nawfal al-Qurashi [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 19, II, 587] is said to have spoken the first hemistich regarding the Prophet [Ibn Manẓūr, IX, 395 l. 1].

178. Ibn ‘Amr b. Mālik al-Tamīmī [EP, s.v.]. He was a leader at Qādisiyah, sent in 35 by ‘Uthmān’s governor in Kūfah to help ‘Uthmān during the insurrection; nevertheless, he was an ally of ‘Ali and later one of ‘Ali’s leaders in the Battle of the Camel. See also Donner, 390–91; Landau-Tasserón.

179. Abū Mūsā al-Ash’ārī, ‘Uthmān’s governor in Kūfah; see p. 29, below.

180. Iḥḍhar al-khāṭar mā yumāṣṣuk [mā zarjiyyah]. It is omitted in IA, 202. Caetani interprets it as “Guard against the next danger. Bad. . . .” [IX, 9]. Nöldeke suggests inserting lam, to read mā lam yumāṣṣuk, but de Goeje sees a conative element to the verb, providing the meaning quanto te tangere conatur “when it tries to touch you” [Addenda, CXXIII]. Iḥḍhar could be aḥḍhar, an elative: “The danger most to be guarded against is. . . .”
Bad is better than worse." So he returned to 'Ali with the news. This saying dogged 'Umārah from the time of this difficult situation until he died.

'Ubaydallah b. 'Abbās set off for Yemen, so Ya'ลā b. Umayyah gathered up all the tax revenue and left Yemen with it. He went his way to Mecca, where he arrived carrying the money.

When Sahl b. Hunayf turned back from his journey to Syria and heard the news and when the others had returned, 'Ali called Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and said: "What I was warning all you people about has happened, and it can only be contained by suppressing it. It is a fiery rebellion; the more it is fueled, the more it increases and flares out." "Then let us leave Medina," the two replied, "for either you let us go, or we will treat you with scornful disobedience." "I will keep control by political means as long as that is possible," 'Ali replied, "but if there is no choice the final cure will be cautery." So he wrote to Mu'āwiyah and Abū Mūsā. The latter wrote back that the Kūfans had obeyed and given allegiance, clarifying in the letter who was unwilling to do so, who was willing, and who was in between in such a way that it was as though 'Ali were actually there in the presence of the Kūfans. 'Ali's messenger to Abū Mūsā was

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181. This justifies his return, which was obviously a bad thing but not as bad as getting killed.
182. Wright, II, 165D.
183. Al-Tamimi, on 'A'ishah's side at the Battle of the Camel, was killed at Šiffin on 'Ali's side. He was usually called Ya'לā b. Munyah after his mother (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 67, II, 590; Abbott, Aishah, 134 n. 139).
184. Lane, 652c.
185. Fitnah.
186. Istanārat, i.e., "it must be stopped now." IA, 202: istathārat "provokes, rouses, is seditious."
187. Nukābir. IA, 202: nukāthir "vie in number."
188. Reading dawā' as in Ibrahim and Caetani, IX, 10, rather than dā', as in the text and IA, 202.
189. The first Umayyad caliph.
190. 'Abdallāh b. Qays b. Sulaym al-Ash'ari, Companion of the Prophet, replaced al-Mughirah b. Shu'bah as 'Umar's governor of al-Baṣrah in 17/638; he was one of the two arbitrators appointed at Šiffin and probably died 42/662-63 (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 273, II, 116; EP, s.v. al-Ash'ari).
191. Reading ka-an 'Ali or ka-anna 'Aliyyan, as in Ibrahim and Glossarium, DL 6 II. 5-6, for kan 'Ali in the text.
Maʾbadʾ92 al-Aslami, and his messenger to Muʿāwiyah was Sabrah al-Juhani.193 When Sabrah came to him, Muʿāwiyah neither wrote anything nor replied to him but sent him away. Each time Ἂlī tried to get194 a reply from Muʿāwiyah, he said no more than

Be firm and steadfast as a fortress, or you will find195 a devouring war from me, setting wood and coal ablaze,

Over your neighbor and your son, for his196 murder was a hideous act, turning the hair on temples and the sides of the neck white,

Ruled and rulers alike becoming incapacitated by it, and no master or arbiter for it will be found but I.

Each time al-Juhani tried to get him to write a reply, Muʿāwiyah said no more than these verses. When Ǧafer came, the third month after ῥathmān’s murder,197 Muʿāwiyah called a man from the Banū Rawāḥah of the Banū Ὴrs called Qabiṣah198 and handed him a sealed scroll with the address “From Muʿāwiyah to Ἂlī.” He said, “When you enter Medina, hold the scroll from the bottom.”199 He then advised him what to say and dismissed Ἂlī’s messenger. So they both set off, arriving at Medina on the first day of ῥabīʿ al-Awwal. When they entered Medina, al-῾Absī held up the scroll as ordered, and the people came out to see it. They then returned to their houses, aware that Muʿāwiyah was rebelling. He then went to visit Ἂlī and handed him the scroll. He broke its seal but found nothing written inside it. So he asked the messenger, “What is going on?” “Am I safe?” he replied. “Yes,” replied Ἂlī. “Messengers are safeguarded and may not be killed.”

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192. Following IA, 202. The text seems to have Saʿid.
193. Al-Ḫajjāj b. Ḥuẓayy al-Anṣārī, according to al-Dinawari, 150 l. 11. Caetani puts little store in the accuracy of either [IX, 15 n. 1]. Caskel and Strenziok have al-Ḫajjāj b. Ḥuẓayy, with a brother Ḥuẓayy of al-Qayn [I, 313].
194. Tanajjaz, as in the text and IA, 202. Ἂlī appears to have sent more than one messenger.
195. As in Caetani IX, 10. Ibrahim has aw khudan and IA, 202 aw khudhā “or take!” for aw jidan [energetic imperative] in the text.
196. ῥathmān.
197. Ǧafer was in fact only the second month after ῥathmān’s murder [Caetani, IX, 12 n. 5].
198. Caetani [IX, 10]. Rawāḥah was a clan of Ἂrs [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 132].
199. So that the lack of the title “caliph” for Ἂlī was for all to see [Caetani, IX, 10].
is going on is that I have come from a people who will be satisfied only by retaliation." "Against whom?" asked `Ali. "Against you yourself.\textsuperscript{200} I left sixty thousand elders of the community crying at the sight of the shirt of `Uthmān as it was raised up for them and draped over the minbar in Damascus." "They are seeking revenge for `Uthmān's blood against me?" exclaimed `Ali. "This is making me as badly wronged as `Uthmān was!\textsuperscript{201} By Allah! You know I am innocent of any involvement in `Uthmān's murder. By Allah! We will stab his murderers,\textsuperscript{202} unless Allah should will otherwise.\textsuperscript{203} If He wants a thing, He attains it. Leave now!" "Am I still safe?" asked Mu`awiyah's messenger. "You are still safe." So al-`Absī left, whereupon al-Saba`īyyah shouted out, "This dog, this emissary of dogs, kill him!" So al-`Absī called out: "Men of Muḍār! Men of Qays!\textsuperscript{204} To your horses and your arrows! I swear by Allah! may His name be exalted, if you kill me\textsuperscript{205} four thousand eunuchs will retaliate against you. Look at you! Where are your real men and your mounts!" There was much shouting against him,\textsuperscript{206} but Muḍār protected\textsuperscript{207} him, telling him, "Keep quiet!" But he replied: "No, by Allah! These men will never succeed. What they have been threatened with is coming to them.\textsuperscript{208} They repeated, "Keep quiet!" But he carried on: "What they feared is upon them. There is no more for them to do. Their time is up!\textsuperscript{209} By Allah! This evening will not pass without their humiliation becoming evident.

\textsuperscript{200.} Min khayt nafsik, lit., "against your spinal cord" or "the cord of your neck" [IA, 203: min khayt raqbatik]. See also Abbot, Aishah, 135–36.

\textsuperscript{201.} Alastu mawtūran katirat `Uthmān, following IA, 203. See Ibn Manzūr, VII, 135 l. 22.

\textsuperscript{202.} Reading naja`u (root wj) in the text. Ibrahim and IA, 203, have naja`, which would mean "His real murderers, by Allah! are going free."

\textsuperscript{203.} A Qur'ānic phrase; see, e.g., Qur'ān 6:111, 7:89, 12:76.

\textsuperscript{204.} 'Abs was part of Qayṣ 'Aylān, a northern Qays tribe, and Qays was part of Muddar [EP, s.v. Kays 'Aylān; Hawting, 54].

\textsuperscript{205.} Understood. This is cryptic Arabic, but it seems that al-`Absī is insulting and ridiculing them—first, implying that so many of them are attacking a single man and, second, that they are not real men because retaliation, like for like, will be by eunuchs.

\textsuperscript{206.} Wa-ta`awaw 'alayhi; Lane, 2186a. IA, 203, has wa-ta`awanū 'alayhi "So they ganged up on him."

\textsuperscript{207.} Reading mana'atha.

\textsuperscript{208.} Here and in his next words he is using Qur'ānic words and phrases.

\textsuperscript{209.} Lane, 1181b.
Talhah and al-Zubayr Ask 'Ali If They Can Leave

According to al-Sari—Shu’ayb—Sayf—Muhammad and Talhah: Talhah and al-Zubayr asked 'Ali if they could go on the 'umrah pilgrimage. He allowed them to go, and they entered Mecca.

Now the men of Medina wished to learn 'Ali's opinion about Mu'awiyah and his rebellion so they could find out what he thought about fighting fellow Muslims. Would he venture against him or abstain? They had heard that 'Ali's son al-Hasan had gone to see him and counseled him to stay put and not get involved with them. So they secretly made Ziyād b. Ḥanzalah al-Tamimi, who was devoted to 'Ali, go to him to find out. He did so and sat with him for an hour. 'Ali then said to him, "Get ready, Ziyād!" "For what?" "You are going to attack Syria!" "Patience and conciliation would be better," replied Ziyād, and he quoted:

He who does not take many matters gently gets bitten fiercely by eyeteeth and stamped underfoot.

'Ali then quoted the following verse, implying that he did not want to accept his advice to take it easy:

When you combine the clever mind, the strong sword, and self-confidence, oppressive situations will avoid you.

Ziyād then went back out to the people. They were waiting for him and asked, "What have you discovered?" "Listen, men! It's the sword!" They now realized what 'Ali was going to do. 'Ali then called Muhammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah and handed him the banner. He put 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbas in charge of the right flank and 'Umar b. Abi Salimah or 'Amr b. Sufyān b. 'Abd al-Asad in charge of the left. He called Abū Laylā b. 'Umar b. al-Jarrāh, the son of

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210. The shorter pilgrimage, performed at any time of year.
211. Ahl al-qiblah, i.e., the Syrians (Caetani, IX, 23).
212. EP, s.v.
213. By camels, i.e., if one does not relax in life, difficulties come, from the mu'allaqah of Zuhayr; see al-Zawzani, 87.
214. A verse of Ibn Baraqah al-Hamadhānī, see Ibrahim, 445 n. 2; IA, 204.
215. For the same configuration later, see p. 84, below.
216. Al-Qurashi. For his father and brother, 'Abdallāh and Habbār, see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 22.
217. Al-Qurashi. For Abū 'Ubaydah and al-Jarrāḥ, see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 35; EP, s.v. Abu 'Ubaydah.
Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāh's brother, and set him over the van-
guard. He appointed Qutham b. ʿAbbās\textsuperscript{218} deputy for Medina but
did not give positions to anyone who had opposed ʿUthmān. He
wrote to Qays b. Saʿd,\textsuperscript{219} ʿUthmān b. Hunayf,\textsuperscript{220} and Abū Mūsā\textsuperscript{221}
with orders to send their men toward Syria. He then dedicated
himself to getting ready and equipping himself.

He made a speech to the Medinan people, calling them to rise
up against the schismatics:

Almighty and Glorious Allah sent a guiding, guided Mes-
senger with an eloquent Book and a clear, upright mes-
sage.\textsuperscript{222} If someone dies without following it, they are the
real losers.\textsuperscript{223} Innovations and deceptions, these are what
cause the loss of the Hereafter, except for those whom
Allāh protects. In the rule of Allāh is total protection for
you. Give Him therefore your obedience, without devi-
ousness or compulsion. By Allāh! You must do it, or He
will take the rule of Islam away from you and never bring
it back to you until rule is fixed back\textsuperscript{224} in Medina.\textsuperscript{225}
Rise up against these men, whose aim is to make divi-
sions in your community! Hopefully Allāh will restore
through you what the provincials have ruined, and you
will accomplish\textsuperscript{226} your duty.

As they were thus engaged, news suddenly arrived that the
Meccans were going in a completely different direction. So ʿAlī
stood up among them to address them on the subject and said:

Almighty and Glorious Allāh has appointed pardon and
forgiveness to those who oppress this community and
success and salvation to those who are loyal to the rule
and straightforward. Those for whom truth is restrictive

\textsuperscript{218} Brother of ʿAbdallāh [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 6, II, 473].
\textsuperscript{219} In Egypt.
\textsuperscript{220} In al- Başrah.
\textsuperscript{221} In al-Kūfah.
\textsuperscript{222} Amr, lit., "order."
\textsuperscript{223} I.e., of the hereafter.
\textsuperscript{224} Reading yaʾrīza with the text and IA, 204.
\textsuperscript{225} See ʿIbrāhīm, 445 n. 3, and Addenda, DCXXXI.
\textsuperscript{226} Reading wa-taqdūn, as in IA, 205.
adopt falsehood. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and the Mother of the Faithful have certainly joined together in discontent with my rule and have called on the people to set things right, but I will be patient as long as I have no fear about your unity. I will hold back if they do the same, and I will not take much action over the reports I hear about them.

But news then came to him that they were heading for Basrah to see the people there and to set things right, so he made preparations to go out against them. "If they have done this," he said, "then the structure of the community will have been badly damaged. Had they stayed with us they would have been neither molested nor compelled [to do what they objected to]."

The Medinans were stunned by the severity of the problem, so 'Ali sent Kumayl al-Nakha'i to get 'Abdallah b. Umar. When he brought him 'Ali said, "Join up with me!" "I am a member of the Medinan community," he replied. "I am simply one man among them. They have taken up this position, and I am in it with them. I am not going to go my own way. If they come out to fight [against you], so will I. If they hold back, so will I." "Then give me a surety that you won't come out," said 'Ali. "No, I'm not giving you surety," 'Abdallah replied. "But for my experience of your brusque nature as a child and as a man," said 'Ali, "you would see another reaction from me." Let him be! I will be surety for him.

So 'Abdallah b. Umar returned to Medina, where they were saying: "No, by Allah! We don't know what to do. We are dubious about this whole matter. We will stay here until light is thrown upon it and it becomes clear." He left the same night and told 'Ali's daughter Umm Kulthūm what he had heard from the

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227. İslāh.
228. İslāh.
230. Probably in Medina.
231. Reading la- ankartani as in İbrahim and Addenda, DCXXXI, lit., "you would not know me." See also p. 4, above.
233. Not the daughter of the Prophet (EI, s.v.).
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men of Medina. He said that he was leaving on the 'umrah pilgrimage but maintaining obedience to 'Ali, except with respect to mobilizing forces. He was completely honest. He then stayed with her. The next morning someone said to 'Ali, "Something far worse for you than Talhah and al-Zubayr and the Mother of the Faithful and Mu'āwiyyah put together happened yesterday." "What was that?" 'Ibn 'Umar has left for Syria."

So 'Ali went to the marketplace, called for riding beasts, made the men mount, and arranged scouts for each road. Medina was in commotion. When Umm Kulthūm heard what 'Ali was doing, she called for her mule and mounted it on a saddle. She found 'Ali standing in the marketplace, dividing the men into groups to look for 'Abdallah. She asked: "What's wrong with you? Don't get worked up about this man! The rumors and tales that have reached you are completely contrary to what has happened. I guarantee him." 'Alī was delighted. "You can go," he said to them. "She didn't lie, nor did he. He has my trust." So they left.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muhammad and Ṭalḥah: When 'Ali saw these things from the Medinans he was not satisfied with their obedience unless they also supported him. He stood up in their midst and got the Medinan leaders to gather round him and said: "The end of this affair will be made good only by what made good its beginning. You have seen the results of Almighty Allah's judgment on those of you who died. Assist Allah, and He will give you victory and set your situation right." Two prominent Anṣāris then joined 'Ali: Abū al-Haytham al-Tayyihan, a veteran of the Battle of Badr, and Khuzaymah b. Thābit (not the

234. Fi rahl. Addenda, DCXXXI suggests rāl "with a group of men."
235. Reading wa lammā ra'ā . . . ma ra'ā, as in Ibrāhīm; cf. Addenda, DCXXI.
236. I.e., the way of the Prophet.
237. During 'Uthmān's killing.
239. Of 'Abd al-Ashṭāl through his mother (Watt, 159, 180; cf. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 179).
240. Caskel and Strenziok (I, 182, II, 351) have only one Khuzaymah b. Thābit "Dhū Shahādatayn" and say he took part with 'Alī at the Battles of the Camel and Siifin.
Khuzaymah called Dhū Shahādatayn, who died during 'Uthmān’s time.\[241]\]

According to al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad—‘Ubaydallāh—al-Ḥakam: He was asked, “Was Khuzaymah b. Thābit Dhū al-Shahādatayn present at the Battle of the Camel?” “No, that wasn’t he but some other Ānṣārī. Dhū al-Shahādatayn died during the time of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān.”

According to al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Mujālid—al-Sha‘bī: By Allāh, alongside whom no other deity exists! No more than six, or seven at the most, of those present at Badr fought in this fitnāh.

According to al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—‘Amr b. Muḥammad—al-Sha‘bī: By Allāh, alongside whom no other deity exists! Only six of those present at Badr fought in this affair; there was no seventh. “You contradict each other,”\[243\] I remarked.\[244\] “No we don’t. It’s just that al-Sha‘bī wasn’t sure whether or not Abū Ayyūb had already joined up when Umm Salīmah\[245\] sent him to ‘Alī after Siffin. He was sure that he had joined ‘Alī, however, at the time of al-Nāhrawān.”\[246\]


Later, when Ziyād b. Ḥānzalah saw the men’s lack of action on behalf of ‘Alī, he hurried up to ‘Alī and said, “There may be those who hold back from you, but we are active for you and will fight for your sake.”

‘Alī was walking in Medina one day when he heard Zaynab bint Abī Sufyān\[247\] saying, “The causes of our complaint about injustice\[248\] are two: a man with eye shadow and an eye-shadow

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\[241\] Year 37 [Caetani, IX, 627–28].

\[242\] A force of about 300, who became special men in Muslim history, fought at this first battle of the Prophet’s career in 2/624 [EF, s.v.].

\[243\] ‘Amr and Mujālid [see previous tradition].

\[244\] Sayf.

\[245\] Hind bt. al-Mughirah, one of the Prophet’s wives [Watt, 396], often called Umm Salamah.

\[246\] Year 38/658.

\[247\] Sister of the first Umayyad caliph, Mu‘āwiyyah.

\[248\] Presumably the killing of ‘Uthmān.
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"She should be well aware that I am not a target of retaliation for her!" said 'Ali.

According to al-Sari—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: 'Uthmān was killed on 18 Dhu al-Ḥijjah (June 17, 35). The governor of Mecca was 'Abdallāh b. 'Amir al-Ḥadrāmī, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās was in charge of the pilgrimage at the time. 'Uthmān had sent him while under siege. Some of them traveled back to Medina hastily with Ibn 'Abbās in two days. They arrived after 'Uthmān had been killed but before 'Alī had received allegiance. Banū Umayyah fled and reached Mecca. On Friday, 25 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (June 24), 'Alī was given allegiance. The fugitives rushed to Mecca, where 'Ā'ishah was staying to perform the Muharram 'umrah pilgrimage. As they hastened in she asked them for news. "'Uthmān has been killed," they told her, "but no one has agreed to take command." "But how shrewd they are!" 'Ā'ishah responded. "For they do this after all the frus-

249. Mudammam wa-mukhulah makes a parallelism and can mean "a man with eyeshadow and an eyeshadow case," perhaps implying two dissimulators. These could be Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr; oppression against 'Uthmān, head of the Umayyads, had come from them. So Prym [text n. c], but this does not make much sense of the following humā. According to Addenda, Dcxxx and Ibrahim [448 n.], Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [brother of 'Ā'ishah] and Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭalib ('Alī's nephew), who are often paired (they had the same mother), are probably meant, but in this case anā (the emendation for humā) is difficult. If the reference is taken to be to the two Muḥammads, Ibrahim's hamma ["She is well aware that those two didn't hasten to retaliate against her"] provides a little more sense. Nöldeke (Addenda, Dcxxxii) considers the first to refer to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr but reads mudhammam "much blamed, most blameworthy," possibly a distortion of muhammad "much praised" (Wellhausen, 159). This is possible, as Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr is indeed called "Mudhammam," the opposite of "Muḥammad," by 'Ā'ishah, and the similar alliterative opposite—akhkūk al-birr... 'aqiq—on p. 157, below [3217 l. 2] disallows a pointing mudammam. Nöldeke further considers mukhulah to refer to 'Ali, which fits anā [Wellhausen, 159], i.e.: "Why is the woman saying this? I didn't kill 'Uthmān." See also Ibn 'Abd Rabbīhi (II, 278 ll. 5–16, esp. l. 15), where mudhammam could even refer to 'Ali, although, according to Caetani, IX, 70, it refers to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [cf. p. 100, below].

250. Reading anā [Wellhausen, 159]; see note 249.
252. A special 'umrah for the first month of the year.
254. Wa-lakin akyās. De Goeje, referring to the marginal gloss, suggests insert-
trated attempts that went on between you to improve the situation."\textsuperscript{255} Then she completed the 'umrah, left, and arrived at Sarif,\textsuperscript{256} where she was met by a maternal relative called 'Ubayd b. Abī Salimah, called after his mother Umm Kilāb.\textsuperscript{257} He was from Banū Layth,\textsuperscript{258} with whom she had friendly connections. "What news?" she asked. He kept silent and then muttered something. "Confound you! Is it bad for us or good?" "You don't know! 'Uthmān was killed, and they waited eight nights." "Then what did they do?" she asked. "They made the men of Medina agree to elect 'Ali, and the city is under the control of the rebels." At this she returned to Mecca and said not a word. Indeed she said nothing until she had dismounted at the door of the mosque, gone to the Ḥijr,\textsuperscript{259} and curtained herself off, and the people had gathered round.

"People of Mecca!" she said. "The mob of men from the garrison cities and the watering places and the slaves of the people of Medina have\textsuperscript{260} conspired together. They charged this man who was killed yesterday with deceit, with putting young men in high positions where older ones had been before, and with reserving certain specially protected places\textsuperscript{261} for them, although they\textsuperscript{262} had been arranged before him and could not properly be changed. Nevertheless he went along with these people, and in an attempt to pacify them he withdrew from these policies. When they could then find neither real argument nor excuse, they became irrational. They showed their hostility openly, and their deeds didn't fit their words. They spilled forbidden blood, they violated the sacred city, they appropriated sacred money, and they profaned the sacred month. By Allāh! One of 'Uthmān's fingers is better than a whole world of their type. Save yourselves from being associated with

\textsuperscript{255} I.e., with 'Uthmān before his death, because the attempts failed.
\textsuperscript{256} Six to twelve miles from Mecca (Yaqūt, III, 212).
\textsuperscript{257} Part of Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt of Kinānah (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 36; Watt, DCXXXII).
\textsuperscript{258} I.e., 'Ubayd b. Umm Kilāb. Correctly emended by Prym; see p. 52, below.
\textsuperscript{259} The semicircular wall by the Ka'bah. See also p. 53, below.
\textsuperscript{260} Prym suggests qad "already" was to have been added here.
\textsuperscript{261} Which should have been the right of all Muslims. Cf. \textit{EP}, s.v. himā.
\textsuperscript{262} Following Prym's emendation.
them, and let others punish them and their followers be scared off. By Allah! Even if what they reckon against him were a crime he would have been cleared of it, as gold is cleaned of its impurities or a garment of its dirt, for they have rinsed263 him as a garment is rinsed with water.” “I’m here with her, the first to seek revenge,” called out ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir al-Ḥaḍramī. He was indeed the first to respond and to get others to do so.

According to ‘Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā’īnī—Suhaym, the ma:wla of Wabrah al-Tamīmī—‘Ubayd b. ‘Amr al-Qurashi: ‘A’ishah had left [Medina] while ‘Uthmān was being besieged. A man [just in from Medina] called Akhdar came up to her in Mecca, so she asked, “What are the people doing?” “Uthmān has killed the Egyptians,”264 he replied. “We belong to Allah and to Him we return!”265 exclaimed ‘A’ishah. “Does he kill people who come seeking justice and denouncing injustice? By Allah! We don’t approve of such a thing.” Presently another man came. “What are the people doing?” she asked. “Uthmān has been killed by the Egyptians,” he replied. “Akhdar amazes,” she said. “He alleged that the killed was the killer.” It was about him that the saying “More lying than Akhdar”266 was coined.

According to al-Sari—Shu’ayb—Sayf—‘Amr b. Muḥammad—al-Sha’bi: After ‘Uthmān had been killed ‘A’ishah left Mecca on her way to Medina. She met a maternal relative and asked, “What news?” “Uthmān has been killed, and the people have agreed on ‘Alī. The mob rules.” “I don’t think this is over yet,” she said [to those with her]. “Take me back!” So she set off back to Mecca.

When she had entered, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir al-Ḥaḍramī, ‘Uthmān’s governor there, came to her and asked, “What made you return, Mother of the Faithful?” “The fact that ‘Uthmān has been killed unjustly267 and that as long as the mob rules order will not be established. Seek revenge for the blood of ‘Uthmān, and you will strengthen Islam!” So ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir al-Ḥaḍramī became the first to respond to her call, and this was the first response by

263. With blood.
264. Al-mistiyyin, perhaps “the men from the garrison cities,” but the leaders of the insurgents were Egyptians [Hinds, “Murder”].
266. Akdhab min Akhdar.
267. Qur’ān 17:33; EI’, 414a.; p. 18 and n. 121, above.
Banū Umayyah\textsuperscript{268} in the Ḥijāz. After this their morale returned,\textsuperscript{269} and they were joined by Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, al-Walid b. ʿUqbah, and the rest of Banū Umayyah. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir [b. Kurayz] from Baṣra, Yaʿlā b. Umayyah from Yemen, and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr from Medina had joined them. After lengthy deliberations they all agreed on al-Baṣra. "Listen, you people!" ʿAʾishah addressed them. "This is a heinous crime, a forbidden thing. March therefore to your brothers in al-Baṣra and denounce it! The Syrians have already done this on your behalf.\textsuperscript{270} We hope Almighty and Glorious Allāh will help ʿUthmān and the Muslims\textsuperscript{271} get their blood revenge speedily."

According to al-Sari—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: The first to respond were ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir and Banū Umayyah, who had hastened toward Mecca after ʿUthmān's murder. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir [b. Kurayz] then came to Mecca, as did Yaʿlā b. Umayyah, and they met there. Yaʿlā had brought 600 camels and 600,000 dirhams. He stopped the camels and encamped at al-Abtāh. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr joined them, and, when they met ʿAʾishah, she asked, "What news?" "The news is that we loaded up lock, stock, and barrel, fleeing Medina and its rabble and bedouin, and left behind us a confused populace, neither acknowledging right nor rejecting wrong and not defending themselves."

"Agree on a plan of action; then mobilize yourselves against this mob!" replied ʿAʾishah and quoted the verse:

If the leaders of my people complied with me,

I would save them from ropes\textsuperscript{272} or dismemberment.

After consultation the men said, "To Syria!" "Those stationed\textsuperscript{273} in the province of Syria have already done the job for you up there," replied ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir. "Then where to?" Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr asked him. "To al-Baṣra," he answered. "I

\textsuperscript{268} The narrator is confusing the two ʿAbdallāhs here. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz was of Umayyah.

\textsuperscript{269} After being dashed at ʿUthmān's murder.

\textsuperscript{270} By rebelling against ʿAli and calling for blood revenge, so there is no need to go there to get support.

\textsuperscript{271} As though ʿAli were not one.

\textsuperscript{272} i.e., imprisonment. This verse is usually quoted by ʿAli with a different second hemistich; see p. 19, above. Abbott, \textit{Aṣḥah}, 137.

\textsuperscript{273} Covering both Prym's emendations \textit{yastamirr} and \textit{yastahriz}.
have influence there, and they like Ṭalḥah.” “May Allāh damn you!” they exclaimed. “You make neither peace nor war. Why didn’t you stay there, as Mu‘āwiyyah did, and do the job for us? We could have gone to al-Kūfah and blocked all the roads against these people.” Thus they did not find his response acceptable. But when their minds had been made up to go to al-Ɓasrah they said, “Mother of the Faithful, leave Medina alone! Those with us aren’t sufficient for that mob there. Accompany us to al-Ɓasrah. We will arrive at a city now lost to us. They will produce their allegiance to ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib as an argument against us, but you will mobilize them, just as you did with the Meccans. Then you will be able to sit back, and, if Allāh puts things right, it will be as you want. If not, we will leave things to Him and do our best to push the case forward until Allāh executes His will.” “Agreed!” she said on hearing this—for the matter could be resolved only by her.

Now the wives of the Prophet were with ‘Ā’ishah in wanting to go to Medina, but when she changed her mind for al-Ɓasrah, they also gave up the idea. The men then went to consult Ḥafṣah, who said, “My opinion is subordinate to ‘Ā’ishah’s.” When nothing therefore was left but to set off they asked, “How can we depart when we don’t have the wherewithal to equip the army?” “I have 600,000 dirhams and 600 camels, so mount them!” said Ya‘lā b. Umayyah. “And I have such and such,” added Ibn ‘A‘mir. This set them up, and the crier called out: “The Mother of the Faithful and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr are proceeding to al-Ɓasrah. Whoever desires to fortify Islam, to fight the sacrilegious, and to seek revenge for the blood of ‘Uthmān but who does not have a mount or equipment, then here is equipment, and here are funds.” They then mounted 600 men—beside those who already had mounts—on 600 she-camels, making a total of 1,000, and they supplied themselves with money. They called out that they were ready to leave, and they set off walking.

Ḥafṣah wanted to go with them, but ‘Abdallah b. ‘Umar came and asked her to stay. She stayed but sent a message to ‘Ā’ishah:

274. ‘Uthmān’s killers.
276. They were he-camels a minute ago!
277. Her brother.
"'Abdallāh has prevented me from coming out." "May Allāh forgive him!" said 'A'ishah.278 Umm al-Fadl bint al-Ḥārith279 sent a man from Juhaynah280 called Zaqr and paid him to go secretly to 'Ali with her letter. So he came to 'Ali with Umm Faḍl's letter and news.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Ali—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī 'Amrah281—his father:282 Abū Qatādah said to 'Ali: "Commander of the Faithful! The Messenger of Allāh invested me with this sword, and I put it in its sheath. It has been there too long, and the time for unsheathing it has now come—against this company of criminals who constantly deceive the community. So, if you wish, put me in the front line." Umm Salīmah then got up and said: "Commander of the Faithful! But for the fact that I would be disobeying Allāh and that you wouldn't accept it from me, I would come out with you. But here is my son 'Umar284—dearer to me than my very self, by Allāh! He will come out with you and will be there with you at your battles." At that 'Umar came out and stayed with 'Ali, who made him governor of Bahrayn until he replaced him with al-Nu'mān b. 'Ajlān al-Zurāqī.285

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Hasan—Maslamah—'Awf: Ya'lā b. Umayyah assisted al-Zubayr with 400,000 dirhams and provided mounts for seventy men from Quraysh. He also had 'A'ishah mounted on a camel called 'Askar, which he had obtained for 80 dinars. As they set off [from Mecca] 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr looked toward the mosque and said, "Never have I seen anything more of a blessing to the seeker of good or the shunner of evil than you."

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278. I.e., she would not.
279. The wife of 'Abbās, 'Ali's uncle, and full sister of Maymūnāh, one of the Prophet's wives (Watt, 380, 397; see Abbott, Aishah, 139, n. 153 for other references).
281. Addenda, DCXXXII. Born before 10/622 [U. Sezgin, 190]. The text has Abū 'Umrah.
284. Before she married the Prophet she was married to Abū Salīmah [Salamah, according to Watt, 396], who died at Uhud.
According to al-Sari—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muhammad and Ṭālḥah: When al-Mughirah and Sa‘id b. al-‘Aṣ had traveled a day’s journey from Mecca with the army, Sa‘id asked al-Mughirah, “What’s the best course of action?” “I’m sure the best course is to stand aside. They won’t succeed. But, should Allāh give him victory, then we can come to him and say, ‘Our emotions and our inclinations were with you.’” So they stood aside and stopped traveling. Sa‘id then returned to Mecca and stayed there. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd returned with them.

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr—his father—Wahb b. Jarîr b. Ḥāzim—his father—Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Ayli—al-Zuhri: They went down—Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr—to Mecca four months after the killing of ‘Uthmān. Ibn ‘Āmir, a very rich man, was there, and Ya‘lā b. Umayyah had arrived with him with a large sum of money and more than 400 camels. They gathered together in Ā’ishah’s house and exchanged opinions. “Let’s go to ‘Alī and fight him,” they said. “We don’t have the strength to fight the people of Medina,” one of them replied. “Let us rather go and enter al-Ṭā’irah and al-Kūfah. Ṭālḥah has a following and popularity in al-Kūfah, and al-Zubayr has popularity and support in al-Ṭā’irah.” So they agreed to go to al-Ṭā’irah and al-Kūfah, and ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir gave them much money and camels. Seven hundred men from Medina and Mecca set off, and others joined, until their number reached 3,000. News of their departure reached ‘Ali, who put Sahl b. Ḥunayf al-Anṣārī in charge of Medina, set off himself, and traveled to Dhu Qār, where he pitched camp. It took him eight nights to get there with a company of Medinans.

287. Al-Qurashi, governor of Kūfah (30–34) and of Medina (49–56) (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 9, II, 500).
288. I.e., Ā’ishah’s army.
289. Al-Qurashi, third cousin of Sa‘id b. al-‘Aṣ (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 9, II, 112).
290. Reading tamarā for zaharā, cf. p. 5, above, of which this is a continuation. For the four months, see p. 5, above; EP, 414.
291. Bihā yajurr al-dunya or perhaps “where Ibn ‘Āmir had great influence.”
292. Fa-‘addu al-ra‘y. Ibrahim has fa-‘addu.
293. With the insurgents in Medina, the Kufans were backing al-Zubayr and the Basrans were backing Ṭālḥah; see p. 10, above.
294. Addenda, DCXXXII.
295. A watering place near al-Kūfah in the direction of Wāṣīt (EP, s.v.).
The Caliphate of 'Ali b. Abi Ṭālib


According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū ʿAmr—ʿUtbah b. al-Mughirah b. al-Akhnas: At Dhāt ʿIrq Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ met Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and his men and asked: “Where are you heading for? Those from whom you seek revenge are on the rumps of camels. Kill them, and then go back to your houses! Don’t kill yourselves!” “No, we will press on,” replied Marwān. “Hopefully we will kill every one of the killers of ʿUthmān.” Saʿīd then spoke in private with Ṭālhāh and al-Zubayr: “If you are victorious, to whom will you give the caliphate? Tell me the truth.” “To one of us, whichever the men choose.” “No,” he replied. “Give it to ʿUthmān’s son. You’ve come out in revenge for his blood, haven’t you?” “You want us to pass over the elders of the Muhājirūn and appoint their sons over them?” replied Ṭālhāh and al-Zubayr. “But you seem to want me to work to remove it from Banū ʿAbd Manāf!” answered Saʿīd and left. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asid left also.

“Saʿīd’s opinion is the right one,” said al-Mughirah b. Shuʿbāh. “Let all those here from Thaqif go back!” So he went back, but the main company continued, among them Abān b. ʿUtbah and al-Walīd b. ʿUthmān. Then they disagreed about the route to

296. Governor of Medina and then Yemen under Rashīd ʿ[Caškel and Strenziok, I, 19, II, 115].
297. On the borders of Najd and Tihāma on the Mecca-Iraq road ʿ[Yaqūt, IV, 107-8].
298. The well-known traditionist ʿ[Caškel and Strenziok, I, 19, II, 575].
299. Al-Qurashi. For his brothers, see Caškel and Strenziok, I, 19.
300. The future caliph Marwān I, 64-65/683-85.
301. I.e., here with you.
302. I.e., from ʿAli. Saʿīd is curtly reminding Ṭālhāh and al-Zubayr that not only is ʿAli one of the Muhājirūn, but he also belongs to their best group.
303. Three hundred went back at this point, according to some accounts, leaving 700.
304. Ibn ʿAffān, governor of Medina, 75-83/694-701 ʿ[Caškel and Strenziok, II, 101]. Al-Walīd was also governor of Medina ʿ[Caškel and Strenziok, I, 11].
The Events of the Year 36

take, saying, "Whom shall we summon to our cause?"\(^{305}\) When al-Zubayr was alone with his son 'Abdallâh and Talhâh was alone with 'Alqamah b. Waqqâs al-Laythî (whom he preferred to his son), one said, "Go to Syria!" and the other, "Go to Iraq!" So the two then discussed the matter between themselves and agreed to go to al- Başrah.

According to al-Sarî—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Makhlâd\(^{306}\) b. Qays—al-Agharr: When Banû Umayyah, Ya‘lâ b. Munyah, Talhâh, and al-Zubayr had gathered in Mecca, they consulted together. They all agreed to seek revenge for the blood of 'Uthmân and to fight the Saba‘iyyah until they were avenged and requited. 'A‘ishah then ordered them to go to Medina, but the men all decided on al-Baṣrah and made her change her opinion. Talhâh and al-Zubayr said to her: “Unless you go out and give the command you gave in Mecca and then return, we shall be going to a lost place, one that will have gone over to ‘Ali.\(^{307}\) He forced us to give him allegiance, so they will use that against us and leave our cause.” So it was announced, "'A‘ishah is going to al-Baṣrah, but 600 camels are not enough for you to satisfy\(^{308}\) the rabble and hordes\(^{309}\) of bedouin and slaves spread out [along the way] who are ready with outstretched arms to assist the first caller." 'A‘ishah then sent a message to Hafsah. She wanted to come out, but Ibn ‘Umar advised her strongly against it, so she stayed. Accompanied by Talhâh and al-Zubayr, 'A‘ishah set off and appointed 'Abd al-Rahmân b. 'Attâb b. Asîd al-Qurashi leader of the prayer. He led them in the prayer as they traveled and in al-Baṣrah until he was killed.\(^{310}\) Marwân set off with her along with most of the rest of Banû Umayyah, apart from those who were too scared. At Awtâs\(^{311}\) she turned to the right, 600 horseriders with her, not counting those with other

\(^{305}\) I.e., the Iraqis or the Syrians?

\(^{306}\) Ibrâhim has Muhammad.

\(^{307}\) I.e., Ibn ‘Amir’s influence in al-Baṣrah would be lost if they did not go there then.

\(^{308}\) I.e., as gifts, reading tuğmûn with Ibrâhim and Wellhausen, 159. The text’s tu’nûn might mean “to subdue.” Cf. Lane, 2178b–c, and Glossarium, cccclxxxi.

\(^{309}\) Reading wa-jalâbah with Ibrâhim and Nöldeke [Addenda, 1cxxxii] for the text’s wa-jâliyah. Wellhausen, 159 suggests wa’ajâ’ilah, which would mean very much the same, comparing p. 51, below, and points out the unusual syntax.

\(^{310}\) At the Battle of the Camel [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 8, II, 128].

\(^{311}\) A wâdî in Hawâzin territory, where the Battle of Ḥunayn was fought.
beasts. Then she turned right again one night, leaving the road as though they were a caravan seeking pasture near the seashore, not one of them going close to al-Munkadir,312 Wāsīt,313 or Falj.314 That year was a fruitful one, and as they came to al-Basrah ʿAʾishah quoted the following verses.315

Leave the lands of mass oppression when their waters316 are pure there, and proceed with fear!

Choose those plants317 outside the settled areas, and graze there,
and [choose] a place down in a valley, deep and well watered.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Hasan—ʿUmar b. Rāshid al-Yamāmī—Abū Kathīr al-Suḥaymī—Ibn ʿAbbās: The followers of the camel set out, numbering 600, among them ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakrah and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿSaḥwān al-Jumāhī.318 As they were passing Biʿr Maymūn,319 they came upon a she-camel that had just been slaughtered, and blood was flowing from her neck. They saw this as a bad omen.

When Marwān had left Mecca he had called to prayer, so now as he arrived he went up to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and asked, “Which one of you should I hail as caliph when I call to prayer?” “Abū ʿAbdallāh!” replied ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. “Abū Muḥammad!” replied Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah. ʿAʾishah then sent to Marwān, asking: “What are you up to? Are you wanting to make divisions in our leadership? Let my sister’s son320 lead the prayer.” So ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr did so until they came to al-Basrah. Muʿādh b. ʿUbaydallāh remarked [later], “If victory had been ours we would have called [out] ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr’s mother was ʿAʾishah’s sister Ṣafiyyah.
have been caught up in civil war: Al-Zubayr wouldn’t have let Ṭalḥah rule, nor would Ṭalḥah have let al-Zubayr."

