The History of al-Ṭabari

VOLUME XVII

The First Civil War

TRANSLATED BY G. R. HAWTING
Many of the events treated in this volume have become part of the historical consciousness of Muslims. The first civil war of Islam, the Fitnah, is widely seen as of decisive importance in dividing the Muslims into three major traditions, Sunnis, Shi'is, and Kharijis, which have persisted until today. Although this division may be an over-simplification of a much more complex process of community formation, the events narrated here are certainly of great importance in the early history of Islam.

The volume is focused on the struggle between the caliph 'Ali and his rival and eventual successor as caliph, Mu'awiya, the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty. About half of the material is concerned with the confrontation between the two at the battle of Siffin in 657. The fighting, the ending of the battle when the Syrian supporters of Mu'awiya are described as having attached Qur'anic texts to their lances, and the subsequent negotiations between the two rivals which resulted in the dispute's being put to arbitration. Much detail is also provided about 'Ali's struggle against the Kharijis, his former supporters who had turned against him as a result of his agreement with Mu'awiya to accept arbitration; the revolt against 'Ali in regions of Iraq and Persia around the northern edges of the Persian Gulf, which involved Christians, as well as Muslims, Arabs, and such non-Arab groups as Kurds; the events in Egypt that led to the burning of 'Ali's representative there in the skin of a donkey; and the murder of 'Ali by Ibn Muljam, the account of which sometimes reads as if it were a popular story.

Al-Tabari's text makes available a wealth of detail in narratives collected from the now lost compilations of scholars of earlier generations. The bulk of the material is cited from the famous Abû Mikhnaf, who died in A.D. 774, but there are also many reports from other traditionists and narrators whose materials would be largely unknown to us if it were not for the work of al-Tabari. The volume contains a number of speeches and letters attributed to the Prophet's son-in-law and cousin 'Ali, including his deathbed speech to his sons, and there is also a version of the document drawn up by 'Ali and Mu'awiya in which they agreed to appoint arbitrators.

The Arabic text of the Leiden edition of al-Tabari has been compared with the more recent Cairo edition and with the substantial parallel passages in such other works as the Waq'at Siffin of al-Mingari and the Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah of Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, as well as other sources, in an attempt to provide a secure text for translation. Individuals and places are identified in the footnotes, further references to sources and secondary literature are provided, and textual problems and historical matters are discussed. The volume contains a bibliography and index.
THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ
AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XVII

The First Civil War
From the Battle of Šiffīn to the Death of 'Alī
A.D. 656–661/A.H. 36–40
The History of al-Ṭabari

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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 (Taʾrikh al-rūsul waʾl-mulūk) by Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ḵāṭir al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the History of al-Ṭabarī, 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-Ṭabarī’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-Ṭabarī 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 200 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-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (iṣnād) 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 Ishāq" 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 Ishāq, 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 notes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as "dirham" and "imam," 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 notes 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
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Abbreviations

Add. et emend.: List of *addenda et emendanda* included in the final volume of the Leiden edition of the text of al-Ṭabarī's *Ṭārīkh*.

AIUON: *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*.


Ar.: Arabic.


EI*: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed.

EI: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.


Gloss.: Glossary included in the final volume of the Leiden edition of the text of al-Ṭabarī's *Ṭārīkh*.

IJMES: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*.

Isl.: *Der Islam*.

JESAI: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*.

JESHO: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*.

JSS: *Journal of Semitic Studies*.


RSO: *Rivista degli studi orientali*.

SI: *Studia Islamica*.
Abbreviations


Tabarî: When followed by a reference, the Leiden edition of the Arabic text of the *Taʾrīkh*.

tr.: translation.


In references to the Qurʾān the verse numbering of the Egyptian edition is used.
The Events Described in This Volume: Background and Summary

This volume of translation covers Part I, pp. 3256–3476, of the Leiden 1879–1901 edition of al-Ṭabarī's Taʾrīkh, a section of the text edited by E. Prym. To provide the necessary background for the events recounted in it, a summary of some of the happenings reported by al-Ṭabarī in earlier volumes is provided here.

In the summer of 656 C.E. the third caliph, ʿUthmān, was killed in Medina by malcontents from the garrison town of al-Fustāṭ in Egypt. This act opened the period known in Muslim historical tradition as the Fitnah, which Western writers have frequently called the first civil war of Islam. In the tradition the word fitnah is used in connection with later episodes, too, but this first one is regarded as of such importance that it is often referred to simply as the Fitnah, without further elaboration.

ʿAlī, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, was appointed to the caliphate in Medina in the troubled circumstances that followed the killing of ʿUthmān. From the start he had to face opposition from individuals and groups who generally proclaimed their loyalty to the dead caliph and a desire to take vengeance on his murderers. They charged that ʿAlī had obtained the caliphate as the result of an unrighteous act (although usually stopping short of an outright statement that he had been behind ʿUthmān’s death) and called upon him to hand over the killers so that blood revenge
could be taken. The implication was that 'Ali's caliphate was illegitimate, and he was neither able nor willing to comply with the demands of his opponents.

The first movement of opposition to 'Ali was led by a widow of the Prophet, the still relatively young and vigorous 'A'ishah, and two prominent Companions of the Prophet, Talhah and al-Zubayr. They left the Hijaz and went to the garrison town of al-Basrah in Iraq, where they raised an army to fight 'Ali. He followed them to Iraq but went to the other garrison town there, al-Kufah, which supplied most of the forces with which he would oppose the triumvirate. At the end of 656 the two sides met in battle near al-Basrah, known in tradition as the Battle of the Camel, and the result was an overwhelming victory for 'Ali. Talhah and al-Zubayr were killed in the fighting and its aftermath, and 'A'ishah was made captive and sent back to Medina. 'Ali remained in al-Kufah, which was his base for the remaining years of his life and a center for pro-'Alid movements of all sorts for the next century or so.

At that point, having apparently secured his position, 'Ali was confronted by another enemy, the governor of Syria and close relative of the murdered 'Uthman, Mu'awiyah b. Abi Sufyân. Mu'awiyah, whose criticisms of 'Ali also centered on the wrongful murder of 'Uthman and included the demand that 'Ali hand over the killers for vengeance, was supported by 'Amr b. al-'Ash. 'Amr had commanded the armies that had seized Egypt for the Arabs from the Byzantines and had been that country's first Arab governor. In the tradition he appears very much as Mu'awiyah's right-hand man, one might say his evil genius.

The present volume of the translation of al-Tabari's Ta'rikh consists of reports concerning a period for which the struggle between 'Ali and Mu'awiyah supplies the main theme and focus of attention. It opens at the point where, after initial discussions between them had come to nothing, the two marched to confront each other in battle, a confrontation that occurred in the summer of 657 on the River Euphrates south of al-Raqqah, at the Battle of Siffin. The volume ends, about three and half years later, with the murder of 'Ali in al-Kufah.

A large part of the volume is concerned with the Battle of Siffin, its conclusion, and the consequences of the way in which it was
concluded. Following 'Ali's march to Ṣiffin, we are told of the the preliminary skirmishing, the fighting, and the way the fighting was brought to an end when the Syrian Arab soldiers of Mu'āwiya, at the suggestion of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, attached copies of scripture to their lances and raised them in the air. Faced with this apparent appeal to the word of God, 'Ali's Iraqi Arab supporters forced him, against his will, to stop fighting and to negotiate with the enemy. The result was an agreement between 'Ali and Mu'āwiya that each side should appoint a representative or “arbitrator” (hakam) and that the two men thus appointed should meet in the future at some agreed upon place and time to settle the dispute peacefully. The agreement having been reached, the two armies separated and returned, Mu'āwiya to Syria and 'Ali to al-Kūfah.

On the way back to al-Kūfah, however, many of those who had insisted that 'Ali abandon the fight and accept the Syrians' appeal to the word of God concluded that they had sinned in doing so. They argued that the appointment of men as arbitrators was contrary to the principle that all authority belonged to God. With the slogan “Authority belongs to God alone” (la ḥukma illā li-Allah), these men insisted that 'Ali begin the fight again, and, when he insisted that he could not, they branded him a sinner who must repent and seceded from him. These seceders are known as the Khārijites (khawārij), because they "went out from" (kharaja min) or rebelled against (kharaja 'alā) 'Ali. Initial attempts by 'Ali to win them back are said to have had some limited success, but ultimately were unsuccessful, and the result was a major battle between 'Ali and these Khārijites at the canal of Nahrawān east of the River Tigris in the region of al-Madā'in. The battle resulted in a mass slaughter of the Khārijites but not the eradication of their opposition to 'Ali.

The reports about the meeting of the “arbitrators” are confusing and obscure. They lead to the conclusion that no agreement was reached but that 'Ali's participation in the arbitration process had caused him to lose status and prestige. His position was further weakened by Mu'āwiya's success in establishing his authority over Egypt. How Mu'āwiya did this and the events leading to the killing of 'Ali's representative there, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, are described in some detail. In Iraq 'Ali had to face another rebellion, that of al-Khirrit b. Rāshid and the tribe of Najiyah. It is difficult to assess
the importance of this rebellion for 'Ali: The numbers of men involved do not seem to have been great, but the reports about it occupy considerable space in this volume. Although al-Khirırit does not seem to have been connected with those men whose opposition to 'Ali culminated in the battle at Nahrawan, he is reported to have used some of their arguments (as well as others when addressing different groups of possible supporters), and some of the stories about him are remarkably parallel to some of those about the Khārijites. Also of interest in the reports about his revolt are the details concerning the unrest of the bedouins (including many Christians) and the involvement of Kurds.

The volume ends with the account of 'Ali's murder in al-Kūfah at the beginning of 661, an account that bears some of the signs of a popular narrative. We are told that he was killed by one Ibn Muljam, who is portrayed as motivated by a desire to avenge himself on 'Ali for those whom 'Ali had slaughtered at Nahrawan. Further, we are told that the murder of 'Ali was the only successful part of a plot aimed at the elimination of each of the three main players in the events recounted in this volume: 'Ali, Mu'āwiyyah, and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.

Most of the other events reported here seem to have been more or less directly related to 'Ali's struggles with Mu'āwiyyah and the khawārij. For example, there are accounts of the death of 'Ali's pious supporter 'Ammār b. Yāsir in the battle against Mu'āwiyyah's Syrians, of the troubles in al-BAṣrah when Mu'āwiyyah sent Ibn al-Haḍramī there to attempt to win support, of the expedition of Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, sent against 'Ali's representatives in Arabia and the Yemen by Mu'āwiyyah, of the activity of Ziyād b. Abīhi in Fārs and Khūzistān on behalf of 'Ali, and of the dubious behavior of 'Ali's representative in al-BAṣrah, 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, toward the end of the Fitnah. Two short and isolated reports of the attempt by 'Ali to establish control in western Khurāsān seem somewhat remote from the main theme.

The Significance and Interpretation of the Events Recounted Here

In the traditional accounts of the origins and early development of Islam the period of the Fitnah is of crucial importance. It is
portrayed as the time when the previously united community founded by the Prophet was split apart and the three chief sectarian traditions within Islam—Sunni, Shi'i, and Khārijī—had their origins. Not only the Fitnah as a whole, but also the prominent events within it, like the "raising of the Qur'āns," the appointment and meeting of the two "arbitrators," and the battle at Nahrawān, came to be seen as turning points in the history of Islam. This view is undoubtedly oversimplified, but in their attitude toward the different individuals and groups involved in the Fitnah later Muslims expressed and defined their own identities. Many of the events and personalities of this volume, therefore, have become a part of general Muslim historical consciousness in a way in which much else that is reported by al-Ṭabarî in his History has not.