`Ali Leaves for al-Rabadhah on His Way to al-Basrah

According to al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: News about Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and the Mother of the Believers reached `Ali, so he appointed Tāmmām b. al-`Abbās over Medina and sent Qutham b. al-`Abbās to Mecca. He then set out, hoping to intercept them on the road and intending to block their path. At al-Rabbageh, however, it became clear to him from news brought by `Aṭā’ b. Ri‘āb, mawla of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn, that they had passed by ahead of him.

According to al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: `Ali was in Medina when he heard the news of their decision to leave [Mecca] for al-Brashrah and of what Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, `A’ishah, and their followers had all decided upon. On hearing about `A’ishah’s speech, `Ali set out against them in haste with the troops he had been mustering to go to Syria. He was also joined by those Kūfāns and Baṣrāns who were active and quickly equipped, totaling 700. `Ali’s plan was to catch up with them and stop them leaving. Just then `Abdallāh b. Sallām met him and took hold of his reins, warning: "Don’t leave Medina, Commander of the Faithful! By Allāh! If you do, neither you nor rule over the Muslims will ever return here again." Those there began swearing at him, but `Ali said: "Leave him alone! He’s a good man and a Companion of Muhammad." `Ali nevertheless set off, but on reaching al-Rabbageh he heard that they had passed through ahead of him, so he ordered a halt at al-Rabbageh to confer.

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321. Within three days of Medina on the road to Mecca (Yaqūt, III, 24); it was the burial place of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī.
322. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 6, II, 544.
324. To the pilgrims in Mecca.
325. To confront Mu‘āwiya.
326. Following Ibrahim and Addenda, Dcxxxii. He was the famous Jewish convert to Islam. The text has Sallām.
327. See Addenda, Dcxxxi on p. 33, above.
According to al-Sa‘rī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Khālid b. Mihrān al-Bajali—Marwān b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥumaysi—Ṭāriq b. Shihāb:328 We had left al-Kūfah on the ‘umrah pilgrimage when we heard of the killing of ‘Uthmān. When we got to al-Rabdhah in the early dawn we encountered troops, some of them urging each other on. “What’s going on?” I asked. “It’s the Commander of the Faithful,” they replied. “What’s happened to him?” “Ṭālḥah and al-Zubayr have got the better of him, so he has come out to block their way and force them back. But he now hears that they have gone on ahead of him, so he wants to pursue them farther.” “We belong to Allāh, and to Him we return,”331 I replied. “Either I join ‘Ali and fight these two men and the Mother of the Faithful, or else I disobey him. What a sorry state of affairs!” So I went and joined him. The prayer was performed before dawn, with ‘Ali praying out front. Then, when he had completed it, his son al-Ḥasan came up to him, sat down, and said, “I gave you orders, but you disobeyed me, so tomorrow you will be killed in a place of destruction332 with no one to help you.” So ‘Ali said to him: “You do go on whimpering like a little girl333 What orders did you give me that I disobeyed?” “When ‘Uthmān was besieged,” he replied, “I commanded you to leave Medina so that when he was killed you wouldn’t be present. Then the day he got killed I commanded you not to take on the allegiance until the delegations from the garrison cities and the Arab tribesmen and every area’s allegiance had come to you. Then, when these two men334 did what they did, I commanded you to stay at home until they had got their settlement.” If things then went badly wrong, it would clearly

328. Ibrahim has al-Khumaysi.
330. Following Ibrahim’s yahdū for the text’s yadū.
332. I.e., in battle. Reading bi-madi‘a with Ibrahim, Addenda DCXXXIII, and Wellhausen, 159. This could also mean “a desolate place,” which might fit the following phrase better. The text has bi-maṣba‘ah “in arrogance.” IA, 222 n. 1, has bi-ma‘siya “in disobedience/sin,” which is extremely derogatory, but it fits al-Hasan’s amartuk fa-asaytani. Cf. note 349, below, for other instances of these words used of subordinates to their superiors, see p. 194, below.
333. Tahinn hanin al-jariyah. Ibrahim follows IA and has takhinn khanin...”sniveling.” The same applies to p. 51, below.
334. Ṭālḥah and al-Zubayr.
335. Ḥattā yaštaliḥu. They had been calling for ʾislāḥ.
have been others’ doing. But you disobeyed me in all this.” ‘Ali replied, “All right, dear boy, as for your words, ‘If only you had left Medina when ‘Uthmân was besieged,’ by Allâh! we were under siege no less than he! Then, as for your words ‘Do not take on the allegiance until allegiance from the garrison cities comes,’ the choice of ruler belonged to the people of Medina, and we didn’t want to destroy that tradition. Then, as for your words ‘when Modificar and al-Zubayr left,’ the whole Muslim community was facing weakness. By Allâh! Since I became caliph things have continually gone against me and diminished me, and I never attain anything I should. Then, as for your words ‘Sit at home,’ how then could I fulfill my responsibilities? What do you want me to be? Do you want me to be like the hyena that gets surrounded and calls dabâbi dabâbi until its hocks are untied and it is forced to come out? This is no situation for me to be in. If I don’t look after my responsibilities and concerns in this question, then who will? So that’s enough, dear boy.”

The Buying of the Camel for ‘A’ishah and the Report about the Dogs of al-Haw’ab


336. Said to be the sound by which a hyena is enticed from its lair; see Glossarium, cccxv, as also for a dismissal of the view that it should rather be zabâbi zabâbi, as in Addenda, DCXXXII. See also lane, 1208b.
337. After capture.
339. IA, 210, 222.
340. In 20/641 the top annual stipends for various grades of Muhâjjirûn and Anṣâr were only 3,000 to 5,000 dirhams (Hinds, “Kufan Alignments,” 349).
341. Ibrâhim omits qaṭṭ.
come after me when I was on him without my escaping them.”
“If you knew whom we wanted him for,” he replied, “you’d give
us a better deal.” “So whom do you need him for?” I asked. “For
your mother.” “But I left my mother sitting in her tent, not want-
ing to go anywhere.” “I want it for the Mother of the Faithful,
‘A‘ishah, that’s who.” “He’s yours, then. Take him for nothing!”
“No, no! Come back with us to where we’re camped,” he replied,
“and we’ll give you a Mahriyyah she-camel342 and some dirhams
as well.”

So I went back, and they gave me a Mahriyyah she-camel of hers
and 400—or was it 600?—dirhams as well. He then asked me,
“Brother of ‘Uraynah, can you guide the way?”343 “Certainly! Bet-
ter than most,” I replied. “Come with us then!” So I went with
them. Every time I passed by a valley or a watering place they
questioned me about it, until we came late one evening to the
water of al-Haw‘ab and the dogs there barked at us. “What water
is this?” they asked. “The water of al-Haw‘ab,” I replied. At this
‘A‘ishah shrieked at the top of her voice and hit the upper foreleg
of her camel to make it kneel down. “By Allāh!” she said. “I’m
the one the dogs of al-Haw‘ab have barked at night at!344 Take me
back!” She said this three times. She then made her camel kneel,
and so did everyone else around her; they remained like this with
her, refusing to move for a full twenty-four hours. Ibn al-Zubayr
then came up to her and said: “Escape! Escape! ‘Ali b. Abî Ṭalîb is
upon you, by Allāh!” So they saddled up and insulted me.345 So I
went a different way.

I had not gone far before I came upon ‘Ali and about 300 riders
with him. “Rider!” ‘Ali called out to me, so I went up to him.
“Where did you come upon the howdah?” he asked. “In such and
such a place,” I replied, “and this is her she-camel. I sold them my
male.” “She rode him then, did she?”346 “She did,” I replied, “and
I accompanied them until we got to the water of al-Haw‘ab,

342. I.e., from Mahra in ‘Uman. Mahriyyah camels were famous for their speed
and intelligence (Lane, 274ob).
343. Dalâlah is not just knowledge of a route but also of its tribal agreements.
344. See p. 68, below; Abbott, Aishah, 143–44.
345. Implying that al-‘Urani had told them a lie; see p. 68, below, where Ibn al-
Zubayr makes it explicit.
346. Indicating that she was on the warpath (Abbott, “Women”).
whereupon the dogs there barked at her and she said these words. So when I saw their confusion, I turned and left, and they moved off." "Can you guide us to Dhū Qār?" asked 'Ali. "I could be the best guide around." "Come with us then!" said 'Ali. So we traveled until we stopped at Dhū Qār. 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib asked for two saddlebags, they were joined together, and a camel saddle was brought and put on top of them. He then walked up, got up on it, and let both his legs down on one side. He then praised and magnified Allāh and prayed for blessings upon Muhammad and said to those present, "You have seen what these people and this woman have done!" Just then al-Hasan347 came up in front of him, crying. "Here you come whimpering348 like a little girl!" 'Ali said to him. "Yes indeed!" replied al-Hasan. "I gave you orders, but you disobeyed me, so today you will be killed in a place of destruction349 with no one to help you." "Tell the men what you commanded me to do!" said 'Ali. "When the people went to 'Uthmān I commanded you not to receive allegiance until the Arabs had amassed,350 for they would never make a major decision without you. But you didn't obey me. Then, when this woman set off and her followers did what they did, I commanded you to stay in Medina and to send for those of your followers who would comply with you." "By Allāh! Yes, he did say all that! But my little son! I'm not going to be duped;351 the Prophet died, and I saw no one more fit for the command than I, but the people gave allegiance to Abū Bakr, so I followed suit. Then Abū Bakr passed away, and I saw no one more fit for the command than I. But the people gave allegiance to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, so I followed suit. Then 'Umar passed away, and I saw no one more fit for the command than I. But they made me just one of six votes, and the people gave allegiance to 'Uthmān. Again, I followed suit. The people then came to 'Uthmān and killed him. Then they came to me and gave

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347. His son.
348. See p. 48, above.
349. I.e., in battle. Reading bi-madi'a with Ibrāhīm for the text's bi-maṣba'ah, "in arrogance," see note 332, above.
351. "I'm not going to be duped"; see Ibn Manzūr, XVI, 12 l. 17; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 223–25; Guillaume, 732, n. 301; p. 49, above.
me allegiance obediently and voluntarily. I will therefore fight whoever opposes me with those who follow me "until Allāh judges between me and them. He is the best judge." ²⁄₃

‘Ā’ishah’s Remark “By Allāh! I Will Seek Vengeance for the Blood of ‘Uthmān!” and Her Departure for al-Baṣrah with Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and Their Followers⁵⁄₃

According to ‘Ali b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-‘Ijli (in writing)—al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr al-‘Aṭṭār—his father, Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-‘Aṭṭār⁵⁴—Sayf b. ‘Umar—Muhammad b. Nuwayrah and Ṭalḥah b. al-‘A’lam al-Ḥanafi.⁵⁵ Also⁵⁶ ‘Umar b. Sa’d—Asad b. ‘Abdallāh—a scholar contemporary with the events: As ‘Ā’ishah arrived at Sarif on her way back from visiting Mecca, ‘Ubayd b. Umm Kilāb met her. He was ‘Ubayd b. Abī Salāmah but named after his mother. “What is the matter?” ‘A’ishah asked him. “They killed ‘Uthmān and then did nothing for eight nights.” “What did they do then?” she asked. “The people of Medina handled the affair by consensus, and matters proceeded very well for them. They agreed upon ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib.” “By Allāh!” she replied. “Would that the sky were overturned if the command is decided in favor of your leader! Take me back! Take me back!”⁶⁰ So she departed for Mecca, saying: “By Allāh! ‘Uthmān has been killed unjustly,⁶¹ and I will seek revenge for his blood!” Ibn Umm Kilāb said to her: “How is that? By Allāh! You were the first to incline the blade against ‘Uthmān and were saying ‘Kill

²⁄₃ Qur’ān 7:87 (where it has baynana, rather than bayni wa-baynahum). Shu‘ayb is addressing the people of Madyan.

⁵⁄₃ IA, 206.

⁵⁴ Author of Waq’at Siffin.

⁵⁵ Are these names fuller than usual because they come at the start of a new volume?

⁵⁶ Al-Ḥusayn heard it from; cf. Caetani, IX, 33.

⁵⁷ Or Sa’d; cf. the text, 3111 n. d.

⁵⁸ For the text’s ‘Abd. He was from Banū Layth and related to ‘Ā’ishah on her mother’s side (see p. 38, above; IA, 206).

⁵⁹ For the text’s ‘Abd. For Abū Salāmah, see Watt, 378, 396.

⁶⁰ To Mecca to get support. Mecca would still have been crowded from the ḥāji.

⁶¹ Cf. Qur’ān 17:33.
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Na'thal, for he has become a disbeliever!'" "They asked him to repent," she replied, "and then they killed him. I said things, and they said things, but my latter statement was better than my former one." Ibn Umm Kilāb then recited:

From you come new opinions, from you comes change,
from you are the winds, and from you the rain!
You ordered the killing of the imām
and told us that he was an unbeliever.
Suppose we did obey you and kill him,
nevertheless his killer, to our mind, was the one who issued the order.
The roof did not fall down from over us;
our sun and moon were not eclipsed.
The people have given allegiance to one with power,
who will remove the sting and establish pride.
He will put on the clothes for war.
He who fulfills is not like he who has broken contract.

She then set off for Mecca. She dismounted by the entrance of the mosque and made for the Ḥijr, where she curtained herself off. The people gathered around her, and she said to them, "Uthmān has been killed unjustly, and, by Allah, I will seek vengeance for his blood!"

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muhammad and Ṭalḥah: ‘Alī was worried which direction Alī was worried which direction, and he did not know their destination. He preferred them to go to al-Baṣrah, so when he learned that they had taken the Baṣrah road he was pleased and remarked, "The Arab leaders and the families with pedigree are in al-Kūfah." Ibn ‘Abbās, however, replied, "What pleases you about that displeases me. Al-Kūfah is a garrison town. There are indeed Arab tribal leaders there, but they do not have the support of many of the people.  

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362. An insulting nickname for 'Uthmān; it means "hyena."
363. Caetani, IX, 34.
364. Muir, 242. IA glosses part of and omits the whole last third of this (terse) report. Caetani, IX, 35, omits all of it. See also p. 80, below.
365. Reading min, rather than Ibrahim's man.
366. Yu‘āridūn; see Lane, 2004b, 2005a; IA, 205.
What is more, some of them are ambitious for authority that they cannot attain. This being so, they stir up trouble against the one who has attained it until they break his power and corrupt one another. "You appear to be right," replied 'Ali, "but I will select the people of obedience in preference to anyone else, and I will rely on those of them who have the greatest priority and seniority in Islam. If they settle down, we shall forgive them and set them right. If that satisfies them, it will be best for them; if it does not, we shall be forced to set them right, which will be bad for those already in a bad situation." "Satisfaction is the only way," replied Ibn 'Abbās.

According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muhammad and Ṭalḥah: When Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, the Mother of the Faithful, and the Muslims of Mecca had decided to leave for al- Bàṣrah and to take revenge on 'Uthmān's killers, al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥah went out to meet Ibn 'Umar, and they invited him to hasten and help them. He said, "I am from Medina, and, if the people of Medina agree to rise up, so will I. But, if they agree to remain quiescent, I will too." So the two left him and returned.

According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Sa‘īd b. ‘Abdallāh—Ibn Abi Mulaykah: When he was about to depart, al-Zubayr gathered his sons. He said farewell to some but ordered others to come out with him, including both sons of Asmā'.

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368. Reading 'alā, rather than 'alayya "he who has attained [what he wanted] will stir up trouble against me," as in Ibrāhīm; IA, 205 l. 13.
369. Ḥattā yafṭa'ahu; see Glossarium, cccxcvii. IA has ḥattā tuksar ḥiddatu hu "until their vehemence is broken."
370. Taking al-uthrah li- to mean wa-īnh asta'thir alā, cf. note 339, below. It could also be translated as "preference will be given to the people of obedience."
371. Wa-alhaqq bi- or "and the truth is to be found among" if wa-lahaaqq bi- is read.
372. Sābiqah wa-qudmah or "veterans of the early campaigns"; see Hinds, "Kūfān Political Alignments," 348, 352; Humphreys, 57, 58 n. 95.
373. Or "bad for those it is bad to."
374. I.e., you won't be able to do it by force.
375. Al-khufūf; see Hava, s.v., and Ibrāhīm, n. 1.
376. Hamzah, 'Urwah, 'Amr, Ja'far, 'Abdallah, 'Ubaydah, Muṣ'ab, and al-Mundhir (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 191). For others, see al-Zubayri, 236.
377. Bint Abi Bakr. She was the mother of 'Abdallāh, 'Urwah, and al-Mundhir (EI, s.v. Zubayr). The two referred to here are the latter two, 'Abdallāh not being in question, as the eldest and the only one full grown.
"So and so, stay!" he said. "'Amr, stay!" When 'Abdallah b. al-Zubayr saw this, he said, "'Urwah, stay! Mundhir, stay!" "Certainly not!" replied al-Zubayr. "I will take my two sons [from Asmā'] as companions and enjoy their company." He said: "If you are taking all your sons, then go! But, if you are leaving any behind, you must leave those two. Don't expose Asmā' only from among your wives to childlessness." At this he wept and left the two of them behind. They departed and came to the mountains of Awtās, where they turned right and followed a road going toward al-Baṣrah, leaving the main road to al-Baṣrah on the left. When they neared al-Baṣrah, they entered it and rode up al-Munkadir.

According to al-Sarī [in writing]—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ibn al-Shahīd—Ibn Abī Mulaykah: Al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥah departed and went separate ways. 'Ā'ishah then departed for Dhāt 'Irq, followed by the Mothers of the Faithful. There has never been a day more full of tears for or against Islam than that day, called the Day of Wailing. She put 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Attāb in charge. He led the prayer and acted as arbiter among the people.

According to al-Sarī [in writing]—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah—Yazid b. Ma'n al-Sulami: When her army turned right at Awtās, they came upon Malih b. 'Awf al-Sulami, who was supervising his property. He greeted al-Zubayr. "Abu 'Abdallah," he said, "What's going on?" "The Commander of the Faithful has been attacked and killed with neither blood revenge nor excuse." "By whom?" "By the riffraff from the garrison towns and outsiders from the tribes assisted by bedouin and slaves." "So what do you want to do?" asked Malih. "To rally the people and let this blood be revenged," said al-Zubayr, "lest it be spilled in vain, because, if it is, the power of Allāh will be forever weakened among us. If the people aren't separated from acts like this, then no imām will survive without being killed by this sort [of scoundrel]." "By Allāh!" he said. "To neglect this would be ex-

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378. A later opponent of his brother 'Abdallah [Caskel and Strenziok, II, 187].
379. 'Urwah, later a prominent traditionist, was born 23–29 (so he would have only been thirteen years old at the most at the time) and died 91–99 [EI1, s.v.]. Al-Mundhir died 73/692 with 'Abdallah in Mecca [Caskel and Strenziok, II, 430].
380. Other wives of the Prophet.
381. Glossarium, CCCCLII.
382. Glossarium, CCCXXXIII.
tremely serious, and who knows what it might lead to?" They then both said farewell to each other and departed, and the army traveled on.

Their Entry into al-Basrah and the Battle between Them and 'Uthmân b. Hunayf

According to al-Sarî (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ẓalḥah: The army traveled on until, after turning off the road at the esplanade of al-Basrah, they were met by 'Umayr b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Tamīmī. "Mother of the Faithful!" he said. "I implore you in Allāh’s name to contact those men today to whom you haven’t yet sent any message, and He will then protect you from them." "You have given me sound advice," she said. "You are a good man." "Then send Ibn 'Āmir [b. Kurayz] immediately," he replied. "Let him enter. He has contacts. Let him go to them, and then let them meet the rest of the Basran people. You may then go yourself, and they will listen to the reasons why you have all come." So she sent him, and he stole into al-Basrah and went to his contacts. ‘A’ishah then wrote to a number of Basran leaders, to al-Ahnaf b. Qays, to Sabrah b. Shaymān, and to other similar prominent men. She then moved across to al-Hufayr and awaited information in response. When the men of al-Basrah heard of this, 'Uthmân b. Hunayf called 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn, a newcomer, and teamed him up with Abū al-Aswad al-Du‘ālī, a veteran. "Go to this woman," he said, "and find out what's in her mind and in the minds of those with her." They set off and reached her and the people there while they were at al-Hufayr. Their request

383. Ibrâhîm omits lam.
384. Ibrâhîm omits wa-anta.
385. Called al-Ahânaf [EP, s.v.], although his name was al-Dahhâk, leader of Tamîm in Basrah, died 67/686–86 [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 76, II, 146, 240].
386. Leader of the Azd al-Sarat in al-Basrah and on 'A’ishah’s side in the Battle of the Camel [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 316, II, 534].
387. Al-Kindî [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 236, II, 357].
389. Zâlim b. ‘Amr b. Sulaym of Kinânîya, died either 69 or 99–101 [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 43, II, 199, 614; Brockelmann, I, 42, 98, S, I, 73]. He was an early grammarian.
for permission to enter was granted, and after greetings they said: "Our commander has sent us to you to ask where you are heading. Are you going to tell us?"

"By Allah!" she replied. "I am not one to conduct things in secret or to cover up information for her sons. The riffraff of provincials and outsiders from the tribes committed aggression in the Messenger of Allah’s sacred enclave, perpetrated crimes there, and gave refuge to the criminals. They therefore deserve the curse of Allah and His Messenger along with what they have been debited for killing the imām of the Muslims without blood debt or excuse. They desecrated sacred blood and shed it; they plundered sacred property and profaned the sacred city and the sacred month. They ruined people’s honor and persons and stayed in the houses of people who hated their staying there—harming and intimidating, useless and fearless of Allah, incapable of restraint and insecure. I have therefore come out among the Muslims to let them know what this group has perpetrated, how those left behind me are faring, and what they have to do to set things right."

She then recited: "'There is no good in most secret talks, unless someone be arranging charity or good works or setting things right'". To set things right we are raising support from those whom Almighty and Glorious Allah and His Messenger have commanded—the young and the old, the male and the female. So this is our concern: [There is] a right we are enjoining on you and encouraging you toward, and [there is] a wrong we are prohibiting you from and urging you to alter.

According to al-Sarı (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Abū al-Aswad and ʿImrān then left her. They came to Ṭalḥah and asked him, "What brings you here?" "The search for revenge for the blood of ʿUthmān." "But didn’t you give allegiance to ʿAli?" they asked. "I did—but with the sword against my neck. However, I don’t demand the abrogation of my allegiance to ʿAli—provided he doesn’t obstruct our way to ʿUthmān’s killers."

391. Iṣlāḥ.
392. Qurʾān 4:114.
393. Iṣlāḥ.
394. I.e., who are able-bodied.
395. Lane, 2997c; Glossarium, CDXLIII, suggests, “I don’t forgive ‘Ali or forget.”
They then came to al-Zubayr and asked him, "What brings you here?" "To seek revenge for the blood of 'Uthmān." "But didn't you give allegiance to 'Ali?" they asked. "I did—but with the sword against my neck. However, I don't demand the abrogation of my allegiance to 'Ali—provided he doesn't obstruct our way to 'Uthmān's killers." Then they returned to the Mother of the Faithful to bid farewell to her. She said goodbye to 'Imrān and said: "Abū al-Aswad! Watch out that whim doesn't steer you into the Fire!" She then sent them on their way, quoting the Qur'ānic verse "Be upright toward Allāh, witnesses of justice! [. . . and do not follow caprice]." Her public announcer then called out that she was setting off, so the two of them went to 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf. Abū al-Aswad hastened to speak before 'Imrān and said:

"Ibn Ḥunayf! They have advanced against you, so hurry [toward them]! Stab at the enemy, struggle, and endure! Go out to them with breastplate and robe rolled up for action!"

"We belong to Allāh and to Him we return!" said 'Uthmān. "By the Lord of the Ka'bah! The millstone of Islam is turning out of balance, and look at the way it will swagger on round!" "It's true, by Allāh!" added 'Imrān. "It will grind you long and hard, and those of you left won't add up to much." "So what do you advise me to do, 'Imrān?" "I'm not getting involved, so don't you either!" he replied. "No," said 'Uthmān. "I will stop them until 'Ali the Commander of the Faithful comes." "But Allāh will judge as He wishes," said 'Imrān and left for his house, and 'Uthmān carried out his plan. Hishām b. 'Amir then came to him and said, "'Uthmān, this plan you are intent on will lead to worse than what you hate most. It's a tear that won't get mended, a fracture that won't be repaired. So comply with their wishes until 'Ali's command comes. Don't oppose them."

But 'Uthmān refused and announced to the people that they

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396. 4:135, where the text is in a different order: "Be strict observers of justice, witnesses to Allāh."
397. Qur'ān 2:157, said on hearing of a calamity.
398. I.e., "look at the deception that will go on!" Cf. Glossarium, cclxxxiii.
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should make preparations. So they put on their weapons and gath-
ered together at the main Friday mosque. Now 'Uthmān devised a
stratagem to trick the people and see how they were thinking. So
he ordered them to make preparations and also ordered a man to
go and infiltrate among them, pretending to be a Qaysi from al-
Kūfah. He did so and stood up and said: "Listen, you men! I am
Qays b. al-'Aqadiyyah al-Humaysi. This army that has come to
you, if they have come out of fear, then they have come from the
place where even birds are safe!400 But, if they have come seeking
revenge for 'Uthmān's blood, then we aren't 'Uthmān's killers.401
So do what I say with this army. Send them back where they came
from!" Then al-Aswad b. Sari' al-Sā'dī402 stood up and replied:
"Are they in fact claiming that we are the killers of 'Uthmān?
They have fled to us only to get our assistance403 against those
killers of 'Uthmān among us and others. If the army has been
forced out of its quarters as you suggested,404 then who will pro-
tect it from this expulsion—men or cities?"405 But they pelted
him406 with stones, so 'Uthmān realized that they had allies in al-
Baṣrah who would support them, and it demoralized him.

'A'ishah and her men then advanced as far as al-Mirbad.407 They
entered it at the top, where they stayed. They halted there until
'Uthmān and his army had come out. Those Baṣrans who wanted
to join 'A'ishah did so. They gathered in al-Mirbad and collected
together until it was choked with men. Ṭalḥah, on the right side
of al-Mirbad with al-Zubayr, then spoke up. 'Uthmān was on its
left, and they all listened to what he was about to say. He praised
Allāh and magnified Him. Then he mentioned the caliph 'Uth-
mān and his good qualities and the city and how it had been

400. I.e., so why did they ever leave Mecca? Hunting is forbidden in the Meccan
sacred enclave.
401. I.e., they've come to the wrong place.
402. Pro-'A'ishah.
403. Ibrāhīm follows Nöldeke in correcting yasta'innū to yasta'īnūn (Addenda, dcxxii).
404. Out of fear.
405. He is calling for help. Alternatively, "then who can prevent them [in their
turn] from expelling men or even cities?" if al-rija'ā aw al-buldāna is read.
406. Qays; Prym, n. f.
407. The market and camel camp southwest of the city (al-'Ali, 282; Massignon,
157; Le Strange, 45).
They would belittle his governors and then come to us in Medina to ask our advice over tales they told us about them, expecting good words from us to solve things.412 But, whenever we looked into the matter, we would find him innocent, God-fearing, and faithful and would find them lying, treacherous,413 and deceitful, attempting to do the opposite of what they were showing. Then, when they became strong enough to rely on greater numbers, they did so. They attacked his house and desecrated sacred blood, sacred property, and the sacred city without blood debt or excuse. Therefore what is now imperative—

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408. Mazlûm. See p. 39, above.
409. Hadd min hudûd Allâh, or prescriptive ordinances or statutes [EP, s.v.].
410. Wa-arhaju, or “dust.”
411. A jalilah was a woman who used to urge on fighters with her high voice.
412. Reading wa-yarawn husnân min kalamînâ [with Ibrâhîm], which is not all that different from the text’s wa-yarawn husnân min kîlâmînâ “and were shown a good thing in our speaking [i.e., were spoken to well and rightly] about reconciliation between them.”
413. Ibrâhîm omits ghadarah.
and you have no alternative—is to arrest the killers of ʿUthmān and establish the authority of the Book of Almighty Allah, which says “Have you not seen those who were given a part of the Book being called to the Book of Allah for it to judge between them?”

Then the followers of ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf split into two. One group said: “By Allah! She is correct and has spoken the truth. By Allah! Her advice is acceptable.” But the others said: “By Allah! You all lie. We don’t accept what you say.” Then they threw dirt at one another and pelted one another with stones, raising an uproar.

When ʿAʾishah saw this, she went down, as did the people on the right flank. They went away from ʿUthmān to take up a position in al-Mirbad at the tanners’ location. The followers of ʿUthmān remained where they were, pushing and shoving each other until they separated. Some went down to ʿAʾishah; others stayed with ʿUthmān at the entrance to the road. ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf and his followers then took up a position at the entrance to the road—the road leading to the mosque—on the right of the tanners’ location, where they confronted their opponents and barred them from its entrance.

According to Naṣr b. Muzāḥim—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: Jāriyah b. Qudāmah al-Saʿdi came up and said: “Mother of the Faithful! By Allah! The killing of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān is a lesser matter than your coming out from your house on this accursed camel, exposing yourself to armed combat! Allah curtained you off and gave you sanctity. You have torn down the curtain and profaned your sanctity. Anyone who thinks you should be fought also thinks you should be killed. If you have come to us obedient, then return home! If you have been forced by someone to come to us, then seek help from the people [against him]!”

414. “But a party of them then turn away in opposition” (Qurʾān 3:23)—the implication being that anyone who opposes “us in Medina” has departed from Islam.

415. Al-Tamīmī, faithful ally of ʿAlī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 75, II, 259).

416. The Prophet’s wives stayed screened off behind a special curtain and had a special status. Cf. Qurʾān 33:33. By coming out, ʿAʾishah exposed and disgraced herself.
A young ghulām\textsuperscript{417} from Banū Sa'd\textsuperscript{418} then went out to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and said: "As for you, Zubayr, you are the disciple of the Messenger of Allāh, and as for you, Ṭalḥah, you preserved the Messenger of Allāh with your own hand.\textsuperscript{419} I see your Mother is with you. Have you brought your wives too?"\textsuperscript{420} "No," they both replied. "I have nothing to do with you then," the Sa’dī said and withdrew. He said the following verses about this:

You preserved the honor of your wives yet led out\textsuperscript{421} your mother.
By Allāh! There is little justice in this!
She was commanded to trail her hems at home, but she had a whim to cross the deserts at the gallop, [Making herself a target that her sons must defend by fighting with arrows and Khaṭṭī spears\textsuperscript{422} and swords.
Her curtains have been ripped down by Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr.\textsuperscript{423}
No further tale needs to be told about them!

A ghulām from Banū Juhaynah then came up to Muhammad b. Ṭalḥah,\textsuperscript{424} who was a pious man, and said, "Tell me about the killers of ‘Uthmān." "I will," he replied. "‘Uthmān’s blood divides into three: A third is debited against the woman of the howdah, that is, ‘Ā’ishah; a third is against the rider of the red camel, that is, Ṭalḥah,\textsuperscript{425} and a third is against ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb." The ghulām laughed and said, "Well, well! I see that I’m wrong!" and left him for ‘Alī. He composed a poem about this:\textsuperscript{426}

I asked Ibn Ṭalḥah about someone who perished in the heart of Medina and was not buried.\textsuperscript{427}

\textsuperscript{417.} A slave boy (\textit{EI\textsuperscript{2}}, s.v.).
\textsuperscript{418.} I.e., Jāriyah’s clan.
\textsuperscript{419.} At the Battle of Uḥud.
\textsuperscript{420.} Cf. pp. 101, 126, below. Caetani, IX, 41, n. 1.
\textsuperscript{421.} \textit{Wa-qudtum}, perhaps with an implication of "were a pimp with" (Lane, 2572c).
\textsuperscript{422.} After al-Khaṭṭ, a strip of coast on the Persian Gulf (\textit{EI\textsuperscript{2}}, s.v.; Lane, 760c).
\textsuperscript{423.} By talking to them face to face.
\textsuperscript{424.} Killed in the Battle of the Camel (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 424).
\textsuperscript{425.} His own father!
\textsuperscript{426.} Caetani (IX, 41 n. 3) considers this preceding story made up to provide a framework for the poem. IA omits it all.
\textsuperscript{427.} ‘Uthmān was not buried until after the allegiance to ‘Alī.
"There were three of them," he replied. "They murdered Ibn 'Affân, so weep!" 428
That woman in her howdah, she owes a third,
and the rider of the red camel owes another.
'Ali b. Abî Talib owes the last third.
We are in a flat, unhealthy land!" 429
So I said, "You are right about the first two
but wrong about the resplendent third."

Return to Sayf's account from Muhammad and Talhah

Abû al-Aswad and 'Imrân left; 430 Ḥakim b. Jabalah approached,
having come out with horsemen. He initiated battle, so 'Â'ishah's
men aimed their spears but held back so that they 431 would do so
too. But he did not desist and was not to be turned back and began
fighting them. 'Â'ishah's 432 followers held back, except from de-
defending themselves. Ḥakim urged on his horsemen and attacked
with them, 433 calling out: "She belongs to Quraysh. 434 Her coward-
dice and indecision 435 will certainly destroy her!" So they fought at
the entrance to the road. Those in the houses round about who
liked one or other of the parties looked down [from their roofs] and
threw stones at the other side. Then 'Â'ishah ordered her men to go to
the right to the graveyard of Banû Mázin, where they waited a while.
The opposing forces hastened toward them, but night intervened.
So 'Uthmân returned to the castle and the men to their tribes.

Then Abû al-Jarbâ', 436 a member of Banû 'Uthmân 437 b. Mâlik b.
'Amr b. Tamîm, came to 'Â'ishah, Talhah, and al-Zubayr and
advised them to take up a better position. They thought his

428. Or "and he wept."
429. I.e., this is a very bad situation, but the text is uncertain. Prym's emenda-
tion fits the meter.
430. They were 'Uthmân's messengers to 'Â'ishah, Talhah, and al-Zubayr; see
p. 56, above.
431. Ḥakim and his men [IA, 214].
432. IA, 214.
433. IA, 214.
434. Disliked by other tribes because of their superiority.
435. Reading taws with the text and taking the next letter as a line filler [Prym, n. e].
436. 'Âşim b. Dulaf [Casels and Strenziok, II, 203].
437. More correctly, Ghâlân [Casels and Strenziok, I, 82; Prym, who leaves it
as 'Uthmân, as a feature of Sayf's tradition. Ibrahim does also].
advice was good. They followed his suggestion and left the graveyard of Banu Mazin and went toward al-Basrah's dam, opposite al-Jabbânah, as far as al-Zâbûqah. They then moved on to the graveyard of Banu Hisn, backing on to the Dâr al-Rizq, and spent the night preparing themselves. All night the men kept coming to them, and when morning came they were ready to fight in the open area in front of Dâr al-Rizq.

In the morning 'Uthmân b. Hunayf went to them just before sunrise, as did Hakîm b. Jabalah, talking excitedly and clutching a spear. "At whom are you swearing and saying what I hear?" asked a man from 'Abd al-Qays. "'A'ishah," he replied. "Son of a slut!" he said. "Do you say such things to the Mother of the Faithful?" Hakîm thrust the head of his spear through the center of his chest and killed him. He then went past a woman as he was swearing at her, that is, at 'A'ishah, and she said, "Who could have driven you to such abuse?" "'A'ishah," he replied. "Son of a slut!" she said. "Do you say such things to the Mother of the Faithful?" Hakîm stabbed her through the center of her chest, killed her, and went off.

Once they had gathered, they stood over against them. There was an intense battle at Dâr al-Rizq that day, from sunrise until afternoon. There were a great many fatalities among 'Uthmân b. Hunayf's men, and the wounds were heavy on both sides. 'A'ishah's crier kept calling out, asking them to hold back, but they refused. It was only when evil had touched them hard and bitten into them that they called out to 'A'ishah's followers to make peace and negotiate, and the latter acceded. So they made promises to each other and drew up a document between them to the effect that they would send a messenger to Medina and that when he returned, if the two had given their allegiance under duress, then 'Uthmân would leave them and yield al-Basrah to

438. The desert burial ground.
439. Al-'Ali, 292; lit., "angle of a house" (Lane).
440. Store for soldiers' pay; shown in the center of Massignon's map of old Basrah, 157.
441. This paragraph could be an interpolation. Caskel and Strenziok note that Sayî paints Hakîm very badly (II, 295).
442. Wa-tawa'adu. IA, 214 has wa-tawâda'î "they made peace."
443. Their allegiance to 'Ali.
them both. But, if they had not been forced, then Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr would leave.

The document ran:

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful and Compassionate. This is the agreement reached between Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and their allies from the Muslims and the Believers, and ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf and his allies from the Muslims and the Believers. That ʿUthmān will remain where he was and with what he had when the truce was drawn up, and that Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr will remain where they were and with what they had when the truce was drawn up, until such time as the representative and messenger of the two parties, Kaʾb b. Sūr, returns from Medina. Neither of the two parties will harm the other in mosque, market, street, or place of access. There shall be mutual abstention from fighting between them until Kaʾb returns with the information. If he returns to report that the people forced Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, then the command belongs to them, and it is up to ʿUthmān whether he leaves and goes to his own chosen place or joins Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. If he returns to report that they were not forced, then the command belongs to ʿUthmān, and it is up to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr whether they stay and give their allegiance to ʿAli or whether they go to their own chosen place. The Believers shall assist the party that is successful.

So Kaʾb left for Medina. The people there gathered together for his arrival—it was a Friday. He stood up and said: “Men of Medina! I am the messenger to you from the people of al-Baṣrah. Did these people force these two men to give allegiance to ʿAli, or did they give it voluntarily?” Not one of those assembled answered
except Usâmah b. Zayd, who stood up and said: "I swear by Allâh! They were definitely coerced into giving allegiance." Tammâm gave the order, and Sahl b. Hunayf and others sprang upon him. Fearing that Usâmah would be killed, Suhayb b. Sinân and Abu Ayyûb Zayd leaped in with a number of Companions of the Messenger of God, including Muḥammad b. Maslamah. "By Allâh!" swore Suhayb. "Break off from the man!" They did so, and Suhayb led him out by the hand and took him into his house. "You knew that the hyena is stupid," he said. "Wasn't the silence we were keeping good enough for you?" "No, by Allâh! But I had no idea that things would reach this pass. It has led us into disaster."

So Ka'b returned. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr had meanwhile kept a count of incidents, all of which were of the sort one would make note of—among them that Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah, who was in the habit of performing prayers in the mosque, happened to stand close to ʿUthmân b. Ḥunayf. Some of the Zuṭṭ and Sayābījah then feared that he had come for some other reason, so they pushed him away. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr then sent ʿUthmân a message: "That's one thing you've done!"

News of the events in Medina reached ʿAli, so he hastily sent a letter to ʿUthmân, accusing him of weakness and saying: "By Allâh! The two weren't forced except out of fear of schism and for the sake of unity and merit. If they want to depose me, they have

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446. Al-Kalbî (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 291, II, 576), son of the Prophet's adopted son, Zayd, and leader of the successful raid against Mu'tah just before the Prophet's death (Watt, 323, 343).
447. Ibrahim has innahuma for the text's innahum, following Addenda, DCXXXII.
449. Brother of Usâmah.
451. I.e., "You knew that those people would get angry"; Freytag, I, 405.
452. The guards of ʿUthmân b. Ḥunayf. The Zuṭṭ were a gypsy type of people, probably originally from India (EI, s.v.). The Sayābījah were mercenaries from Sind (EI, s.v.).
453. Quite rightly.
454. Emending the text's and Ibrahim's fa-nahhayah to fa-nahhnh. Otherwise, either, as Prym notes, there must be a lacuna in the text, or there is a false dual from the Zuṭṭ and Sayābījah.
455. Many others will follow.
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no excuse; but, if they want something else, then we’ll look into the matter with them.” The letter reached ‘Uthmân b. Ḥunayf.

Ka‘b then arrived, and they sent a message to ‘Uthmân: “Go away from us!” But ‘Uthmân argued [against withdrawing], on the basis of ‘Ali’s letter, saying, “This is another question, distinct from the one we were negotiating.” Ṭaḥlah and al-Zubayr then assembled their army. It was a cold, dark night with wind and rain. They headed for the mosque, arriving there at the time of the evening prayer. But the Basrans were in the habit of postponing it, and ‘Uthmân b. Ḥunayf had not yet arrived, so Ṭaḥlah and al-Zubayr put ‘Abd al-Rahmân b. ‘Attâb as imâm. At this the Zuṭṭ and Sayâbijah unsheathed their weapons and thrust them among them. Ṭaḥlah and al-Zubayr’s men advanced against them, and they battled inside the mosque and kept on until they had killed all forty of them. They then sent their fighters in to ‘Uthmân to bring him out to them. When he came to them, they debased him, and not one hair was left on his face. Ṭaḥlah and al-Zubayr considered this very serious and sent a report to ‘A’ishah about what had happened, seeking her advice. She sent back, saying: “Set him free! Let him go where he wants. Don’t imprison him!” So they expelled the guards who were with ‘Uthmân in the castle, and they entered it. They used to alternate guarding ‘Uthmân, forty each day and forty each night.

‘Abd al-Rahmân b. ‘Attâb led the prayer in the evening and at dawn, and he was the messenger between ‘A’ishah and Ṭaḥlah and al-Zubayr. He would come to her with news and then take her response back to them. He was the messenger of their army.