But, in spite of the number of reports that have been transmitted and the richness of their detail, there is much about the Fitnah and its individual episodes that remains puzzling. The relative chronology and causal links of the various events are not at all certain from the sources and have been the subject of much discussion by such scholars as Leone Caetani and Julius Wellhausen. The nature of the tensions that erupted in the Fitnah have also been much studied. Wellhausen, like Muslim tradition itself, focused on the rivalries and intrigues among the leading figures of the time, whereas more recent scholars, like H. A. R. Gibb and Martin Hinds, have sought to elucidate the situation among the Arab warriors in the garrison towns and the causes of their resentment against the ruling authorities. Laura Veccia Vaglieri has attempted to use the material preserved in relatively late Ḳāḥlī sources to throw light on what exactly was at issue between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah and about what the two "arbitrators" were supposed to "arbitrate." The source material relating to the struggle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, as preserved by al-Ṭabarî and other early collectors of historical tradition, has been analyzed in particular by E. L. Petersen. The present translator has drawn attention to parallels between some of the terms and concepts that occur in the Muslim traditions about the Fitnah and those to be found in Jewish materials concerned with the conflict between Scripture and "Oral Law" as sources of religious authority. For more detail, see the works listed in the Bibliography of Cited Works at the end of this translation and the various articles in the Encyclopaedia of Islam referred to in the notes.
Al-Ṭabarī’s Sources in This Volume

In this volume as elsewhere al-Ṭabarī cites a selection of material from a number of earlier sources, most of them now lost, introducing each individual report with an isnād, or chain of authorities, which informs us of his immediate source and of the sources of his source. The isnād usually extends back to a narrator who took part in, or had first-hand knowledge of, the events being reported. The isnād is usually given in full but sometimes in an abbreviated form. It is not possible for us to be sure whether any individual report does indeed go back to the original source claimed for it or how far the material that constitutes the report has changed in the course of its transmission and redaction.

Although the alleged original sources for al-Ṭabarī’s reports are extremely numerous and varied, many of them unidentifiable, the names of a number of scholars and narrators about whom we have some information recur frequently in the later stages of the transmission. These individuals can be regarded as precursors of al-Ṭabarī. Like him, they were concerned to collect, organize, and transmit available accounts relating to various aspects of the history of Islam. Basic information on each of these important names in the isnāds is usually given in a note accompanying the first mention.

For the events reported here, by far the most frequently cited of al-Ṭabarī’s sources is the Kūfīn collector of historical traditions, Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774). The material from Abū Mikhnaf is generally cited by way of another Kūfīn traditionist, Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 206/821). From p. 3259 to p. 3444 of the Leiden edition nearly all the reports are recounted from Abū Mikhnaf, who was himself one or two generations distant from the events in question. In the later pages of the volume, particularly when the focus is on al-Ḩarrāh and its dependencies, al-Ṭabarī turns to reports collected by al-Madā’īnī (d. ca. 235/850), transmitted through ‘Umar b. Shabbah (d. 264/877). Less frequently Ibn Shabbah is cited as the transmitter of reports from collectors of tradition other than al-Madā’īnī, for example, the Başran scholar Abū ‘Ubaydah (d. 209/824–825) or the Kūfīn ‘Awānah b. al-Hakam (d. 153/770), whose material al-Ṭabarī more often cites via Ibn al-Kalbī.
In comparison with these two major sources of material (Ibn Kalbī—Abū Mikhnaf and Ibn Shabbah—al-Madāʿīnī and others), al-Ṭabarī makes only limited use of others in this volume. In attempts to fix chronology, often in the sections that he provides at the end of each year, he sometimes cites two figures who are better known as collectors of biographical material on the Prophet—Abū Maʿshār (d. 170/787), cited through Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī, and al-Wāqīḍī (d. 207/822–823), cited via al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿīd. The volume opens with a report from ʿAbdallāh b. Mubārak (d. 181/797), cited through Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī, and al-Wāqīḍī (d. 207/822–823), cited via al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿīd. The volume opens with a report from ʿAbdallāh b. Mubārak (d. 181/797), cited through ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marwazi, and this line of tradition recurs on a number of occasions later in the volume, for events in Egypt and in Arabia, as well as in connection with the Battle of ʾIfrīn and the arbitration agreement. The long account of the murder of ʿAlī near the end of the volume is reported from Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Masʿūqī (d. 258/871–872), and there are several other traditionists of the generation preceding al-Ṭabarī who are represented in this volume by single reports: Abū Kurayb, Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī and his brother Aḥmad, ʿUmāra al-Asadī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād b. Mūsā, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī, ʿAlī b. Muslim al-Ṭūsī, and ʿAlī b. al-Hasan al-Azdrī.

Manuscripts and Parallel Sources

Most of the text translated here depends on the evidence of a single manuscript, and for a few pages there is no manuscript at all. At that point Prym had to supply the text from a later source in which al-Ṭabarī is extensively cited. From the beginning of the volume [p. 3256 of the Leiden edition] to p. 3364, line 4, where the manuscript ends, Prym had only the Berlin manuscript Ahlwardt 9471 to work with. From p. 3368, line 18, the only manuscript available was in Istanbul, Köprüli 1045, until, until almost at the end of this volume [p. 3463, line 11], it became possible to supplement that with a Bodleian manuscript (Uri 722).

In such circumstances, naturally, the evidence of other sources in which al-Ṭabarī is quoted or parallel passages are provided becomes very important. Prym had several printed texts at his disposal for this purpose, notably the Taʾākh al-Kāmil of Ibn al-Athir, from which he was able to fill the lacuna in the manuscript evidence for this volume (pp. 3364, l.4–3368, l.18). Since the Leiden
Translator's Foreword

edition was published several more such texts have become available. Two that are of special importance for much of this volume are the Waq'at Shiffin of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Mīnqarī (d. 212/827) and the Sharḥ Nahj al-balagha of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (d. 656/1258). In the latter both al-Ṭabarī and al-Mīnqarī are cited extensively, and both were used by the editor of the Cairo edition of al-Ṭabarī's Taʾrikh. Muḥammad Abū al-Fadl Ḥākim, to supplement the Leiden text. (Although the Cairo editor had some new manuscript material for parts of the text, it seems that there was no such new evidence for the part translated in this volume.) The edition of the Waq`at Shiffin referred to in the Cairo text is the first; the opportunity has been taken here to supply references to the much-improved second edition of the work.