According to ‘Umar b. Shabbah—Abû al-Ḥasan—Abû Mikhnaf—Yûsuf b. Yazid—Sahl b. Sa‘d: When they had captured ‘Uthmân b. Ḥunayf, they sent Abân b. ‘Uthmân to ‘A’ishah to find out what they should do with him. “Kill him!” she said. But a woman said: “I beg you by Allâh, Mother of the Faithful! Remember ‘Uthmân and his Companionship with the Prophet!” “Send Abân back!” ‘A’ishah said. So they did so, and she said to him, “Imprison him,

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456. Despite the double evidence that they had been forced.
457. ‘Nadân. IA has mātâr.
458. By plucking his beard, lit., “trampled on him.”
459. Cf. the next report, where she first orders him to be killed.
but don't kill him!” “If I had known this was why you called for me,” he replied, “I wouldn’t have returned.” Mujāshi’ b. Mas-‘ūd then said to them, “Flog him and pluck the hair of his beard!” So they flogged him forty lashes, plucked the hair of his beard, his head, and his eyebrows and eyelashes and imprisoned him.

According to Āḥmad b. Zuhayr—his father—Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—Yūnus b. Yazid al-Ayli—al-Zuhri: I was told that, when Tālhah and al-Zubayr heard that ‘Alī had encamped at Dhū Qār, they left for al-Baṣrah and took the road to al-Munkadīr. ‘A‘ishah then heard the dogs barking and asked, “What water is this?” “Al-Ḥaw’āb,” they replied. “We belong to Allāh, and to Him we return,” she exclaimed. “I am she! I heard the Messenger of God say in the presence of his wives, ‘I wish I knew at which of you the dogs of al-Ḥaw’āb will bark!’” and she wanted to turn back. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr came up to her, and it is said that he told her, “Whoever said that this was al-Ḥaw’āb was lying,” and then persisted with her until she set off. They came to al-Baṣrah, the governor of which was ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf, and he asked them, “What makes you angry at your companion?” “We don’t consider him more eligible for leadership than we,” they replied, “after what he has done.” “The man made me governor, so I will write to him and inform him why you have come,” said ‘Uthmān, “on the condition that I lead the prayer until his reply comes.” So they held back from him, and he rode off.

But they waited only two days and then attacked ‘Uthmān and fought with him at al-Zabūqah near the supply center. They gained the upper hand and captured ‘Uthmān. They were about to kill him, but then they feared the wrath of Anṣār. So they attacked his hair and body instead.

Tālhah and al-Zubayr then rose to make speeches and said:

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460. Killed in the Battle of the Camel [Caskel and Strenziok, II, 419].
461. See p. 50, above.
463. See Wensinck, VI, 340, for Arabic sources.
464. Said to have been the first shahādah bi-al-zūr [false testimony] in Islam.
466. ‘Ali.
467. Madīnat al-rizq, often dār al-rizq.
"People of al-Basrah! Repentance should fit the crime. We wanted the Commander of the Faithful only to get 'Uthmān to satisfy [our complaints]. We didn’t want him to be killed, but the fools prevailed over the wise men and killed him." "But Abū Muḥammad!" the people replied to Ṭalḥah. "The letters you sent us said otherwise." "Did you receive any letter from me about what he was doing?" asked al-Zubayr, going on to mention 'Uthmān's murder and what led to it and to emphasize 'Ali's blame in it. At this a man from 'Abd al-Qays stood up facing him and said: "Be silent, man! And listen so that we may speak." 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr retorted, "What position are you in to speak?" "Company of Muhājirūn!" said the 'Abdi. "You were the first to respond to the Messenger of God, and you gained favor through that, and then everyone else entered Islam following your example. Then when the Messenger of God died you gave allegiance to one of your number, but, by Allāh! you didn’t consult us in any way about it. We gave our approval nevertheless and went along with you, and Almighty and Glorious Allāh blessed the Muslims through His caliphate. Then he died, having appointed a man caliph in his place over you. Again, you didn’t discuss it with us, but we gave our approval and accepted. When this caliph died, he placed the decision in the hands of six men, and you chose 'Uthmān and gave him allegiance without consulting us. Then you found some fault with this man, so you killed him without consulting us. Then you gave allegiance to 'Ali without consulting us. So what exactly are you angry with him about that we should join and fight him? Has he appropriated booty or carried out some injustice? Has he done something you object to such that we should join you against him? If not, then what’s going on?" Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's men then tried to kill this 'Abdi, but his clansmen stood in their way. But the next morning they leaped upon him and his men and killed seventy men.

Return to Sayf's account from Muhammad and Ṭalḥah

By the following morning the treasury and the guards were under Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's control. The people were also with
them—those who were not were under cover trying to keep hidden. So first thing that morning they sent a message [to 'A'ishah] that Hakim was still there among the opposing company. "Don't detain 'Uthmān! Let him go!" came her reply. So they let 'Uthmān go, and he left and went where he wanted. The morning found Hakim b. Jabalah with his horsemen at the ready with his 'Abdī followers and allies of theirs from the splinter groups of Rabī'ah. They then headed for Dar al-Rizq, Hakim saying, "I'm not his brother if I don't come to his aid." He began insulting 'A'ishah, and a woman from his own tribe heard him. "Son of a bitch!" she said. "It's you that deserves the insults." So he stabbed her and killed her. The 'Abdis, apart from those consumed by their hatred, were enraged at this. "Yesterday you did an evil deed, and you've done the like again today," they said. "By Allah! We will leave you, so that Allah may retaliate against you." So they went back and left him. So Hakim b. Jabalah continued with those outsiders from all the tribes who had attacked and surrounded 'Uthmān b. 'Affān with him. They had realized that they could no longer maintain any position in al-Baṣrah, so they gathered to him, and he took them to al-Zābūqah near Dar al-Rizq.

"Kill only those who fight you!" proclaimed 'A'ishah, "and call out to those who are not 'Uthmān's killers to withdraw from us! For the killers of 'Uthmān are the only ones we are after. We will not start against anyone else." Hakim then began the fighting, unintimidated by the herald. "Praise Allah! for He has assembled those we wish to retaliate against among the Basrans. O Allah! Do not spare a single one of them! Take retaliation against them today, and kill them!"

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471. 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf.
472. 'Abd al-Qays.
473. He killed a man.
474. Following Ibrahim and Wellhausen, 159. The text and Addenda, Dcxxxii, have 'Uthmān bin Ḥunayf.
475. Reading wa-lam yara' [stem I passive, Lane, 1187c] with Ibrahim and Wellhausen, 159. Wa-lam yar'u [the text and Glossarium, cclxv] would mean "not refraining because of" [Lane, 1108a]. De Goeje, following Nöldeke, unnecessarily suggests emending it to wa-lam yanzi' "did not incline to" [Addendum, Dcxxxii].
476. Reading munādī for the text's munādā.
477. Wa-aqid minhum li-al-yawm. The ms. has wa-aqidimhum li-al-yawm "and bring them all on to the Day!"
So they fought them with all their might, and the fight could not have been more fierce. There were four leaders, including Ḥakīm. Ḥakīm faced Ṭalḥah, Dharih478 faced al-Zubayr, Ibn al-Muḥarrish479 faced ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAttāb, and Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr480 faced ʿAbd al-Rahmān b.481 al-Ḥārith b. Hishām.482 Ṭalḥah advanced his army toward Ḥakīm, who had 300 men and who began brandishing his sword and reciting:

I strike them with a stiff [sword],483
as a frowning young man strikes,
Despairing of life,
hankering after [heavenly] rooms

A man then struck his foot and cut it off. He crawled until he got hold of it and threw it at his opponent. It hit him in the body and knocked him down. Ḥakīm then went and killed him, propped himself up against him, and recited:

Thigh of mine! Fear not!
My arm is still with me,
And with it I will protect my shank.484

He then went on, in rajaz meter:

It is not to my shame that I die.
Shame among people is fleeing.
Perishing does not make glory into disgrace.

A man then came up to Ḥakīm, half dead with his head on the other man,485 and asked, “What has happened to you, Ḥakīm?” “I’ve been killed.” “By whom?” “By my cushion.” He then carried him off to be among seventy of his men. While standing on
The Caliphate of 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib

one foot that day with the swords overcoming them, Ḥakîm said, without faltering as he said it: "When we left these two men they had given 'Ali allegiance and obedience. Then they come rebelling, waging war and seeking revenge for the blood of Ūthmān b. 'Affān. They made a split between us,486 when we were fellow citizens together and good neighbors. O Allāh! They don't want [retaliation for] 'Uthmān!"487 "You scum!" someone cried out. "Now that Allāh's punishment bites you, you hide your grief behind the words of the one who promoted you and your followers for what you committed against the unjustly wronged imām and for splitting the community and shedding blood and gaining worldly goods. So taste the penalty488 of Allāh and His vengeance, and take up residence [in hell], you and those with you!"

Dhariḥ and those with him were killed, but Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr and a group of his followers escaped and took refuge with their tribe. Then Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's public announcer in al-Basrah called out, "Those of you who have anyone among your tribes who attacked Medina, bring him to us!" They were brought to them as dogs are and killed. Out of all the Baṣrans, only Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr escaped—his tribe, Banū Sa'd, protected him. For this it paid very dearly and was given a time limit to release him. All this alienated Banū Sa'd. It was formerly allied to Ūthmān, but now its people said, "We're pulling out of this dispute."489

The 'Abdis joined in rage with Banū Sa'd because of those [seventy] of them who were killed after the battle and those who fled to them because they wanted to maintain obedience to 'Ali. Then Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr ordered the troops to be given their pay, provisions, and [other] dues; and they gave the obedient ones bonuses. But 'Abd al-Qays and many of Bakr b. Wā'il490 defected when they disdained to give them bonuses and rushed to the treasury. But the people there attacked them and inflicted casu-

486. Baṣrans.
487. They want something else.
489. Na'tazil.
490. This tribe belonged to the same people—later known as Rabī'ah—as 'Abd al-Qays (E2, s.v.).
alties among them. This group then left and set off down the road to 'Ali.

Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr then settled down in al-Baṣrah, the only revenge outstanding there being on Ḥurqūṣ, and wrote to the Syrians about what they had done and achieved:

We came out to wage war and to uphold the Book of Allah by carrying out Allah’s punishments on the high and the low, on the many and the few. Only Allah himself can turn us away from all this. The cream of the Baṣrans and their best-bred gave us allegiance, and their dregs and their strangers rebelled against us. They forced us back with arms, saying, among other things, “We will take the Mother of the Faithful hostage” because she commanded them to do right and encouraged them toward it! And Allah showed them the example of the Muslims time after time. Then, when there remained neither proof nor excuse, the killers of the Commander of the Faithful rushed headlong into battle and came out to their graves. None of them escaped to tell the tale except Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr, and Allah Most High will wreak vengeance on him, if He wills! They were as described by Allah, and we implore you by Allah for the safety of your very souls—you must rise up as we have done. We will meet Allah, and so will you, but we have already exonerated ourselves and fulfilled our duty.

They sent this [to Syria] by the hand of Sayyār al-‘Ijli and wrote similarly to the Kūfans by a man from Banū ‘Amr b. Asad called Muẓaffar b. Mu’arrīḍ. They wrote to the people of Yamāmah, whose governor at that time was Sabrah b. ‘Amr al-‘Anbarī, by al-Ḥārith al-Sadūsī, and they wrote to the people

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491. ‘Abdis and Bakris.
492. Ibrāhīm wrongly has amartahum.
493. Fa-aṭāhūm . . . sūnbat al-Muslimin, i.e., to try to reason with the opponent before taking up arms (Glossarium, CCCXVII).
494. In the Qurān, i.e., in hell.
495. Of Rabi‘ah [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 141, II, 172].
496. Some seventy miles southeast of present-day al-Riyadh.
of Medina by Ibn Qudāmah al-Qushayrī, who secretly infiltrated among them.

`Ā'ishah then wrote to the Kūfans by their messenger:

After greetings. I am reminding you of Allah and of Islam. Uphold the Book of Allah by carrying out what it says: "Fear Allah and hold on tight to His rope!" Follow His Book, for we came to Baṣrah, and we appealed to them to uphold the Book of Allah by carrying out His punishments. The upright among them responded to us, but the good-for-nothings received us with weapons and said, "We will certainly make you follow `Uthmān [b. Affān]." [They said this] in order to increase the ineffectiveness of the punishments [of Allah], and they rebelled and accused us of unbelief and spoke very badly to us. But we recited the Qur'ānic verse: "Have you not seen those who have been given part of the Book? They are called to the Book of Allah, that it may judge between them, [but . . .]." Some of them then acknowledged me but disagreed among themselves, so we let them be. But this didn’t prevent those with the earlier opinion from drawing swords against my followers. `Uthmān b. Ḥunayf insisted that their only course of action was to fight me. But Allah protected me with devout men, and He threw their trickery back in their faces. We then spent twenty-six days inviting them to the Book of Allah and to carry out His punishments, in this case with respect to the prevention of the shedding of blood of anyone who had not deserved capital punishment. But they refused and produced various arguments, which we accommo-

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499. I.e., to the grave.
500. Reading li-yazidū with Ibrāhim rather than the text’s li-yartaddū “forsake the punishments unenforced.”
501. Qur’ān 3:23; see note 414, above, for the implication.
502. Reading illā with the text and Ibrāhim for illā mā in the ms. De Goeje’s suggested lammā [Addenda, DCXXXII] “urged them on when they fought,” is unnecessary.
503. Lit., “throats.”
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dated. But they became afraid and treacherous; they became deceitful and ganged together. But Allah collected the blood revenge for 'Uthmân from them and retaliated, and only one of them escaped. Allah helped us and protected us from them by means of 'Umayr b. Marthad and Marthad b. Qays and men from Qays and men from al-Ribāb and al-Azīd. So [people of al-Kufah] do not withdraw your approval from anyone except the killers of 'Uthmân b. 'Affān, that Allah might receive His rights. Do not argue on behalf of the traitors, or protect them, and do not approve of the attenuation of Allah's punishments, lest you join the ranks of the unjust. I am writing [this] to specific men. Stop the people's protecting these killers or assisting them, and remain in your houses. These men were not satisfied with what they did to 'Uthmân b. 'Affān and with splitting the togetherness of the community and going against the Book and the sunnah: they [went farther and] even accused us of unbelief over our commands and our encouragement to them to uphold the Book of Allah and carry out His punishments. They spoke to us in a very bad way. But the devout disagreed with all this and found their words very serious. “You aren’t satisfied with killing the imām,” they said, “but even come out against the wife of your Prophet. For commanding you the truth you would kill her, the Companions of the Messenger of God, and the leaders of the Muslims!” Then they, and 'Uthmân b. Hunayf with them, cajoled whoever would join up with them—ignoramuses, riffraff, Zuṭṭ, and Sayābījah. So we took shelter from them
with a section of the garrison, and this was how it was for twenty-six days. We were calling them to the truth and not to intervene between us and the truth, but they practiced deception and treachery. We did not do the same. They used żalḥah and al-Zubayr's allegiance [to 'Ali] as evidence against them, and they dispatched a messenger [to Medina], who returned to them with evidence [they were not wanting]. But they did not accept the truth and would not put up with it, so they came at me before first light to kill me and those with me who were fighting them. They continued until they reached the threshold of the house where I was staying. A guide was with them, leading them to me, but they found some men at the door of my house, among them 'Umayr b. Marthad, Marthad b. Qays, Yazid b. 'Abdallāh b. Marthad, and some men from Qays, and some men from al-Ribāb and al-Azd. So the millstone ground them round—the Muslims encircled them and killed them. Thus Allāh caused all the Başrans to agree with żalḥah and al-Zubayr's aims. So if we killed seeking our revenge, our excuse is more than sufficient.

The battle took place on 25 Rabi' II 36/21 October 656. 'Ubayd b. Ka'612 held that it was in Jumādā.613

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Hasan—ʿĀmir b. Hafs—his teachers: It was a man called Ẓukhaym614 from al-Huddān615 who beheaded Ḥakim b. Jabalah. His head was dangling backward, hanging on only by its skin, and his face was turned against his back. Ibn al-Muthanno al-Ḥuddānī said: "the man who killed Ḥakim was Yazid b. al-Asḥām al-Ḥuddānī. Ḥakim was found killed between the dead bodies of Yazid b. al-Asḥām and Ka' b. al-Asḥām.

613. I.e., at least five days later; cf. pp. 81, 133, below.
614. Or perhaps Suhaym; cf. the following Yazid and text n. e.
615. Of al-Azd (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 216).
Hunayf is governor of Medina. If you kill me, he will retaliate on my behalf.\textsuperscript{516} So they let him go.

They were at variance over [who should lead] the prayer, so 'A'ishah appointed 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and he led the prayer. Now al-Zubayr wanted the army to be given its pay and what was in the treasury to be divided, but 'Abdallāh his son pointed out, "If the army is paid it will disperse." So they agreed to put 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr\textsuperscript{517} in charge of the treasury.

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan 'Ali—Abū Bakr al-Hudhali\textsuperscript{518}—al-Jārūd b. Abī Sabrah: It was the night when Uthmān b. Hunayf had been captured. In the square in front of Madīnat al-Rizq sat provisions for supplying the army. Now 'Abdallāh was about to supply his men with them, but Ḥakim b. Jabalah had heard what had been done to 'Uthmān, and he said, "I have no fear of Allāh if I don't come to his aid!" so he went along with a company of men, mostly from 'Abd al-Qays but some from Bakr b. Wā'il. Ibn al-Zubayr then approached Madīnat al-Rizq and asked, "What do you want, Ḥakim?" "We want to get supplies from these provisions," he replied, "and we want you to release 'Uthmān so that he can stay in the governor's house until 'Ali comes, as you agreed in writing between you. By Allāh! If I could find supporters against you with whom to smash you, I wouldn't put up with this from you, but I would kill the same number from you as you killed [from us]! To spill your blood is now in fact lawful for us, to the extent of those of our brothers you've killed. Do you have no fear of Almighty and Glorious Allāh! On what grounds do you consider the shedding of blood lawful?" "It was to repay 'Uthmān b. 'Affān's blood," replied Ibn al-Zubayr. "But those you killed, did they kill 'Uthmān?!\textsuperscript{519} Do you not fear Allāh's hatred?" he replied. But 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr said to him: "We will not supply you with any of these provisions. Nor will we release 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf until he withdraws his allegiance to 'Ali." "O Allāh! You are a just arbiter. Be my witness!" exclaimed Ḥakim, and, turning to his men, he said: "I have no doubts about

\textsuperscript{516} Intaṣar, cf. Qur'ān 54:10.

\textsuperscript{517} The son of the first caliph [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 21, II, 128].

\textsuperscript{518} Sulmi b. 'Abdallāh [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 58, II, 518].

\textsuperscript{519} Whether a question or a statement, this is heavy sarcasm, to which 'Abdallāh has no reply.
fighting these men! Anyone who does, let them leave!” So he fought them, and a fierce battle ensued. A man struck Ḥakīm in the foot and cut it off, so Ḥakīm grabbed it, hurled it, and hit him in the neck, knocking him down senseless. Ḥakīm b. Jabalah then crawled over to him, killed him, and rested his head against him. “Who killed you?” asked a passer-by. “My pillow.”

Seventy from 'Abd al-Qays were killed there. Al-Hudhali added: Ḥakīm said the following verses when his foot was cut off:

When my courage faltered, I said
to the foot, “Foot of mine! don’t be frightened!
I still have my forearm to assist me.”

'Āmir and Maslamah added: Ḥakīm's son al-Ashraf and brother al-Ri‘l b. Jabalah were killed with him.

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Hasan—al-Muthannā b. 'Abdallāh—'Awf al-A‘rābī: A man came up to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr while they were in the mosque in al-Blāsrah. “I ask you in Allāh’s name,” he said, “did the Messenger of God ever give the two of you any authority to set out like this?” Ṭalḥah rose [to go] and gave no reply, so the man adjured al-Zubayr, who said, “No, but we heard you had dirhams so we’ve come to share them with you!”

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Hasan—Sulaymān b. Arqam—Qatādah—Abū 'Umrah, the mawlā of al-Zubayr: When the Basrans gave allegiance to al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr said, “Are there not a thousand horsemen to ride with me to 'Ali?! I will attack him, either by night or in the morning, and I should kill him before he reaches us!” But no one responded. “This really is the fitnah we were told about!” he continued. “Do you call it a fitnah when you are fighting in it?!” his mawlā said to him. “We see, damn you! But we do not understand. There’s never before been a situation when I didn’t know my next step, but with this one—I don’t know whether I’m coming or going.”

520. Omitted in İbrāhīm.
521. Khayyāṭ wrongly “al-Za‘l.”
522. Occurs in an isnād in Humphreys, Crisis, 33.
523. 'Ali was on the way to al-Blāsrah.
524. Dissension, civil war [EP, s.v.].
525. Glossarium, cxxxiv.
According to Aḥmad b. Maʿṣūr—Yaḥyā b. Maʿṣūr—Hishām b. Yūsuf the qādi of Ṣanʿāʾ—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥāfaẓa b. Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr—Mūsā b. ʿUqbah—ʿAlqamah b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī: When Ṭālḥah and al-Zubayr and ʿĀʾishah set out, I noticed that Ṭālḥah preferred to sit alone and would flick his beard against his chest. So I said to him: "Abū Muḥammad! I see that you prefer to sit alone and keep flicking your beard against your chest. If there's something you dislike [going on], sit [and talk about it]!" "ʿAlqamah b. Waqqāṣ," he replied to me, "we were all united against others. But now we've become two mountains of iron, each seeking [to finish] the other. There was indeed something I did against ʿUthmān, and my penance for it can be nothing less than having my blood spilled in the course of seeking vengeance for his blood." "So send Muḥammad b. Ṭālḥah back," I said, "for you have an estate and households, and if something happens he can take your place." "I don't wish to stop anyone I see active in this affair," he replied. So I went to Muḥammad b. Ṭālḥah and said: "Why don't you stay home? Then if something happens to your father you can take his place in his households and estate." "I don't want to be asking this man and that man about what happened to him," he replied.

According to Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Mikhnaf—Mujālid b. Saʿīd: When ʿĀʾishah arrived at al-Baṣrah, she wrote to Zayd b. Ṣūḥān: "From ʿĀʾishah bint Abī Bakr, Mother of the Faithful, beloved of the Messenger of God, to her devoted son Zayd b. Sulhan. After greetings. When this letter of mine reaches you, come and assist us in this undertaking! If you don't, then at least make the people abandon ʿAlī." He wrote back to her: "From Zayd b. Ṣūḥān to ʿĀʾishah bint Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddiq,
beloved of the Messenger of God. After greetings. If you withdraw from this undertaking and return home, then I will be your devoted son. If you don't, I will be the first to break with you." "May Allâh have mercy on the Mother of the Faithful!" said Zayd b. Šuhân. "She was ordered to stay at home, and we were ordered to fight. But she didn't do what she was ordered and ordered us to do it, and she did what we were ordered and ordered us not to do it!"

An Account of 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib's Advance toward al-Baṣrah

According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—'Ubaydah b. Mu‘ātib—Yazîd al-Ḍakhm:536 While 'Alî was in Medina news reached him that 'A‘îshah and Ṭâlhah and al-Zubayr were headed for al-Baṣrah, so he hurriedly set off hoping to catch up with them and turn them back.537 But on reaching al-Rabadhah he learned that they had sped on ahead, so he set up camp there for a few days. He then heard that their army was making for al-Baṣrah, so he worried no more.538 "No one likes me more than the Kûfans," he said, "and there are Arab chiefs and leaders there." He then wrote to them: "I have chosen you specially out of all the garrison cities, in preference to the others."539

According to 'Umar—Abû al-Ḥasan—Bishr540 b. 'Āṣim—Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Râhîm b. Abî Laylâ—his father: 'Alî wrote to the Kûfans: "In the name of Allâh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. After greetings. I have chosen you specially and to live among you because of what I know of your friendship [to me] and love for Almighty and Glorious Allâh and for His Messenger. So whoever of you joins me and assists me has
responded to the truth and fulfilled his duty [to Allāh]."

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Ḥibbān b. Mūsā—Ṭālḥah b. al-Aʿlam and Bishr b. ʿĀṣim—Ibn Abī Laylā—his father: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and Muḥammad b. ʿAwn were sent to al-Kūfah, and the people went to Abū Mūsā to ask his advice about joining up. "As for the hereafter you should stay put, but as for the here and now you should join up. It's up to you!" When the two Muḥammads heard about these words of Abū Mūsā, they dissociated themselves from him and criticized him severely. But he replied: "By Allāh! Allegiance to `Uthmān is still binding on me and binding upon your companion who sent you. If we are required to fight, then before we do so, every single one of the killers of `Uthmān, wherever he may be, would have to be killed."

It was the last day of Rabiʿ II 36/25 October 656 when ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭalib] left Medina, and the sister of ʿAlī b. `Adī from Banū `Abd al-ʿUzza b. Abī Ṭalib ʿAdī said the following verse:

O Allāh! Hamstring ʿAlī [b. ʿAdī]'s camel!
And bless not any camel that carries him!
ʿAlī b. ʿAdī is certainly not up to it.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Waʿlah al-Shaʿbī: When ʿAlī had stopped at al-Rabadhah, a company of Banū Ṭayyi came to him. "Here is a company of Banū Ṭayyi that have come to you," he was told. "Some want to join up with you; some want to greet you." "May Allāh reward all of them well! But Allāh has favored the fighters over the stay-at-homes with a great reward." Then they entered, and ʿAlī asked, "What would you testify our position to be?" "Whatever you wish," they replied. "May Allāh reward you well!" he said.
"You became Muslims voluntarily, you fought the apostates, and you've paid your alms to poor Muslims in full."\textsuperscript{550} Sa‘īd b. Ubayd al-Ṭā‘ī then rose and said: "Commander of the Faithful! Some people can express exactly what's in their minds. But Allāh knows! I can't do that. But I'll try my best. Allāh gives success. I know that I'll [always] give you my best advice, both secretly and openly, and I'll fight your enemies at every engagement. I will grant claims to you that I would not grant any of your contemporaries, because of your personal merit and your relationship [to the Prophet]." "May Allāh have mercy on you!" replied 'Ali. "You've expressed your inner thoughts perfectly." He was killed with 'Ali at Šiffin, may Allāh have mercy on him!

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When 'Ali had arrived and set up camp at al-Rabadhah, he sent Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr and Muḥammad b. Ja‘far to al-Kūfah with a letter to [the Kūfans]: "I have chosen you specially out of all the garrison cities, and I am urgently asking help from you because of what has happened. So be supporters and helpers of Allāh's religion! Give us assistance, and join with us! To set things right is what we are after, so that the community may revert to being brothers. Whoever approves of this and chooses it has approved of the truth and chosen it. Whoever disapproves of this has disapproved of the truth and belittled it." So the two men went off; 'Ali stayed in al-Rabadhah, making preparations. He sent to Medina, requesting animals and weapons. These came to him, and his force multiplied.

He then stood up among the people and delivered this sermon:

Through Islam Almighty and Glorious Allāh has made us great, has lifted us up,\textsuperscript{551} and has made us brothers after lowness and fewness, after mutual dislike and distance.\textsuperscript{552} The people progressed in this way for as long as He willed, with Islam as their religion, the right on their side, and the Book as their imām. But then this man was struck by the hands of that faction that Satan had stirred

\textsuperscript{550} Tayyi’ were predominantly Christian (Watt, 89–90).

\textsuperscript{551} The ms. could read wa-qillah wa-tabā’ud "and gave us success" for the text’s wa-raja’anā.

\textsuperscript{552} Sa‘ī: ba’d dhillah wa-qillah wa-tabā’ud wa-tabā’ud.
up to foment discord among this community. Mark my words! This community will not escape becoming split, just as previous communities split up. So we take refuge in Allāh from the evil that will be!

He then continued:

What will be must without doubt come about. Mark my words! This community will split into seventy-three sects, the worst one being the one who professes my cause but doesn’t perform my work. Indeed you have lived to see [this],\(^{553}\) so hold fast to your religion, go aright with your Prophet’s guidance,\(^ {554}\) and follow his sunnah. Examine what is obscure to you against the Qur’ān, and hold fast to what the Qur’ān tallies with and abandon what it disagrees with. Be well satisfied with Glorious and Almighty Allāh as Lord, with Islam as religion, with Muhammad as Prophet, and with the Qur’ān as arbiter and imām.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muhammad and Ṭālḥah: As ʿAlī was about to leave al-Rabaridh for Baṣrah, a son of Rifa‘ā b. Rāfi’\(^ {555}\) came up to him and asked, “Commander of the Faithful! What are you intending, and where are you taking us?” “Our aim and intention,” replied ʿAlī, “is islāh—if they acknowledge our right and accept that from us.”\(^ {556}\) “And if they don’t accept that from us?” he asked. “Then,” replied ʿAlī, “we’ll leave them\(^ {557}\) to make their justification, we’ll give them the right to have it, and we’ll be patient.” “And if they aren’t satisfied [with that]?” “We’ll leave them alone as long as they leave us alone.” “And if they don’t leave us alone?” “We’ll defend ourselves against them.” “This is a good attitude,” said Rifa‘ā’s son. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Ghaziyyah, one of the Anṣār, then stood up and said,

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553. IA adds “them.”
554. IA has “go aright with my guidance, for it is your Prophet’s guidance.”
555. Al-Zurāqī al-Khazrajī, who fought at Badr as an opponent of ʿUthmān (Cas kel and Strenziok, I, 192, II, 487).
556. I.e., without fighting.
557. Reading nada‘uhum with Ibrāhim, for the text’s nada‘hum, as also in the next line [nu’ṭihim is clearly indicative]. De Goeje (Glossarium, ccxl) suggests nada‘uhum “we’ll call on them to present their justification.”
"I'm going to satisfy you with action just as you've satisfied me with words," and he recited:

Catch up with it! Catch up with it before it slips away!
Let us hurry and go up toward the clamor.
May my soul not find refuge if I fear death!

"By Allah! I will help Almighty and Glorious Allah, just as He called us Helpers." The Commander of the Faithful then began the march. The vanguard was led by Abū Laylā b. 'Umar b. al-Jarrāh, with Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyyah holding the banner. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās led the right flank and 'Umar b. Abī Salīmah or 'Amr b. Sufyān b. 'Abd al-Asad led the left. 'Alī marched off with 760 men, and 'Alī's poet versified for him:

Set off in companies, and advance quickly!
For ['Alī] has decided. So be positive about it
Until you and they encounter one another on steeds,
with which we will beat Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr.

He was in front of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī, who was on a reddish-brown she-camel of his, pulling along a dark bay horse. At Fayd they were met by a ghulām from Banū Sa'd b. Tha'labah b. Āmir called Murrah, who asked, "Who are all these?" "The Commander of the Faithful," came the reply. "A passing journey involving blood of passing souls!" he remarked. 'Alī heard him and called him over and asked, "What's your name?" "Murrāh." "May Allah make your life bitter!" said 'Alī. "You're playing the soothsayer for today, are you?" "No, I'm an augur."

558. Anṣār.
559. See p. 32, above, where the same men had charge of the same positions on leaving Medina.
560. Reading either the marginal gloss wa-khubbā or the text's wa-huththū.
561. Glossarium, ccxxxiv. It is not clear exactly who "they" and "you" (pl. are—perhaps ahl al-bayt and the present company.
562. Halfway between Mecca and al-Ḵufāh (Yaqūt, IV, 282).
563. Or 'Amr, of Asad (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 171, II, 497).
564. Amāra.
565. Kāḥin (EP, s.v.).
566. Reading al-yawm with Ibrāhim and Glossarium, cclxxxiv for the text's al-qawm: "You're the army's soothsayer?"
When they dismounted at Fayd, Asad and Tayyi' came to 'Ali and put themselves at his service, but he said: "Stay at home! The Muhājirūn are enough." A Kūfān came to Fayd before 'Ali had left. "Who's this man?" asked 'Ali. "'Amir b. Maṭar,"568 he replied. "Al-Laythī?" "No, al-Shaybānī." "Tell me your news!" said 'Ali. He did so, and when 'Ali questioned him about Abū Mūsā he replied, "If you want peace,569 then Abū Mūsā is the man; but, if you want to fight, then Abū Mūsā is not the man." "By Allah!" said 'Ali. "All I'm after is islāh until it's completely rejected." "I've given you the news," he said and fell silent. 'Ali also fell silent.

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Muḥammad—Abdallāh b. 'Umayr—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah: 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf came to 'Ali at al-Rabadhah with the hair of his head, beard, and eyebrows all plucked out and said: "Commander of the Faithful! When you sent me I had a fine beard, but I return to you beardless." "You've earned a great reward,"570 'Ali told him. "The people were ruled before me by two men who acted according to the Book. But when a third ruled them they said and did things. Then the people gave me allegiance. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr also gave me allegiance, but then they withdrew it and incited the people against me. How strange that they should comply with Abū Bakr and 'Umar yet oppose me. By Allah! They know very well that I'm no less of a man than any of those who've passed on. O Allah! Undo what the two of them have contracted, do not ratify what they have consolidated, and show them the evil of what they've done!"

According to al-Sarī [in writing]—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When 'Ali dismounted at al-Tha'labiyyah571 news came of what had befallen 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf and his guards. So he stood up and told the men the news and then said: "O Allah! Spare me from the killing of Muslims that You have inflicted572 on Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, and deliver us from all these people!"

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568. Layth is of Kinānah and Shaybān of Bakr b. Wā'il, both northern tribes.
569. Al-ṣulh.
570. Often said to someone suffering misfortune.
571. According to Yaḥyū [II, 78] this is about halfway along the Mecca-Kūfah road, as it is between al-Shuqqūq and al-Khuza'ymah, which stand at thirds.
572. Killing a believer deliberately earns hellfire (Qur'ān 4:93).
Then when he reached al-Isād news came of what had befallen Ḥakīm b. Jabalah and the killers of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, so he said: “Allāh is great! Now that they have got their revenge, what will save me from Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and them [from me]?573 and he recited the verses from the Qurʾān “Whatever calamity may happen on earth or to yourselves has been written down before We bring it into being.”574 He then recited the verse of poetry Ḥakīm called with the call of courage and dismounted as he did onto the battleground.

Then when they reached Dhū Qār ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf got to them, and he had not a hair on his face. When ʿAlī saw him, he looked at his companions and said,575 “He left us as an elder and returned as a youth.” ʿAlī stayed at Dhū Qār waiting for576 Muḥammad and Muḥammad.577 News then reached ʿAlī of what had befallen Rabiʿah and of the departure of ʿAbd al-Qays and their taking to the road, and he said, “ʿAbd al-Qays is the best of Rabiʿah, and Rabiʿah is all good.” He then recited:

How deeply I mourn for Rabiʿah,  
Rabiʿah who always heard [me] and obeyed. 
Disaster fell upon them before I reached them.578 ʿAlī offers a prayer to be heard That thereby they may reach the highest station. 

Bakr b. Wāʿil then presented themselves to ʿAlī, and he replied to them as he had to Ṭayyiʿ and Asad.579

Now, when Muḥammad and Muḥammad arrived in al-Kūfah and took Abū Mūsā the Commander of the Faithful’s letter and made ʿAlī’s orders known among the people, they were not580 given any [positive] response. That evening some prominent wise men went to see Abū Mūsā and asked him, “what do you think about join-

573. I.e., the clash is now inevitable.
574. Qurʾān 57:22.
575. jokingly to make ʿUthmān feel better.
576. Yalūm “criticizing,” as in the manuscript, is unlikely.
577. Ibn Abī Bakr and Ibn ʿAwn/ʿaʾfar.
578. See a variant of this hemistich, p. 125, below.
579. I.e., “Stay at home!”; see p. 85, above.
580. Reading lam with Ibrāhim, for the text’s fa-lam.
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ing up [with 'Ali]?" "Reason would have been possible yester-
day,"\(^{581}\) he replied, "but not today. What you gave no thought to
in the past\(^ {582}\) is what has brought what you're witnessing down
upon you. So what is left is two things, and that's all. Staying here
leads to the hereafter; joining up leads to this world. So make your
choice!" No one responded, so the two emissaries became angry
and spoke roughly to Abū Mūsā. "By Allāh!" Abū Mūsā replied.
"Allegiance to 'Uthmān is still binding on me and binding upon
your companion. So, if there's no way out of fighting, the killers of
'Uthmān, wherever they may be, will have to be dealt with before
we fight anyone." The two of them then left for 'Ali and reached
him at Dhū Qār, where they gave him the news.

Now 'Ali had gone out with al-Ashtar, who had been in a hurry
to go to al-Kūfah. 'All said, "You, Ashtar, advised us to keep Abū
Mūsā as governor, and you are always objecting. So go, you and
'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, and repair the mess you caused!" So 'Abdallāh
b. 'Abbās left with al-Ashtar and came to al-Kūfah. There they
spoke with Abū Mūsā and tried to rally support against him
among some of the Kūfans. But Abū Mūsā said to the Kūfans:
"[Remember!] I was your leader on the day of al-Jara'ah,\(^ {583}\) and I
am your leader today." He then assembled the people and ad-
dressed them with this sermon:

\[3146\]

Men! The Companions of the Prophet, those who were
with him on the battlefields, know more about Glorious
and Almighty Allāh and about His Messenger than those
who weren't Companions. So we [Companions] owe you
[non-Companions] a duty,\(^ {584}\) and we will definitely fulfill
it. Our advice was not to take Almighty and Glorious
Allāh's authority lightly or be audacious before Him. The
next piece of advice was that you should take those who
had come to you from Medina and send them back there
until they came to an agreement among themselves. For
they know better than you who is right for the imamate,

\(581\). Before 'Uthmān was killed.
\(582\). Killing 'Uthmān.
\(583\). A battle on a sandy hill that took place between Muslims during 'Uthmān's
time [Ibn Manzūr, IX, 397 l. 41].
\(584\). Giving sincere advice [haqq al-nasihah].
and you shouldn't get involved in the matter. But, as for what's happened now, it's an endless fitnah. The one asleep in it is better off, than the one awake in it. The one awake in it is better off than the one who stays at home from it. The one who stays at home from it is better off than the one who stands in it. The one who stands in it is better off than the one who rides in it. So be the ones all the Arabs look to! Sheathe your swords, take off your spearheads, cut your bowstrings, and shelter the oppressed and the persecuted until this affair is over and this fitnah has been dispelled.

According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muhammad and Talhah: When Ibn 'Abbas returned to 'Ali with the news, he called his son al-Hasan and sent him [to al-Kufah]. With him he sent 'Ammar b. Yasir, saying, "Go and set right what you've messed up!" So the two headed off and entered the mosque [in al-Kufah]. The first man to come to them was Masruq b. al-Ajda'. He greeted them and turned to 'Ammar and asked: "Abū al-Yaqzān! Why did you all kill 'Uthmān?" "For swearing at our women and beating our bodies!" 'Ammar replied. "By Allah!" said Masruq and quoted: "You have not punished as you were punished. If only you had held back! Those holding back would have benefited." Abu Musā then came out and met al-Hasan and embraced him. He then turned to 'Ammar and asked: "Abū al-Yaqzān! Were you one of those who attacked the Commander of the Faithful, making yourself, along with the other profligates, liable for capital punishment?" "No, I did not," he replied. "Why do you abuse me?" But al-Hasan interrupted them; he turned to Abū Mūsā and asked: "Abū Mūsā! Why are you holding the people back from us? By Allah! All we want is ʾislāḥ. The Commander of the Faithful

585. Ṣammā', lit., "deaf."
586. furthūmah, a prominent place where people might congregate [Ibn Manẓūr, XIV, 362; Lane, 404c], i.e., "stay in your places, so that others will follow suit."
587. Companion of the Prophet who fell at Siffin on 'Ali's side [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 272, II, 167; EI², s.v.].
588. Al-Hamḍānī, a Kūfī scholar and traditionist [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 229, II, 401].
589. Qurʾān 16:126, modified so as to refer to the past, rather than the future.
590. i.e., you have overdone the retaliation.
is not the kind to be feared over anything.” “You’re right, and you’re more precious to me than my father and mother,” he replied, “but the adviser should be trusted. I heard the Messenger of Allah say: ‘It will be a fitnah. The sitter will be better off than the stander, the stander than the walker, the walker than the rider.’ Almighty and Glorious Allah made us brothers. He made our property and blood forbidden to each other when He said: ‘Believers! Do not consume each other’s capital in foolish pursuits . . . and do not kill each other! Allah has great concern for you.’ Glorious and Almighty Allah also said the verse that begins ‘Whoever kills a believer deliberately, hell is his punishment.’ ‘Ammār got angry at this. He spoke harshly to him and stood up and said: “All of you listen! It was only to him personally that the Prophet said, ‘You’re better sitting in it than standing.’” “Shut up, you slave!” said a Tamīmi, standing up. “Only yesterday you were with the riffraff, and today you insult our commander!” Then Zayd b. Șūhān and his group got up, and so did the rest of the people, but Abū Mūsā began restraining them. He then hurried to the minbar, and the people fell silent. Meanwhile, Zayd came on his donkey and stopped at the door of the mosque. He was carrying ‘A’ishah’s two letters, the one to himself and the one to the Kūfan people. He had asked her to write a general public letter and had put it with his own. He therefore was coming with both, with the private letter and the public one, which said: “After greetings. Take no action, people [of al-Kūfah], and stay in your houses, except against the killers of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān.” When he had finished reading, he said: “She was given an order and we were given an order. She was ordered to stay at home, and we were ordered to fight until all fitnah had gone. But she’s ordering us to do what
she was ordered and taking on herself598 what we were ordered to do!" But up stood Shabath b. Rib'i599 and called out, "You 'Uma'-ani!" [Zayd was from 'Abd al-Qays of 'Uman, not from the Bahraynis].600 "You stole at Jalūla',601 and Allah cut off your [hand]. You've disobeyed the Mother of the Faithful, so may Allah kill you!602 What Almighty and Glorious Allah ordered concerning islāh among the people603 was all that she was ordered. By the Lord of the Ka'bah! You spoke and the people became incited."604

Then Abū Mūsā stood up and addressed the people:

Obey me, and be the ones all the Arabs look to!605 The oppressed will come to you for shelter, and the afraid will find safety with you. We are the Companions of Muḥammad. We're better able to understand his words "When the fitnah approaches it confuses; when it retreats it makes things clear. Fitnah rips [the community] apart like a stomach ulcer. The winds fan it, from the north and south, from the east and west. Then it dies down for a while, but where it arises from no one knows. It renders the wise man inexperienced." Sheathe your swords,606 snap your spears, throw away your arrows, cut your bow-strings, and stay in your houses! Leave Quraysh—for607 they've insisted on leaving Medina and on separating from those who know about the leadership—to mend its own tear and repair its own split. If it succeeds, then it will bring good things on itself; if it doesn't, then it will

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598. Wa-rakibat mā umirnā bihi. Abbott, 'Aishah, 154–55 translates "while she rides to carry out the orders. . . ."
599. Of Tamim; he became a Kharijī after Siffin [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 68, II, 521].
600. Shabath was probably from these. Calling Zayd 'Umanī was derogatory.
601. He confessed. A station in Iraq on the Khurāsān road, east of the Tigris, 34°10' N, 45° E [EP, s.v.].
602. For the fulfilment of this wish, see p. 132, below.
604. Ibrāhīm notes that the text is obscure.
605. See p. 88, above.
607. Reading idh, following Ibrāhīm and Wellhausen [159], for the text's idhā. Leaving Quraysh means leaving 'Ali, 'A'ishah, Tālḥah, and al-Zubayr.
bring death on themselves. Its oil will flow on its skin. Trust me! Don’t think I’m deceiving you! If you obey me you’ll be safe spiritually and temporally, and those who caused this fitnah will suffer the blast of its heat.