I have been unable to undertake a systematic checking and improvement of the Leiden edition, a task that would involve a search for new manuscript material and extensive reference to parallel sources. Even so, I have sometimes been able to suggest improvements, and I hope that this volume of translation and its notes will be of benefit to anyone using the Arabic text.

The Translation

With one or two exceptions (indicated in the notes) the translation in this volume is based on the text established in the Leiden edition of Ṭabarī's Taʾrikh, including Addenda et Emendanda.

This volume contains a high proportion of letters and speeches that include rhetorical flourishes and expressions difficult to translate into English and sometimes difficult to understand. The chief problem, however, is that certain important words tended to be reinterpreted in the course of the transmission of the material and to be given new or altered meanings according to changing understanding of events. In such cases, the translator might seek to establish and convey the meaning that a particular expression would have had at the time when a report was first formulated (perhaps in the time of the Fīṭnah itself) or, alternatively, the sense in which al-Ṭabarī and his contemporaries would have understood it.

An example concerns words that seem to denote "scripture." Since the publication of John Wansbrough's Quranic Studies (1977), a number of scholars have been wary of accepting the traditional view
that a \textit{ne varietur} consonantal text of the Qur'an was fixed as early as the caliphate of 'Uthmân. They have, rather, envisaged the formation of the text and its acceptance in Islam as the Word of God as the results of a gradual, "organic" process. The process may not have been completed much before the end of the second century of the Hijrah, although precise dates are not possible; it is the gradualness of the process that is the important point. Expressions like \textit{kitāb Allah} (book of God), \textit{mushaf} (book), and \textit{Qur'än} (recitation or reading), which occur in the traditions about the Fitnah and the other events of early Islam, would certainly have been understood by al-Tabari's generation as references to the Qur'än, and it is difficult for readers of al-Tabari to avoid imposing the same interpretation. Nevertheless, it is important to try to understand early ideas and expressions that may have been preserved in the material collected by al-Tabari and others, and this effort involves attempting to disentangle them from the values and outlook of Islam as it had come to exist by the third century. Our understanding of the precise significance, at the time of the events reported in this volume, of expressions like those mentioned may be vague and obscure, but it is important to leave the possibilities open. To translate consistently by "Qur'än," with all that the term implies for us, is to accept possibly misleading interpretations.

\textit{Qurra'} is a related case. In Muslim tradition it tends to be associated with the Qur'än, and a common modern translation is "Qur'än readers" or "Qur'än reciters." This translation might seem justified when we find in one report the expression \textit{qurra'} \textit{al-Qur'än}, but some modern scholars have thought that in many traditions such an interpretation seems inappropriate (for example when we read of the thousands of \textit{qurra'} fighting in Mu'awiyah's army at Šiffin), and various theories have been put forward as to who precisely the \textit{qurra'} were. In a recent article in which he put forward his own interpretation, Norman Calder has underlined one cause of the problem: The texts, as they have been transmitted, have come to incorporate different layers of interpretation, often contained in glosses and substitutions that are not readily apparent. In this way early material might have been adapted to reflect later interpretation.

A further example is the concept of \textit{hukm} and the various nouns and verbs derived from the same root. When embedded in stories
about the "arbitration" of the dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah the concept seems to have a limited and particular meaning, whereas in the Khārijite slogan mentioned previously it seems related to a much more general debate about sources of authority in religion. When the context provides no guidance, the meaning of the word may be ambiguous.

Clearly, such problems are not unique to this volume. Apart from those parts of his History related to his own time, all of al-Ṭabarī's work contains material that has been subject to the vicissitudes of transmission over generations in a period of significant and relatively rapid cultural change. Generally I have taken what seems to be the obvious course: I have indicated the occurrence of difficult words and expressions sometimes by giving the Arabic (either in brackets or in the notes) together with the translation, sometimes by leaving words untranslated and supplying a brief explanation or references to more extensive discussions in notes. The resulting loss of elegance or narrative flow seems a necessary price to pay.

In one important way translating this volume was made easier. All the material (apart from a few lines that seem to have puzzled the collaborators) is available in an Italian version produced in the 1920s by such scholars as Caetani, Giorgio Levi Della Vida, and G. Gabrieli, in volumes IX and X of Caetani's Annali dell'Islam. Although I did not always accept the translations offered there, the Annali provided a consistent way of checking my own, and I often found the editors' solutions to some of the trickier passages convincing. The notes and discussions that are appended to the Italian translation also remain valuable, even though the approach, often criticized as "positivist," now seems somewhat dated.

I am also very grateful to Professor Everett K. Rowson for his meticulous editing of the typescript of my translation. He made numerous comments and suggestions, some of which saved me from obvious mistakes and many of which I used to try to improve my efforts. Thanks are also due to those friends, colleagues, and students who responded to my many questions.

Translation often involves choosing one possible meaning from two or more, and it is inevitable that some will feel that I have made the wrong choices in particular places. Perhaps even more inevitable is the fact that this volume will contain actual errors, and for any
remaining I accept responsibility. It would not be true to say that the errors themselves were inevitable.