Then Zayd stood up, lifted his handless arm, and said: “Abd- allāh b. Qays! Turn the Euphrates back on its course! Turn it back on itself to its source! If you can do that then you’ll be able to do what you’re proposing. No! Leave what you’re incapable of achieving alone!” Then he recited two verses from the Qur’ān: “Alif, lam, mim. Do the people think that they will be left alone saying ‘We believe’ and not be tested [by fitnah]?” and added, “Go and join the Commander of the Faithful and the Head of the Muslims! Do it quickly, all of you! And you’ll be making the right decision.”

Al-Qā’qā’ b. ‘Amr then stood up and said: “I give you all sincere advice. I’m concerned about you. I want to tell you the whole truth. What the governor said is the correct course of action, if only it were possible. But as for what Zayd said—and Zayd [remember] is a part of this fitnah—don’t any of you be advised by him. No one who has launched into or embraced this fitnah will be able to extricate himself from it. The only view that really makes sense is that we have to have leadership to organize the people, to restrain the oppressor and strengthen the oppressed. Here is ‘Ali. He is governing. He has been just in what he has called for, and that has been for islāh and nothing else. So disperse, but keep your eyes and ears open to see how things develop!”

Then Saylian said: “Men! This situation and these people have to have a leader who will ward off the oppressor and strengthen the oppressed and unite the people. This leader of yours is calling you so that the dispute between him and his two companions...
may be looked into. He has been entrusted with the community. He is the one with insight into religion, so whoever joins up with him we’ll go along with them.” ‘Ammār had calmed down after his initial outburst. When Sayhān had finished his sermon he spoke up and said: “Here is the paternal cousin of the Messenger of Allah calling you out against the wife of the Messenger of Allah and Tālhah and al-Zubayr. I bear witness that she is his wife in the hereafter as well as this life, so consider very carefully what is right, and then fight on its side!” Someone replied: “Abū al-Yaqzān! The right is with the person about whom you bore witness that she will be in paradise and against the one about whom you didn’t do so.” “Desist, ‘Ammār!” said al-Ḥasan. “Iṣlāḥ has its proponents.”

Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī then stood up and said: “Men! Respond to the call of your commander, and go join your brothers, for there will be those who hasten to him for this affair. By Allah! That the controllers of the affair should be those with wisdom is both better in this world and more beneficial in the next. So answer our call and assist us against this affliction of ours and yours!” The people were indeed sympathetic and responded favorably to al-Ḥasan.

Then some tribesmen from Tāyyi came to ‘Adī and asked: “What do you think? What are your orders?” “We’ll wait and see what the people do.” When ‘Adi was told of al-Ḥasan’s undertaking and what opinions had been voice, he said: “We gave allegiance to this man ‘Alī, and he summoned us to something good and to look into this critical new situation. So we are going along and looking.” Hind b. ‘Amr then stood up and spoke: “The Commander of the Faithful summoned us and sent messengers to

615. ‘Ammār is here showing his impartiality.
616. I.e., my father ‘Alī and not you. ‘Ammār had not been doing too well; cf. p. 88, above.
617. I.e., ‘Alī’s family or the addressees [in flattery].
618. An important north Arabian tribe [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 176, 249, II, 555].
619. Ibn Ḥātim, their leader, originally a Christian, fought at Qādisiyyah, and with ‘Alī at the battles of the Camel, Ṣiffin, and Nahrawān [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 256, II, 139].
us, and now his son has come to us. So listen to what he says, and join his command. Hasten to the side of your commander! Look into this matter with him, and support him with your opinions!" Hujr b. ‘Adi then stood up and spoke: "Respond, all of you, to the Commander of the Faithful. ‘Hasten to fight! both light and heavy.’ Agree to it! I’ll be the first of you.” Then al-Ashtar got up and mentioned the Jāhiliyyah and its severity and Islam and its ease and went on to mention ‘Uthmān. Al-Muqāṭṭa b. al-Haytham b. Fujay al-‘Āmiri al-Bukkā‘ī then went up to al-Ashtar and said: “Silence! Allāh make you ugly! A dog should be left alone with its barking!” So the people rose up and made al-Ashtar sit down, and al-Muqāṭṭa stood and said: “After this we cannot put up with anyone coming along with bad comments about one of our imāms. ‘Ali is sufficient in our opinion. By Allāh! If people like this disagree with ‘Ali, then let a man bite his tongue in these meetings of ours! Accept therefore what al-Hasan and ‘Am- mār are urging you to do!” “The old man is right” said al-Hasan and spoke up: “Listen, men! I set off early tomorrow morning, so let whoever wishes come out with me by land and whoever wishes by water.” Nine thousand set off with him—some by land, others on the water. Each seventh had its commander. Six thousand two hundred went on land, 2,800 by water.

According to Nasr b. Muzāḥim al-‘Aṭṭār—‘Umar b. Sa‘īd—Asad b. ‘Abdallāh—a scholar contemporary with the events: ‘Abd Khayr al-Khaywānī went up to Abū Mūsā and asked him, “Were these two—that is, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr—among those who gave allegiance to ‘Ali?” “Yes,” he replied. “Did he do something bad to permit withdrawing allegiance to him?” “I don’t know.” “May you not know! And we’ll not follow you until you do know! Abū Mūsā! Do you know anyone not involved in this

621. Of Kindah; he fought at Qâdisiyyah, and with ‘Ali at the battles of the Camel and Šiffin [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 236, II, 329].
622. Qur‘ān 9:41, a call to jiḥād.
623. Prym’s possible emendation, hakā, is difficult.
624. I.e., keep tight-lipped [Freytag, II, 694].
625. The Euphrates.
626. According to IA, 2,400.
627. Cf. p. 52, above.
628. Of Hamdān [Caskel and Strenziok, II, 125].
fitnah, as you claim it to be? Only four parties\(^{629}\) remain—'Ali behind Kūfah, Tālḥah and al-Zubayr in Bāṣrah, Mu‘awiyyah in Syria, and another party in the Ḥijāz, where no booty is gained and no enemy is fought.” “There are no better people than they,” replied Abū Mūsā, “where there is a fitnah.” “Your deception has got the better of you, Abū Mūsā!” said 'Abd Khayr.

Now al-Ashtar had gone to 'Ali and said, “Commander of the Faithful! I already sent a man before these two, but I didn’t see him sort anything out or get control over anything. These two are the most likely of those you’ve sent to get the matter sorted out in the way you wish, but I don’t know what will happen. So if you—may Allāh ennoble you!—were to think of sending me after them [I think it would be good], for the Kūfans are my most loyal followers. If I went to them I don’t expect a single one would oppose me.” “Catch them up, then!” 'Ali told him. So al-Ashtar headed for Kūfah, and when he got there the men had all gathered in the Great Mosque. So every tribe he passed that he saw had a group sitting together or in a mosque he would invite, “Follow me to the castle!” So he reached the castle with a large following and broke in and entered. Now Abū Mūsā was standing addressing the people in the mosque and telling them to hold back. “Men!” he said. “This fitnah is blind and deaf. It is trampling on its halter.\(^{630}\) The sleeper in it is better off than the sitter.\(^{631}\) The sitter in it is better off than the stander. The stander in it is better off than the walker. The walker in it is better off than the runner. The runner in it is better off than the rider. It is a fitnah that rips [the community] apart like a stomach ulcer.\(^{632}\) It has come at you from the place where you were safe and leaves the wise man bewildered like someone without experience.\(^{633}\) We, the congregation of the Companions of Muhammad, are better able to understand the fitnah—when it approaches it confuses and when it retreats it discloses.”\(^{634}\) ‘Ammār then heckled him, and al-Ḥasan said to

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629. Reading firaq following Ibrahim and de Goeje (Addenda, Dcxxxiii) for the text’s Qurūn “leaders” (Glossarium, CDXXII).
630. I.e., it is out of control.
632. Cf. p. 90, above.
633. Cf. p. 90, above.
634. Cf. p. 90, above.
him: "Resign from the governorship over us! You with no moth-
er!" Step down from our minbar!" "Did you hear this from the
Messenger of Allāh?" asked 'Ammār. "Here's my hand to prove
what I say," replied Abū Mūsā. "The Messenger of Allāh was
saying something specifically to you," 'Ammār said to him,
"when he said, 'You're better off sitting than you will be standing
in it.'" 'Ammār added, "Allāh overcomes whoever struggles
against Him and rejects His words!"

According to Naṣr b. Muzāhim al-'Aṭṭār—'Umar b. Sa'īd—a
man—Nu'aym—Abū Maryam al-Thaqafi: By Allāh! I was in the
mosque that day when 'Ammār was addressing Abū Mūsā and
saying those words to him, when out came some of Abū Mūsā's
ghulāms to us. They were aggravatedly calling out: "Abū Mūsā!
This man al-Ashtar entered the castle, beat us, and threw us out."
So Abū Mūsā came down [from the minbar] and entered the cast-
tle, but al-Ashtar shouted at him: "Get out of our castle, mother-
less man! May Allāh eject your soul! By Allāh! You have been one
of the secret dissenters for a long time!" "Just give me this
evening," he requested. "You may have it, but you're definitely
not sleeping in the castle tonight." Men then entered and were
rifling Abū Mūsā's belongings, but al-Ashtar stopped them and
sent them out of the castle. "I've expelled him," he said, and
held the men back from him.

The Commander of the Faithful Dismounts
at Dhū Qār

According to al-Sarī [in writing]—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Amr—al-
Sha'bi: When they congregated at Dhū Qār 'Alī received them
with a group, which included Ibn 'Abbās. He then welcomed
them. "Men of al-Kūfah!" he said. "It was you who repelled
the power of the Sasanians and their kings. You scattered their troops,
and their inheritances fell to you. You enriched your territory

635. A milder form of lā abā lak!
636. I.e., you can cut it off if I'm lying.
637. Cf. p. 89, above.
638. Muḥāfith; see EP, s.v.
639. I.e., that is sufficient.
640. IA, "protected."
and assisted the Muslims against their enemy. So I am calling you to witness our Basran brothers with us. What we want is that they regain their senses, but if they persist we'll treat them with gentleness and keep ourselves apart from them as long as they don't initiate any injustice against us. Allāh willing, we won't neglect any course of action that might improve the situation. We'll choose it rather than one that will make things worse. There is no power except with Allāh!"

Seven thousand two hundred gathered at Dhū Qār. The whole of 'Abd al-Qays also were waiting to join 'Ali as he passed them on his way to Basrah, and they were ...641 thousand. A further 2,400 were on the river.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah [their transmission]: When 'Ali dismounted at Dhū Qār he sent three lots of envoys [to al-Kūfah]: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr with Muḥammad b. Ja‘far, then Ibn ʿAbbās with al-Ashtar, then his son al-Ḥasan with ‘Ammār. Everyone who had been active rushed to join in this cause—it was not that the leaders were sending in their men. There were 5,000 of them, half going by land and half by river. Those who had not yet been active or become involved, but had given 'Ali their obedience,642 also rushed to join and teamed up with the moderates.643 They were 4,000. The leaders of the moderates were al-Qa‘qā’ b. ‘Amr, Sa‘r b. Mālik,644 Hind b. ‘Amr, and al-Haytham b. Shihāb. The leaders of the activists were Zayd b. Ṣūhān, al-Ashtar Mālik b. al-Ḥarīth, ‘Adī b. Ḥātim, al-Musayyab b. Najabah,645 and Yazid b. Qays.646 These all had with them their allies and other men similar to them, who were not inferior except that they were not given actual command, like Ḥujr b. ‘Adī647 and Ibn Maḥdūj al-

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641. The number had fallen out of the text even before IA's time.
643. Al-jamā’ah. For this translation and “activists” for nuffār, see Hinds, "Kūfān Political Alignments," 361. Both groups were early comers to Kūfah.
644. Following Ibrāhim and Addenda, dcxiii. The text has Sa‘d.
645. Al-Qurashi [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 131, II, 436].
646. Probably Ibn Tammām from Hamdān [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 231, II, 596].
647. Ibn Ḥātim. He led the Kūfans against Mu‘āwiyah.
Bakri.\textsuperscript{648} There was no other Kufan of another opinion, and they hastened to war, all except a few.

When they dismounted at Dhū Qār 'Alī called al-Qa‘qā’ b. 'Amr and sent him to the Basrans, saying, “Ibn al-Hanṣaliyyah! (al-Qa‘qā’ was a Companion of the Prophet) Go and see these two men! Invite them to friendship and unity, and stress the evil of schism. What are you going to do about any proposal from the two of them on which you don’t have my advice?” “We’ll present them with your orders. If they propose something that we don’t have your view on, we’ll exert our own judgment and make our comments on the basis of what we hear and consider necessary.” “You’re the right man for the situation” replied ‘Alī.

So al-Qa‘qā’ left and went to al-Basrah.\textsuperscript{649} He first went to 'Ā’ishah and greeted her: “Dear Mother! What compelled you to come to this city?” “My dear son! Islāh between the Muslims.” “Would you send for Talhah and al-Zubayr,” he asked, “so you can hear what I and the two of them have to say?” She did so, and they came. “I asked the Mother of the Faithful what compelled her to come to this region,” said al-Qa‘qā’, “and she said Islāh between the Muslims.’ What do you two say? Do you share her opinion or not?” “We share it,” the two replied. “So describe to me what this islāh means. By Allah! If we understand the same thing by it,\textsuperscript{650} then we will certainly be reconciled, but, if we don’t understand the same thing by it, then we will not.” “Punishing the killers of Uthmān,” the two replied. “Neglecting that would be neglect of the Qur’ān, but carrying it out would be giving life to the Qur’ān.” “But you’ve already killed those killers of Uthmān from Basrah,” said al-Qa‘qā’, “and before you killed them you were nearer to the right way than you are now. You killed 600 men bar one, and 6,000 became enraged for their sake and withdrew from your cause and deserted you! When you then searched for the one who escaped (meaning Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr) 6,000 protected him and were ready to fight. So if you make an exception of him you’ll be abandoning

\textsuperscript{648} Hudhayfah or Ḥassān? For Ibn Maḥdūj b. Bishr, see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 154.

\textsuperscript{649} Muir, 247; Abbott, Aishah, 155.

\textsuperscript{650} Ibrāhim omits hu from the text’s ‘arafnāhu.
your position, and, if you fight them and those who have withdrawn from you and the battle goes against you, then what you will have feared but drawn near to will be far worse, as far as I can see, than your worst fears. For you will have enraged the Mudar and Rabi'ah of this region, such that they will gather against you in war and forsake you in support of these 6,000, just as those gathered to support the perpetrators of this huge crime and terrible sin. "So what do you suggest?" asked the Mother of the Faithful. "I say that the remedy for this situation is to quiet things down," he replied. "If it calms down, they will tremble. So if you all give us allegiance then that will be a promising sign and tidings of mercy. It will cause the attainment of blood revenge for this man and well-being and safety for this community. But, if you refuse and insist strongly on your own opinion in this affair and on forcing it, then this will be an evil sign and the squandering of the blood revenge and cause Allāh to send instability through this community. So choose well-being, and you'll fare well by it and be reasons for good as you were in the past. Don't lay either us or yourselves open to disaster, lest it throw us all down. I swear to Allāh, I say this and call you to it in a state of fear that this won't end until Almighty and Glorious Allāh has taken what He wants from this community whose provisions are diminishing with these events. The damage that has occurred from this affair is incalculable. It isn't like other situations. It isn't like a man killing another man or a group killing one man or even a whole tribe killing one man. "Yes," they replied, "you've spoken well and you're absolutely right. So return! And if Āli comes with a similar position to yours, then the affair will have resolved itself." So he returned to Āli and told him what had happened, and he was pleased. So the armies were on the threshold of peace, some disliking it and others approving.

The Basran delegations came to Āli while he was camped at

651. Of killing all of them.
652. The 6,000.
653. The killers of 'Uthmān, who will be seized and punished individually (Glossarium, ccxxix).
654. Matā': perhaps in the hereafter.
655. But the whole community.
Dhū Qār. Before al-Qa‘qā‘ had returned, those\textsuperscript{656} of Tamīm and Bakr came to find out what their fellow tribesmen from al-Kūfah thought and why they had mobilized. They came to tell him that their position was \textit{iṣlāḥ} and that they didn’t entertain any idea of fighting. When they told their Kūfani clansmen the opinion that their Baṣrani clansmen had sent them with,\textsuperscript{657} the Kūfans replied to them with the same words and then took them in to ‘Alī and told him their news. ‘Alī then asked Jarir b. Sharis about Talḥah and al-Zubayr. He told him everything about their situation in detail, and quoted:

\begin{quote}
Go tell Banū Bakr as a messenger—

because there is no way to Banū Ka‘b—

\textit{“The man of virtue and long forearms\textsuperscript{658} will make your oppression that came from you return back to you.”}
\end{quote}

‘Alī added at that time:

Do you not know, Abū Sim‘ān, that we send back the chief like you with a headache?! His mind becomes deranged from the war such that he stands and responds to callers who are not there.

All Bakr gathered and defended Khuza‘ah,

but you, Surāqah, you have no defense!

Abū Ja‘far [al-Ṭabari] said, “Ziyād b. Ayyūb drew up a book for me containing reports from teachers from whom he said he had heard directly [and then written down]. Some he read to me, and others he did not. One of those he did not read to me but that I copied from his book goes as follows.\textsuperscript{659}


During the time of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān I had a dream. I saw a man who was ruling the people while he was ill in bed, and a woman was by his head. The people were after him and hastened toward

\textsuperscript{656.} Reading \textit{wufād} with Ibrāhīm for the text’s \textit{wafād.}
\textsuperscript{657.} \textit{iṣlāḥ.}
\textsuperscript{658.} I.e., good with the sword in battle.
\textsuperscript{659.} Cf. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, II, 278.
him,\textsuperscript{660} and had she forbidden them they would have stopped. But she did not, so they seized and killed him. I used to recount this dream of mine to everyone, whether settled or nomad, and they were surprised and did not know what it meant.

Then when 'Uthmān was killed the news reached us as we were returning from a raid, and my companions said, “Your dream, Kulayb!” We then got to Baṣrāh, and we had not been there long when someone said, “Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr are coming, and the Mother of the Faithful is with them!” This alarmed the people and they were surprised, but they were claiming to the people that they had only come out of anger over 'Uthmān and in penance over the way they had not supported him. The Mother of the Faithful spoke up: “We became angry at 'Uthmān on your behalf because of three things he did: giving command to youths, expropriating common property,\textsuperscript{661} and beating with whip and stick. But we wouldn’t be acting justly if we weren’t angry at you on his account for three things that you perpetrated against him: the sanctity of the month,\textsuperscript{662} city, and blood.” The people replied, “But didn’t you give allegiance to 'Alī and agree to his command?” “We agreed,” they replied, “with the sword at our necks.” “Here is 'Alī approaching you” someone said.

Our people said to me and two men with me, “Go and find 'Alī and his men and ask them about all this. We’re confused about it.” So we set off. But as we neared the camp a handsome fellow on a mule was coming toward us. I asked my two companions, “Did you remember the woman I told you about, who was by the head of the ruler? She looked just like this man.” He realized that we were discussing him so when he got up to us he said: “Stop! What did you say when you saw me?” We refused to say so he shouted at us, “By Allāh! You won’t leave until you’ve told me!” At this we became frightened of him, so we told him. He then said as he went past us, “By Allāh! You saw something extraordinary.” We asked the first person from the camp we came across, “Who was that?” “Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr,” he replied, so we realized

\textsuperscript{660} Wa-yaḥbashūn ilāhi; cf. p. 3, above.  
\textsuperscript{661} Mawqī‘ al-ghamāmah, lit. “the place of cloud,” hence herbage; see Ibn Manẓūr, XV, 340.\textsuperscript{9ff. [iḥmā’]; Wellhausen, 160.  
\textsuperscript{662} Dhū al-Ḥijjah.
that the woman was 'Ā'ishah⁶⁶³ and our dislike of what she was doing increased. When we reached 'Ali and had greeted him, we asked him what was going on. "When the people rose against this man I kept away," he said. "Then they killed him and made me ruler against my will. But for anxiety for the religion I wouldn't have acceded to them. Then these two suddenly reneged, but I didn't let them get away with it and extracted promises from them before letting them go on the 'umrah pilgrimage. They then came to their mother, the wife of the Messenger of Allah, and they approved for her what they disapproved of for their own wives⁶⁶⁴ and exposed her to things that were taboo to them and were no good. So I pursued them both to stop them ripping Islam apart and splitting the unity." Then his followers added: "By Allah! We don't want to fight unless they do so first. Islāh is all we've come out for." 'Ali's followers then shouted at us, "Give allegiance! Give allegiance!" My two companions did so but not I. I held back and said, "My people sent me for a particular purpose, so I'm not going to do anything new until I return to them." "And if they don't do it?" asked 'Ali. "Then neither will I," I replied. "Imagine they sent you out to scout," said 'Ali, "and on returning you brought them news of pasture and water but they turned away to waterless, dry areas. What would you do?" "I'd leave them," I replied, "and go to the pasture and water without them." "Then stretch out your hand!" he replied. By Allah! I could not resist, and I opened my hand and gave him allegiance. Afterward he used to say, "'Ali was one of the smartest of the Arabs." 'Ali then asked, "What have you heard about Talhah and al-Zubayr?" "As for al-Zubayr," I replied, "he says, 'We were forced to give allegiance,' and, as for Ṭalḥah he's keen to quote verses, and so he says:

Go tell Banū Bakr as a messenger—
because there is no way to Banū Ka'b—
"The man of virtue and long forearms
will make your oppression that came from you return to you."

⁶⁶⁴. Cf. p. 62, above, p. 126, below. There are no illicit implications [Caetani, IX, 41, n. 1].
"It wasn’t like that," said ‘Ali, "but:"

Do you not know, Abū Sim‘ān, that we
deafen the chief like you with a headache?!
His mind becomes deranged from the war such that
he stands and responds to callers who are not there."

Then ‘Alī marched off until he set up camp on the outskirts of Baṣra. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr had had a trench dug. Our Başran companions asked us, "What did you hear [that] our Kūfan brothers want and say?" "They say, ‘We’ve come for peace, and we don’t want to fight,’" we replied. Suddenly while they were engaged in this way, not talking about anything other than peace, young boys emerged from the two armies, hurling insults at each other and then stones. They were followed by the slaves of the two armies, who were followed in turn by the foolhardy men. War broke out, forcing them to take cover back in the trench. Fighting ensued there until they were forced to clear off to the battlefield and ‘Alī’s men went into the trench and the others left. ‘Ali then called out aloud: “Don’t pursue those who flee! Don’t finish off the wounded! Don’t go into any houses!” and he restrained his men. Then he sent a message to the others to come out and give allegiance, and he received allegiance under the banners. “Anyone who recognizes anything [belonging to him lying around],” said ‘Alī, “then let him take it!” until nothing was left behind from the two armies. A group of young men from Qays then came to him, and their spokesman said some words. "Where are your leaders?” asked ‘Alī. “They were hit under the eyes of the camel,” said the spokesman and continued his speech. “This is the long-winded orator!” said ‘Alī.


Al-Ashtar then told me to go and buy him the most expen-
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sive camel in Baṣra. I did so, and he said, “Take it to ’Ā’ishah, and give her my greetings!” I did that, too, but she cursed him and said “Return it to him!” I then told al-Ashtar, who said, “’Ā’ishah is blaming me for letting her sister’s son escape!” Then he heard the news that ’Alī had made Ibn ‘Abbas governor, and he was angry. “For what purpose did we kill the old man?” he asked. “For Yemen is Ṣubaydallāh’s, the Hijāz is Qutham’s, al-Baṣra is Ṣubaydallāh’s and al-Kūfah is ’Ali’s.” He called for his mount and rode back. When ’Alī heard of this, he announced that they were departing. He made good speed and caught up with him, but he did not let on that he had heard about it and asked: “Why did you set off? You’re way ahead of us.” ’Alī had feared that if al-Ashtar were left to go like this he would cause the people to have seditious ideas.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When the Baṣran delegations had come to the Kūfans and al-Qaʿqa’ had returned from the Mother of the Faithful and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr with a similar view, ’Alī gathered the people. He then stood on some sacks, praised Almighty and Glorious Allāh, and magnified Him and prayed for His blessing on the Prophet. He then mentioned the Jāhilīyyah and its misery and Islam and its happiness, and Allāh’s grace toward the community in its unity in [recognizing] the first caliph after the Messenger of Allāh and the two who came next. “Then there occurred this evil event brought upon this community by groups intent only on this world. They were jealous of those Allāh had given it to on account of virtue and wanted to make a complete turnaround. ‘But Allāh attains His purpose’ and fulfills His will! Tomorrow, then, I’m setting off [toward al-Baṣra], so all of you do likewise! All of you, that is, except anyone who helped the

672. Following Ibrāhim, who has idh for the text’s idhā, “if.”
673. I.e., the nepotism carries on, but with Banū Ḥashim rather than Umayyah.
674. Toward al-Kūfah or perhaps Medina.
675. Inserting ahl with Ibrāhim and Addenda, dcxxxiii.
676. Ibrāhim only has one.
677. Balighun amrāhu [Qurʾān 65:3], cited probably in the qirāʾah of Ibn ʿAmir (cf. p. 109, below) or Abū ʿAmr, certainly not of Ḥaṣ, which has balīghu amrīhi [Ibn al-Mujāhid, 639].
cause against 'Uthman in any way at all; they will not set off tomorrow. Let the fools rely on themselves and do without me!"

A group then gathered, among them 'Ilba' b. al-Haytham, 'Adi b. Hātim, Sālim b. Tha'labah al-'Absi, Shurayh b. Awtā b. Dubay'ah, al-Ashtar, and a number of others who had attacked 'Uthman and approved of it. They were joined by the Egyptians, Ibn al-Sawdā', and Khālid b. Muljam. They conferred among themselves and asked, "What should we do? Here is 'Ali. He understands the Book of Allah more than those who seek 'Uthman's killers and is in the best position to act on the matter. He has stated his position and yet only they and a few others have rallied to him. So how will he react when he draws up to his opponents and they to him and they see how few we are compared to their great number? By Allah! You will be wanted for retaliation, and you'll have no escape!" "We know Talhah and al-Zubayr's position," replied al-Ashtar, "but 'Ali's we've only discovered today. Everyone's opinion about us, by Allah! is the same, and if they and 'Ali make amends we're dead men! So come on! let's rise up together against 'Ali and unite him with 'Uthman! A fitnah will then return in which all that will be wanted from us is to keep out of it." "This is a bad idea," said 'Abdallah b. al-Sawdā'. "You Kūfān killers of 'Uthman at Dhu Qar, you number only 2,500 or 2,600 and Ibn al-Hanzaliyyah here and his men are 5,000, and they're longing to find a way of fighting you. You hardly have room to be offering advice!"

"Let's go away from them and leave them," said 'Ilba' b. al-

680. Companion of the Prophet, d. 68/687-88 [EP, s.v.].
682. 'Abdallah b. Saba'.
683. The text is difficult, and, following Addenda, DCXXXIII, IA's version, 235, has been adopted here. Ibrāhīm inserts wa-agrabu after bi-kitāb Allah "he understands the Book of Allah most and is closer than those who seek 'Uthman's killers."
684. Al-Qā'qā' b. 'Amr.
685. Or "improve your position first!" (Ibrāhīm n., Lane, 1917c).
Haytham. "Then, if 'Ali's side decreases, their enemy will have more power over them, whereas, if they increase, they will be more likely to make peace to your disadvantage. So leave them! Go back and stay in some town until someone comes in whom you can find protection. Pull out from this army!" "This is also a bad idea," said 'Abdallâh b. al-Sawdâ'. "By Allah! For you to be in a particular place and not mixed in among innocent parties is just what the people want. If your suggestion came about, you would be easy prey." "By Allah! I neither agree nor disagree," 'Adî b. Ḥâtim replied, "but I am surprised at those who express any hesitation about killing ['Ali]. But, given what has happened and the position ['Ali] has achieved among the people, we have an excellent supply of horses and weapons, so if you advance we will and if you hold back we will also." "Well said!" 'Abdallâh b. al-Sawdâ'. But Sâlim b. Tha'labah said: "Some people do what they do out of desire for this world, but not me! By Allah! If I meet them tomorrow I won't run home, and if when I meet them in battle I stay alive let it be for no longer than the slaughtering of a camel already destined for slaughter. I swear by Allah! You're afraid of swords like people whose affairs are only arranged by the sword." "Do you hear that?!" remarked 'Abdallâh b. al-Sawdâ', but Shurayh b. Awfâ said: "Organize yourselves before you go out! Don't delay anything that you need to do quickly, and don't rush anything that you need to delay! The people have the worst opinion of us, and I've no idea what they might do tomorrow when they come together."

Then Ibn al-Sawdâ' spoke up: "Listen, men! Your strength lies in being linked with everyone else, so cultivate them. But then, when they meet tomorrow, get the fight going! Don't give them time to think; then those around you will have no option but to defend themselves. Allah will then divert 'Ali and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and those who share their views from what you

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686. And they will need us.
687. Cf. p. 27, above. Ibrâhîm suggests "of one opinion."
688. Or "I wouldn't go back on anything" if shay' (see Prym's n.) is read for bayti.
690. 'Ali's army.
would hate to happen." They thought this plan was best and went their ways agreed on it. No one else knew about it.

The next morning found 'Ali mounted and riding out with his army. When he reached 'Abd al-Qays he dismounted among them and those Kufans who had come out. 'Ali was in front. Then he set off again until he dismounted at al-Zawiyah, where more men caught up with him for he had gone on ahead of them. When 'Ali's plan reached the Başrân and 'Ali had dismounted as just described, Abû al-Jarbâ went up to al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwâm and said, "The best plan is for you now to send a thousand horsemen to go against this man in the evening or the morning before he meets up with his followers." "Abû al-Jarbâ," replied al-Zubayr, "we're familiar with the affairs of war, but they are fellow Muslims, and this is an unprecedented situation that has never before arisen. It's a situation in which those meeting Almighty and Glorious Allâh without an excuse now will find their excuse cut off on the Day of Resurrection also. Furthermore, their delegate has left us with a kind of agreement, and I am hopeful that we'll achieve peace, so keep cheerful and patient."

Then Şâbrah b. Shaymân came up and said: "Talhah and al-Zubayr. Let us use this opportunity to kill this man! Strategy in war is better than brute force." "Sabrah," they replied, "we and they are Muslims and this is a situation that hasn't risen before today, that there should have been a Qur'ân revealed about it or a Sunnah established by the Messenger of God. No, it's something new. There are those who held that it shouldn't be set in mo-

691. Peace.
692. The text has "so understand this plan, and go away agreed!" as though Ibn al-Sawdâ' were still speaking.
693. Near Dâr al-Rizq [al-'Ali, 301; Massignon, 157].
694. The text is corrupt here, probably dittographic, but followed by Ibrahim. The translation follows Wellhausen, 160, and de Goeje (Addenda, DCXXXIII), who follows IA, 236.
695. It is not clear what this place was, but it was probably in northern Başrân near the road to Abâdân [al-'Ali, 290; Massignon, 157].
696. Following Ibrahim and text n. h.
697. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 82 or 189, II, 258.
698. Reading aw for wa.
699. Al-Qa'qâ'.
700. 'Ali.
tion today—ʿAli and his followers—but we said rather that we shouldn’t leave it today or postpone it. ʿAli said: ‘What we’re calling you to do—conceding to these regicides—is evil, but it’s better than something yet more evil! It may seem like something unattainable, but it’s about to become clear to us. The laws between Muslims entail choosing those of most general use and least damaging application.’

Then Kaʿb b. Sūr came up and said: “What are you all waiting for? You’ve already made your way to their front lines, so cut off this head of their [forces]!” “Kaʿb” they replied, “this is a problem between us and our brothers, and it is far from clear. By Allah! The Companions of Muḥammad have never taken a course of action since Almighty and Glorious Allāh sent His Prophet without knowing701 where to put their feet, until this situation arose, but now they don’t know whether they’re coming or going. Today something might look good to us and bad to our brothers; tomorrow it will seem bad to us and good to them. We’re producing arguments against them that they don’t consider valid; then they produce similar ones.702 We want peace if only they would respond to it and carry it out. Otherwise the final remedy is cauterization.”703

Some Kūfan groups went up to ʿAli b. Abī Ṭālib and questioned him why they were advancing against the other side. Among them was al-ʿAwar b. Būnān al-Mīnqārī, to whom ʿAli replied: “For islāḥ and extinguishing the fire of hatred. I hope Allāh will reunify this community by us and stop their warring, if they respond to me.” “And if they don’t respond to us?” “We’ll leave them alone as long as they leave us alone.” “And if they don’t leave us alone?” “We’ll defend ourselves against them.” “Shall we then give them as good as they gave us?” “Yes,” replied ʿAli. Then up stood Abū Salāmah al-Dāʿalānī and asked, “Do you think these people have a case for seeking revenge for this blood, if their intentions are honest before Almighty and Glorious Allāh in so doing?” “Yes,” replied ʿAli. “So do you consider you have a

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702. Reading amthāliḥa with Ibrāhīm for the text’s amthālinā.
703. I.e., war.
case for delaying retaliation?" "Yes," replied 'Ali. "In situations that cannot be put right the ruling should be what is least damaging and of most general application." "So what will be our situation if we are afflicted tomorrow?" he asked. 'Ali replied, "I hope that anyone who is killed, whether from us or from them, with a mind kept sincere to Allah will be admitted by Allah to paradise."704

Then up stood Malik b. Ḥabib705 and asked, "What are you going to do when you meet these people?" "It's perfectly clear to us and them," replied 'Ali, "that ʾismāḥ means stopping this business. If they then give us allegiance, then that will be ʾismāḥ; but, if both they and we insist on fighting, then it will be a split that won't be repaired." "And if we are afflicted tomorrow, then what will happen to those of us who get killed?" "Whoever desires Almighty and Glorious Allah, then it will be his benefit and his salvation," replied 'Ali and stood up and delivered a sermon to the people. He praised Allah and magnified Him and said: "Men! Keep control of yourselves. Restrain yourselves from doing or saying anything against these people, for they're your brothers. Be patient over what happens to you, and beware of rushing into anything without our guidance. If you win arguments today you'll lose them tomorrow."706

'Ali then set off and advanced. He made his armed men and equipment that he had come with go forward until they were in sight of the other army. He then sent Ḥakim b. Salamah and Malik b. Ḥabib to them, saying, "If you still hold to what was agreed when you left al-Qaʿqaʾ b. ʿAmr, then desist and agree to our dismounting and negotiating the whole business."

At this al-Ahnaf b. Qays came out to him with Banū Saʿd ready to fight—they were the ones who had protected Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr and had decided against fighting 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib. "'Ali!" he said. "Our people are in al-Basrah claiming that if you overcome them tomorrow you'll kill their men and enslave their women." "I'm not a man to be feared so," replied 'Ali. "Isn't that only allowed

705. Al-Wāli ibn Asad [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 52] or al-Ashjaʿi of Ghaṭafān [I, 135, II, 389].
706. In the hereafter.
with those who turn away and disbelieve? Haven’t you paid attention to the words of Almighty and Glorious Allâh: ‘You are not a ruler over them, except those who turn away and disbelieve’?707 These are Muslims! Can you take care of your people for me?” “Yes, I can,” replied al-Ahnaf, “but you must choose one of two things. Either I join you, in which case it’ll be just me on my own, or else I will [stay neutral and] hold back ten thousand swords from you.” He then returned to his men and proposed that they abstain. “Tribesmen of Khindif!”708 he began by saying, and a group responded to him. Then he called out, “Tribesmen of Tamîm!” and a group responded to him. Then he called out, “Tribesmen of Sa’d!” and every single Sa’dî responded to him. Then he withdrew with them and waited to see what the [remaining] forces would do. Then, when the battle took place and ‘Ali was victorious, al-Ahnaf’s men came en masse and entered into allegiance to ‘Ali, as everyone else had done.

What the narrators709 transmit concerning al-Ahnaf is different from Sayf’s account from his teachers. What they transmit is as was told me by Ya’qûb b. İbrahim—İbn İdris—Huşayn—‘Amr b. Ja’wân—al-Ahnaf b. Qays: We came to Medina on our way to perform the hajj. We were at our hajj places and were putting down our baggage when up came a man and said, “They are worked up and have gathered in the mosque.” So off we went, and there were the people gathered around a group in the center of the mosque. ‘Ali was there, as were Talhah, al-Zubayr, and Sa’d b. Abî Waqqâs. As we joined them ’Uthmân b. ’Affân arrived. “Here’s ’Uthmân,” someone said. “He’s arrived.” He was wearing a length of yellow cloth of his and had covered his head with it. “Is ’Ali here?” he asked. “Yes,” they replied. “Is al-Zubayr here?” he asked. “Yes,” they replied. “Is Talhah here?” he asked. “Yes,” they replied. So ’Uthmân said: “I entreat you by Allâh! There is no deity but He! Did you know that the Messenger of God said, ‘Whoever buys the enclosure of such and such a tribe Allâh will

707. Qur’an 88:22–23. The text has bi-musaytar, which is the qirā‘ah of Ibn ’Amîr and a non-mainstream transmitter from al-Kisấî [İbn Mujâhid, 682]. İbrahim has bi-musaytar, which is the qirā‘ah of the others.
708. A mostly western Arabian genealogical group, including Kinânah, Asad, Tamim, Ribâb, and Dabbah [Caskel and Strenziok, II, 347].
709. Al-muhaddithûn.
Forgive him? So I bought it for 20,000 or 25,000 dirhams. When I then came to the Prophet and said, 'Messenger of Allâh! I bought it,' he replied, 'Join it with our mosque, and the reward will be yours [in the Hereafter]!' "Allâh be our witness! We certainly did know," they replied. He then mentioned other similar events. When I then met Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr I asked them: "Whom do you command and wish me to give allegiance to? It's obvious this man is going to be killed." "'Ali," they replied.710 "You command and wish me to give allegiance to him?" "Yes!" So I set off and went to Mecca, and while we were there the news of 'Uthmân's murder reached us. 'A'ishah, the Mother of the Faithful, was there, and when I met her I asked, "Whom do you command me to give allegiance to?" "'Ali," she replied. "You command and wish me to give allegiance to him?" "Yes!" I therefore returned to 'Ali in Medina and gave him allegiance. I then returned to my people in Baṣrah, thinking the whole matter had been properly sorted out. But it was not long before someone came to me and said: "Here are 'A'ishah and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. They have dismounted beside al-Khuraybah."711 "What brings them?" I asked. "They have sent you a message calling you and asking your assistance in revenging 'Uthmân's blood," they replied. So I found myself in the most awful situation I had ever been in, and I said: "It would be extremely serious for me not to support these people, among whom are the Mother of the Faithful and the disciple of the Messenger of Allâh.712 But it would also be extremely serious for me to fight a man who is the paternal first cousin of the Messenger of God and to whom they commanded me to give allegiance."

When I went to them they said: "We've come to find help to revenge the blood of 'Uthmân. He was unjustly killed." "Mother of the Faithful," I replied, "I entreat you by Allâh! Did I ask you, 'Whom do you command me to give allegiance to?' and you replied, 'To 'Ali,' to which I replied, 'You command and wish me to give allegiance to him?' and you said, 'Yes'?" "I did," she replied, "but he made changes." "Zubayr, disciple of the Messenger of Allâh, and Ṭalḥah," I then said, "I entreat you both by Allâh! Did I

710. Ibrâhim has "'Ali?"
712. Al-Zubayr.
ask you, 'Whom do you command me to give allegiance to?' and you replied, 'To ‘Ali,' to which I replied, 'You command and wish me to give allegiance to him?' and you said, 'Yes?'” “We did,” they replied, “but he made changes.” “By Allah!” I replied: “I will not fight you while among you are the Mother of the Faithful and the disciple of the Messenger of Allah. Nor will I fight a man who is the paternal first cousin of the Messenger of God and to whom you commanded me to give allegiance. So select for me one of three courses of action. Either leave open the bridge for me, and I'll move to the land of the Persians until Almighty and Glorious Allah carries through His preordained command. Or I'll move to Mecca and stay there until Almighty and Glorious Allah carries through His preordained command. Or I'll withdraw but stay nearby.” “We'll discuss the matter and then send you word,” they replied.