G. R. Hawting
The Departure of 'Ali b. Abi Talib for Ṣiffin

According to 'Abdallah b. Ahmad al-Marwazi—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallah—Muʾāwiyyah b. 'Abd al-Rahmān—Abū Bakr

1. For the background to the following reports about the prelude to the Battle of Ṣiffin and the fighting there, see Translator's Foreword to the present volume. For further information, discussion, and references to sources and secondary materials, see EI, s.vv 'Ali b. Abi Ṭalib, Ṣiffin, etc.; Caetani, Annali dell'Islam (henceforth Ann.), vol. IX, 36A.H., §346ff.; Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 75-112; Hinds, "Banners and Battle Cries," 3ff.; idem, "The Siffin Arbitration Agreement," 93ff. For parallel versions and other accounts, in addition to the materials compiled and translated into Italian in Ann. (including references to the editions and manuscripts used), see especially Nasr b. Muzāḥim al-Minqārī, WṢ; and Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd, SNB. Material relating to the Battle of Ṣiffin is scattered throughout the twenty volumes of SNB, but see especially vol. III, 165ff., 244ff., vol. IV, 13-32, 175-258; vol. V, 302-17; vol. VIII, 9-102; vol. IX, 101-3; vol. X, 102-7; vol. XV, 104, 12-24. WṢ is frequently cited in SNB. Material from the relevant part of al-Baladhuri's Ansāb al-asḥāf is available in Italian in Levi Della Vida, "Il Califfato di Ali secondo il Kitāb Ansāb al-aṣnāf di al-Baladhuri" [see pp. 449ff. for the events narrated here], as well as scattered throughout vols. IX and X of Ann.
al-Hudhali: 2 When 'Ali had appointed 'Abdallah b. 'Abbas as his deputy over al-Basrah, 3 went from there to al-Kufah, where he got ready to go to Siffin. He asked for advice about that. Some advised him to send his forces but remain in al-Kufah himself, whereas others recommended that he go with the men. He insisted on taking command himself, and he prepared his men.

News of that reached Mu'awiya, who summoned 'Amr b. al-'Aas 4 and asked his advice. 'Amr said, "Since you have heard that 'Ali is on his way, set out yourself and be sure to confront him with your views and your strategies." Mu'awiya replied, "In that case, Oh Abu 'Abdallah, prepare the men!"

'Amr proceeded to work them up and to disparage the strength of 'Ali and his followers, saying, "The men of Iraq have split among themselves, sapped their own strength, and blunted their cutting edge. Moreover, the Basrans are opposed to 'Ali, who has done them harm and dealt death to them. Their leaders and those of the Kufans wiped each other out at the Battle of the Camel, and 'Ali has set out with only a band few in number, among whom are those who killed your caliph. Fear God, lest you forfeit your right to claim vengeance and allow the blood of 'Uthman 6 to go unavenged."

Mu'awiya conscripted men into the armies of the Syrians 7 and tied his banner for 'Amr, 8 and 'Amr in turn tied one for, among

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2. The chain of transmission from al-Marwazi to 'Abdallah b. al-Mubarak [d. 181/797; see GAS, I, 95] was frequently cited by Tabari, for Abu Bakr al-Hudhali [d. 167/783-784], see Ibn Hajir, Ta'dhib, XII, 46, no. 180.
3. For 'Abdallah b. al-'Abbas, cousin of the Prophet and ancestor of the future dynasty of 'Abbasiid caliphs, see EI, s.v., for his appointment over al-Basrah following 'Ali's victory at the Battle of the Camel, see Tabari, I, 3230.
4. 'Amr b. al-'Aas (Abu 'Abdallah) was the conqueror of Egypt and had been its governor for a time. In the struggle between Mu'awiya and 'Ali, 'Amr appears as Mu'awiya's right-hand man (see EI, s.v., and, for the historical image of 'Amr in this struggle, Petersen, 'Ali and Mu'awiya).
5. The Basrans generally had fought against 'Ali and his Kufan supporters at the Battle of the Camel [see EI, s.v., Djamal].
6. Literally, "your blood," but see Gloss., s.v. b-t-l.
7. Wa-kattaba ft ajnadhi ahli al-Sha'm; the preposition ft suggests this translation, rather than "he formed troops into kat'ib" See Lane, Lexicon, s.v. k-t-b, forms 2 and 8.
8. 'Aqada liq'ahu li-falân, "he tied his banner for so-and-so" is a stock expression for "he appointed so-and-so to the command." On the use of banners among the Arabs, see EI, s.v. 'Alam, and the literature cited in Hind, "Banners and Battle Cries," p. 8, nn. 28, 29; and Athamina, "Black Banners," 307-26, esp. p. 316.
The Events of the Year 36 (cont’d) 3

others, his attendant (ghulām) Wardān9 and his two sons ‘Abdallāh
and Muḥammad.10 ‘Alī appointed his ghulām Qanbar. Conse-
quently ‘Amr said:

Will Wardān suffice me against Qanbar,
and the Saktūn against the Ḥimyar,
When the men of courage don the armor?11

‘Alī heard that and replied:

I shall meet al-‘Āṣī b. al-‘Āṣī12
with 70,000 men ready for war,13
Riding the horses and the young camels side by side
and tying to their hind parts the links of the chain mail.14

When Mu‘awiyah heard that, he said (to ‘Amr), “It seems to me
that Ibn Abī Ṭalīb is a match for you (qad wafā laka),” and he began
to proceed more cautiously. He wrote to everybody he thought was
afraid of ‘Alī or had spoken evil of him15 and to everybody who
considered the shedding of ‘Uthmān’s blood to have been a grave
matter, and he asked for their help against him. When al-Walīd (b.
‘Uqbah)16 saw that, he sent to Mu‘awiyah,

Indeed tell Mu‘awiyah b. Ḥarb:
“You are held to shame by a man of trust.

9. Wardān is often referred to as the mawla of ‘Amr (e.g., Ya’qūbī, Ta’rīkh, II, 215).
10. For ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, noted transmitter of hadith and specialist in
apocalyptic tradition, see Wensinck, A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition,
s.v. For Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, see al-Zubayrī, Nasab Quraysh, 411.
11. For the Banū al-Sakūn (of Kindah), see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; for the Banū Ḥimyar, ibid., s.v.
12. Al-‘Āṣī b. al-‘Āṣī is a pun. In its full form the name of ‘Amr’s father was al-‘Āṣī
(generally shortened to al-‘Āṣi and thence to al-‘Āṣ), which can mean “the disobedient
one” or “the rebel.”
13. Or, “full of anger”; see the expressions ‘aqada lihyatahu and ‘aqada nāsiyatahu
in Lane, Lexicon, s.v. ‘aqada.
14. Possibly the camels were ridden to the place of battle to conserve the horses,
which were then used in the fighting.
15. The Arabic could be read to mean that Mu‘awiyah wrote to all those who
thought that he (Mu‘awiyah) was afraid of ‘Alī and who had said evil things about
him. Possibly he was writing to Iraqis in an attempt to deflect them from supporting
‘Alī.
16. Al-Walīd b. ‘Uqbah b. Abī Mu‘ayt was a cousin of Mu‘awiyah and former
governor of al-Ḳufah (see al-Zubayrī, Nasab Quraysh, 138ff.).
The First Civil War

You have wasted time like the stallion camel of arousal,\(^{17}\) confined and bellowing in Damascus but unable to move.