They discussed it and said: “If we open the bridge for him and he goes and tells the Persians your news, this isn't a good idea. Make him stay here nearby where you can keep him under control and see what he's doing.” So he withdrew to al-Jalḥā', two parasangs from al-Baṣraḥ, and about 6,000 did the same. Then the armies met. The first to be killed was Tālḥah, and then Ka'b b. Sūr who was holding the Qur'ān copy and reminding these men and those, and then other casualties. Al-Zubayr went to Safawān, which is as far from al-Baṣraḥ as you are from al-Qādisiyah, and al-Na’ir, a Mujashi’i tribesman met him and asked: “Where are you going, disciple of the Messenger of God? Come to me and you'll be under my protection, and no one will get you.” So al-Zubayr went with him. Someone came to al-Ahnaf and asked him, “Al-Zubayr was met in Safawan, so what are your news about him reached al-Ahnaf.”
orders?" "He brought the Muslims together so that they were hitting each other's eyebrows with swords; then he retires into his house!" He was heard by 'Umayr b. Jurmūz, Fadālah b. Hābis, and Nufay', so they rode off looking for him and found him with al-Na'īr. 'Umayr b. Jurmūz, on a weak horse of his, came at [al-Zubayr] from behind and gave him a light stab, at which al-Zubayr, on a horse of his called 'the Veiled,' bore down upon him until, just when he thought he was about to kill him, 'Umayr b. Jurmūz shouted, "Nāfi! Faḍālah!" Whereupon they bore down on al-Zubayr and killed him.

According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhim-Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān—his father—'Umar b. Ja'wān, a Tamīmī: I (I;Iusayn] asked 'Amr, "What was the situation regarding al-Ahnaf's neutrality?" He replied, "I heard al-Ahnaf say, 'I came to Medina on my way to perform the ḥajj.' He then proceeded to tell the story more or less as above, may Allah be praised for what He has decreed and judged!"

**'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb Sends His Son al-Ḥasan and 'Ammār b. Yāsir from Dhū Qār to Get the Kūfans to Mobilize with Him**

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—Bashīr b. 'Āşim—Ibn Abī Laylā—his father: Hāshim b. 'Utbah? went out to 'Alī at al-Rabadhah and told him about Muhammad b. Abi Bakr's arrival and Abu Musā's words. "I wanted to remove him from office," said 'Alī, "but al-Ashtar asked me to let him stay." 'Alī then sent Hāshim back to al-Kūfah and wrote a letter to Abū Mūsā: "I have sent Hāshim b. 'Utbah to get those Muslims with you to come and join me. So make the people come! I appointed you over your charge only so that you might join in assisting me in upholding the truth." At this Abū Mūsā called al-Sā'īb b. Mālik al-Asḥ'āri? and asked him, "What's your opinion?" "I think," he replied, "you should do what he said in his letter." "I disagree," said Abū Mūsā. Hāshim then wrote to 'Alī, "I came to a man,
fanatical and divisive, openly full of hatred and loathing." He sent this letter with al-Muḥill b. Khalifah al-Ṭāʻī.723

‘Alī then sent his son al-Ḥasan and ‘Ammār b. Yāsir to mobilize the men for him, and he sent Qaraẓah b. Kaʻb al-Anṣārī724 to be governor of al-Kūfah. He wrote a letter for him to take to Abū Mūsā: "After greetings. I had thought that your distance from these events, in which Almighty and Glorious Allāh has not given you a part, would have stopped you from disobeying me. However, I have sent my son al-Ḥasan and ‘Ammār b. Yāsir to mobilize the men, and I have sent Qaraẓah b. Kaʻb al-Anṣārī to be governor of the garrison city.726 So withdraw from our employment 'blamed and defeated.'727 If you do not, then I have ordered him to oppose you. If you resist him and he overcomes you, I have ordered him to cut you to pieces."

When he delivered the letter to Abū Mūsā he withdrew. Al-Ḥasan and ‘Ammār then entered the mosque. "Men," they said, "the Commander of the Faithful says: I have come out in this way either as an oppressor or oppressed. So by Almighty and Glorious Allāh I now remind any man who [wishes to] fulfill his duty toward Allāh that he must come forward. If I am oppressed, he must give me his assistance; if I am an oppressor, he must punish me.728 By Allāh! Talḥah and al-Zubayr were the first to give me allegiance and the first to betray. Have I appropriated any money? Have I altered any judgment? So come forward. Enforce the good, forbid the bad!"


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723. There was an al-Muḥill b. al-Ash‘ath al-Ṭā‘ī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 254, II, 425).
724. A companion of the Prophet (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 188, II, 466).
726. Al-miṣr, i.e., al-Kūfah.
727. Qur‘ān 17:18. A blatant implication that Abū Mūsā is going to burn in hell.
728. Glossarium, cviii.
729. Ibn Yazid al-Ju‘fi, d. c. 128/746 (U. Sezgin, 133 ff.).
730. ‘Amir b. Wāṭhilah al-Kinānī. He fought with ‘Alī at Siffin and died as the last surviving Companion of the Prophet in 110/728, aged over a hundred years (U. Zezgin, 134).
you from al-Kūfah 12,001 men." So I sat on the hill at Dhū Qār and counted them and [sure enough] they numbered no more and no less.

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Hasan—Bashīr b. Ṭāsim—Ibn Abī Laylā—his father: Twelve thousand men joined up with 'Ali, and they were organized into sevenths. Ma‘qil b. Yaṣār al-Riyāḥi was in charge of Quraysh, Kinānah, Asad, Tamīm, al-Ribāb, and Muzaynah. Sa’d b. Mas‘ūd al-Thaqāfī was in charge of the seventh of Qays. Wālīh b. Mahdūj al-Dhuhli was in charge of the seventh of Bakr b. Wā’il and Taghlib. Hujr b. Abī Qays was in charge of the seventh of Madhīh and al-Ashʿarin. Mikhnaf b. Sulaym al-Azdi was in charge of the seventh of Bajīlāh, Ṭanmār, Khath'am, and al-Azd.

**'Ali Sets Up Camp at al-Zāwiyah of al- Başrah**

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Hasan—Maslamah b. Muḥārib—Qatādah: 'Ali set up camp at al-Zāwiyah for a few days, and al-Aḥnaf sent a message to him: "If you wish I personally will join you, or if you wish I will prevent 4,000 swords from attacking you." "How so, considering how you have promised neutrality to your followers?" came back 'Ali's reply. "But to fight them is to fulfill my promise to Almighty and Glorious Allah," replied al-Aḥnaf. So 'Ali sent a message to him: "Prevent whomsoever you can from fighting [me]!" 'Ali then left al-Zāwiyah, and Ṭāḥah and al-Zubayr and 'A’ishah left al-Furqah, and they all met at the place where 'Ubaydallāh (or 'Abdallāh) b. Ziyād's

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731. I.e., his forces.
732. Most probably of Muzaynah, the Companion of the Prophet, d. 60/680 (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 88, II, 399).
733. Probably Wālīh b. al-Mujāhid al-Dhuhli (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 152, II, 586). Ibrāhīm has Makhduj here but Mahdūj in the next report.
734. Up to here all northern Arabs. From here all southern Arabs.
735. Head of a famous Kūfān Azd family and great-grandfather of Abū Mikhnaf, the historian (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 218, II, 407).
736. Cf. the 10,000, p. 109, above.
738. Ibn Abīhi, governor of al- Başrah in the mid-50s/670s and later also of al-Kūfah, sent troops against Ḥusayn at Karbalā' in 61/680; he was killed in 67/686 (EI, s.v.).
castle was [later situated]. When the armies had gathered, Shāqiq b. Thawr\(^\text{739}\) sent a message to 'Amr b. Marjūm al-'Abdi:\(^\text{740}\) "Advance! and lead us toward 'Alī's army!" So they both advanced through the quarters of 'Abd al-Qays and Bakr b. Wā'il.\(^\text{741}\) They then turned toward the army of the Commander of the Faithful. "Whoever these men are with," said the people, "has won." Shāqiq b. Thawr handed their banner to a mawlà of his called Rashrāshah. So Wa'lah b. Maḥduṣ al-Dhuḥli sent him a message: " Nobility has perished! You have handed the honor of your tribe over to Rashrāshah!" "Mind your own business and we'll mind ours!" Shāqiq's reply came back. They remained three days, and no fighting occurred between them. 'Alī continued to send messages to them, speak with them, and restrain them.

According to 'Umar—Abū Bakr al-Hudhali—Qatādah: 'Alī left al-Zāwiyah, heading for Ṭālḥah, and al-Zubayr and 'Ā'ishah left al-Furdhah, heading for 'Alī, and they all met at the place of the castle of 'Ubay dallāh b. Ziyād on Thursday, 14 Jumādā II 36/8 December 656.\(^\text{742}\) "When the two armies came in sight of each other"\(^\text{743}\) al-Zubayr rode out on a horse, heavily armed. "Here comes al-Zubayr!" 'Alī was told. "If Allāh is to be called to mind,"\(^\text{744}\) said 'Alī, "then he's the more probable of the two to take heed."\(^\text{745}\) Ṭālḥah also rode out. 'Alī then went out to them, near enough for the necks of their mounts to cross each other. "By my life!" exclaimed 'Alī. "You've prepared weapons and horses and men. If you have prepared an excuse before Allāh then fear Allāh,\(^\text{746}\) may He be praised! 'Do not be\(^\text{747}\) like the woman who undoes what

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\(^{739}\) Of Bakr b. Wā'il, leader in the conquests (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 153, II, 526).

\(^{740}\) Leader of 'Abd al-Qays for 'Alī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 169, II, 179), for the text's and Ibrāhim's Ibn Marḥūm.

\(^{741}\) Al-'Ali, 291; Massignon, 157.

\(^{742}\) Cf. p. 158, above, where al-Wāqidi dates it 10 Jumādā II.

\(^{743}\) Qur'ān 26:61, where Moses was fighting Pharaoh.

\(^{744}\) By quoting the Qur'ān, as in what follows.

\(^{745}\) Reading either yadhdhakkaru in the fifth stem, as in Qur'ān 80:4 ["Or take heed and benefit by it"], or yadhidhakiru in the eighth stem, with Nöldeke [Addenda, d'cxxxii] and Wellhausen, 160, meaning more or less the same. The text has yudhakkaru "be reminded," which Ibrāhim emends to yadhkuruhu "to remember."

\(^{746}\) Because the excuse cannot be good.

\(^{747}\) Dual, rather than plural, as in the Qur'ān.
she has spun tightly into separate threads.\textsuperscript{748} Am I not brother in religion to you both, you holding my blood sacred and me yours?\textsuperscript{749} Has a crime occurred allowing you to kill me? "You incited the people against 'Uthmān," replied Talhah. "On that Day Allāh will show them their true religion fully, and they will know that it is Allāh who is the plain truth,"\textsuperscript{750} quoted 'Ali. "You, Talḥah! You are seeking revenge for the blood of 'Uthmān! May Allāh curse 'Uthmān's killers!\textsuperscript{751} Al-Zubayr! do you remember the day you passed me in Banū Ghanm\textsuperscript{752} territory with the Messenger of Allāh and he looked at me and laughed and I laughed with him, and you said, ‘Ibn Abī Ṭālib is always proud!’ and the Messenger of Allāh said to you, ‘Quiet! He is not conceited. Believe me, you’re going to fight him, and you’ll be the aggressor?’ “O Allāh! I do, and had I remembered I wouldn’t have come out like this. By Allāh! I will never fight you!” So ‘Ali left [them and returned] to his followers and said, “Al-Zubayr has just made a pledge to Allāh not to fight you.” Al-Zubayr returned to ‘Ā’ishah and said to her, “This is the only important situation I’ve been in since being able to reason when I haven’t known what I was doing.” “What do you want to do?” she asked. “I want to leave them and go,” he replied, but his son ‘Abdallāh said to him: “You’ve brought these two armies\textsuperscript{753} face to face and they’ve set up their lines of battle against each other, and you want to leave them and go! You’ve caught sight of Ibn Abī Ṭālib’s banners and realized that strong young men are carrying them.” “I have sworn an oath not to fight him,” he replied, and what his son said to him angered him. ‘Abdallāh said, “Redeem your oath and fight him!”

\textsuperscript{748} Qur'ān 16:92. The context concerns the importance of keeping oaths and that they should not be broken for political reasons.

\textsuperscript{749} Reading \textit{tuharrimāni} . . . \textit{wa-uharrimu}, following Ibrāhim, for the text’s \textit{tuhrānāni} . . . \textit{wa-uhramu} “you’re forbidden my blood, and I’m forbidden yours.”

\textsuperscript{750} Qur'ān 24:25. While the immediate context in the Qur'ān refers to those who slander Muslim women and is interpreted as referring to ‘A’ishah, ‘Ali is saying that Allāh will punish Ṭalḥah for slandering him. The implicit reference to ‘A’ishah may be an ironic twist.

\textsuperscript{751} I.e., you; cf. the parallel passage, p. 126, below.

\textsuperscript{752} The name of a number of clans [Caskel and Strenziok, II, 272], perhaps Ghanm b. Dūdān of Asad in Mecca.

\textsuperscript{753} \textit{Al-ğhārayn}; see p. 118, below, Ibrāhim 502, n. 2; Lane, 2308a. The reading \textit{al-ārāyν} [Addenda, Dcxxxiii] means “favor-seekers” or “guests” [Lane, 1991b].
So al-Zubayr called for a slave of his called Makhūl and freed him. Then said the verses

I have never seen, as I have today, a brother of brothers more astonishing than one redeeming his oaths By freeing a slave, but in disobedience to the Merciful.

One of their poets added the verses

He sets Makhūl free to save his religion as an expiation to Allāh for his oath, Perfidy written all over his face!

_Return to Sayf’s account from Muhammad and Talhah_

`Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn sent a message to the people, urging them all to leave both the armies, as al-Ahnaf had done. Among those to whom he sent a message were Banū `Adi, and his messenger approached until he called out at the door of their mosque, “Listen! Abū Nujayd `Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn sends you his greetings. He says to you, ‘I would far prefer to be [away] at the base of some mountain among nanny goats with lopsided udders and sheep, shearing their fleeces and drinking their milk, than to shoot one arrow at anyone from these two battle lines!‘” With a single voice Banū `Adi all replied: “By Allah! We are not going to leave the household of the Messenger of God [meaning the Mother of the Faithful] for anything!”


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755. Following Ḩibrīm and Addenda, DCXXXIII, instead of the text’s al-Tāmīmī.
756. Al-Zubayr.
757. Reading a’ajaba [Addenda, DCXXXIII] for the text’s a’ajabu.
758. A proper redeeming of an oath would have to be in obedience.
759. Because of his promises to Muḥammad and ‘Alī.
760. Of Khuzā’ah, a Companion of the Prophet, d. 52/673 (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 197, II, 357).
761. Reading jabal ḥadān, following Nöldeke [Addenda, DCXXXIII] and Ḩibrīm.
762. Reading a’nuẓ ḥudūn [Lane, 591a,b], following Nöldeke [Addenda, DCXXXIII]. According to Glossarium, cxcv, it may mean “very red/black nanny goats.” The text and Ḩibrīm have a’nuẓ khudr, “tawny nanny goats.” Cf. also the next report.
your tribe, when they have all gathered together, and stand up among them and say: "Imrān b. Huṣayn, Companion of the Messenger of Allāh, has sent me to you to give you his greetings and ask for Allāh's mercy on you. He has sworn an oath by Allāh, apart from Whom there is no other god, that he would far prefer to be a mutilated Ethiopian slave pasturing nanny goats with lopsided udders763 on some mountain top until the day he dies than for a single arrow to be shot between the two armies."

The leaders of the tribe lifted their heads to him764 and said, "We are never going to leave the household of the Messenger of God for anything!"

[3178] Return to Sayf’s account from Muhammad and Talhah

The Basrans were in factions: One sided with Talhah and al-Zubayr, one with 'Ali, and a third did not agree with fighting anyone from either side. `Ā'ishah came out from the house where she was staying and moved down to the mosque of al-Huddān765 in the Azd quarter—the battle took place in their compound. The chief of the Azd at that time was Šabrah b. Shaymān, and Ka'b b. Šūr said to him: "When the armies see each other you won't be able to hold them back. It will be like torrents gushing forth. So obey me, and don't be there with them! Withdraw with your tribe! I fear that peace won't prevail. So keep behind this deluge, and leave these two armies of Muḍar and Rabi'ah. After all, they are two brothers.766 If they make amends, then peace is what we've been wanting; if they fight, then we can be their judges tomorrow." Now Ka'b had been a Christian in the Ĥāhiliyyah, so Šabrah said to him: "I fear there is some Christianity in you—are you telling me to abstain from Ḱislah between Muslims?! And to desert the Mother of the Faithful, Talhah, and al-Zubayr if they reject ['Ali's] peace offer?! And to leave seeking revenge for 'Uth-

763. Reading a'nuzan ḥadaniyyāt, following Nöldeke [Addenda, DCXXXIII]; Glossarium, cxcv, and Ibrahim. Cf. also the previous report. The text has a'nuzan ḥatinat, "inaccessible! pregnant! nanny goats."
764. Signifying readiness to reply after listening.
766. They should make peace. They shared an eponymous "father," Nizār, as opposed to the Yamanis here being addressed.
mān?! By Allāh! I’d never do such a thing!” So the Yamanīs767 agreed to be present at the battle.

According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—al-Durays al-Bajalī—Ibn Ya‘mar: When al-Ahnaf b. Qays returned from being with ‘Alī he was met by Hilāl b. Waki’ b. Mālik b. ‘Amr,768 who asked him, “What’s your decision?” “To withdraw. What’s yours?” “To protect the Mother of the Faithful. Are you going to leave us and you’re our chief?” “I will be your chief only tomorrow when you are killed and I remain,” replied al-Ahnaf. “You’re saying all this, and you’re our elder!” said Hilāl. Al-Ahnaf replied, “I’m the elder who is disobeyed, and you’re the youth who is obeyed.” Banū Sa‘d then followed al-Ahnaf, and he withdrew with them to Wādī al-Siba’.769 Banū Ḥanḍalāh followed Hilāl, and Banū ‘Amr770 agreed with Abū al-Jarbā’ and fought.

According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad—Abū ‘Uthmān: When al-Ahnaf came, he called out, “Tribesmen of Udd,771 withdraw from this business, and leave these two armies to be quick or slow!”772 But al-Minjāb b. Rāshid773 called out: “Tribesmen of al-Ribāb,774 don’t withdraw! Witness this business, and take it on yourselves to be the quick ones!” So they separated. Then al-Ahnaf called out, “Tribesmen of Tamīm, withdraw from this business, and leave these two armies to be quick or slow!” But Abū al-Jarbā’ [who belonged to Banū Ghaylān775 b. Mālik b. ‘Amr b. Tamīm] got up and called out: “Tribesmen of ‘Amr, don’t withdraw from this business! Take it on yourselves to be the quick ones!” Abū al-Jarbā’ was leading Banū ‘Amr b. Ta-

767. Following the lead of Azd, Ṣabrāh’s people.
768. From the same tribe.
769. Five miles from Baṣṭrah on the Mecca road [Yāqūt, V, 343].
770. These three groups were all part of Tamīm.
771. Reading yā la-Udd following Ibrāhīm, who notes that this is Udd b. Tābikhāh [see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 59]. He was a major eponym for northern Arabs, comprising, among others, all the tribes and men in this khabar. Prym notes that the text’s yā la-Zayd is incorrect; for the emendation yā la-Wudd, see Addenda, DCXXXIII.
772. Glossarium, CDLXI.
773. Of Dabbah; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 90, II, 408.
774. Part of Udd; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 85–87.
775. For the text’s ‘Uthmān, see Caskel and Strenziok, II, 203. Abū al-Jarbā’ was ‘Āṣim b. Dulaf [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 82, II, 203].
mim, and al-Minjab b. Râshid was leading Banû Dabbah. Then, when al-Aḥnaf called out, "Tribesmen of Zayd Manâh, withdraw from this business, and leave these two armies to be quick or slow!" Hilâl b. Wâki replied, "Don't withdraw from this business!" and called out, "Tribesmen of Ḥanžalah, take it on yourselves to be the quick ones!" Hilâl was leading Ḥanžalah. Banû Sa'd did obey al-Aḥnaf and withdrew to Wâdî al-Sibā'.


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776. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 89 ff.
777. Who included Ḥanžalah and Sa’d; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 59.
779. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 75. Al-Aḥnaf belonged to the ‘Amr branch; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 76.
780. Caskel and Strenziok, II, 419.
781. All tribes in this paragraph are northern.
782. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 122 ff.
783. Of Banû ‘Amir; he fought with Mu‘âwiyyah at Šîffin (Caskel, pl. 96 no. 609).
784. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 93 ff.
786. A prominent Qays and Bakr leader (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 155, II, 391; Pellat, 33, 152, 196).
787. Al-Ḥuddâni (on ‘A’ishah’s side); see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 216, II, 534. All tribes and identified men in this paragraph were southern Arabs, apart from Khîrît.
790. Chief of the Banû Nâjiyâh. He fought with ‘Alî again at Šîffin but later broke with him, so ‘Alî sent after him, and he was killed (EP2, s.v.). He belonged to ‘Abd al-Bayt b. al-Ḥârîth (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 29, II, 347, 123). See also I, 3418 ff.
791. Jarm b. Râbbân were reckoned among Qudâ‘ah; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 327, II, 259.
792. Dhu al-‘Ashirah b. Dallâl; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 278, II, 236?
The Events of the Year 36

Talhah and al-Zubayr came out and took up a position with the army at al-Zabūqah,793 in the location of Qaryat al-Arzāq. Then the whole of Mudar took up a position there, and they were in no doubt that peace would prevail. The whole of Rabī’ah took up a position above them, and they were in no doubt that peace would prevail. The whole of Yaman took up a position below them, and they also were in no doubt that peace would prevail. ‘Ā’ishah was in al-Huddān; the army, 30,000 strong, was at al-Zabūqah, led by those just mentioned. They sent Hakim794 [b. Salamah] and Mālik [b. Ḥabib] back to ‘Ali with the message “We stand by what we agreed to when we left al-Qa’qā’,795 so come forward!”796 The two of them left and came to ‘Ali with the message, so he mounted and [went and] took up a position opposite them. The tribes took up positions opposite their own tribes, Mudar facing Mudar, Ra-bī’ah facing Rabī’ah, and Yaman facing Yaman,797 and they were in no doubt that peace would prevail. Some stood opposite others, and some went across to others, and all they talked about and intended was peace.

The Commander of the Faithful had come out with his 20,000 followers. The Kufans were led by the same men who had come with them to Dhu Qār. ‘Abd al-Qays had three leaders: Jaddimah798 and Bakr were led by Ibn al-Jārūd,799 al-‘Umūr were led by ‘Abdallāh b. al-Sawdā’, and Aḥl Hajar were led by Ibn al-Ashajj.800 Bakr b. Wā’il from the Basrans were led by Ibn al-Hārith b. Nahār, and the Zuṭt and Sayābijah were led by Danūr b. ‘Alī.801 ‘Alī had come to Dhu Qār with 10,000 and a further 10,000 had joined him.

The Caliphate of 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib

‘Āṣim—Fiṭr b. Khalīfah—Mundhir al-Thawrī—Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyyah: We set off from Medina with 700 men, and 7,000801 joined us from Kūfah. A further 2,000 sided with us from802 round about Baṣrah, most of them Bakr b. Wā’il; some say 6,000.

Return to Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah’s account

When everyone had taken up position and was calm, ‘Ali, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr came out, and they stood facing one another. They discussed their differences and realized that peace and cessation of hostilities were the only appropriate course of action, as they saw that authority had begun to disintegrate and that it might not be regained. So they dispersed from that place on that understanding. ‘Ali returning to his camp, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr to theirs.

The Battle

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: At dusk ‘Ali sent ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, and at the same time they sent Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah to ‘Ali with the advice that each side should talk with its followers, and they agreed. So that evening—in Jumādā II—Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr sent a message to the chiefs of their followers, and ‘Ali did so to his, apart from those who had rebelled against ‘Uthmān. So when they retired to bed there was peace. They slept that night as they never had before, because they were free from what they were on the point of and because they had withdrawn from the demands and plans that some of them had been making.803

But those who had stirred up the question of ‘Uthmān spent the worst night of their lives, for they were on the verge of destruction.804 All night they were busy in discussion until they decided secretly to open hostilities. They kept it secret for fear that their evil machinations would be found out. Before dawn the next day

802. Ibrāhīm has man for the text’s min.
803. Lau, 108.
804. Peace would lead to their being brought to justice.
they got up, unnoticed by those nearby, and slipped out on their mission in the dark. Their Muḍar went to their Muḍar, their Rabī‘ah to their Rabī‘ah, their Yamaniyyah to their Yamaniyyah and began using their weapons against them. So the Basrans rose up, and so did each fighting group against those of their fellows who had launched a surprise attack against them.

Al-Zubayr and Ťalḥah then came out with the chiefs of Muḍar and sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām to lead the right flank (who were Rabī‘ah) and sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb b. Asid to the left flank, themselves remaining in the center, and asked, “What is all this?” “The Kufans came upon us at night” was the reply. At this they said, “We knew that ʿAlī wouldn’t stop until he had spilled blood and desecrated what is sacred and that he would never come to an agreement with us.” The two of them then returned with the Basrans, who repelled those Kufans who had launched the surprise attack] and forced them back to their camp. ʿAlī and the Kufans heard the noise. A man had been placed near ʿAlī to tell him what they wanted him to hear. So when he asked, “What’s going on?” this man replied: “A force of theirs made a surprise attack on us at night, but we sent them back to where they came from. We then found them ready for battle, and they began attacking, so everyone rose up to fight.” ʿAlī then said to the commander of the right wing of his army, “Engage the right flank!” and to the commander of the left wing: “Engage the left flank! I knew that Talḥah and al-Zubayr wouldn’t stop until they had spilled blood and desecrated what is sacred and that they would never come to an agreement with us and that the Sabaʾiyyah would not cease causing trou-

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805. Caetani, IX, 178.
806. Bahattihum, mistranslated by Lau (108) as “had lied to them.”
807. From Quraysh; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 23, II, 129.
808. From Quraysh; killed in the Battle of the Camel; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 8, II, 128.
809. Qalā. Ibrahim’s qāla is a misprint.
810. Following IA, 232.
811. By the attackers. According to IA, 232, by the Sabaʾiyyah, and to Caetani, IX, 179, by ʿUthmān’s murderers. That the troublemakers were the Sabaʾiyyah is not specified in this report from Sayf until ʿAlī’s remark, which looks like an interpolation; see note 813.
812. Following the text’s ʿalimtu for Ibrahim’s ʿalimta.
ble."\footnote{813This last phrase appears to have been tagged on (a little awkwardly) to \textquotesingle{}Ali's criticism of Talhah and al-Zubayr, or perhaps it means \textquotesingle{}so long as the Saba'iyyah keep causing trouble.\textquotesingle{}} \textquotesingle{}Ali then shouted out to the people: \textquote{Hold back! It's nothing!}"

Now it had been their unanimous decision regarding this fitnah not to be the first aggressor. In that way, they could produce proof and demand rights against the others. [They agreed that] they would not kill anyone running away, nor would they finish off any wounded, nor would they pursue. This was some of what the two sides decided upon and then proclaimed publicly.\footnote{814Caetani, IX, 179.}

According to Al-Sarî [in writing]—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muhammad and Ṭalḥah and Abū 'Amr: Ka'b b. Sūr came up to 'Ā'ishah and said: \textquote{Do something [to save the situation], for the troops are intent on fighting! May Allah give you success in restoring peace!} So she mounted, and they covered her howdah with protective armor; then they sent her camel named 'Askar, forward. Ya'lā b. Umayyah, who had bought it for 200 dinars,\footnote{815Caskel and Strenziok, I, 67, II, 590.} had lifted her up on to it. When she emerged from the houses she could hear a commotion, so she halted and soon heard an even louder commotion. \textquote{What is it?} she asked, and they replied, \textquote{It is the clamor of the army.} \textquote{For good or for bad?} she asked. \textquote{For bad.} \textquote{Whichever of the parties this clamor comes from,} she said, \textquote{they will be defeated.} By Allah! She was still standing when defeat surprised her. Al-Zubayr headed off in the direction he happened to be facing and took the road to Wādi al-Sibā'. As for Ṭalḥah, an arrow from an unknown archer\footnote{816See pp. 127, 150, below.} pinned his knee to the side of his horse. When his boot filled with blood and he became drowsy,\footnote{817Lane, 343c.} he said to his ghulām: \textquote{Get up behind me on the horse. Hold on to me tightly, and find me a place where I can get off.} So they went to al-Baṣrah, and he represented his and al-Zubayr's case in the following poem:

Events have hit and killed me [with their arrow],
while I, on shooting my arrow, have missed them.
I was lost when I pursued a share\textsuperscript{818} out of a foolishness I committed, having lost my good sense.

I was like al-Kusa‘i\textsuperscript{819} in my regret when, against my better judgment, I bought the approval of Banū Sahm.\textsuperscript{820}

I obeyed them by separating from Āl La‘y,\textsuperscript{821} who then threw my meat and blood to the wild animals.

\textit{Another Account of the Battle of the Camel}

According to Abū Ja‘far [al-Ṭabari]: Others have given accounts of this battle and of al-Zubayr and how he left his post that day, which differ from Sayf’s account from his two informants. Some of them gave the account of that which Aḥmad b. Zuhayr [—his father Abū Khayثmah—Wahb b. Jarir b. Ḥazīm—his father—Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Ayli—al-Zuhri] told me\textsuperscript{822} in an account of the story of ‘Ali, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, and ‘Ā’ishah, which we are in the process of relating: The news, that is, of the seventy who were killed with al-‘Abdi\textsuperscript{823} at al-Baṣrah, reached ‘Ali, so he advanced with 12,000 men and came to al-Baṣrah and said:

\textbf{How deeply I mourn for Rabī‘ah,\textsuperscript{824}}

Rabī‘ah who always heard [me] and obeyed.

This tradition of theirs\textsuperscript{825} was what caused this disaster.

When the [forces] confronted each other ‘Ali went out on his horse and called out to al-Zubayr, and the two of them confronted each other. ‘Ali asked al-Zubayr, “What has brought you [to this]?"

\textsuperscript{818}\textsuperscript{818}. A pun on the word \textit{saḥm}, which also means “arrow,” as in the previous line.

\textsuperscript{819}\textsuperscript{819}. Who regretted the harm he did to himself through his own stupidity (Tha‘alibi, s.v. \textit{nadāmat al-Kusa‘a}; Fretag, II, 776).

\textsuperscript{820}\textsuperscript{820}. I.e., Banū Umayyah. A further pun on the word.

\textsuperscript{821}\textsuperscript{821}. I.e., Banū Ḥāshim.

\textsuperscript{822}\textsuperscript{822}. I.e., Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭabari.

\textsuperscript{823}\textsuperscript{823}. Al-Ḥakīm b. Jabalah.

\textsuperscript{824}\textsuperscript{824}. ‘Abd al-Qays was part of Rabi‘ah. Cf. p. 86, above.

\textsuperscript{825}\textsuperscript{825}. Reading \textit{sunnatuha} with Ibrahim, i.e., a tradition of obedience to ‘Alī. De Goeje suggests \textit{nubbi‘tuha} “I have been given the news that they have had a disaster” (\textit{Addenda}, DCXXXIV).
“You,” he replied. “I don’t find you suitable for this leadership or more entitled to it than we.” “After ‘Uthmān,” replied ‘Ali, “it is certainly not you who are suitable for it. We considered you one of Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalibal until your son, the son of evil, reached maturity and created a division between us and you.” ‘Ali then said how bad the evil he had done was and mentioned how the Prophet had passed by the two of them and had said to ‘Ali: “What did the son of your father’s sister say? He will fight you, being the aggressor.” Al-Zubayr then left him, saying, “I will not fight you.” He returned to his son ‘Abdallāh and said, “I have no firm conviction about this war.” “When you set out you did have,” replied his son, “but you saw the banners of Ibn Abī Ṭālib and you realized that that meant death, so you lost heart.” These words angered him so that he shook with rage and said angrily: “Woe betide you! I have sworn him an oath not to fight him.” “Expiate your oath by freeing your ghulām Sarjis,” his son replied. So he freed him, and he joined the ranks alongside them. ‘Ali had said to al-Zubayr: “Are you asking me for compensation for the blood of ‘Uthmān, when it was you who killed him? I ask Allāh in His power right now to give a hateful punishment to he among us who was the severest in opposing ‘Uthmān.” ‘Ali said to Ṭālḥah: “You have brought the Messenger of Allāh’s wife to make her fight while you hide your wife at home. Didn’t you give me allegiance?” “I did,” he replied, “but with the sword at my neck.”

‘Ali then said to those around him: “Which of you will hold up this copy of the Qurʾān and what is in it before them? Should his hand be cut off, he will then take it with his other one; if that is cut off, he will take it with his teeth.” A young boy said, “I will.” ‘Ali put this to everyone around him, but none volunteered.

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826. Reading là arāka for the text’s là urāka.
827. Ṣāfīyyah, al-Zubayr’s mother, was the daughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Prophet and ‘Ali.
829. Ṣāfīyyah.
830. E.g., be killed.
832. For this motif, see Nöldeke, Geschichte, 126; Addenda, dcxxiv; Noth, Quellenkristische Studien, 154. Cf. also p. 129, below.
833. Called Muslim on p. 130, below.
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except the boy, so 'Ali said to him, "Hold this up before them and say, 'Every word in this shall judge between you and us, and I beg of you for Allah's sake to stop shedding our blood and yours.'" But, with the copy of the Qur'an in his hand, the boy was attacked. His hands were cut off, so he took it in his teeth until he was killed. 'Ali then said, "Battle is now justified, so fight them!"

Seventy men were killed that day, each holding in turn the nose rein of 'A'ishah's camel. After the camel was hamstrung and the force was routed, an arrow hit Talhah and killed him. Some say that it was fired by Marwân b. al-Ḥakam. At one stage Ibn al-Zubayr had taken hold of the camel's nose rein and 'A'ishah had said, "Who is this?" When he told her she said, "Weep for the bereavement of Asmā'!" Indeed he did get wounded and threw himself down among the other wounded and was pulled out and recovered from his wound.

Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr carried 'A'ishah away and erected a large tent over her. 'Alī came and stood in front of her and said: "You roused the people, and they became excited. You stirred up discord among them such that some killed others," and he went on at length. 'A'ishah replied: "Ibn Abī Talib! You have gained your victory. Give me an honorable pardon. You have put your forces to the test very well today." 'Alī then let her go free and sent a group of men and women with her, equipped her, and ordered her to be given 12,000 dirhams. 'Abdallah b. Ja'far thought that was too little and brought out a huge sum for her, saying, "If the Commander of the Faithful does not authorize it, then I will pay it myself."

It was alleged that al-Zubayr was killed by Ibn Jurmûz and that he was standing by the door of the Commander of the Faithful and said to the doorkeeper, "Ask leave for the killer of al-Zubayr to

835. See Hinds, "Murder," 469 n. 3.
836. Her sister and Ibn al-Zubayr's mother, see p. 55, above. I.e., "you are also going to get killed."
837. His sister.
838. Istafzāti . . . fazzū. IA has istanfartī . . . farrū, "You mobilized the people and they rushed to fight."
839. Lane, 1306b.
840. Caetani, IX, 137.
enter." 'Ali said, "Let him in and give him the good news that he is going to hell."841

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umārah—'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā—Fuḍayl—Sufyān b. 'Uqbah—Qurrah b. al-Ḥārith: I was siding with al-ʿAḥnaf b. Qays, and Jawn b. Qatādah, my father's brother's son, was siding with al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, and Jawn told me: While they were hailing al-Zubayr as amir a horseman came riding up and greeted him as amir also. After al-Zubayr had returned the greeting, the man said, "That force of 'Ali has reached such and such a place, and of the armies that have come against you I've never seen one with shabbier weapons and smaller numbers and more fearful." Then he left. Another horseman then came and greeted him as amir. After al-Zubayr had returned the greeting the man said, "The force has reached such and such a place, and they have heard of the numbers, equipment, and arms that Almighty and Glorious Allāh has amassed for you, and Allāh has put fear in their hearts, so they have turned back in retreat." "That's enough from you just now," said al-Zubayr. "By Allāh! If all Ibn Abī Ṭālib could find was 'arfaj he would walk against us holding it."842 Then he left. A third horseman came as the horses were on the point of emerging from the dust cloud, and greeted him as amir. After al-Zubayr had returned the greeting, the man said, "That force has come out against you, and I met 'Ammār b. Yāsīr among them and talked with him." "He's not on their side!" exclaimed al-Zubayr. "Yes he is. By Allāh! He is on their side," replied the horseman. "I swear Allāh would not have put him on their side," said al-Zubayr. "I swear Allāh has put him on their side." "I swear Allāh would not have put him on their side."843 Seeing the man contradict him al-Zubayr said to one of his followers: "Mount! See whether he's speaking the truth!" So he mounted with him, and they set off, and I watched them until they stopped for a short while next to the cavalry. Then they returned to us, and al-Zubayr said to this man, "Well?" "He spoke

841. See p. 159, below.
842. 'Arfaj is a small shrub the size of a sitting man, with many soft shoots but no leaves (Ibn Manzūr, III, 147f.), i.e., 'Ali is unbeatable; he does not even need weapons.
843. Al-Zubayr's anxiety is because he had been present when the Prophet predicted that oppressors would kill 'Ammār.
the truth," he replied, and al-Zubayr exclaimed, "It feels as though my nose has been cut off!" or "It feels as though my back has been cut in two!" (Muḥammad b. 'Umarah—Ubayd-ALLAH [b. Mūsā]—Fuḍayl: I do not know which he actually said.) He began to tremble such that his weapon shook, and Jawn said: "May my mother be bereaved of me! This is the man I wanted to die with or live with. I swear by He Who holds my soul in His hand that this fear I see that has taken hold of him is [only] because of something he heard or saw from the Messenger of God."

While these men were thus occupied al-Zubayr turned to go, mounted, and left. Jawn did the same and caught up with al-Ahṇaf. Two horsemen then appeared and came to al-Ahṇaf and his companions, dismounted, and urgently demanded his attention. They conferred secretly with him for an hour and then departed. 'Amr b. Jurmūz then came to al-Ahṇaf and said, "I caught up with al-Zubayr in Wādī al-Sibā' and killed him." Jawn used to say, "I swear by He Who holds my soul in His hand, al-Ahṇaf was the one who planned to kill al-Zubayr."

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madā'ini]—Bashīr b. 'Āṣim—al-Hajjāb b. Arṭāh—'Ammār b. Mu‘āwiyyah al-Dūhni—[Duhn being] a branch of Ḥmas Bajīlah: On the day of the Battle of the Camel 'Ali took a copy of the Qur'ān and took it around his companions, asking, "Who will face death and take this copy of the Qur'ān to call them to what it contains?" A Kūfān youth came forward wearing a padded white tunic and said, "I will." But 'Ali ignored him. 'Ali asked again, "Who will face death and take this copy of the Qur'ān to call them to what it contains?" The youth said, "I will." But 'Ali again ignored him. 'Ali asked a third time, "Who will face death and take this copy of the Qur'ān to call them to what it contains?" The youth again said, "I will," so 'Ali handed it to him. He then called them, but they cut off his right hand. So he took it with his left and called them, and they...
cut that off as well. So he held it to his chest, with the blood flowing down over his tunic, and he was killed. 'Ali then said, "Fighting them is now lawful." Among the youth's mother's verses in mourning were

O Allah! Muslim called them, reciting the Book of Allah without fearing them. Their mother was standing looking on, not restraining them as they plotted folly together. Their beards are dyed with clots of blood.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madā‘īni]—Abū Mikhnaфа—Jābir—al-Sha‘bī: The right flank of the army of the Commander of the Faithful attacked the Başran left flank and fought, and the enemy troops took refuge with ʻĀ'ishah, most of them being ʻAbdah and Azd. The fighting lasted from late morning until nearly midafternoon; some say until nearer sunset. When they were routed an Azd tribesman called out, "Turn!" But Muḥammad b. 'Ali struck him and cut his hand off, so the man called out: "Men of Azd! Flee!" A large number of Azd were killed, and they cried out [as they fled], "We follow the way of 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib." A man from Banū Layth later said:

[3190] Ask about us on the day when we met the Azd, when the horses were running yellow and red—We sliced their livers and forearms. May they be far away in their [foolish] opinion and be distant!

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madā‘īni]—Ja‘far b. Sulaymān—Mālik b. Dinār: 'Ammār attacked al-Zubayr on the day of the Battle of the Camel and had begun to drive a spear at him when he said, "Do you want to kill me?" "No! Leave!" he said.

850. Ibn 'Abdallah [see p. 152, below], rather than "a Muslim" [Caetani, IX, 139].
851. 'A'ishah.
852. IA: "ordering them to kill and not restraining them."
853. See Lane, 1271, 906.
855. Din.
856. A follower of 'Ali.

Return to Sayf’s account

According to Muhammad and Ṭalḥah: When the army was routed at the height of the morning al-Zubayr called out to them: “Al-Zubayr is over here! Come to me!” A mawla of his was with him calling out, “Are you running away from the disciple of the Messenger of God?!” But then al-Zubayr set off toward Wādi al-Sibā’, pursued by some horsemen. The armies did not notice him, busy in combat with each other, so when he saw the horsemen after him he turned and attacked them and split them up. They charged again, but when they recognized him they said: “It’s al-Zubayr! Let him be!” A group including ‘Ilba’ b. al-Haytham . . . and al-Qa’qa’ with a group then passed Ṭalḥah, who was saying: “To me, servants of Allāh! Hold fast! Hold fast!” But he said to him, “Abū Muḥammad, you’re wounded and cannot achieve what you want, so go back to the tents!” Then he said, “Ghulām, take me [into the city], and find me a place [to rest]!” So he was taken to al-Basrah, accompanied by a ghulām and two men. The fight went on after he had left, and in the rout the men retreated toward al-Basrah. But when they saw that the camel had been encircled by Muḍar they rallied and reformed as a center of the army, as they had been when they [first] engaged in battle, and returned to fight anew, while Rabi’ah of al-Basrah held their ground, some as a right flank, some as a left. “Ka’b! Leave the camel, and go forward holding the Book of Almighty and Glorious Allāh, and call them to it!” said ‘A’ishah and thrust the Qur’ān copy at him. Then up came the forces headed by the Saba’īyyah, fearing that peace would be made, and Ka’b met them with the Qur’ān copy. ‘Alī was behind them, restraining them, but they insisted on advancing, and then when Ka’b called them they all shot [their ar-

857. There is a lacuna in the text here; supply “approached”?
858. Perhaps the ghulām, who may have appeared in the lacuna.
859. I.e., to protect ‘A’ishah.
860. Muir, 249; Caetani, IX, 180; cf. p. 151, below.
rows] at him at the same time861 and killed him. They then shot at ʿĀʾishah in her howdah, and she started calling out: "My sons! [Remember] the recompense [of Allāh]!862 The recompense!" She raised her voice very loud, "Allāh! Allāh! Remember Almighty and Glorious Allāh and the reckoning!" But they insisted on advancing. So the next thing she did when they insisted was to cry out: "You men! Curse the killers of ʿUthmān and their various supporters!" She began to imprecate [them], and the people of Baṣrah filled the air with the noise of imprecation. ʿAli heard the imprecation and asked, "What's all that shouting?" "It's ʿĀʾishah imprecating the killers of ʿUthmān and their various supporters," they replied, "and [her army] imprecating them with her." So ʿAli also began to imprecate: "O Allāh! Curse the killers of ʿUthmān and their various supporters!"

She then sent a message to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith: "Keep up your positions!" She then urged her people to fight when she saw that ʿAli's army wanted only her and were not holding back from [her] men. Then Muḍār of al-Baṣrah advanced and attacked Muḍār of al-Kūfah, so that ʿAli became hard pressed and pushed on the nape of [his son] Muḥammad's neck and told him, "Attack!" But he shrank back, so ʿAli stretched out his hand to the banner to take it from him. Then [Muḥammad] attacked, so [ʿAli] left the banner in [Muḥammad's] hand. Muḍār of al-Kūfah then attacked. Swords were clashing in front of the camel, and the [battle] grew hot, while the outer flanks stayed as they were, accomplishing nothing. Now ʿAli had tribes with him other than Muḍār. Zayd b. Ṣūḥān863 was from one of these, and a man from his tribe said to him: "Go back to your tribe! What's this situation got to do with you? Don't you see that Muḍār [of al-Baṣrah] are over against you and that the camel is before your very eyes and that death is this side of it?!" "Death is better than life; death is what I want," he replied. So he was shot and his brother Saybān864 also. Saʿṣaʾah865 was brought away

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861. Reading *rishqan* with Ibāḥim (cf. Lane, 1090b) for the text's *rashqan*. Cf. p. 152, below.
862. *Baqiyyat Allāh* (Qurʾān 11:87; Lane, 238c).
863. From ʿAbd al-Qays; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 170, II, 603.
865. Another brother; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 170, II, 538.
wounded. The battle raged fiercely, and when 'Ali saw this he sent word to Yaman and Rabî’ah: “Join those next to you!”

A tribesman from 'Abd al-Qays stood forward and said, “We are calling you to the Book of Almighty and Glorious Allâh.” “And how can someone call us to the Book of Allâh,” they replied, “who doesn’t carry out the punishments of Allâh (may He be praised!) and who killed the one who called for Allâh, Ka’b b. Sûr?” At this Rabî’ah all shot [their arrows] at him at the same time and killed him. Muslim b. 'Abdallah al-'Ijli then stood where he had been, and they all shot [their arrows] at him at the same time and killed him. Yaman of al-Kûfah then called Yaman of al-Basrah, but they shot [arrows] at them.

According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu’ayb—Sayf—Muhammad and Talhah: The first engagement raged fiercely until midday. During it Talhah was wounded and al-Zubayr was lost. When the others then gathered round 'A’ishah, and the Kûfans were insisting on fighting, with 'A’ishah as their only target, she urged on her own men, and they fought on until they called out to one another and made a truce. But they returned to fighting in the afternoon. This was Thursday in Jumâdâ II. They fought the early part of the day with Talhah and al-Zubayr and the middle part with 'A’ishah. The fighters advanced against each other, and Yaman of al-Basrah routed Yaman of al-Kûfah and Rabî’ah of al-Basrah routed Rabî’ah of al-Kûfah. 'Ali then rushed with Mu’ad of al-Kûfah against al-Basrah and said: “Death has no escape. It catches up with the fleer and does not abandon the one who holds his ground!”


866. Ijtami‘û 'alâ man yalîkum: perhaps “Fight together against those facing you!” or “Gather behind one leader!”
867. On 'A’ishah’s side.
868. This is at least a month different from the date given on pp. 76 and 81, above.
869. Ibn Jassâs or Hassan (Addenda, DCXXXIV) or Hashâs (Caskel, I, 185, II, 601)
said, "you without a mother!" But I drew back and said, "I find no way forward except against the head of a spear." So another person took hold of the banner from me—I don’t know who he was—and I looked up and there was my father in front of me, saying:

You are the one whom my good will has tempted [to take more].

O 'Aysha! the people around you are actually enemies. Giving in is better than to have one’s sons fighting.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muhammad and Ṭalḥah: The two flanks fought a fierce fight as they advanced against each other, as had happened with the two centers. The Yamanis fought from both sides, and ten of them from al-Kūfah were killed by the banner of the Commander of the Faithful—every time a man took it he was killed—five of these were from Hamdān and five from the rest of Yaman. When Yazid b. Qays saw this, he took it and held it tightly in his hand, saying:

Soul of mine! you have lived and have become rich for a long while. The length you have remained is enough for you today!

Will you always be seeking long life?

In fact, he was quoting this from an earlier poet. Nimrān b. Abī Nimrān al-Hamdānī then said:

I bared my blade into the tribesmen from Azd.

I struck into their old men and beardless youths, All of them with long forearms and eager to fight.

Then Rabī‘ah of al-Kūfah advanced, and among them killed round the banner of the left flank was Zayd. Then Ṣa‘ṣa‘ah was thrown

870. Reading al-‘utbā for al-husnā, following Nöldeke [Addenda, DCXXIV].
871. I.e., ‘Ā’ishah.
872. A southern Arab tribe [EP, q.v.].
874. Following the text’s atalbu (atalabu) tūlīl-‘umri for Ibrāhīm’s atalabu tūlīl-‘umri.
875. Defending ‘Ā’ishah. See these verses again on p. 144, below.
876. I.e., good with swords.
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down, then Sayhân, then ‘Abdallâh b. Raqabah877 b. al-Mughîrah. Abû ‘Ubaydah b. Râshid b. Sulmâ878 said as he was thrown down: "O Allâh! You led us out of error, You rescued us from ignorance, You afflicted us with fitnah, and we became confused and in doubt." Then he was killed. Then al-‘Uthayn b. Ma’bad b. al-Nu’mân was thrown down, too, and he handed the banner to his son Ma’bad, as he began to say: "Ma’bad! Take her young camel near her,879 and she’ll become affectionate,"880 and it remained firm in his grip.

According to al-Sarî (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When the armored warriors of Muḍar of al- Basrah and Muḍar of al- Kūfah saw that no one was giving in, they called out among the armies of ‘Ā’ishah and ‘A’lî: "Men! Attack the extremities when your endurance is running out and when victory is elusive!" So they began stabbing extremities—arms and legs. No battle has ever been seen before or after, or been heard of, in which there were more cut-off arms and legs whose owners were not known than this one. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Attāb lost a hand that day before he was killed, and, when a fighter from this group or that lost any extremity, he would fight like a martyr until he was killed.

According to al-Sarî (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—al-Ṣa‘b b. ‘Aṭiyyâh b. Bilâl—his father: The situation got very bad, so the Kūfan right flank retreated to the center and stayed there. The Baṣrân left flank stayed close to their center and prevented the Kūfan right flank from penetrating there, but they came very close. The same thing happened with the Kūfan left flank and the Baṣrân right flank. ‘Ā’ishah then asked the man on her left, "Who are these?" "Your sons al- Azd," replied Šabrah b. Shaymân. "Tribesmen of Ghassân!"881 she called out, "we used to hear tell of your prowess with the sword; keep it up today!" and she quoted the verses

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877. For the text’s Ruqayyâh (Addenda, DCXXXIV). Probably Ibn Khawta’ah, rather than Ibn al- Mughîrah; see p. 142, below, as also for the others that follows.
878. Or Râshid; see p. 143, below.
879. War.
880. I.e., fight hard, and the battle will go in your favor.
The Ghassānī protectors fought with their swords, as did Hinb\(^{882}\) and Aws\(^{883}\) and Shabib\(^{884}\).

She then asked the man on her right, "Who are these?" "Bakr b. Wā'il," they replied. She said, "It was of you the poet said:

They came at us with swords and armor as though they were, judging from their impenetrable strength, Bakr b. Wā'il.

It's only 'Abd al-Qays in front of you!" So they fought their fiercest engagement\(^{885}\) until then. Then she went up to the squadron in front of her and asked, "Who are these?" "Banū Nājiyyah,"\(^{886}\) they replied. "Bravo! Bravo! Abtaḥīyyah\(^{887}\) swords and Qurashi swords!" said she. And they clashed swords in a way anyone would want to avoid. Then Banū Dabbah circled round, [protecting] her, and she said, "Go to it! The choicest coalition\(^{888}\) has come!" Then, when they became thinned out,\(^{889}\) Banū 'Adi joined them and many people were around 'A'ishah, and she asked, "Who are you?" "Banū 'Adi," they replied. "We've come to join our brothers." "The head of the camel remained steady," she said, "until Banū Dabbah were killed around me." So Banū Adi kept the camel's head upright and fought in such a way—not trying to make excuses or turning aside when losing the ends of limbs—until, when this increased and became widespread in both camps together, [the enemy forces] went for the camel, saying, "The enemy will not be removed unless it's killed," and 'Ali's two flanks then shifted and joined the center. The Basrans did the same, and the fighters were filled with hatred toward one another. Then they all came together in their two centers, and Ibn Yathribi took hold of the camel's head and said the following rajaz verses, claiming that he had killed 'Ilba' b. al-Haytham, Zayd b. Suhan, and Hind b. 'Amr:

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882. Southern Arabian tribe (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 328, II, 283).
884. Southern Arabian tribe (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 35, 214).
885. Reading qitāl \(\text{Addenda, DCXXXIV}\) for the text's al-qitāl.
886. From Quraysh.
887. From Mecca.
888. Jamrat al-jamarāt, i.e., Banū Dabbah b. Udd, Banū al-Ḥarīth b. Ka'b, and Banū Numayr b. 'Amir; see Lane, 453b, Caskel and Strenziok, I, 247.
889. Through being killed.
For those that don't know me, I am Ibn Yathribi,
the killer of 'Ilba' and of Hind al-Jamali,
And of a son of Şuhän, who followed the way of 'Ali.

‘Ammär then called out to him: "By my life! You've taken
refuge in a secure stronghold, and there's no way to get at you. If
you're speaking truthfully, come out from this squadron, and
come near me!" So Ibn Yathribi left the halter in the hand of a
Banū 'Adi tribesman and moved into a position between ‘Â'ishah's
army and ‘Ali's. The people then thronged round ‘Ammär until he
approached Ibn Yathribi. ‘Ammär warded him off with his shield,
and Ibn Yathribi struck ‘Ammär. His sword got embedded in the
shield, and he tried to pull it out but could not. ‘Ammär then
went out against him, completely out of control. He stooped
down and cut off Ibn Yathribi's legs, and he fell down on his
backside. His companions put him on a horse, and he was later
carried off the battlefield near death; he was brought to ‘Ali, who
ordered his head to be cut off. When Ibn Yathribi was wounded
that 'Adawi tribesman left the halter and came out to fight, call-
ing out, "Who will come out to fight?" ‘Ammär held back, but
Rabi'ah al-'Uqayli appeared in front of him. (The ‘Adawi tribes-
man's name was ‘Amrah b. Bajrah.) Rabi'ah had the strongest
voice in the army, and he declaimed the verses

O Mother of ours! the most refractory mother we know!
A mother [normally] feeds a son and shows him mercy.
Have you not seen how many a brave is being wounded,
his hand and wrist made lonely?

Then they clashed, and each one of them wounded his opponent,
and they both died.

‘Atiyah b. Bilal continued: At the end of the day a man called
al-Harith of Banū Ḍabbah joined us and took the place of the
‘Adawī, and we have never, ever seen a stronger man than he, and
he began to recite the verses

891. Ibn Yathribi.
892. Ibn Yathribi.
893. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 102?
894. Following Ibrāhīm; the text has no diacritics, except on the final letter.
895. See p. 141, below, for a variant of these verses.
We, Banū Ḍabbah, are the allies of the camel;
we lament the death of Ibn 'Affān with tips of spears.

Death is sweeter to us than honey!
Send back our chief to us, and that will be enough.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—al-Mufaddal b. Muḥammad—'Adī b. Abī 'Adi—Abū Raja' al-Ūṭāridi: I was watching a man on the Day of the Camel. He was turning his sword this way and that in his hand, as though it were a toy, reciting all the while:

We, Banū Ḍabbah, are the allies of the camel;
we take the field against death whenever death dismounts.

We lament the death of Ibn 'Affān with tips of spears.
Send back our chief to us, and that will be enough.


According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan—al-Hudhali: 'Amr b. Yathribi was urging on his tribe on the Day of the Camel. They took their turns holding the nose rope and said the rajaz verses:

We, Banū Ḍabbah, will not flee
until we see [our own] skulls tumble
And boiling red blood tumbling from them.

Mother of ours, 'Aysha! Do not fear!
All your sons are heroes brave.
Mother of ours, wife of the Prophet,
wife of the blessed and the guided!

This continued until forty men had been killed holding the nose rope. 'Ā'ishah said, "My camel remained steady until I no longer

896. Banū in the text, bani in İbrahim [see his note], as also in following occurrences.
897. 'Uthmān.
899. Following Addenda, DCXXXIV.
900. Mikhrāq—either a wooden or plaited-rag sword (Lane, 729c).
901. Cf. p. 149, below.
heard the cries of Banû Ḍabbah." On that day 'Amr b. Yathribî killed 'Ilbâ' b. al-Haytham al-Sadûsî, Hind b. 'Amr al-Jamali, and Zayd b. Ṣûḥân, while reciting these rajaz verses:

I strike out at them but I do not see Abû Hasan. This is the biggest grief that could be!
We are setting the leadership the way we fix a nose rein.

Al-Hudhali, however, maintained that this poem was recited at the Battle of Šiffin. 'Ammâr then confronted 'Amr b. Yathribî. 'Ammâr was then ninety years old and was wearing a fur garment with a rope of palm fiber tied around his waist. 'Amr b. Yathribî rushed toward him, but ['Ammâr] turned his leather shield toward him, and ['Amr] drove into it with his sword, and the people shot at him until he was knocked down, while reciting:

If you kill me, I am still Ibn Yathribî,
the killer of 'Ilbâ' and Hind al-Jamali,
And then of Ibn Ṣûḥân, whose cause was the way of 'Alî.

He was taken prisoner and then brought to 'Alî. "Spare me!" he asked. "After those three whom you advanced against with your sword," replied 'Alî, "and struck their faces with it?" So 'Alî ordered him to be killed.

According to 'Umar—Abû al-Ḥasan—Abû Mikhnaf—Iṣḥāq b. Râşhid—'Abbâd b. 'Abdallâh b. al-Zubayr—his father: I came out of the day of the Camel with thirty-seven wounds from blows and stabs. I never saw anything like the Day of the Camel. Not a single one of us fled; we were as solid as rock. All who took hold of the camel's nose rein were killed. 'Abd al-Raḥmân b. 'Atâb took it and was killed; al-Aswâd b. Abî al-Bakhtari took it and was thrown to the ground; then I came and took hold of the nose rein. "Who are you?" asked 'A'îshah. "'Abdallâh b. al-Zubayr," I

902. Reading ara with Ibrâhim and Nöldeke [Addenda, Dcxxxiv] for the text's urâ.
903. 'Ali was perhaps in the fray elsewhere.
904. "We are doing our best to control the situation." This line also occurs on p. 16, above.
905. Elî, s.v.
906. Lit., "like the black mountain."
replied. "Weep for the bereavement of Asmā'!" exclaimed 'A'ishah. At this point al-Ashtar passed me. I recognized him, so I got hold of him round the chest, and we fell down together. "Kill me and Mālik!" I called out to those around. Men from both armies came and fought on behalf of each of us. When we stopped fighting, the nose rein was no longer being held. "Hamstring the camel!" cried out 'Ali. "If it's hamstringed they'll disperse." So a man struck it, and it fell, and I have never heard a sound more noisy than the bellowing of that camel. 'Ali then ordered Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr to set up a tent over 'A'ishah. "See if anything has hit her," he said, so Muḥammad put his head in. "Damn you! Who are you?" she cried. "The member of your family you hate most!" "Ibn al-Khathʿamiyyah?" "That's right." "You're more precious to me than my father and my mother," she replied. "Praise to Allāh, Who has spared you!"

According to Ishaq b. Ibrahīm b. Ḥabīb b. al-Shāhīd—Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh—'Alqamah: I said to al-Ashtar, "But you were very much against the killing of Uthmān, so what made you come out to al-Baṣrah?" "These men gave allegiance to him and then reneged, and it was Ibn al-Zubayr who forced 'A'ishah to come out. So I was praying to Almighty and Glorious Allāh to make me meet him to fight. He did meet me, and we fought hand to hand. But I was not satisfied simply with the strength of my arm. So I stood up in the stirrup, struck him on his head, and threw him down." We asked, "So it was he who said, 'Kill me and Mālik!'" "No. I didn't leave him needing anything more done to him. The one you mean is 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Attāb b. Asid. He met me, and we each hit the other. He knocked me down, and I knocked him down, so he began saying, 'Kill me and Mālik!' But they didn't know who Mālik was. Had they known they would have killed me."

Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh said: "Here is your documentary evidence

907. See p. 127, above.
909. Al-Khathʿamiyyah is Asmāʾ bt. 'Umayr of Khath'am, Abū Bakr's third wife [EP], s.v. Abū Bakr]. 'Ali married her when Abū Bakr died, which is perhaps part of the reason why Muḥammad was "most hated." 'A'ishah's mother was Umm Rūmān bint 'Āmir of Kiṣānāh. The mother of Asmāʾ [al-Zubayr's wife] was Qutaylah bt. 'Abd al-'Uzza of 'Amīr, and Umm Kulthūm's mother was Habībah bt. Khārijah of al-Ḥarīrī b. al-Khazraj.
910. 'Alqamah and others.
911. He was always known as al-Ashtar.
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for this story.\textsuperscript{912} Al-Mughîrah told me it, from\textsuperscript{913} Ibrâhim from 'Alqamah, who said, 'I said to al-Ashtar' and so on."

According to 'Abdallâh b. Aḥmad—his father—Sulaymân—'Abdallâh—Taḥhâh b. al-Nadr—Uthmân b. Sulaymân—'Abdallâh b. al-Zubayr: A young man stood in front of us and said, "Beware of these two men!"\textsuperscript{914} He then mentioned him\textsuperscript{915} [that] the characteristic trait of al-Ashtar was that one of his feet was exposed because of a pain he felt in it. "So when we met up," he continued, "al-Ashtar said, 'When ['Abdallah b. al-Zubayr] came at me he leveled his spear at my foot, so I said: 'This man is stupid. What could he achieve from me even if he cut it right off? Aren't I going to kill him?'\textsuperscript{916} But when ['Abdallah b. al-Zubayr] got near me he grabbed [his] spear with both hands and searched out my face with it. I said, 'He's some opponent!'""

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abû al-Hasan—Abû Mikhnaf—Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Jundab—his father—his grandfather: 'Amr b. al-Ashraf\textsuperscript{917} took hold of the camel's nose rein, and no one came near him without being struck by his sword, until al-Hârith b. Zuhayr al-Azdi\textsuperscript{918} approached, saying the verses

\textit{O Mother of ours! O best Mother we know!}

Do you not see how many a brave is being wounded, His head and wrist made lonely?\textsuperscript{919}

They exchanged a couple of blows and I saw them both thrashing the ground with their legs\textsuperscript{920} until they died. Later I [Jundab] went to visit 'A'ishah in Medina. "Who are you?" she asked. "An Azdî

\textsuperscript{912} Hâdhâ kitâbuka shahiduhu.
\textsuperscript{913} 'An—following Ibrâhim and Addenda, DCXXXIII, and ignoring Prym's suggestion in his n. c to substitute \textit{ibn} for \textit{an}, i.e., al-Mughîrah ibn Ibrâhim. According to Ibrâhim's index, the missing links between Ibn 'Ayyâsh and 'Alqamah [see the isnâd at the beginning of the preceding paragraph] are al-Mughîrah b. Miqsâm and Ibrâhim al-Nakha'i.
\textsuperscript{914} Al-Ashtar and 'Abdallâh b. al-Zubayr, who were both renowned for their strength.
\textsuperscript{915} The text of this report is difficult, perhaps corrupt, in places. Here it is most probably referring to al-Ashtar.
\textsuperscript{916} Ibrâhim's paragraph break here is not helpful.
\textsuperscript{917} Al-Atâkî al-Azdi—his tribe had not yet emigrated to al-Baṣrah [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 203, II, 171].
\textsuperscript{918} Of the Kabîr branch [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 218, II, 315].
\textsuperscript{919} See p. 137, above, for a variant of these verses.
\textsuperscript{920} Having been wounded and knocked over.
tribesman living in Kufah." "Were you present with us on the Day of the Camel?" "Yes." "For us or against us?" "Against," I replied. "Do you know then who it was who said: 'Mother of ours! O best Mother we know?"' "I do," I replied. "It was my paternal cousin," and she wept so bitterly I thought she was not going to stop.

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Laylā—Dinār b. al-'Ayzār—al-Ashtar: When I met 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Attāb b. Asīd I met the strongest and most cunning of men. I got hold of him round the neck, and we fell to the ground together, and he called out to those around, "Kill me and Mālik!"  

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Ibn Abī Laylā—Dinār b. al-'Ayzār—al-Ashtar: I saw 'Abdallāh b. Ḥākim b. Hizām with the banner of Quraysh, and 'Adi b. Ḥātim al-Ṭā'i attacking each other like two male camels. So ['Adī and I] took turns against him and killed him. 'Abdallāh, that is, after he had stabbed 'Adī and put out his eye.

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Mikhnaf—his paternal uncle, Muḥammad b. Mikhnaf—a number of the elders of the tribe, all of whom had been at the Battle of the Camel: The banner of the Kufan Azd was held by Mikhnaf b. Sulaym, but he was killed that day. So from his close family al-Ṣaq'ab and his brother 'Abdallāh b. Sulaym took hold of it, but they killed him too. So al-'Alā' b. 'Urwa took it, and victory came while it was in his hand.

The banner of the Kufan 'Abd al-Qays was held by al-Qāsim b. Muslim, but he was killed, as were Zayd b. Ṣūhān and Sayḥān b. Ṣūhān with him. A number of others of them took the banner and were killed too, among them 'Abdallāh b. Raqabah and

921. Following Ibrahim for the text’s Ibn Abī Laylā; cf. the isnād on p. 144, below.
922. Al-Qurashi [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 19, II, 111].
923. Ibn Sulaym [see note 925], born perhaps in 19/640 [U. Sezgin, 225].
924. On 'Alī's side.
925. Of the Tha‘labah branch [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 218, II, 407]. Contrary to his death, reported here, he is said to have held their banner at Siffin also and was appointed governor of Isfahan and Hamadhan by 'Alī [U. Sezgin, 225 n. 128; Hinds, "Banners," 42].
926. Ibn Sulaym, his brother [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 218, II, 538].
Rāshid.\textsuperscript{928} Then Munqidh b. al-Nu‘mān\textsuperscript{929} took hold of it and passed it to his son, Murrah b. Munqidh,\textsuperscript{930} and the battle finished while it was in his hand.

The banner of the Kūfan Bakr b. Wā‘il was with Banū Dhuhl, and was held by al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān b. Ḥawṣ\textsuperscript{931} al-Dhuhlī, and Abū al-ʿArfāʿ al-Raqāshī said, “Take care of yourself and your tribe!” But he advanced and said: “Tribesmen of Bakr b. Wā‘il! Nobody had the standing with the Messenger of God that your companion\textsuperscript{932} had, so support him!” So he\textsuperscript{933} advanced and was killed, as were his son and five of his brothers. Bishr b. Ḥassān b. Ḥawṣ\textsuperscript{934} said these verses to him that day as he was fighting:

I am Ibn Ḥassān b. Ḥawṣ,\textsuperscript{935} and my father was the messenger of all Bakr to the Prophet.\textsuperscript{936}

His son recited:

I announce and lament the death of chief al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān to the clans of Dhuhl and Shaybān!

A tribesman from Dhuhl then recited:

You announce to us the death of the best man from ʿAdnān,\textsuperscript{937} [he was glorious when there was] stabbing and confronting opponents.

Men were killed from Banū Mahdūj who were prominent among the Kūfans, and thirty-five were killed from Banū Dhuhl. One tribesman said to his brother as he fought: “Brother of mine! How superb our fighting would be if we were in the right.” “We are in the right!” he replied. “Others have wandered right and left, but we’ve maintained our loyalty to our Prophet’s household.”\textsuperscript{938}

\textsuperscript{928} Or Abū ʿUbaydah b. Rāshid; see p. 135, above.
\textsuperscript{929} See p. 135, above.
\textsuperscript{930} See p. 135, above.
\textsuperscript{931} For the text’s Khūṭ (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 154, II, 307).
\textsuperscript{932} I.e., ʿAlī.
\textsuperscript{933} Al-Ḥārith.
\textsuperscript{934} For the text’s Khūṭ, al-Ḥārith’s brother (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 154).
\textsuperscript{935} For the text’s Khūṭ.
\textsuperscript{936} At the time of the wufūḍ; see Watt, 141.
\textsuperscript{937} The northern Arabs.
\textsuperscript{938} \textit{Ahl bayt nabiyyinā}. 
two of them fought to the death. The Başran 'Abd al-Qays—who were with 'Ali—were headed by 'Amr b. Marhüm. Bakr b. Wā'il were headed by Shāqiq b. Thawr, and their banner was held by Rashrāshah, his mawlā. The Başran Azd—who were with 'Ā'ishah—were headed by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jusham b. Abī Hunayn al-Hamāmī. So 'Amir b. Ḥafṣ told me, but others say it was Sabrah b. Shaymān al-Huddānī. Their banner was held by 'Amr b. al-Ashraf al-‘Atakī, who was killed and along with him thirteen men from his close family.

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū 'Uk-kāshah al-Hamdānī—Rifā'ah al-Bajali—Abū al-Bakhtāri al-Ṭā'i: Dabbah and Azd circled around 'Ā'ishah on the Day of the Camel. Some Azdī tribesmen were picking up the dung of her camel, breaking it up, smelling it, and saying, "The dung of our mother's camel smells of musk!" At the same time a man from 'Ali's companions was fighting, reciting as he did so:

I bared my blade [and thrust it] into the tribesmen from Azd.
I struck into their old men and beardless youths,
All of them with long forearms and eager to fight.

Waves of men jostled each other, and then someone yelled, "Ham-string the camel!" So Bujayr b. Duljah from the Kūfān Dabbah struck it. "Why did you hamstring it?" he was asked. "I saw my tribe being killed, and I feared they would all perish. I hoped by hamstringing it that at least some of them would remain alive."

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan—al-Ṣalt b. Dīnār: A tribesman from Banū 'Uqayl went up to the dead Ka'b b. Sūr. He thrust the butt of his spear into his eyes, jerked it round, and said, "I've never seen property produce better cash than you!"

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan—'Awānah: They fought all day until nightfall on the Day of the Camel, and someone said the verses

939. See p. 120, above.
940. Nimrān, according to p. 134, above.
941. I.e., the Başran branch.
942. Shot as he tried to get the two sides to make peace (Caskel and Strenziok, I, II, 366; p. 132, above).
943. He was a valuable asset and good to get rid of.
944. On 'A'ishah's side.
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The sword healed us of Zayd and Hind completely and of the two eyes of 'Adi. We kept fighting them all day until nightfall with sturdy spears and sharp swords.

Ibn al-Ṣāmit said the verses

Go off Dabbah! for the land is wide to your left. Death lurks in the valley, [namely, we,]
A fighting force like the rays of the rising sun,
a force with a torrent that flows with force.
So we will stand up to you in every battle, holding Mashrāfiyyah swords, striking and not weakening.

According to al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad—Rawḥ b. 'Ubādah—Rawḥ—Abū Rajā': I saw a man whose ear had been cut off. "Have you always been like that, or were you wounded by something?" I asked. "Let me tell you," he replied. "As I was walking among the corpses on the day of the Battle of the Camel, I came upon a man thrashing [the ground with] his leg and reciting:

Our mother brought us to drink at the pool of death, and we did not leave until our thirst was quenched.
When we obeyed Quraysh our senses had gone awry, and our support for the Ḥijāzis caused us pain."947

I said: "'Abdallāh! Say, 'There is no god but Allah!'"948 "Come nearer, and dictate [it] to me; my ear's blocked," he replied. I went nearer, and he asked me, "Who are you?" A tribesman from al-Kūfah," I replied, at which he jumped on me and cut off my ear, as you see, and said, "When you meet your mother, tell her that 'Umayr b. al-Aḥlab al-Ḍabbī did this to you."

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Hasan—al-Muḥafḍal the great narrator and 'Āmir b. Ḥaṣṣ and 'Abd al-Majīd al-Asadī: 'Umayr b. al-Aḥlab al-Ḍabbī was wounded on the Day of the Camel. One of Ali's men passed by him as he lay among the wounded. 'Umayr said to him, "Come over here!" and when he did so

945. Le., killed them.
946. Nuqimu lakum "we will wait for you" (Glossarium, CDXL).
947. Reading 'anā'u [Addenda, Dcxxxiv].
948. Before you die.
he cut off his ear. 'Umayr b. al-Ahlab recited the verses
Our mother brought us to drink at the pool of death,
    and we did not leave until our thirst was quenched.
It would have been better if Ibn Dabbah's support for his mother
    and her allies had been found elsewhere and done without.

It was bad luck when we obeyed Banû Taym b. Murrah. What are Taym but slaves, male and female?

According to al-Sarî (in writing)—Shu’ayb—Sayf—al-Miqdâm al-Harîthi: There was a man from our tribe called Hâni’ b. Khâtâb. He had been among those who attacked 'Uthmân but was not at the Battle of the Camel. When he heard the rajaz poem on the lips of the people back in al-Kufah, the one that goes

We, Banû Dabbah, are the allies of the camel,

he riposted with the verses

The chief of Madhhij and Hamdân refused to return Na’thal to how he was,
A new creation after that of the Merciful.

According to al-Sarî (in writing)—Shu’ayb—Sayf—al-Ṣa’b b. ‘Aṭiyyah—his father: On that day Abû al-Jarbâ began reciting rajaz verses:

Are you listening to 'Ali and obeying [him]
    before tasting the edge of the Mashrafi sword

949. I.e., his own.
950. Shi’atahâ.
951. Disregarding Wellhausen’s emendation of waghâna’u to wa’anâ’u [Addenda, DCXXXIV].
952. I.e., Ţalḥah.
953. Taym means servant [EL, s.v.].
954. Probably Ibn Rabî‘ah, the Kufan notable [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 230, II, 408].
955. See p. 138, above, where one of the verses says ruddû ‘alaynā shaykhanā “Make ‘Uthmân come back to us!”
956. I.e., ‘Uthmân.
957. I.e., Banû Dabbah’s request was impossible, so it was pointless to fight.
958. A member of ‘A’ishah’s army. It is as though in these verses he is sending a message to everyone in ‘Ali’s army.
And forsaking the wives of the Prophet who are in the right?
I know a people I do not care about!959

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: The Mother of the Faithful was encircled by courageous and clearsighted Muḍarī clansmen.960 No one would take hold of the rein unless he was holding the banner and the flag and was unwilling to give it up. Nor would anyone take hold of it unless he was well known among those encircling the camel and could state his genealogy to her, “I’m so-and-so, son of so-and-so.” By Allāh! They would [then] fight fiercely in its defense, and death could not be brought to it except with great endeavor and difficulty. Every follower of ʿAlī who tried to reach it was either killed or fled and did not return. When the center of ʿAlī’s army became mixed with the flanks, ʿAdī b. Ḥātim came and attacked it, but his eye was gouged out, so he shrank back. Then al-Ashtar came and ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ṭātbā b. Asd tried to push him away—he was badly cut and weak with loss of blood—but al-Ashtar grabbed him round his chest and threw him off his mount onto the ground. But he jerked around beneath him and managed to run away half dead.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Hishām b. ʿUrwah—his father: No one would come and take hold of the rein unless he said, “I’m so-and-so, son of so-and-so, Mother of the Faithful.” So when ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr came up but said nothing she asked, “Who are you?” “I’m ʿAbdallah, your sister’s son.” “Weep for the bereavement of Asmāʾ” replied ʿAʾishah, meaning her sister. Al-Ashtar and ʿAdī b. Ḥātim reached the camel, so ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām961 came out against al-Ashtar, who advanced toward him. They each struck the other but al-Ashtar killed [ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥakīm], so ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr advanced toward him, but al-Ashtar dealt him a blow on the head and severely wounded him. ʿAbdallāh then hit al-Ashtar lightly; each grabbed the other round the chest, and they fell to the ground fighting. “Kill me and Mālik!” exclaimed ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

959. Yours. This is a threat.
961. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 19, II, 111.
Mālik used to say later, "Not for red camels⁹⁶² would I have wanted him to say, 'And al-Ashtar.'" Then some of 'Alī's followers and some of 'Ā'ishah's rushed toward them and the two men separated; each side saved its man from his opponent.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—al-Ṣa‘b b. 'Aṭiyyah—his father: Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah then came up and took hold of the camel's nose rein. "Dear Mother!" he said. "Give me your order!" "I order you," she replied, "to be like the best son of Adam if you're spared." So he took hold of the nose rein. Then whenever anyone attacked him he would attack them, quoting the Qur'ān "Ḥā’ mīm! They will not be given victory by Allāh!"⁹⁶³ A number of men then gathered and attacked him, each of them claiming to have killed him—al-Muka’bir al-Asadi, al-Muka’bir al-Ḍabbī, Mu‘āwiyah b. Shaddād al-‘Absī, and ‘Affān b. al-Ashqar al-Naṣrī. One of them thrust him through with a spear, and his killer said these verses about it:

He was disheveled through spending nights reciting verses from his Lord. By all appearances he had done little harm and was a good Muslim.

I ripped the neck opening of his shirt with a spear, and he fell down, dying, his hands and face thrown to the ground.

He was reminding me of the verse ḥā’ mīm while the spear was driving. Why did he not recite ḥā’ mīm before coming out to fight?! [He fought me] over nothing, except that he was not a follower of 'Alī. Those who do not follow the right regret it.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—al-Ṣa‘b b. 'Aṭiyyah—his father: On that day al-Qa‘qā’ b. ‘Amr said, provoking al-Ashtar, "Are you going to attack again?" But he made no reply, so he said: "Al-Ashtar! Some of us know how to fight others

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⁹⁶². I.e., the best camels (Wensinck, I, 513b)—similar to our saying "Not for all the tea in China."

⁹⁶³. Qur’ān 41:1, 41:16. By implication the enemies of 'Ā'ishah are being likened to 'Ad, whom Allāh destroyed.
better than you.” So al-Qa’qā’ attacked. The rein was being held by Zufar b. al-Hārith,964 who was the last to take his turn with the rein. No, by Allah! Every single elder from Banū ‘Āmir was struck down that day in front of the camel. Among those killed on that day was Rabī’ah,965 the grandfather of Iṣḥāq b. Muslim, while Zufar966 recited the *rajaz* verses:

O Mother of ours, ‘Aysha! Do not fear!  
All your sons are heroes brave.967  
No one among us is anxious968 or [over]cautious.  

Al-Qa’qā’ replied with the *rajaz* verses

If we come to drink at a stagnant pool we clean it up,969  
but others are unable to drink the water we protect.970  

In fact, he was quoting these verses.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: One of the last to fight on that Day was Zufar b. al-Hārith. Al-Qa’qā’ marched toward him. Around the camel no fully grown ‘Āmirī tribesman remained without being struck down; they hastened to meet death.

Al-Qa’qā’ said: “Bujayr b. Duljah!972 Shout to your tribesmen [in ‘A’ishah’s army] that they should hamstring the camel before they get struck down and the Mother of the Faithful gets struck down!” So he called out” “Tribesmen of Dabbah! ‘Amr b. Duljah!973 Call me to come to you!” So ‘Amr called to him. “Am I safe to go and return?” asked [Bujayr]. “You are,” replied [‘Amr]. So [Bujayr] cut the camel’s leg right off, and [the camel] threw itself down on its side and growled. Al-Qa’qā’ called out to those

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964. Fought at Siffin under Mu‘āwiyah [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 96, II, 609].  
965. Ibn ‘Āsim [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 102, II, 477].  
966. Zufar belonged to Banū ‘Āmir [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 96].  
968. Wahham—or “Thinks too much and becomes afraid” [Prym, Glossarium, DLXVIII]. IA has *bi-wahwāhin* “weak-spirited.”  
969. However bitter the battle, we fight and win, cf. Ibn Maẓur, V, 222.  
970. They are unable to fight us.  
971. Zufar belonged to Banū ‘Āmir [see previous *khabar*]. Fully grown means over forty.  
972. A relative of al-Qa’qā’.  
973. His cousin on ‘Ā’ishah’s side.
next to [the camel], “You won’t be attacked.” Then he and Zufar joined in cutting the camel’s girth. The two of them then lifted the howdah off and put it down and took up [protective] positions around it. Those soldiers of ’A’ishah behind that position fled.

According to al-Sari [in writing]—Shu’ayb—Sayf—al-Ṣa’b b. ’Aṭiyyah—his father: In the evening, when ‘Ali had arrived, the camel and those around it had been surrounded, Bujayr b. Duljah had hamstrung it and said, “You won’t be attacked,” the soldiers stopped fighting. When evening came and fighting had completely stopped, ’Ali said the following verses about it:

I complain to You about my sorrows, those obvious and those hidden, and about a group who have drawn a curtain over my sight. I have killed their Mudar with my Muḍar.

I have healed my own wounds, but I have killed my people.

According to al-Sari [in writing]—Shu’ayb—Sayf—Ismā’il b. Abī Khālid—Ḥakīm b. Jābir: Ṭalḥah said that day: “O Allāh! Give ‘Uthmān what he wants from me [ for my former sins]!” Then, as his horse was standing still, an arrow from an unknown archer pinned his knee to the saddle. He kept his position, and his boot filled with blood. But when he became drowsy he said to his mawla: “Get up behind me on the horse, and find me a place where no one knows me. I’ve never seen an old man lose so much blood as today.” So his mawla mounted and held him tightly and said, “The enemy is catching up with us.” He finally brought him to one of the ruined houses of Baṣrah and put him down in its shade. He died in that ruin and was buried in the quarter of Banū Sa’d.

According to al-Sari [in writing]—Shu’ayb—Sayf—al-Bakhtārī al-‘Abdī—his father: Rabī’ah fought with ‘Alī on the Day of the Camel, comprising a third of the Kūfāns. The Muslims split into two on the Day. They were lined up Muḍar opposite Muḍar,

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974. Taking the camel and the howdah, surrounding ’A’ishah protectively, and saying “You won’t be attacked” all mean that the battle has been won and is over.
975. Cf. p. 124, above.
976. IA has “as I have today.”
977. To the east of al-Baṣrah? (Massignon, 157).
978. Reading wa-nussīfa for the text’s wa-nisfa.
The Events of the Year 36

Rabi‘ah opposite Rabi‘ah, and Yaman opposite Yaman.

"Commander of the Faithful! Allow us to stand against Muḍar," requested Banū Ṣūḥān,979 and ‘Ali let them. Then Zayd [b. Ṣūḥān] went forward. Someone said to him: "What makes you stand over against the camel and Muḍar? Death is next to you and opposite you. Withdraw to us!" "It's death we want!" he replied, and that Day they were struck down, although Saʿṣaʾah.980 escaped from among them.