You and your writing to 'Ali are like a woman tanning a hid that has become worm-eaten and useless.\(^{18}\)

Each band of riders for the emaciated camels of Iraq, tripping along, excites in you the desire for the rule.\(^{19}\)

But he who seeks revenge does not hang back but seeks it relentlessly.

If you were the slain one,\(^{20}\) and he (‘Uthmān) were alive, he would have drawn his sword, not turning aside, unflagging, and not shirking from seeking vengeance until he had slain in retaliation for it, not weary or sticking in one place.

Your family in Medina have been wiped out, cast down like chaff.”

Narrators other than Abū Bakr (al-Hudhahl) say that Mu'āwiya summoned his secretary Shaddād b. Qays\(^{21}\) and told him, “Find me a scroll to write on.” When he had brought him one, Shaddād took up the pen and began to write, but Mu'āwiya said, “Do not rush! Write:

“How surprised (he is) by what he sees of our deliberateness, but, if war had buffeted him, he would not have said a word!”\(^{22}\)

He then told Shaddād, “Roll up the scroll,” and he sent it to al-Walid (b. 'Uqbah), who, when he opened it, found only this one verse inside.

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\(^{17}\) For *al-sadim al-mu'annd*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.vv. It refers to a stallion camel that is led among females to arouse them then, having done so, is not allowed to couple but is taken away and tethered apart, bellowing in frustration.


\(^{19}\) I find the sense of this line elusive. It perhaps continues the imagery of line 2, but, if so, the metaphor seems to obscure the meaning.

\(^{20}\) The text reads “if I were slain,” but see *Add. et emend*.

\(^{21}\) This seems to be Tabari's only reference to him.

\(^{22}\) The verse is attributed to Aws b. Hājar (Dīwān, ed. Muhammad Yusuf Najm [Beirut, 1960], no. 48, verse 25 [p. 121]).
According to Abu Bakr al-Hudhali, when ‘Ali b. Abi Talib marched to meet Mu‘awiyah, one of the men of Iraq wrote these two verses:

Tell the Commander of the Faithful
when you arrive, O brother of Iraq,
"Iraq and its people
eagerly await you, so come."  

According to ‘Awānah (whose account is now resumed), ‘Ali sent Ziyād b. al-Nādir al-Ḥārithi ahead with 8,000 men as an advance guard and with him Shurayḥ b. Ḥāni with 4,000. ‘Ali set out from al-Nukhaylah with his men, and, after he had entered al-Madā‘in, the fighting men stationed there left with him. He put Sa‘d b. Mas‘ūd al-Ṭhaqafī, the paternal uncle of al-Mukhtar b. Abī ‘Ubayd in charge of al-Madā‘in and sent Ma‘qil b. Qays on from there with 3,000 men, telling him to go by way of al-Mawsil and then join him.

23. The verses do not seem to fit in with the events as reported: they make it appear that ‘Ali was somewhere else and that the Iraqis were calling him to come (to lead them against Mu‘awiyah!). It might be possible to read “Commander of the Faithful” in the vocative and understand something like “O Commander of the Faithful, when you arrive tell any Iraqi (on the side of Mu‘awiyah) ...” but the second verse would be more suitably addressed to ‘Ali than to any ordinary Iraqi.

24. For ‘Awānah b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbi, an important Kūfī collector and transmitter of tradition (d. ca. 153/770), see EI3, s.v.t and GAS, I, 307-8. ‘Awānah’s material here is cited by Tabarî from ‘Umar b. Shabbah from al-Madâ‘in (see n. 401, below). Tabarî’s previous citation of the material from this source broke off at the point where this volume of translation begins. The story had reported how, following his unsuccessful sending of Ja‘far b. ‘Abdallâh al-Bajalī to demand Mu‘awiyah’s allegiance, ‘Ali had moved out to the army camp at al-Nukhaylah, where he had been joined by Ibn ‘Abbās and the men from al-Baṣrah.

25. For Ziyād b. al-Nādir (of the Banū Madhhij), see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.
26. For Shurayḥ b. Ḥāni (also of Madhhij), see ibid., s.v. Ṣuraīḥ.

27. The usual place for the gathering of the Kūfī army, apparently northwest of al-Kūfah on the road to Syria.

28. Al-Madâ‘in was the Arabic name for the former Sasanid capital, Ctesiphon, on the Tigris south of the subsequently built city of Baghdad (see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, 33ff.).

29. For al-Mukhtar b. Abī ‘Ubayd al-Ṭhaqafī, a major figure in the subsequent history of al-Kūfah, see EI3, s.v. He had been brought up by his uncle Sa‘d, following the death of his father during the conquest of Iraq.

30. Of the Banū Tamīm (see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.); for his subsequent role in the suppression of the revolt of al-Khirrit b. Rāshid, see pp. 18ff., below.

31. That is, Mosul in Mesopotamia.
'Ali Orders the Construction of the Bridge over the Euphrates

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mīkhnaf—al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alī—'Abdallāh b. 'Ammār b. 'Abd Yaghūṭ al-Bāriqī:32 When 'Alī reached al-Raqqah,33 he ordered the Raqqans, "Build me a bridge so that I can cross from this place to Syria." They, however, refused, having seized control over the boats (which would be used for the bridge). 'Alī therefore departed from them to cross from Jisr Manbij34 leaving al-Ashtar35 behind over the Raqqans while he himself went to move on with his men to cross with them at Jisr Manbij.

Al-Ashtar summoned the Raqqans and addressed them: "People of this fortress! I swear to you by God that if the Commander of the Believers goes on without your having made a bridge for him by your town so that he can cross, I will bare the sword among you and kill the men, devastate the land, and seize your possessions." The Raqqans met one with another and said, "Does not al-Ashtar fullfill what he swears or perpetrate something even worse?" "Yes." Therefore, they sent to him, saying, "We will make a bridge for you, so approach." 'Alī came, they made the bridge for him, and he crossed over it with his baggage and footsoldiers. Then he ordered al-Ashtar, and he move up with 3,000 horsemen, until all of the men had crossed. Finally, al-Ashtar, the last of the men, crossed on foot.

According to Abū Mīkhnaf—al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alī—'Abdallāh b. 'Ammār b. 'Abd Yaghūṭ: When the cavalry crossed they were all jostling together and the hat [qalansuwah]36 of 'Abdallāh b. Abī
al-Huṣayn al-Azdi fell off. He dismounted, picked it up, and rode on. Then the qalansuwaḥ of 'Abdallah b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Azdi fell off, and he dismounted, picked it up, and rode on. He said to his companion:

If, as is said, the augur's idea is true,
I shall be killed shortly and so will you.

'Abdallah b. Abī al-Ḥuṣayn al-Azdi said, "Nothing that could happen would be dearer to me than what you have mentioned." And they were killed together at Ṣiffin.38

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Khālid b. Qaṭān al-Ḥārithī: When 'Alī had crossed the Euphrates, he summoned Ziyād b. al-Nadr and Shurayḥ b. Hāni and sent them ahead toward Mu‘āwiyah as a vanguard in the same role in which they had left al-Kūfah. Having been sent by 'Alī from al-Kūfah, Ziyād and Shurayḥ had followed the (west) bank of the Euphrates from the desert adjoining al-Kūfah as far as Ṣinā‘.39 There they heard that 'Alī had taken the road to al-Jazā‘irah and also that Mu‘āwiyah had set out from Damascus with the forces of the Syrians to meet 'Alī. They said, "By God, we do not think it good that we should go on, with this expanse of water between us and the Muslims and the Commander of the Faithful. It would be bad for us if we were to meet the armies of the Syrians with our few men, cut off from reinforcement and support." They went out to cross the river from Ṣinā‘, but the people of that place prevented them and stopped them getting boats, and they had to go back and cross from Hit.40 Then they joined up with 'Alī at a settlement below Qargīsiyā.41 They had intended to attack the

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37. On 'Abdallah b. Abī al-Ḥuṣayn al-Azdi and 'Abdallah b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Azdi, see further (p. 51, below); and for the latter, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

38. The Arabic yawm Siffin, literally "on the day of Siffin," recurs frequently throughout Muslim tradition. Yawm ("day") is a common word for "battle," but it is clear from the narrative that the events at Siffin occupied several days. I have generally translated, therefore, by the less specific "at Siffin" or "the Battle of Siffin."

39. Ṣinā‘ on the west bank of the Euphrates (virtually due west of Takrit on the Tigris) was counted by the medieval Muslim geographers as the most southerly major settlement on the Euphrates in al-Jazā‘irah (Mesopotamia) (see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, index, s.v. 'Ṣinā‘).

40. For Hit, also on the west bank and considerably south of Ṣinā‘, see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, map II and 65.

41. Qargīsiyā (Circesium), at the junction of the Khābūr and Euphrates Rivers about 200 miles below al-Raqqa, is far to the north of Ṣinā‘; see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, map II and 105.
people of 'Anāt, but the latter fortified themselves, so they withdrew.

When their advance force joined up with 'Ali, he said, "My vanguard has come to me from the rear!" Ziyād b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī and Shurayḥ b. Ḥānī' approached him and told him what they had thought when they heard about what was happening, and 'Ali said, "You acted rightly." Then 'Ali went on, and, having crossed the Euphrates, he sent them ahead toward Mu'āwiyah.

Reaching Sūr al-Rūm, they met Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī 'Amr b. Sufyān with an army of Syrians. They, therefore, sent a message back to 'Ali: "We have encountered Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī with an army of Syrians. We have appealed to them, but not one of them has responded. Tell us what we should do." In response 'Ali sent to al-Ashtar, saying:

Oh Mālik, Ziyād and Shurayḥ have sent informing me that they have encountered Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī with a body of the Syrians, and the messenger tells me that he left them confronting one another. Hasten to save your companions. When you reach them you are in charge, but do not begin fighting the enemy, unless they attack you first, before meeting with them, appealing to them, and having been heard. "Do not allow their hatred to provoke you" into fighting them before you have appealed to them and given them every chance, again and again, to change their views. Place Ziyād over your right wing and Shurayḥ over your left, and put yourself in the middle of your men. Do not approach close to them as if provoking war but do not keep at a distance as if fearing harm, until I come to you, for, God willing, I shall be hurrying on behind you.

42. This is, apparently, Ṭabarī's only reference to Sūr al-Rūm, which is not mentioned by Yāqūt or LeStrange; the name occurs in the same form in the parallel passage in WS, 153—apparently its only occurrence in that work.
43. For the military activity of this man in the time of the Prophet and during the conquest of Syria, see Lecker, The Banū Sulaym, index, s.v. Abu 'l-A'war, and Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. 'Amr b. Sufyān.
44. See Gloss., s.v. n-i-w.
45. See Qur'ān, 5:2, 8.
Abū Mikhnaf said that the messenger was al-Ḥārith b. Jumhān al-Juʿīfī. 46

‘Alī wrote to Ziyāḍ and Shurayh: “I have appointed Malik [al-Ashtar] over you. Take heed of what he says and obey him. He is someone from whom neither rashness, 47 nor erroneous conduct is to be feared, and neither slowness regarding what is best done quickly nor rushing into what is best held back from. I have given him orders similar to those I gave you—that he should not begin an attack before meeting them and appealing to them and giving them every chance.”