According to al-Sāri (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣaʾb b. ʿAṭiyyah: A man on our side called al-Ḥārith said that day: "Tribesmen of Muḍar! For what are you killing each other? You're rushing we don't know where, except that we'll be judged there. No one will stand in for you!"

According to ‘Abdallāh b. ʿAḥmad—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubarāk—Jarīr—al-Zubayr b. al-Khīrīt981—a sheikh from al-Haramayn982 called Abū Jubayr: On the Day of the Camel I passed Kaʿb b. ʿĀisha as he was taking hold of the nose rein of ʿĀʾishah’s camel, and he said, "Abū Jubayr! By Allāh! The verses a woman once said [to her son] apply to me:

My dear son, do not go away, and do not fight!"

According to al-Zubayr b. al-Khīrīt: ‘Alī passed by his corpse, stood over him, and said: "By Allāh! Well I know, you are steadfast for truth, judging justly," and he praised him for these and other things.

According to al-Sāri (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ibn Ṣaʾṣaʾah al-Muzānī or Ṣaʾṣaʾah—ʿAmr b. Jaʿwān—Jarīr b. Ashras:983 Taḥlah and al-Zubayr’s action was at the height of the morning of that day, and then their army fled. ʿĀʾishah was therefore looking for peace, but the army surprised her by returning, and Muḍar protected her all around.984 So the army stood for battle, and

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979. From ʿAbd al-Qays, who belonged to Rabi‘ah [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 170].
980. Zayd b. Ṣūḥān’s brother [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 170, II, 538].
981. Following Addenda, dcxxxiv, and Ibrāhim, for the text’s al-Hurayth.
982. The two sacred enclaves, Mecca and Medina, following Addenda, dcxxxiv, for the text’s al-Harāmayn.
983. Perhaps Ibn Sharis, as p. 99, above [Addenda, dcxxxiv].
984. Cf. p. 131, above.
`A’ishah’s action was in the middle of the day. Now ‘Ali ... 985 Ka’b b. Sūr took ‘A’ishah’s Qur’an copy986 and rushed out between the two lines, imploring them by Almighty and Glorious Allāh to stop the bloodshed. He was handed his armor, but he threw it down at his feet. His shield was brought, but he pushed it away. So they all shot [their arrows] at him at the same time987 and killed him. They did not give him time to think, and suddenly they intensified their attack against them and fought more closely. From both Baṣrans988 and Kūfans he was the first to be killed in front of ‘A’ishah.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu’ayb—Sayf—Makhlad b. Kathir—his father: We sent Muslim b. ‘Abdallāh989 to call our brothers990 to stop, but they all shot [their arrows] at him and killed him, as the center of the army did to Ka’b. So he was the first to be killed in front of the Commander of the Faithful and ‘A’ishah. The mother of Muslim said the following verses mourning him:991

O Allāh! Muslim went to them,
submitting to death when he called them
To the Book of Allāh without fearing them.
They smeared him with blood when he went to them,
And their mother992 was standing, looking on,
not restraining them as they plotted folly together.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu’ayb—Sayf—al-Ṣa’b b. Ḥakim b. Sharīk—his father—his grandfather: By the evening of the Day of the Camel the two flanks of the Kūfan army had been routed and then had merged with the center. Now Ibn Yathribi had been qādi of al-Baṣrah before Ka’b b. Sūr, and he, ‘Abdallāh,
and his brother 'Amr were with them on the Day of the Camel. He was on horseback, standing in front of the camel. "Where is a man to attack the camel?" asked 'Ali. Hind b. 'Amr al-Murādī responded, but Ibn Yathribī intercepted him. So they exchanged blows, and Ibn Yathribī killed him. Then Sayhān b. Śuhān attacked, but Ibn Yathribī intercepted him. So they exchanged blows, and Ibn Yathribī killed him. Then 'Ilba' b. al-Haytham attacked, but Ibn Yathribī intercepted him and killed him. Then Sa'sa'ah attacked, and [Ibn Yathribī] struck him. So Ibn Yathribī killed three, finishing them off in the battle—'Ilba', Hind, and Sayhān. Sa'sa'ah and Zayd were taken away wounded—one993 died, and the other survived.

According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—'Amr b. Muhammad—al-Sha'bi: On the day of the Camel seventy994 tribesmen from Quraysh took hold of the nose rein, and each one was killed as he held it. Al-Ashtar attacked, so 'Abdallah b. al-Zubayr intercepted him, and they exchanged blows. Al-Ashtar struck him down and made for him, but 'Abdallah leaped on him, grabbed him round the chest, and fell down with him to the ground, saying, "Kill me and Malik!" The people did not know him as Malik. Had he said, "and al-Ashtar," and had a million lives not one of them would have been spared. He carried on, struggling to get out of 'Abdallah's grip, until he managed to escape.

Whenever someone attacked the camel and escaped, he did not make a second attempt. Both Marwān and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr were wounded that day.

According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad—his paternal uncle—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh—Jarir b. Ḥāzim—Muhammad b. Abi Yāqūb and Ibn 'Awn—Abū Rajā: 'Amr b. Yathribī al-Ḍabbī, the brother of 'Amīrah995 the qādī, recited the following verses that day:

We, Banū Ḍabbah, are the allies of the camel,
we take the field against death whenever death dismounts.996

993. Zayd.
995. As vocalized by Prym. Perhaps 'Umayrah?
996. See p. 138, above.
Ibn 'Awn added the verses (not in Ibn Abī Ya‘qūb’s version):

Killing is sweeter to us than honey!
We lament the death of Ibn 'Affān with the tips of spears.
Send back our chief to us, and that will be enough.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Dāwūd b. Abī Hind—an elder from Banū Dabbah: Ibn Yathribī said some rajaz verses that day:

For those that don’t know me, I am Ibn Yathribī,
the killer of 'Ilbā' and Hind al-Jamali
And of a son of Şuhān, who followed the way of ‘Alī.997

"Who’ll come and fight?" Ibn Yathribī called out. A man went out, but he killed him. Another came out, and he killed him too.
He then said some more rajaz verses:

I kill them, and I can see 'Alī,
[so that] if I wished I could thrust an 'Umri998 spear into
his mouth!

Then ‘Ammār b. Yāsir came out against him—and he was the weakest who had done so.999 As ‘Ammār stood forward, the men said, "We belong to Allāh, and to him we return."1000 I also said about ‘Ammār because of his weakness: “By Allāh! This man will be joining those who preceded him!” He was slender and thin-legged, and he was carrying a sword of which the shoulder belt was too short for him1001 and of which the hilt [therefore] was near his armpit. Ibn Yathribī struck him with his sword, but it became embedded in his leather shield. So ‘Ammār struck him and injured him. ‘Alī’s companions then threw stones at Ibn Yathribī and heavily wounded him, and he was carried off badly injured.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Ḥammād al-Burjumī—Khārijah b. al-Šalt: On the Day of the Camel when al-Dabbī recited:

997. 'Alā din ‘Alī. See the same verses on p. 137, above.
998. Glossarium, cccxxvii. Ibrāhim has ‘Amri.
999. He was very old.
1001. Reading tashīfu (‘anhu (Addenda, DCxxxiv and Ibrāhim) for the text’s bi-shiqqihi “by his side.”
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We, the Banū ʿAbbās, are the allies of the Camel; we lament the death of Ibn ʿAffān with the tips of spears. Send back our chief to us, and that will be enough.

ʿUmayr b. ʿAbī al-Ḥārith recited in reply:

How can we send back your chief when his bones have become old? 1002

We struck his chest until he fell.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣaʿb b. Ḥakim—his father—his grandfather: A tribesman from Banū ʿAbbās hamstrung the camel. He was called Ibn Duljah, ʿAmr or Bujayr. Al-Ḥārith b. Qays, one of ʿAʾishah's followers, said the following verses about this:

We struck his leg so he fell down dead from one hit during the surge that was decisive.

If we had not been created for the sake of protecting the Prophet's household and his wife's sanctity, they would have divided us among themselves very quickly.

They were falsely attributed to ʿAlī's follower al-Muthannā b. Makhramah. 1003

The Severity of the Battle on the Day of the Camel and the Account of Aʾyan b. ʿDubayḥ's 1004

Looking into the Howdah

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Nuwayrah—Abū ʾUthmān—al-Qaʿqāʾ: The way the center of the army fought on the Day of the Camel was more like the Battle of ʿAṣṣīf than anything I have seen. I saw us defending ourselves against them with the points of our spears and leaning against the butts of our spears. They were doing likewise, so that had the men walked on them they would have supported them. 1005

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1002. I.e., he has died, as ʿĪbrāhīm notes.
1004. Al-Mujashiʾi.  
1005. Like a bridge.
According to ʿĪsā b. Ṭabiʿah b. Rāhmān b. al-Marwazi—al-Hasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿUrāni—Yahyā b. Yaʿlā al-Aslami—Sulaymān b. Qarmān—al-ʿAḏam—ʿAbdallāh b. Sinān al-Kahīlī: On the Day of the Camel we shot arrows at each other until there were no more to shoot, and we stabbed each other with spears until they were enmeshed in our chests and theirs. Had horses been made to walk over them they could have. Then ʿAlī called out, "Use swords, sons of the Muhājirūn!" The old man said, "I never entered Dār al-Walīd without remembering that day."

According to ʿAbd al-ʿĀlā b. Wāṣīl—Abū Fuqaym—Fīṭr—Abū Bashir: I was with my mawlā at the time of the Camel, and since then I have never passed Dār al-Walīd and heard the sounds of the washermen beating without remembering how they fought.

According to ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Marwazi—al-Ḥasān b. al-Ḥusayn—Yahyā b. Yaʿlā—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muslim—ʿĪsā b. Ḥiṭṭān: The army made a retreat; then we returned, and ʿĀʾishah was seated on a red camel in a red howdah, which I could describe only as a hedgehog because of the arrows.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Āḥmad—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Ībn ʿAwn—Abū Rājā: Some people were recalling the Day of the Camel. It’s as if I can see ʿĀʾishah’s howdah now. It was as though it was a hedgehog from the arrows that had been shot into it. "Did you fight that day?" I asked Abū Rājā. "By Allāh!" he replied. "I fired arrows, and I don’t know what effect they had."

According to al-Sāri (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Rāshid al-Sulāmī—Māysaraḥ Abū Jamīlah: After the Camel had been hamstrung Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and ʿAmmār b. Yāsir came to ʿĀʾishah and cut the saddle girth. They lifted off the howdah and put it to one side until ʿAlī had given them further instructions about it. "Take her into al-Baṣra!" he told the two of

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1006. Prym notes that this name is also spelled Qadam and Qazam.
1007. If this is the famous al-ʿAḏam, then it is Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Mihrān, traditionist and Qur’an reader, b.c. 60/679–80, d. probably 148/765 [EH, s.v.].
1008. Presumably ʿAbdallāh b. Sinān.
1009. In the market of al-Kūfah [Cætani, IX, 147].
1010. They beat the clothes with wood against wood, Ibn Manẓūr, V, 415; cf. Muir, 249 n. 1.
them, and they took it into the house of 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuza‘ī. 1011

According to al-Sāri [in writing]—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ‘Alī ordered a group of men to carry the howdah out from the dead bodies. Al-Qa‘qā‘ and Zufār b. al-Ḥārith had already removed it from the back of the camel and put it down at its side. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr then came up to it with a group of men, and he put his hand in. “Who’s this?” said ‘A’īshah. “Your dutiful brother,” he replied. “Undutiful!” 1012 “How do you feel about your sons’ beating today, Mother?” asked ‘Ammār b. Yāsir. “Who are you?” asked ‘A’īshah. “Your dutiful son, ‘Ammār,” 1013 he replied. “I’m no mother of yours!” “You are, even though you loathe the idea.” “You’re boasting that you’re victorious and doing just what you reproved [others for doing]. By Allāh! This is totally wrong! Those who do this sort of thing are never victorious.” They then brought her out in her howdah from the corpses and put her down away from everyone. It was as though her howdah was sprouting 1014 suckers from the arrows stuck in it. A’yan b. Dubay‘ah al-Muḍāshirī 1015 then came up to look down into the howdah, and she exclaimed: “Clear off! Allāh curse you!” “By Allāh!” he replied. “I can see little rosā! 1016 “May Allāh disgrace you!” 1017 May He cut off your hand! May He expose your genitals!” 1018 He was indeed killed in al-ṣārah, and stripped, his hand was cut off, and he was thrown naked into one of the ruins in the Azd

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1011. A prominent BASHAN, killed on the side of ‘Alī at the Battle of the Camel [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 196, II, 112].
1012. Akhāk . . . ’aqūq. Muḥammad was being sarcastic.
1013. ‘Ammār al-bāṭr.
1014. Reading muqassīb [Addenda, dccxxxiv] for the text’s muqaddāb “pruned.”
1015. Of Tamīm and a friend of ‘Alī’s [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 61, II, 217].
1016. Humayrā’, a term of endearment to a wife. The Prophet is said to have called ‘A’īshah so.
1017. Hatak Allāhu sitrak. The translation [cf. Lane, 1304c] refers to the next sentence’s triple fulfillment of the curse; however, it could refer back to A’yan’s looking into the howdah and mean, “May Allāh rip down your curtain!” i.e., and expose the women of your family, although this is not fulfilled in what follows.
1018. A Muslim woman could hardly say anything nearer the bone. It could be translated more mildly “and show up your deficiency,” but this would not fit what follows.
quarter. 'Ali then came to her and exclaimed: "O Mother! May Allah forgive us and you!" "May He forgive us and you!" she replied.

According to al-Sari [in writing]—Shu’ayb—Sayf—al-Sa’b b. Ḥakim b. Shariq—his father—his grandfather: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr arrived with Ammār, and cut the thongs of the girth from the howdah, and the two of them then lifted it off. When they had put it down, Muḥammad put in his hand and said, "Your brother Muḥammad!" "The most blameworthy!"1019 she replied. "Dear sister, have you been hit?" he asked. "That's no business of yours!" she replied. "Whose is it then? Those who've gone astray?"1020 "No, those who guide right."1021 'Ali then arrived. "How are you, Mother?" he asked her. "Fine." "May Allah forgive you!" he said. "And you," she replied.

According to al-Sari [in writing]—Shu’ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When it was nearly the end of the night Muḥammad took 'A’ishah out to al-Bagah to stay in the house of 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuza‘ī as a guest of Ṣafiyyah bt. al-Hārith b. Ṭalḥah b. Abī Ṭalḥah b. 'Abd al-Uzza b. Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Dār,1022 the mother of Ṭalḥah al-Talhahat b. 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf.1023

According to al-Wāqidi, the battle took place on Thursday 10 Jumādā II 36 (December 4, 656).1024

The Killing of al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām

According to al-Sari [in writing]—Shu’ayb—Sayf—al-Walīd b. 'Abdallāh—his father: When Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr’s army was routed on the Day of the Camel, al-Zubayr left. He passed the army of al-Ahnaf, who, when he saw him and was told who he was, remarked: "By Allah! He's been forced to do this"1025 and

1019. Mudhammam, the opposite of Muḥammad. Cf. p. 37, above.
1020. Sarcastic criticism of Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr.
1021. 'A’ishah ripostes that Muḥammad has gone astray.
1022. His Qurashi wife (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 555).
1023. Called so because of all the Talhahs on his mother's side; later governor of Sijistan (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 196, II, 555).
1024. Caetani, IX, 131. According to Caetani, IX, 2, this 10 Jumādā II was a Sunday. See p. 115, above, where the date is given as Thursday, 14 Jumādā II.
1025. Reading bi-khiyar, following Ibrahim and closer to the ms. for the text's anhiyāz, perhaps "What's this? Desertion?"
asked his men, “Who’ll keep us informed about him?” “I will,” replied `Amr b. Jurmûz to his companions, and he followed him. When he caught up with him al-Zubayr looked at him furiously and asked, “Why are you here?” “That’s just what I wanted to ask you,”¹⁰²⁶ he replied. A ghulâm of al-Zubayr’s who was with him, called `Āṭiyyah, said, “He’s armed!” “Why be frightened by [such] a man?” replied al-Zubayr. It was time for prayer, so Ibn Jurmûz said, “Let’s do the prayer!” Al-Zubayr also said, “Let’s do the prayer!” So they dismounted. Ibn Jurmûz stood behind him and then stabbed him from behind through the neck opening of his armored coat and killed him. He then took his horse, his signet ring, and his weapons and returned to the army with the news, leaving the ghulâm, who buried him in Wâdî al-Sibâ‘.¹⁰²⁷

“By Allah! I don’t know whether what you’ve done is good or bad,” said al-Ahnaf and went down to ‘Ali, Ibn Jurmûz accompanying him. They went up to him and told him the news. He asked for al-Zubayr’s sword and said, “A sword that many times dispelled distress from the face of the Messenger of God!”¹⁰²⁸ and sent it to ‘Â’ishah.¹⁰²⁹ Then he turned to al-Ahnaf and said, “You held out [on me]!” “I thought that I was doing everything right,” he replied, “and that what happened coincided with your orders, Commander of the Faithful. So be lenient! You’ve come a long way, and you’ll need me in the future more than you have done in the past. So acknowledge the good I’ve done, and recognize my sincere devotion for the sake of the future, and don’t say things like that,¹⁰³⁰ for I’ll always give you my sincere support.”

Those Routed on the Day of the Camel Who Hid and Went off into the Surrounding Towns

According to al-Sarî (in writing)—Shu’ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: At the height of the morning of the rout al-Zubayr went off on foot toward Medina, but he was killed by Ibn Jurmûz. ‘Utbah b. Abî Suﬁyân and the two sons of al-Ḥakam, ‘Abd al-

¹⁰²⁶. Or “I just wanted to ask you [how you were/what you were doing.]”
¹⁰²⁷. Presumably in the modern area of Baṣrah called al-Zubayr.
¹⁰²⁸. E.g., at Uḥud and Ḥunayn.
¹⁰²⁹. Sister of Ṣafîyyah, al-Zubayr’s wife.
¹⁰³⁰. “You thought this was a good opportunity to impress me.”
Rahmān and Yahyā, also left for the surrounding area on the day of the rout, their heads badly wounded.\textsuperscript{1031} They met Iṣmah b. Ubayr al-Taymī, who asked, “Are you looking for protection?”\textsuperscript{1032} “Who are you?” they replied. “Iṣmah b. Ubayr.” So they said, “Yes, we are.” “You may have my protection for twelve months.” So he took them and guarded them and looked after them until they recovered. “Choose the area you most prefer,” he then said, “and I’ll take you there.” “Syria,” they replied. So with 400 riders from Taym al-Ribāb he escorted them until they had entered well into Kalb territory at Dūmah. “You’ve now fulfilled your obligation to yourself and to them,” said the Kalbis. “You’ve carried out your duty, so return!” So he did. A poet composed a verse about this:

When the spears were being aimed Ibn Ubayr was loyal to Al Abī al-ʿAš. His loyalty was memorable.

As for Ibn ʿĀmir,\textsuperscript{1033} he also left wounded in the head, and a man from Banū Ḥurqūs\textsuperscript{1034} called Murayy\textsuperscript{1035} met him and offered to give him protection. He accepted, so he gave him protection, and he stayed with him. “Which territory would you most prefer?” he then asked. “Damascus,” he replied. So with riders from Banū Ḥurqūs he escorted him until they got him to Damascus.

Hārithah b. Badr,\textsuperscript{1036} who had been on ʿĀʾishah’s side and whose son or brother, Zirāʾ (or in another copy, Dirāʾ\textsuperscript{1037}) had been hit in the battle, said the verses

Some news has reached me that Ibn ʿĀmir has made his camel kneel and thrown down his ropes\textsuperscript{1038} in Damascus.

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam took refuge on the day of the rout with a family from ʿAnazah. “Inform Mālik b. Misma where I am,” he

\textsuperscript{1031} For this translation of shujjjū, see “until they recovered,” below. Ibrāhim, 535 n., glosses it “to cross the desert.”

\textsuperscript{1032} \textit{EP}, s.v. Djiwār.

\textsuperscript{1033} ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz.

\textsuperscript{1034} Of Tayyī? Cf. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 249.

\textsuperscript{1035} Following Wellhausen, 160; cf. \textit{Addenda}, DCXXXIV.

\textsuperscript{1036} Caskel and Strenziok, I, 71, II, 316.

\textsuperscript{1037} A marginal gloss crept into the text, as Prym notes. Hārithah’s brother’s name was Dhiraʾ (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 71, II, 316).

\textsuperscript{1038} Settled.
asked them, so they went to Malik and told him where he was. Malik asked his brother Muqātil, “How shall we deal with this man who has sent us a message saying where he is?” “Send my brother’s son, and give him protection,” he replied, “and then seek assurance of protection for him from ‘Alī. If he gives him it, then that’s what we want. If he doesn’t, then we’ll come out with him and with our swords. If he obstructs, then we’ll fight on his behalf with our swords. We’ll either come through or perish honorably.” He had previously asked the opinion of others in his family on this same question that he was asking Muqātil, but they had told him not to [protect Marwān], but he took the advice of his brother and not theirs. He therefore sent a message to Marwān and put him up in his house, determining to defend him if forced to do so, saying, “Death for protection is loyalty.” Marwān’s descendants remembered this of them later, and they benefited by it from them, and the Marwānids honored them because of it.

‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr took refuge in the house of a man from al-Azd called Wazīr and said, “Go to the Mother of the Faithful and tell her where I am, but make sure Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr doesn’t find out!” So he went to ‘Ā’ishah and told her. “Bring Muḥammad to me!” she said. “Mother of the Faithful!” replied Wazīr. “‘Abdallāh has forbidden me to let Muḥammad know.” But she sent a message to Muḥammad: “Go with this man, and bring me your sister’s son!” So he set off with the Azdī and went with him to Ibn al-Zubayr. “By Allāh!” [the Azdī] said. “I’ve brought you what you didn’t want, but the Mother of the Faithful was insistent.” Muḥammad and ‘Abdallāh then came out, abusing each other. Muḥammad was mentioning ‘Uthmān and abusing him, and ‘Abdallāh was abusing Muḥammad, until they reached ‘Ā’ishah at ‘Abdallāh b. Khalaf’s house. ‘Abdallāh b. Khalaf was on ‘Ā’ishah’s side before the Day of the Camel; his brother ‘Uthmān was killed with ‘Alī. ‘Ā’ishah sent out [men] to look for the wounded, and she had a number of them stay [where she was]. One of those she did this with was Marwān. They stayed in rooms in the house.

1039. Who had been given charge of ‘Ā’ishah by ‘Alī.
According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: While Ṭalḥah was in his camp tribal leaders came to visit 'A‘ishah. One of the first to do so was al-Qa‘qā‘ b. ‘Amr. She said to him when he had greeted her: “I saw two men battling in front of me yesterday, and they recited such-and-such rajaż verses. Of the two, do you know who was the Kufan, from your side?” “Yes,” he replied, “the one who said, ‘The most refractory mother we know.’ By Allah! He was lying; you’re the most dutiful mother we know, but you weren’t obeyed.” “By Allah!” she said. “Had I but died two decades before this day!” Al-Qa‘qā‘ then left and went to Ṭalḥah and told him that ‘A‘ishah had questioned him. “Alas for you!” said Ṭalḥah. “Who are the two men?” “The other one was Abu Hālah,” who said:

So that I could see his companion Ṭalḥah.”

“By Allah!” said Ṭalḥah. “Had I but died two decades before this day!” Their response was thus exactly the same.

According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Those of the wounded who were able to get up again stole away in the middle of the night into al-Baṣrah. ‘A‘ishah asked about a number of people on that day, both allies and opponents, as people came to visit her while she was in the house of Ḥabīb b. Khalaf. Whenever she was told of the death of one of them, she said, “May Allah be merciful to him!” “Why do you say this?” asked one of her followers. “It’s what the Messenger of God used to say. ‘So-and-so is in paradise; so-and-so is in paradise,’” she replied. That day ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭalib said, “I fervently hope that there is not one of these who has purified himself whom Allah has not taken into paradise.”

According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—‘Aṭiyyah—Abū Ayyūb—‘Ali: No verse of the Qur‘ān was revealed to the Prophet that gave him more joy than Almighty and Glorious Allah’s words: “Whatever calamity afflicts you you have earned, but He forgives much.” The Prophet said: “Whatever a Muslim suffers in this world by way of calamity to himself is in payment

1040. Rabi‘ah al-‘Uqayli; see p. 137, above.
1041. ‘Ali’s man in the fight.
for a wrongdoing, but what Almighty and Glorious Allāh forgives is more. So whatever afflicts him in this world deletes his wrongdoing and is a forgiveness for him. It will not be counted against him in punishment on the Day of Resurrection. What Almighty and Glorious Allāh has forgiven him in this world He has forgiven forever. Allāh is far above going back on His forgiveness.”

‘Ali’s Grief over Those Killed at the Battle of the Camel, Their Burial, and His Gathering What Was in the Camp and Its Despatch to al-Baṣrah

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib remained in his camp for three days and did not enter al-Baṣrah while the people were sent out to their dead. They went out to them and buried them, and ‘Ali went around with them among the bodies. When Ka‘b b. Sūr was brought to him, he said, “You told me it was only fools who had joined up with them, and here you see the learned man.” He then came upon ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Attāb and said, “And here is the chief of them!” [The [informant] they were going around with says, “This means they had all agreed on him and approved that he should lead their prayer.”]

Whenever ‘Ali passed a man with some good points he would say, “There were those who claimed that only the riffraff came out against us, but here is a strenuously devout Muslim.” He prayed over both their Baṣran and their Kūfan dead, and he prayed over the Quraysh of both camps. They were both Medinans and Meccans. ‘Ali then buried the severed limbs in a huge grave and collected everything that was left in the camp. He sent it to the mosque in al-Baṣrah, saying: “Whoever recognizes anything [of his own] should take it, except any weapon that was in the stores with the mark of the government on it. For indeed, there is still [there] what [the government] has not yet recognized [as belonging to it, so] take that property belonging to Almighty and

[1043. Ya’sūb al-qawm.]
[1044. Ya’sūb al-qawm.]
[1045. Sulṭān.]
[1046. Reading la-mā with the ms. and Addenda, DCXXXIV for the text’s mimmā.]
The Caliphate of 'Ali b. Abi Ṭālib

Glorious Allāh that they had collected in order to fight you with. A Muslim is not entitled to the property of any deceased Muslim, and they had taken possession of those weapons without their being given them as booty\textsuperscript{1047} by the government."

The Number of Fatalities at the Battle of the Camel

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭālḥah: Those killed at the Battle of the Camel around the camel numbered 10,000, half from 'Ali's followers and half from 'Ā'ishah's. Two thousand Azdis fell plus 500 from the rest of al-Yaman. Two thousand from Muḍar fell plus 500 from Qays, 500 from Tamīm, 1,000 from Banū Ḍabbah, and 500 from Bakr b. Wā'il.

It was said that in the first battle 5,000 Basrans were killed and a further 5,000 in the second battle, totaling 10,000 Basran fatalities and 5,000 Kūfans.

Seventy elders of Banū 'Adī were killed that day, all of whom were well versed in the Qur'ān. Youths and men who were not so well versed in the Qur'ān were also killed. 'Ā'ishah said, "I was still hoping for victory until I heard the voices of Banū 'Adī subside."

'Ali's Visit to 'Ā'ishah and the Punishment He Ordered for Those Who Offended Her

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭālḥah: On Monday 'Ali entered al-Baṣrah, went to the mosque, and prayed there. Then he went into al-Baṣrah itself, and the people came to him. Later he went to 'Ā'ishah on his she-mule. When he arrived at the house of 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf—the largest house in al-Baṣrah—he found the women weeping with 'Ā'ishah over the two sons of Khalaf, 'Abdallāh and 'Uthmān.\textsuperscript{1048} Ṣafīyyah bint al-Ḥārith\textsuperscript{1049} had veiled her face and was weeping,

\textsuperscript{1047} Tanafful; Maqrizi and Ibrahim have tanfil [Addenda, dcxxxv], but this would not alter the sense.

\textsuperscript{1048} Fought on 'Ali's side in the Battle of the Camel [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 196, II, 579].

\textsuperscript{1049} Wife of 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf.
but when she saw him she said: "‘Ali! Killer of loved ones! Splitter of groups! May Allāh make your sons fatherless, as you have done to the sons of ‘Abdallāh!’" He made her no reply and remained silent until he went into ‘A’ishah, greeted her, sat down next to her, and said, "Ṣafiyyah just met me with some harsh words, but up until today I haven’t seen her since she was a little girl." Then, as ‘Ali left, Ṣafiyyah turned to him and repeated what she had said to him, so he halted his she-mule and said, "In truth, I had a mind," and he pointed to the doors of the house, "to open this door and kill those inside, and then this one and kill those inside, and then this one and kill those inside." Some of the wounded had taken refuge with ‘A’ishah, and ‘Alī had been told that they were with her there, but he pretended not to know. [At this, Ṣafiyyah] fell silent, and ‘Ali left. "By Allāh!" said an Azdi. "This woman won’t get away from us!" But ‘Alī got angry. "Silence!" he said. "Don’t any of you dishonor women! Don’t force your way into any house! Don’t stir up discord with any woman by hurting her, even if they shout abuse at your women-folk and call your leaders and your honest men fools. They are weak. We have been commanded to hold back from them, [even if] they are polytheists. A man who recompenses a woman by beating her will have his descendants after him reproached for it. So let me not hear of anyone that he has confronted a woman. I will punish him as the most wicked of people." ‘Ali then left and was met by a man who said: "Commander of the Faithful! Two men I had met previously stood up at the door and were offensive to someone whose abuse [of you] is more painful to you than that of Ṣafiyyah." ‘Alas! Do you mean ‘A’ishah?" "Yes," he replied, "two of their men stood at the door of the house. One of them recited

May you, our mother, be repaid for [what you did to] us in disobedience!

And the other recited:

Mother of ours! Repent, for you have made a mistake.”

So ['Ali] sent al-Qa’qā’ b. ‘Amr to the door, and he sent those

1050. Ṣafiyyah.
1051. IA substitutes "Muslims."
guarding it to get control of the two men. "I'm going to cut off their heads!" said al-Qa'qā but then added, "I will punish them very severely [instead]." So he gave them each a hundred lashes and had their tunics stripped off them.

According to al-Sarī [in writing]—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣirah—Abū al-Kunūd: They were two Azdīs from al-Ḳūfah called Ḥijl and Sa‘d, sons of ‘Abdallāh.

**The Baṣrans’ Allegiance to ‘Ali and His Division of the Contents of the Treasury among Them**

According to al-Sarī [in writing]—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Taḥlāh: Al-‘Ahnāf gave allegiance in the evening because he had been absent, he and Banū Sa‘d. Then they all entered al-Baṣrah, and the Baṣrans gave allegiance under their banners. ‘Alī gave allegiance to the Baṣrans, even the wounded and those who had sought protection. But when Marwān returned [to Medīna]1052 he went and joined Mu‘āwiyyah. But others said, "He stayed in Medina until Ṣiffin was over."

When ‘Alī had completed the allegiance with the Baṣrans, he investigated the treasury and found more than 600,000 dirhams. So he divided it up among those who had fought with him,1053 500 dirhams going to each of them, saying, "You'll get the same again on top of your wages if Almighty and Glorious Allāh lets you conquer Syria." The Saba‘iyāh murmured against this and secretly criticized ‘Alī.

**‘Alī’s Conduct toward Those Who Fought Him on the Day of the Camel**

According to al-Sarī [in writing]—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Rāshid—his father: It was part of ‘Alī’s practice not to kill those who fled or to finish off the wounded or to dishonor women, or to take money. So on that day some men asked, "What allows us to kill them but forbids us their money?" "Those who fought you

1052. He was one who had sought protection.
1053. Ibrahim, following Maqrīzī [Addenda, dcxxxv], adds "at the battle."
are like you," replied 'Ali. "Those who make peace with us are one with us, and we are one with them, but, for those who persist until they get struck by us, I fight them to the death. You are in no need of their fifth."1054 It was on that day the Khawārij1055 began talking among themselves.

**Al-Ashtar Sends 'Ā'ishah a He-Camel He Had Bought for Her and Her Exit from al-Baṣrah to Mecca**

According to Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-'Alā’—Yahyā b. Ādam—Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh—'Āsim b. Kulayb—his father: When they had finished on the Day of the Camel al-Ashtar ordered me to go and buy him a he-camel for 700 dirhams from a man from Mahrāh.1056 "Take it to 'Ā'ishah," said al-Ashtar, "and tell her, 'Al-Ashtar Mālik b. al-Ḥārith has sent it to you, and he says, "This is to take the place of your camel."'" So I took it to her and said, "Mālik sends you greetings, and says that this camel is in place of your camel." "May Allah not give him peace! For he has killed the chief of the Arabs (by which she meant Ibn Ṭalḥah) and committed crimes against my sister's son." So I took it back to al-Ashtar and informed him, at which he uncovered two hirsute forearms and said, "They wanted to kill me, so what else could I do?"

According to al-Sari (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: 'Ā'ishah headed for Mecca, taking the road1057 from al-Baṣrah. Marwān and al-Aswād b. Abī al-Bakhtārī left the road and went to Medina. 'Ā'ishah stayed in Mecca until the ḥajj1058 and then returned to Medina.

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1054. The fifth was reserved for Allah, His Messenger, relatives, orphans, the poor, and travelers (Qur’an 8:42).
1055. Seceders from 'Ali's cause, principally after the Battle of Siffin; see EP, s.v. Khāridjītes.
1056. In the southeastern Arabian peninsula, famed for its camels.
1057. Reading fa-kāna wajhuha. Prym’s fa-kāna waqjahuha has no explicit subj ect, but could be 'Ali—"so he sent her away [from al-Baṣrah]." The text may be corrupt, and, like IA, 258, Prym's proposed reconstruction, "'Ā'ishah left al-Baṣrah and headed toward Mecca," corresponds with the translation above.
1058. A little over seven months later, if the end of Rabi‘ II is taken as the date of the battle, and five or six if Jumādā II is taken; see pp. 81, 133, above.
What ‘Ali b. Abi Ṭālib Wrote about the Victory to His Governor of al-Kūfah

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ‘Ali wrote to his governor of al-Kūfah about the victory, in a letter concerning al-Kūfah, while the governor was in Mecca.

From ‘Allah’s servant ‘Ali, Commander of the Faithful. After greetings. We fought in the middle of Jumādā II in Khuraybah, one of the open areas in al-Baṣrāh. Almighty and Glorious Allāh gave them the sunnah of the Muslims.1059 There were many killed from our side and theirs. Among those killed from our side were Thumāmah b. al-Muthanna, Hind b. ‘Amr, ‘Ilba‘ b. al-Haytham, Sayḥān and Zayd, the two sons of Ṣuḥān, and Maḥdūj. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Rāfī1060 was the scribe. Zufār b. Qays was the messenger who brought the good news to Kūfah, still in Jumādā II.


These words were said in the allegiance: “The fulfillment of Allāh’s promise and covenant is obligatory on you. Our peace will be your peace, and our war will be your war. You will restrain your tongue and hand from attacking us.”

Now Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān was one of those who withdrew and did not take part in the battle. He stayed back in the house of Nāfī‘ b. al-Ḥārith. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakrah came with those seeking protection after ‘Ali had finished with the allegiance and gave himself up. ‘Alī asked him, “What about your father’s brother,”1062

1059. I.e., put an end to their deviation by trying to reason with them before taking up arms [Glossarium, ccclxvii, and p. 73, above].

1060. For the text’s ‘Abdallāh, following Ibrāhīm, although there is no entry in Caskel, while there is one for an ‘Abdallāh [Caskel and Strenziok, I, 195, II, 117]. De Goeje suggests ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Rāfī‘ [Addenda, dcxlixxv].

1061. Settled early in al-Baṣrāh with Abū Bakrah, probably a brother by the same mother, Sumayyah [EI², s.v. Abū Bakrah, and Prym’s n. c to the text]; later Mu’āwiyyah’s viceroy in Iraq. See EI¹, s.v. Ziyād b. Abīhi.

1062. I.e., Ziyād.
the one who held out and refused to join me?"1063 “By Allāh, Commander of the Faithful!” he replied. “He loves you and is very eager to please you, but I heard that he’s ill. So I’ll find out his news and come back to you.” He was keeping his whereabouts a secret from ‘Ali until he had consulted him, but [Ziyād] ordered him to tell him, so he did. “Walk in front of me!” said ‘Ali, “and lead me to him!” He did so, and when he reached where he was he said, “You refused to join me and held out [on me]!” and ‘Ali put his hand on his chest and said, “There’s a sharp pain here.” Ziyād then made apologies to him, and he accepted them. ‘Ali then consulted with him and wanted him to govern al-Basrah. But Ziyād said: “Let it be a man from your close family, and the people will be content with him and more likely to be reassured or easily led. I will support him for you and advise him.” So ‘Ali and Ziyād parted, having decided on Ibn ‘Abbās, and ‘Ali returned to where he was staying.

The Appointment of Ibn ‘Abbās as Governor of al-Baṣrah and Ziyād over the Kharāj Tax

‘Ali appointed Ibn ‘Abbās governor of al-Baṣrah and Ziyād over the kharāj tax and the treasury, and he ordered Ibn ‘Abbās to listen to Ziyād’s advice. “I consulted him about some small thing concerning the people,” Ibn ‘Abbās used to say, “and he replied, ‘If you know you’re in the right and that your opponent is in the wrong, I’ll give you proper advice; if you don’t know, I’ll give you proper advice just the same.’ I’m in the right,’ I replied, ‘and they’re in the wrong.’ So he said, ‘Use those who obey you to beat those who disobey you and go against your orders! And, if it brings more strength and benefit to Islam that their heads be cut off, then cut them off!’ I asked Ziyād to write this down, and when he left I looked at what he had done and realized that he had given me a well thought out opinion.”

The Saba`iyyah set off without ‘Ali’s permission, which caused ‘Ali to leave in haste and set off on their tracks to foil any plan they might be making. He had stayed in [al-Baṣrah] a while.

According to al-Sari [in writing]—Shu`ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad

1063. Al-mutaqa`id bī or, in İbrāhim, al-muq`id bī.
and Ṭalḥah: The people of Medina learned about the Day of the Camel before sunset on the Thursday from a vulture that circled around Medina with something hanging down. They were staring at it when it fell. To their surprise, it was a human hand wearing a signet ring engraved with the name of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ṭāṭāb. All Basrans between Mecca and Medina, whether near al-Baṣrah or far, then became frightened, having learned of the battle from the hands and feet carried to them by vultures.

ʿAli Equips ʿAʾishah to Leave al-Baṣrah

According to al-Sārī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ʿAlī equipped ʿAʾishah with everything she needed in the way of riding beasts, provisions, and other baggage and sent with her all those who had fought on her side and had survived, except for anyone who wished to stay behind. He also selected forty prominent Baṣran women to go with her. “Get ready for the journey, Muḥammad!” ʿAlī said, “and see that she arrives.” So on the day she was to set off he came to her to stand and bid her farewell. The people were there so she went out to them, and they said their farewells to her and she to them. “My sons,” she said, “some of us criticized others of us, saying they were slow or excessive. But don’t let any of you hold it against any others over anything you might hear about this. By Allāh! There was never anything in the past between me and ʿAlī other than what usually happens between a woman and her male in-laws. In my opinion he has shown himself one of the best of men, despite my criticism.” “By Allāh, men!” replied ʿAlī. “She has spoken the truth and nothing but the truth. That was all there was between us. She’s the wife of your Prophet now and forever.”

The day she left was Saturday 1 Rajab, 36/December 24, 656. ʿAlī escorted her some miles and then left his sons to accompany her for a day.

1064. Ibn Abī Bakr.
1065. At Medina.
1066. In dealing with ʿUthmān.
1067. I.e., ʿAlī has forgiven her.
Accounts of the Carnage on the Day of the Camel

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. 'Aṭiyah al-Khurāsānī—Sa‘īd al-Qūṭā‘ī: We used to recount the number of dead at the Battle of the Camel as exceeding 6,000.

According to 'Abdollāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh—his father—Sulaymān b. Ṣāliḥ—'Abdollāh—Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—al-Zubayr b. al-Khirrit\footnote{Al-Hajjāj was involved in the expedition against Khaybar (Ibn Hishām, 770 ff., tr., 519 ff.; see also Watt, 97).}—Abū Labid Limāzah b. Ziyād: I asked him,\footnote{I.e., al-Zubayr b. al-Khirrit asked Abū Labid.} “Why do you curse ‘Alī?” He replied, “Should I not curse a man who killed 2,500 of us by the time the sun was over our heads?”

According to Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—Ibn Abī Ya'qūb: On the Day of the Camel 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalib killed 2,500 men—1,350 of them were from Azd, 800 from Banū Dabbah, and 350 from the rest of the people.

According to ['Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh]—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdollāh—Jarīr: When Al-Mu'arrid b. 'Ilāt\footnote{Of Sulaymān. Only his brother al-Ḥajjāj is mentioned in Caskel and Strenziok, I, 122, II, 291. Al-Hajjāj was involved in the expedition against Khaybar (Ibn Hishām, 770 ff., tr., 519 ff.; see also Watt, 97).} was killed on the Day of the Camel his brother al-Ḥajjāj recited the verses

Never did I see a day when more men hastened to fight with only a left hand, because they had lost their right.

According to Muḥḍh—'Abdollāh—Jarīr: When Al-Mu'arrid b. 'Ilāt was killed on the Day of the Camel his brother al-Ḥajjāj recited the verses

Never did I see a day when more men hastened to fight with\footnote{I.e., al-Zubayr b. al-Khirrit asked Abū Labid.} only a left hand, because they had lost their right.

What 'Ammār b. Yāsir Told 'Ā'ishah When the Battle of the Camel Was Over

According to 'Abdollāh b. Aḥmad—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdollāh—Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—Abū Yazīd al-Madīnī: When the...
people had finished fighting, 'Ammār b. Yāsir said to Ā'ishah, "Mother of the Faithful, how far this march is from the pact that was made for you!" \(^{1072}\) "Abū al-Yaqẓān!" she replied. "Yes?" he asked. "By Allāh! As I always knew, you're a great speaker of the truth!" "Praise be to Allāh!" he replied, "Who has judged in my favor by your tongue!"

\(^{1072}\) Not to leave her house (Qur'ān 33:33).
The End of the Account of the Battle of the Camel
In this year—that is, 36—Muḥammad b. Abi Ḥudhayfah was killed. This was because, when the Egyptians had left to go to Ḫūthmahn with Muhammad b. Abi Bakr, he stayed in Egypt, expelled Abūdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abi Sarḥ and took control of the country. There he remained until 'Uthmān was killed and allegiance was given to 'Ali. Mu'āwiyyah then rebelled, and Amr b. al-'Aṣ gave him allegiance. The two of them then went to Muḥammad b. Abi Ḥudhayfah before Qays b. Sa'd reached Egypt. They tried without success to enter Egypt, so they continued to practice deceit on Muḥammad b. Abi Ḥudhayfah until he came out with 1,000 men to 'Arish of Egypt and set up fortifications. Amr then went to him there and set up mangonels against him. This made Muḥammad come out with thirty of his men, whereupon they were captured and put to death, may they rest in peace.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf Lūt b. Yaḥyā b. Sa'id b. Mikhnaf b. Sulaym—Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Anṣārī of Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj—'Abbās b. Sahl al-Sā'īdī: It was Muḥammad b. Abi Ḥudhayfah b. 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf who sent the Egyptians to 'Uthmān b. 'Affan, and then, once they had gone to 'Uthmān and besieged him, he [back in Egypt] seized Abūdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abi Sarḥ, one of Banū 'Amir b. Lu'ayy of Quraysh and 'Uthmān's governor of Egypt at the time. Muḥammad then expelled him and made himself leader of the prayer. So 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd left Egypt and encamped at the border between Egypt and Palestine, awaiting the outcome of the business over 'Uthmān.

A rider appeared and 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd asked: "What's your news, 'Abdallāh?" Tell us what's been happening to the people.
where you came from." "I will," he replied. "The Muslims have
killed 'Uthmān." "We belong to Allāh, and to Him we re-
turn,"1080 said 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd. "And then what did they do,
'Abdallāh?" "Then they gave allegiance to the paternal cousin of
the Messenger of God, 'Ali b. Abi Ṭālib." "We belong to Allāh,
and to Him we return," said 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd again. "It seems
that you think that 'Ali b. Abi Ṭālib's becoming ruler is as bad as
the killing of 'Uthmān," the man said to him, [astonished].
"That's right," he replied. The man then gave him a searching
look and realized that he knew him. "You look like 'Abdallāh [b.
Sa'd] b. Abi Sarḥ, ruler of Egypt," he said. "That's right," he re-
plied. "If you've any desire for life left," the man said to him,
"then escape fast! The Commander of the Faithful's opinion
about you and your followers is bad. If he overcomes you, he'll kill
you or banish you from Muslim territory, and here on my heels is
a new ruler1081 coming instead of you." "What ruler is this?"
asked 'Abdallāh. "Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah al-Anṣāri." "May Allāh
expel Muhammad b. Abi Hudhayfah from His mercy!" said 'Abd-
allāh b. Sa'd, "for he has committed an outrage against his patern-
al cousin1082 and worked against him, when 'Uthmān had been
his guardian and brought him up and done him so much good. But
he abused his protection and set upon his governors and equipped
men against him until he was killed. Then someone who was
worse than himself was appointed over him,1083 someone to
whom 'Uthmān had not granted power over his lands for a year or
even a month, because he did not consider him fit for it." "Escape
and save yourself, and you won't be killed!" the man told him. So
'Abdallāh b. Sa'd left and fled until he reached Mu'āwiyah b. Abi
Sufyān in Damascus.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarî] added, "This report from Hishām proves
that Qays b. Sa'd became governor of Egypt while Muhammad b.
Abi Ḥudhayfah was still alive."

In this year 'Ali b. Abi Ṭālib sent Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah al-
Anṣārī to govern Egypt, and about this we have the following account.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—Abū Mikhnaf—Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Thābit—Sahl b. Sa’d:1084 When ‘Uthmān was killed and ‘Ali b. Abī Talib became caliph, he called Qays b. Sa’d al-Anṣārī and told him: “Go to Egypt; I’ve made you its governor. So go and get ready to travel, and gather your trusted followers to you1085 and those you want to go with you, so that you arrive there with a force. That will be more alarming to your enemies and more encouraging to your friends. If Allāh wills that you get there, then treat the good doer well and be severe with those you suspect. Be lenient with newcomers and early comers;1086 leniency brings success.” “May Allāh have mercy on you,1087 Commander of the Faithful!” replied Qays b. Sa’d. “I appreciate what you say, but, as for your advice, ‘Go out to it with a force,’ by Allāh! If I can enter Egypt only with a force brought from Medina I’ll never enter it at all. So I’ll leave that force for you. Then if you have need of them they’ll be near at hand, or if you want to send them on some mission of yours they’ll be there ready for you. I and my household, however, will go on our own. As for your advice about leniency and good treatment, I will ask help for that from Almighty and Glorious Allāh.”

So Qays b. Sa’d left with seven of his followers and went to Egypt, where he mounted the minbar, sat down, and ordered that a letter he had with him from the Commander of the Faithful be read out to the people of Egypt:

In the name of Allāh the Merciful, the Compassionate.

From the servant of Allāh ‘Ali, the Commander of the Faithful, to all Muslims and believers who hear this edict of mine. Peace be upon you! I praise Allāh to you, apart from Whom there is no deity.

After greetings. [I tell you!] Almighty and Glorious Allāh, by the goodness of His actions, His plans, and His

1084. Al-Shahrazūrī (U. Sezgin, 123, 226); Caetani, IX, 318 ff.
1085. Reading ilayka for ilayhi, after Ibrahim and IA.
1087. Polite introduction to a contradiction.
direction, has chosen Islam as His Own religion, that of His angels and of His messengers. He has sent the messengers with it to His servants and has specially ordained for it those of His creation whom He elected. Then one of the things by which Almighty and Glorious Allāh has ennobled this community and singled it out for excellence is His sending Muhammad to it. In this way he taught them the Book, the wisdom, the ordinances, and the sunnah, that they might be guided right. He united them that they might not split into factions, he purified them that they might be clean, and be made life good for them that they might not oppress. When he had accomplished his mission, Almighty and Glorious Allāh took him, may Allāh's prayers and mercy and blessings be upon him! The Muslims then appointed two leaders as his deputies who were devout and acted according to the Book and the sunnah. They conducted themselves well and did not go against the sunnah. Almighty and Glorious Allāh then took them also to Himself, and a governor succeeded them who introduced innovations, so the community found a way to talk against him, so they talked and then criticized and reviled him. Then they came to me and gave me allegiance, so I pray for guidance from Almighty and Glorious Allāh and ask Him to help me to fear Him. Indeed, I am obliged to you to act according to the Book of Allāh and the sunnah of His messenger and to govern you according to His proper manner and to implement His sunnah and to be honest with you when you are absent. ‘Allāh is the One from Whom help is sought!’ ‘Allāh is sufficient for us; He is an excellent guardian!’ Now I have sent Qays b. Sa’d b. ‘Ubdāh to you as ruler, so help him, support him, and assist him.
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[Text continues as per the original document]
By Allah! I wouldn't want to kill you even if I were given the rule of Syria as well as Egypt." Maslamah sent back this message: "I shall not fight you as long as you are governor of Egypt."

Now Qays b. Sa'd had resolve and good judgment, so he sent a message to those at Kharbita: "I am not going to force you to give allegiance. I will let you be and not fight you." So he made a truce with them and with Maslamah b. Mukhallad and collected the kharaj tax without anyone's resisting him.

It was while Qays was governing Egypt that the Commander of the Faithful went out against the army of the Camel, and he was still in his post when Ali went back to Kufah from Basrah. Because of his closeness to Syria he was Mu'awiyah b. Abi Sufyan's greatest problem. Mu'awiyah was afraid that Ali would advance against him with the Iraqi army and that Qays b. Sa'd would advance against him with the Egyptian army and that Mu'awiya would be caught between the two.

Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan therefore wrote to Qays b. Sa'd. At this stage Ali b. Abi Talib was at al-Kufah, prior to his setting out for Siffin.

From Mu'awiyah b. Abi Sufyan to Qays b. Sa'd.

Peace be upon you! After greetings. If you were resentful against Uthman b. Affan for any preferential treatment you thought he was making, or for whippings he gave, or for verbal abuses against anyone, or for expulsions of others, or for putting youths in authority, you nevertheless knew—if you know anything—that to take his life was not lawful for you. You have therefore perpetrated a heinous crime and done something shocking. So Qays b. Sa'd! If repenting for the murder of a believer can have any effect, then repent to Almighty and Glorious Allah, for you were party to the crime against Uthman b. Affan.

1102. He was known as one of the seven duhat.
1103. The land tax, EP, s.v.
1104. Note the absence of a basmala here and in the next two letters [but not the fourth].
1105. Like Abu Dharr al-Ghifari.
1106. Qur'an 19:89, said of those who say Allah had a son. The ms. has amran for the Qur'an text's shay'an.
As for your companion, we have no doubt whatsoever that it was he who incited the people against 'Uthmān and urged them on to kill him until they did so. The majority of your own people are now implicated in his blood. So Qays, if you can join those demanding revenge for 'Uthmān's death, then do so. Follow our lead, and if I gain the victory you shall be given authority over al-ṣufah and al-Baṣrah as long as I live. Authority over the Hijāz shall be given to any of your close family you wish, as long as I hold power. Ask of me also anything in addition to this you may want. You will not request anything without receiving it. So write and let me know your reaction to what I have written. Peace!

When Muʿāwiyah's letter reached him, he wanted to hold him off and not disclose his position to him and not to be in a hurry to make war with him, so he wrote to him:

After greetings. I received your letter, and I understand what you say about the murder of 'Uthmān. But I did not commit it, nor was I in any way connected with it. You also say that it was my companion who incited the people against 'Uthmān and secretly urged them on until they killed him. This also I did not witness. You say, too, that the majority of my people are implicated in 'Uthmān's blood, but the very first group to stand up and demand retaliation for him was my tribe. Concerning your request to me to join behind your lead and your offer to me for doing so, I have understood it. It is something I will have to look into and think about. It is not something that should be rushed into. Meanwhile, I will not fight you, and nothing distasteful to you will come to you from my quarter until, Allāh willing, both you and I have considered the matter. Almighty and Glorious Allāh is the One

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1107. 'Ali.
1108. As a sort of repentance.
1109. Al-ṣufayn.
1110. Cf. the next letter of Qays.
from Whom protection is to be sought. Peace be upon you, and the mercy of Allāh and His Blessings!

When Muʿāwiyyah read his reply he realized he was trying pull-push tactics, and he was not sure that it would not end up as push-deceive. So Muʿāwiyyah wrote to him again:

After greetings. I have read your letter, but I do not see you making approaches that lead me to recognize you as [offering] peace, nor do I see you distancing yourself in a way that leads me to recognize you as [offering] war. By taking such a position you are like the chin of the camel for slaughter. Men like myself, who have large numbers of men and fighting cavalry, do not make up to a deceiver, nor do they incline to a trickster. Peace be upon you!

When Qays b. Saʾd had read Muʿāwiyyah’s letter and realized that holding off and playing for time would not get anywhere with him, he wrote to him revealing his true intentions:

In the name of Allāh the Merciful, the Compassionate. From Qays b. Saʾd to Muʿāwiyyah b. Abī Suḥyān. After greetings. I am astonished how you try to deceive me, how you desire to overcome me, and how you try to make me change my mind for the worse. Are you obliging me to renounce obedience to the most qualified of all people for the leadership, whose words are truest, whose actions are most rightly guided, and whose connections to the Messenger of God are closest? Are you then commanding me to enter into obedience to yourself—obedience to the most unqualified of all people for this rule, most ready of all to speak falsely, whose actions are most astray, and whose connections to Almighty and Glorious Allāh and His Messenger are most distant, a son of those who are astray and those who lead astray, one of the devil's

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1111. Muqāriban mubāʿidan.
1112. Mubāʿidan mukāyidan.
1113. “Moving this way and that to try to trick the slaughterer”?
1114. Lit., “the reins of horses in his hand.”
1115. Abū Suḥyān, a major opponent of the Prophet.
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own devils? As for your statement that you will fill Egypt with horses and men to fight me, by Allah! If I do not keep you concerned with yourself so that your very survival becomes the most worrying thing for you, you will be lucky. Peace!

On receiving Qays's letter, Mu'āwiya lost hope for him; his being there in Egypt was a big impediment to him.

According to 'Abdallâh b. Ahmad al-Marwazî—[his father,]1116 Sûlaymân—'Abdallâh—Yûnus—al-Zuhî: Egypt during 'Ali's time was governed by Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubadah, the holder of the banner of the Anṣâr alongside the Messenger of God. He was one of those of sound judgment and strong character. Now Mu'āwiya b. Abî Sufyân and 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ were making great efforts to get him out of Egypt and take control of it, but he defended it with cunning and strategems. They had neither gained control of him nor captured Egypt until Mu'āwiya tricked him through 'Ali.1117 When Mu'āwiya was talking with some tribesmen of Quraysh, respected for their good judgment, he said: "I never devised a trick that pleased me more than the one with which I tricked Qays b. Sa'd through 'Ali while he was in Iraq and Qays was resisting me. I said to the Syrians: 'Don't speak roughly to Qays b. Sa'd and don't put out any call to invade him. He supports us; his shrewd advice comes to us secretly. Don't you see what he has done with your brothers from the men of Kharbitâ who are there under him? He pays them their allowances and provisions, he gives them security,1118 and he treats any rider well that goes to him from you. They never find fault with him in any way.' So I made a point of writing to my Iraqi followers about all this," continued Mu'āwiya, "so that 'Ali's spies with me here and over in Iraq should hear it." From them it got back to 'Ali—by Muḥammad b. Abî Bakr and Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Abî Ṭâlib—and when 'Ali heard of it he became suspicious of Qays and wrote to him, ordering him to go and fight the people of Kharbitâ. The people of

1116. Cf. p. 187, below, and Addenda, DCXXXV.
1117. By the speech that follows and by a fabricated letter; see p. 185, below.
1118. Lit. "their flocks" [Lane, 1341c], as also in Qays's letter to 'Ali, p. 184, below.
Kharbita at that time numbered 10,000. Qays refused to fight them and wrote to 'Ali.

They are Egyptian notables and noblemen. Loyal men are among them. They agreed with me, provided I give them security and give them their allowances and provisions, although I am fully aware that their sympathies lie with Mu'awiyyah. So I see no way of maneuvering them that would be any easier for me or for you than what I am already doing with them. Were I to attack them they would be my match. They are lions of Arabs; among them are Busr b. Abi'1119 Artah, Maslamah b. Mukhallad,1120 and Mu'awiyyah b. Hudayj. So let me do things my way; I know how to cajole them.

The only course of action 'Ali would accept was to fight them, but Qays refused and wrote again to 'Ali, "If you suspect me, then remove me from your governorship and appoint someone else to it." 'Ali therefore appointed al-Ashtar ruler of Egypt, but at al-Qulzum1121 he drank a honey drink and died.1122 News of this reached Mu'awiyyah and 'Amr [b. al-'Aṣ], and the latter remarked, "Allāh has an army in honey!"1123 On hearing of al-Ashtar's death at al-Qulzum, 'Ali sent Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr as ruler of Egypt.


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1119. Addenda, DCXXXV and Ibrāhīm. A bedouin of Banū 'Āmir of Quraysh and a fiery opponent of 'Āli [EP, s.v.].
1120. Al-Anṣārī.
1121. The port at the top of the Red Sea [EP, s.v.].
1122. Poisoned by the local jayastār, perhaps at the instigation of Mu'awiyyah [EP, s.v. al-Ashtar]. Cf. Hawting, First Civil War, 145.
1123. Freytag, I, 10; EP, s.v. al-Ashtar. Cf. Qurṭān—lillāhi junūd al-samāwāt wa-al-ard. Mu'awiyyah is said to have done this on other occasions, e.g., by means of al-Ja'dah bt. al-Ash'ath, who is said to have poisoned her husband, Ḥasan b. 'Āli, for a large sum of money and the hand of Mu'awiyyah's son Yazīd [EP, s.v. al-Hasan].
Return to the account of Hishām [b. Muḥammad b. al-Kalbī] from Abū Mikhnaf

When Muʿāwiyah gave up hoping that Qays would comply with his authority, it made him very anxious, for he was well aware of Qays’s determination and strength of character. So Muʿāwiyah feigned to the people around him that, “Qays b. Saʿd is on your side, so say prayers for him to Allāh!” He then read out to them the letter in which Qays had been compliant and accommodating toward Muʿāwiyah. He further fabricated a letter from Qays b. Saʿd and read it aloud to the Syrians:

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
To the ruler Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān from Qays b. Saʿd.
Greetings! I praise Allāh to you. There is no god but He!

After greetings. I have considered the situation and I now realize that I can no longer support a party that killed their imām, a Muslim, unlawful to be killed, who was fulfilling his duties and was God-fearing. We therefore beg Almighty and Glorious Allāh pardon for our sins and ask Him to preserve our religion from error. Here I come in peace to you, responding to your call to fight the killers of ʿUthmān, the unjustly killed imām of guidance.1124 So ask my assistance regarding whatever money and men you would like, and I will expedite them to you. Peace!

At this the news spread among the Syrians that Qays b. Saʿd had given allegiance to Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib’s spies conveyed it back to ʿAlī, and when he heard it he was distressed, shocked, and very surprised. He called his sons and ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar and told them. “What did you think?” he asked. “Commander of the Faithful,” replied ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar. “Leave what you suspect for what you don’t suspect! Remove Qays from Egypt!” “By Allāh! I cannot credit this from Qays,” ʿAlī answered them. “But Commander of the Faithful,” replied ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar, “remove him! Then, by Allāh! If this news is true he will not step down for you when you remove him.”1125 They were

1124. Reading ʿimāmi . . . with Nöldeke (Addenda, dcxxxv) and Ibrāhīm.
1125. I.e., if he really has gone over to Muʿāwiyah, he will refuse to give up Egypt and simply rule it under Muʿāwiyah.
talking in this way when a letter from Qays b. Sa'd arrived, containing the following:

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. After greetings. I inform the Commander of the Faithful, may Allah ennoble him! that there are men facing me here who are abstaining.\[1126] They have asked me to hold off from them and leave them alone until matters between the people have been put in order, at which time we may come to a decision and they may. I therefore thought it wise to hold off from them and not to rush into battle with them, but in the meanwhile to try to win them over. Perhaps Almighty and Glorious Allah will make their minds more favorable to us and separate them from their error, if He wills.

"Commander of the Faithful!" said 'Abdallah b. Ja'far. "I'm very afraid that this means he is in fact joining forces with them. Order him, Commander of the Faithful, to fight them!" 'Ali therefore wrote to him: "In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. After greetings. Go to these people you mention! If they make allegiance to me as the Muslims have done, all well and good. But, if they do not, then fight them, God willing!"\[1127]

When the letter reached Qays b. Sa'd and he read it he could not but write back to Commander of the Faithful:

After greetings. Commander of the Faithful, I was astonished at your order. Are you ordering me to fight people who are holding back from you and leaving you free to fight your enemy? They will support your enemy against you if you go to war with them. Follow my advice, Commander of the Faithful! Hold back from them! Leaving them alone is the best thing to do. Peace!

When this letter reached 'Ali, 'Abdallah b. Ja'far said to him, "Commander of the Faithful! Send Muhammad b. Abi Bakr to rule Egypt! He will take care of it for you. Remove Qays! By Allah I have heard that Qays says: 'By Allah! A rule that is only estab-

\[1126\] From giving you/me their allegiance.
\[1127\] Cf. the hadith al-kharij 'alā imām zamānīh kāfir.
lished by killing Maslamah b. Mukhallad is a bad rule indeed! By Allah I have no wish even to rule Syria along with Egypt as the killer of Ibn al-Mukhallad.'"

Now 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far was the brother of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr by the same mother. So 'Alī sent Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr as governor of Egypt and removed Qays.

**Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr's Governorship of Egypt**

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥarīth b. Ka'b al-Wālībī of Wālibah of al-Azd—his father: 'Alī wrote a letter for [Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr] to take to the Egyptians. On his presenting it to Qays, Qays said to him: "What is the Commander of the Faithful doing? What has changed his mind? Has someone been saying things to him against me?" "No," replied Muḥammad, "this rule is yours." 'By Allah! Not even for a single hour will I stay in the same area as you," said Qays. So when 'Alī removed him from office, he became furious, left Egypt, and headed for Medina. When he arrived there Ḥassān b. Thābit (who was one of the 'Uthmāniyyah) came up to him, pleased at his misfortune, and said: "'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib has dismissed you. You killed 'Uthmān, and you're still guilty of the crime, and 'Alī hasn't given you much thanks!" "It's not just your eye that's blind but your mind as well!" replied Qays b. Sa'd. "By Allah! If it wouldn't be the cause of a war between my tribe and yours, I would break your neck! Get out of my sight!" Qays, accompanied by Sahl b. Hunayf, then left Medina for 'Alī. Qays then told 'Alī the whole story, and 'Alī believed him. Qays and Sahl later accompanied 'Alī at Siffin.

According to 'Abdallāh b. ʿAlmād [al-Marwazi]—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh—Yūnus—al-Zuhrī: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr came to Egypt, so Qays left to stay in Medina. Marwān and al-Aswād b. Abī al-Bakhtari then made Qays fear that he would be captured or killed. So he mounted his travel camel and

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1128. Asmā'.
1129. Ibn Fuqaym (U. Sezgin, 206).
1131. One of the 'Uthmāniyyah, like Marwān.
went and joined 1132 'Ali. Mu'āwiyyah then sent an angry letter to Marwān and al-Aswād: "The two of you have reinforced 'Ali with Qays b. Sa’d, with his good judgment and with his respected position. By Allah! If you had reinforced him with a hundred thousand soldiers it would not have angered me more than your expelling Qays b. Sa’d to 'Ali!"

Qays b. Sa’d came to 'Ali and apprised him 1133 of what had happened. The killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr also reached him. All this made 'Ali realize that Qays b. Sa’d had been contending against powerful plots and that those who had urged him to remove Qays b. Sa’d1134 had been giving him poor advice. So from then on 'Ali listened to Qays b. Sa’d at every turn.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b al-Wālibi—his father: I was1135 with Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr when he came to Egypt and read out his commission to them:

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
The commission of the servant of Allah 'Ali, the Commander of the Faithful, to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr on his appointment as ruler of Egypt.

He commands him to piety toward Allah and obedience personally and publicly; to fear of Almighty and Glorious Allah regarding things unseen and seen; to leniency toward Muslims and harshness toward the dissolute; to justice toward the dhimmis; to establish the rights of the oppressed and to be severe with the oppressor; to forgiveness toward the people and to do good as far as he is able—Allah rewards those who do good and punishes those who do wrong.

He commands him to call those around him to obedience [to the imām] and to the community [of the imām].1136 For the final issue and huge reward for them in so doing are incalculable and unfathomable.

1132. Reading fa-ṭamara or fa-zahara (cf. Prym's n. b); see pp. 5 and 43, above.
1133. Reading bāθthahu (Addenda, DCXXXV).
1134. Like 'Abdallah b. Ja'far.
1135. Following the correction to the ms. (kuntu ma' for kataba).
1136. Ilā al-tā'ah wa-al-jamā'ah; cf. the Prophet's saying Ilzam al-tā'ah wa-al-jamā'ah (Wensinck, IV, 42a).
He commands him to collect the kharāj tax on land at the rate at which it was taxed before, neither to reduce it nor make new amendments to it; then to divide it among its recipients as they divided it before; to be gentle with them and to treat them equally in his meetings with them and his regard for them, and to let those near and those distant have equal rights.

He commands him to judge people with truth and to establish equity, not to follow personal desire or to fear the blame of others when following Almighty and Glorious Allāh. For Allāh, may His praise be magnified, is with those who are pious and who give priority to obeying Him and His commands over all others.

Written by ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abi Rāfi’, mawlā of the Messenger of Allāh, this 1 Ramaḍān/February 21.

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr then stood up to preach a sermon. He praised Allāh and glorified Him. “The right path of action has been disputed, but praise Allāh!” he said, “Who guided us and you and Who made us and you perceive much the ignorant are blind about. The Commander of the Faithful has placed me in charge of your affairs and has given me a commission, as you have just heard. ‘Ali gave me many instructions by word of mouth, and as far as I am able I will never neglect to do what is good for you. ‘My success is from Allāh alone; on Him I have relied, and to Him I turn in repentance.’ If you see that my leadership and deeds are in obedience and piety to Allāh, praise Almighty and Glorious Allāh for that, for He is the guide. But if you see any governor of mine governing wrongly and deviating, then bring him to me, and complain to me about him without fear. I prefer it that way, and it is your right. May Allāh through His mercy give us and you success in good works.” Then he sat down.


1137. Lane, 469b.
1138. Lane, 6ob.
1139. Addenda, Dcxxxv.
1141. Following Prym, İbrāhîm, and U. Sezgin, 225.
Abī Bakr corresponded with Mu‘āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. He mentioned this correspondence that had passed between the two of them, but I am loath to detail it because it contains matter that most people could not tolerate.

Now Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr did not even wait a whole month before sending a message to that party that had withdrawn and with which Qays had made an accord. “Men!” he said in it. “Either you enter into obedience to us, or else you leave our territory!” “We will not do that,” came their reply. “Leave us alone until we see how our situation turns out, and don’t hasten to make war with us!” But Muḥammad insisted, so they resisted him and kept on their guard. They were therefore afraid of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr at the Battle of Siffin. But when news came that Mu‘awiyah and the Syrians had held out against ‘Ali, that ‘Ali and the Iraqis had withdrawn from Mu‘awiyah and the Syrians, and that their case had been referred to arbitration, they became bolder toward Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and openly came out to fight him. Seeing this, Muḥammad sent al-Ḥārith b. Jumhān al-Ju‘fī to the men at Kharbitā (among whom was Yazid b. al-Ḥārith of Banū Kinānah). He fought them, but they killed him. So he then sent a tribesman from Kalb called Ibn Muḍāhim, but they killed him too. Abū Ja‘far [al-Tabari] said, “It is said that in this year Mahawayh [Abraz], the marzubān of Marw, came to ‘Ali to confirm the peace treaty concluded between himself and Ibn ‘Amir.”

The account of this

and to anyone else at Marw: "In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Peace to those who follow divine guidance! After greetings. Māhāwayh Abrāz, the marzūbān of Marw, came to me, and I am satisfied with him."

This was written in the year 36, but subsequently they re-neged¹¹⁴⁹ and locked the gates of Abrashahr.¹¹⁵⁰

'Ali Despatches Khulayd b. Ṭārīf to Khurāsān


'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ Gives Allegiance to Muʿāwiyah

In this year, 36, 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ gave allegiance to Muʿāwiyah¹¹⁵⁴ and made an agreement with him to fight 'Ali.

The reason for this

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah and Abū Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUthmān: When ʿUthmān was surrounded 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ left Medina and headed for Syria. "By Allāh! People of Medina!" he said. "Anyone who stays here until this man is killed¹¹⁵⁵ will be smitten by Almighty and Glorious Allāh with ignominy. Anyone who cannot help him had better flee!" Off he then set, accompanied by his two sons, 'Abd-Allāh and Muḥammad. Ḥassān b. Thābit also left a little later, and many others followed suit.

According to Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUthmān: While 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ was camped at ʿAjlān with his two sons a rider passed. "Where have you come from?" they asked. "Medina."

¹¹⁴⁹. Or “disbelieved”: kafarū.
¹¹⁵⁰. The arabicized form of Aparshahr, i.e., Nishāpūr, the district capital of western Khurāsān [EP, s.v. Abarshahr].
¹¹⁵¹. U. Sezgin, 205.
¹¹⁵². U. Sezgin, 205.
¹¹⁵⁴. I.e., as caliph.
¹¹⁵⁵. Reading qatl, following Addenda, dcxxxv and Ibrāhīm.
"What's your name?" asked 'Amr. "Haṣirah." "The man has been besieged," retorted 'Amr. "What's the news?" "I left the man surrounded," replied the rider. "He'll be dead," said 'Amr. They waited a few days; then another rider passed. "Where have you come from?" they asked. "Medina." "What's your name?" asked 'Amr. "Qattāl." "The man has been killed," retorted 'Amr. "What's the news?" "The man has been killed," replied the rider, "but nothing else occurred before I left." They waited a few more days; then another rider passed. "Where have you come from?" they asked. "Medina." "What's your name?" asked 'Amr. "Harb." "It's war," retorted 'Amr. "What's the news?" "'Uthmān b 'Affān has been killed," replied the rider, "and allegiance has been given to 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib." "I am Abū 'Abdallāh!" said 'Amr. "There will be a war, in which whoever scrapes a wound in it will open it right up! May Allah have mercy on 'Uthmān. May He be pleased with him, and may He forgive him!" "Men of Quraysh!" spoke up Salāmah b. Zinbā' al-Judhāmī. "By Allah! There was a door between you and the other Arab tribes. You must take on another door because the first one is now broken." "That's what we want to do," replied 'Amr, "but the door will be mended only by augers that can drill out the truth from the root of the problem, so that men will be equal before the law." Referring to the situation 'Amr then recited:

I am heartbroken over Mālik,
but can grief deflect what has been stored up by divine decree?
Is it heatstroke that has felled them?
If so, I excuse them, or is it that my people are drunk?

1156. I.e., 'Uthmān.
1157. Ḥuṣir, playing on the man's name, as again twice in what follows. The ms. adds, "and has been killed."
1158. Qutila.
1159. Harb.
1160. Is he reminding those around of his fame and important position?
1161. 'Uthmān.
1162. Hāfiratu al-ba's. The image is of something having to be dug out from the hoof of disaster, from the very bottom of a difficult situation.
1163. 'Amr is referring to the Muslims who did not support 'Uthmān [Mālik in the poem]. He would excuse them if it were due to circumstances beyond their
Then he set off on foot, weeping like a woman and saying: "I mourn for 'Uthmân! I lament for modesty and religion!" He went to Damascus, for he had received some information about what was going to happen and acted on it.

According to al-Sařī [in writing]—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh—Abū 'Uthmān: The Prophet had sent 'Amr to 'Uman, and when he was there he heard a prediction from a Jewish scholar. Then, when he saw it come true while he was still there, he sent a message to this scholar: "Speak to me about the death of the Messenger of God, and tell me who will come after him!" "The man who wrote to you will come after him, but he will only rule for a short time," he replied. "Then who?" asked 'Amr. "A fellow tribesman of his of a similar standing." "How long will he rule?" "For a long time, but then he will be killed." "By assassination or in front of the community?" asked 'Amr. "By assassination." "Who will then rule after him?" asked 'Amr. "A fellow tribesman of his of a similar standing." "How long will he rule?" "For a long time, but then he will be killed." "By assassination or in front of the community?" asked 'Amr. "In front of the community." "That's far worse," said 'Amr. "So who will rule after him?" "A fellow tribesman of his but behind whom Muslims will not unite and in whose time a fierce civil war will break out. He will then be killed before they can reach agreement about him." "By assassination or in front of the community?" asked 'Amr. "By assassination, and his like will never be seen again." "Who will then rule after him?" asked 'Amr. "The ruler of the Holy Land, and his kingdom will last a long time. Those who formerly differed and failed to unite will agree about him. He will die a natural death," replied the scholar.

According to al-Wāqīḍi—Mūsā b. Ya‘qūb—his uncle: When the news of 'Uthmān's murder reached 'Amr, he said: "I am Abū 'Abdallāh! It was I who killed him, even though I'm in Wādi al-
Sibā’. Who will succeed to this authority after him? If it’s Talḥah, then he’s the foremost Arab in generosity.\textsuperscript{1168} If it’s ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib, then I can’t see him giving anything more than he will be obligated to. For me he would be the very worst person to succeed.”

News then reached him that allegiance had been given to ‘Ali. This was extremely serious for him, so he lay low for a few days to see what the Muslims would do. He then heard of the departure of Talḥah, al-Zubayr, and ‘Ā’ishah, so he said, “I will wait and see what they achieve!” But when he was told that Talḥah and al-Zubayr had been killed he became confused. However, someone then said to him, “Mu‘āwiyyah is in Syria; he doesn’t want to give allegiance to ‘Ali, so why not ally\textsuperscript{1169} with Mu‘āwiyyah?” He did prefer Mu‘āwiyyah to ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib. Someone said, “Mu‘āwiyyah is taking the murder of ‘Uthmān very seriously and is agitating for revenge for his blood,” and ‘Amr said, “Call Muḥammad and Abdallāh to me.”

They were called to him, and he said: “You have heard about the murder of ‘Uthmān and the Muslims’ allegiance to ‘Ali, and Mu‘āwiyyah’s plans to oppose ‘Ali, so what do you both think? As for ‘Ali, there will be no benefit with him. He is a man who takes full advantage of his Islamic precedence. He is not going to delegate any of his authority to me.”\textsuperscript{1170} “The Prophet died pleased with you,” ‘Abdallah b. ‘Amr replied. “Abū Bakr died pleased with you; ‘Umar died pleased with you. My opinion is that you should not do anything. Just wait at home until the Muslims have agreed upon an imām. Then you may give him allegiance.” “You are one of the most important Arab chiefs,” said Muḥammad, “so this affair should not be agreed upon without your having a vote or say in it.” “What you are recommending\textsuperscript{1171} me to do, ‘Abdallāh,” replied ‘Amr, “is better for me in the hereafter and safer for my religion. What you are recommending me to do, Muḥammad, is

\textsuperscript{1168} Fa-huwa fatā al-‘Arab sayban [Glossarium, cccii]. Dots added to the ms. give nasaban, “in lineage.”

\textsuperscript{1169} Reading qārabta with İbrahim, rather than the text’s qāranta, “join forces.”

\textsuperscript{1170} ‘Amr became Muslim much later than ‘Ali.

\textsuperscript{1171} Lit., “ordering”; cf. pp. 48, 51, above, where Hasan orders ‘Ali (but is disobeyed).
more glorious for my life here on earth but worse for me in the hereafter.”

‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ then left with his two sons and went to Mu‘āwiyah. He found the Syrians urging Mu‘āwiyah to seek revenge for the blood of ‘Uthmān. “You are in the right,” ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ said to them. “Seek revenge for the blood of the unjustly killed caliph!” Mu‘āwiyah, however, did not pay any attention to ‘Amr’s words. So ‘Amr’s two sons said to their father: “Don’t you realize that Mu‘āwiyah isn’t paying any attention to what you say? Leave him for someone else!” But ‘Amr did go to Mu‘āwiyah, and said: “By Allāh! What you’re doing is very surprising. I have given you my support, and here you are ignoring me. I swear by Allāh! If we fight alongside you in revenge for the blood of the caliph, there will still be something that goes against the grain, for we will be fighting someone whose Islamic precedence, virtue, and close relationship to the Prophet you know well. But in fact all we’re really after is this world.” At this, Mu‘āwiyah made up with him and was friendly toward him.


Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭabarī said: In this year, as ‘Ali was leaving al-Baṣrah for al-Kūfah, having finished with the Battle of the Camel, he sent Jarīr b. ‘Abdalldh al-Bajali to call Mu‘āwiyah to give allegiance to him. Now, when ‘Ali set out for al-Baṣrah to fight his opponents there, Jarīr had been in Hamadhān as its governor. ‘Uthmān had appointed him to this post. Al-Ash‘ath b. Qays was governor of Adharbāyjān, also appointed by ‘Uthmān. So, when ‘Ali came to al-Kūfah from al-Baṣrah, he wrote to these two men, commanding them to get allegiance to him from their subjects and to come to him. Both then got allegiance and set off to see ‘Ali.

1172. Anbahu (Glossarium, D).
1173. Following the ms.
1174. In central Iran, 48° 31’ E, 34° 48’ N (EP, s.v.).
1175. Abū Muḥammad Ma‘dikarib b. Qays, a chief of Kindah in the Ḥaḍramawt, d. 40/661 (EP, s.v.).
1176. West of the Caspian (EP, s.v.).
According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Hasan—'Awānah: Then, when 'Ali was looking for a messenger to send to Mu'āwiyyah, Jarir b. 'Abdallāh said: “Send me, for he likes me. When I get to him I will call him to acknowledge your authority.” Al-Ashtar said to 'Ali, however: “Don’t send him! By Allāh! I suspect he’s inclined toward Mu’āwiyyah.” “Let him go,” replied ‘Ali, “and we shall see what he comes back to us with.” So he sent him and wrote a letter for him to take. In it he informed Mu’āwiyyah of the agreement of the Muhājirūn and Anṣār to give allegiance to 'Ali, of Ṭālḥah and al-Zubayr’s going back on their allegiance, and of his war with the two of them. He went on to call him to acknowledge his authority, as the Muhājirūn and Anṣār had done.

Jarir therefore set off to see Mu’āwiyyah, but when he arrived Mu’āwiyyah put him off and kept him waiting. [Mu’āwiyyah] then called ‘Amr and asked his advice about ‘Ali’s letter to him. ‘Amr advised him to send a message to the Syrian chiefs, implicating ‘Ali in ‘Uthmān’s blood and so get them to fight for him against ‘Ali. Mu’āwiyyah followed his advice.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu’ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭālḥah: When al-Nu‘mān b. Bashir1177 came to the Syrians with the bloodstained shirt ‘Uthmān was wearing when he was killed, and with the severed fingers of Nā‘īlah,1178 his wife—two with the knuckles and part of the palm, two cut off at the base, and half a thumb—Mu’āwiyyah hung the shirt on the minbar and wrote to the Syrian garrison towns.1179 The people kept on coming and crying over it as it hung on the minbar, with the fingers attached to it, for a whole year. The Syrian soldiers swore an oath that they would not make love to women or undertake the major ablution1180 unless obligated by seminal discharge during sleep or sleep on beds until they had killed the killers of ‘Uthmān and anyone who might prevent them in any way, unless they should

1177. Al-Anṣārī, later governor of Kūfah and Ḥimṣ, a follower of ‘Uthmān and then of Mu’āwiyyah; killed after Marj Rahīṭ, 65/684 [Ep1, s.v.].
1179. A/nod. Lane, 470a; Ep2, s.v. D’und.
1180. As far as men are concerned, apart from washing the dead, this is only obligatory after ejaculation; Lane, 466c, 2259a; Ep, s.v. Ghusl. It is only mustahabb or sunnah after Friday prayer. The soldiers’ oath was urgent—they abjured pleasure, cleanliness, and comfort.
The Events of the Year 36

die meanwhile. They remained around the shirt for a year. It was placed each day on the minbar; sometimes it was made to cover it and was draped over it, and Nā’ilah's fingers were attached to its cuffs.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Hasan—'Awānah: Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh then came to 'Alī and told him what Mu‘āwiyah was doing and how the Syrians had agreed with him to fight 'Alī. He told him how they were weeping over 'Uthmān and saying that 'Alī had killed him and was sheltering 'Uthmān's killers and how they would not stop until he had killed them or they had killed him. So al-Ashtar said to 'Alī: "I was warning you strongly against sending Jarīr. I told you he was an enemy and a deceiver. It would have been better if you had sent me rather than this man, who stayed with Mu‘āwiyah [so long] that he opened every door that [Mu‘āwiyah] wanted open and closed every door that [Mu‘āwiyah] feared." "Had you been there," replied Jarīr, "they would have killed you. They actually named you as one of 'Uthmān's killers." "By Allāh! If I had gone to them, Jarīr," retorted al-Ashtar, "I would always have found an answer for them, and I would have forced Mu‘āwiyah to act before he had time to think. Had the Commander of the Faithful followed my advice concerning you, he would have thrown you and those like you into a jail you would not get out of until these matters were sorted out properly."

Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh then left for Qargisiyya. He wrote to Mu‘āwiyah, who replied, ordering him to come to him. The Commander of the Faithful also left and encamped at al-Nukhaylah. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās joined him there, accompanied by a number of Baṣrans who had responded to his call to fight.

1181. Kuntu nahaytuka; cf. note 1171, above.
1182. Lit., "obeyed me"; cf. note 1171, above.
1183. A town in al-Jazīrah on the left bank of the Euphrates, close to the confluence with the Khābūr [EP, s.v.].
1184. About one days' ride from al-Kūfah for an army.
1185. 'Alī's governor of al-Baṣrah.
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Included are names of persons, groups, and places, as well as Arabic terms that recur often in the text or are discussed in the footnotes. An asterisk (*) indicates a figure who is mentioned in the text only as a transmitter. Entries that are mentioned in both text and footnotes on the same page are listed by page number only. Finally, the Arabic definite article al-, the abbreviation b. (for ibn, "son of"), the word bint ("daughter of") and all material in parentheses have been disregarded in the alphabetizing of entries.
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