Al-Ashtar departed and came to the enemy. He followed ‘Alī’s orders and refrained from fighting, and they continued confronting one another. Then, at evening, Abū al-A‘war al-Sulāmī attacked them, but they stood firm and swapped blows for a while, and the Syrians withdrew.

The next day Ḥāshim b. ‘Utbah al-Zuhrī 48 went out against the Syrians with a troop of horsemen and footsoldiers, many in number and well-equipped. Abū al-A‘war came out to meet him, and they fought for that day, the horsemen attacking the horsemen and the footsoldiers attacking the footsoldiers. The Syrians held firm, man to man, and then they withdrew. Al-Ashtar attacked them, and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Mundhir al-Tanūkhī 49 was killed. Zabyān b. ‘Umarah al-Tamīmī, 50 who was only a raw youth, killed him, while al-Tanūkhī was the leading horseman of the Syrians. Al-Ashtar started saying, “Woe to you! Show me Abū al-A‘war!”

Abū al-A‘war called his men, and they went back to him, and he took up position behind the place where he had been at first. Al-Ashtar came and organized his men in lines in the place that Abū al-A‘war had occupied. He told Sinān b. Mālik al-Nakha‘ī, 51 “Go to

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46. See [p. 44, below]. Of the Banū Madhhīj [see n. 174], he sometimes appears as al-Ḥārith b. Juhmān [see Ibn al-Kalbī II, index, s.v. al-Ḥārīṣ b. Gūhmān].

47. Rahaq; see Qur‘ān 72:6, 13.

48. For Ḥāshim b. ‘Utbah al-Zuhrī, al-A‘war, al-Miqāl, who had lost an eye at Yarmūk and been present at Qādisiyah, see al-Zubayrī, Nasab Quraysh, 263–64; and Ibn al-Kalbī II, index, s.v. Ḥāshim, and see further later [p. 70ff.]

49. This seems to be Taba‘rī’s only reference to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Mundhir al-Tanūkhī.

50. Cairo has Zabyān b. ‘Umarah, s.v. Zabyān b. ‘Umarah.

51. The following seems to be Taba‘rī’s only mention of Sinān, who does not appear in Ibn al-Kalbī. Al-Ashtar’s subsequent address of him as “my nephew” if it is to be taken literally, could indicate that a name had been omitted from his nasab.
Abū al-A‘war and challenge him to single combat.” Sinān asked, "With me or with you?" Mālik (al-Ashtar) said, "If I told you to fight him singly, would you do it?" Sinān replied, "Yes. By God, if you asked me to go against their line with my sword, I would not come back until I had struck their line with my sword." Al-Ashtar said to him, "Oh my nephew, God give you long life! By God, my love for you has increased. I am not ordering you to fight him in single combat, but to challenge him to fight me. He would not come out to fight—if he agrees—unless against someone with the right seniority, equality of status, and nobility. You, may your Lord be praised, are of a family who have equality of status and nobility, but you are a raw youth in years, and he will not undertake single combat against young men. Call on him to fight against me." Sinān went and called out, "Give me safe conduct, for I am a messenger!" He was given safe conduct and he went on until he reached Abū al-A‘war.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Šāliḥ Abū Zuhayr al-‘Absī—Sinān: I drew near him and said, "Al-Ashtar summons you to fight against him in single combat." He gave me no answer for a long while, but then he said, "It was al-Ashtar's lack of sense and bad judgment that led to his driving out the officials of Ibn 'Affān—may God be pleased with him—from Iraq and his insubordination to him and thus his losing the fruits of his own good deeds. It was a result of al-Ashtar's lack of good sense and his bad judgment that he went to Ibn 'Affān in his house and dwelling place and joined in with those who killed him, and he has become liable for his blood.52 Indeed I have no need to fight him in single combat." I told him, "You have had your say. Now listen while I answer you," but he replied, "No, there is no need for me to listen to you or for you to answer—get going!" His men shouted at me, and I left him, but, if he had given ear to me, I would have told him of my master's explanations and arguments.

I went back to al-Ashtar and told him that Abū al-A‘war had declined the challenge, and he said, "He is concerned to save himself."

52. For details of al-Ashtar's role in the anti-'Uthmān movement, see EP, s.v. al-Ashtar: "Liable for his blood" = muttāba'an bi-dāmihi (see Qur’an 2:178 for ittibā' in a similar context).
The Events of the Year 36 (cont’d) II

We stood facing them until night drew its veil between us. We passed the night taking turns at guard duty, but the next day we saw that they had withdrawn under cover of night. 'Ali b. Abi Ṭalib joined us early in the morning. He sent al-Ashtar on ahead with those who were with him in the vanguard, and the latter came to Mu'āwiyyah and took up position facing him. 'Ali came along behind him and quickly joined up with al-Ashtar. He took up position, and the two sides faced one another for a long time.

Then 'Ali sought a camping place for his army. Having found it, he ordered his men to lay down their baggage. When they had done so, the youth and young men went to get water, but the Syrians prevented them, and they fought one another by the water.53 Previously al-Ashtar had said to 'Ali, “The enemy has beaten us to the drinking place, the most comfortable spot, and the pleasant camping ground. If you think it sound, let us go on. We shall pass beyond them to the settlement from which they came, and they will set out after us. When they catch up with us we shall have camped and we shall be on equal terms with them.” But 'Ali disapproved of that, saying, “Not all the men are able to travel on,” and he had them make camp.

The Battle “by the Water”

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Tamīm b. al-Ḥarīth al-‘Azīdī—Jundab b. 'Abdallah: When we came upon Mu'āwiyyah, we found that he had set up camp in a flat and broad space, which he had chosen before we arrived, alongside a watering place in the Euphrates. In that area there was no other place to obtain water, and Mu'āwiyyah had put it under his control and sent Abū al-A'war to deny access to it and to guard it. We went farther up the Euphrates in the hope of finding some other drinking place that would do for us, but we did not and so went back to 'Ali. We told him about the thirst the men were suffering and that we had found no other place in which to get water but that of the enemy, and he said, “Fight them for it.”54

53. 'alā al-mā’, i.e., by the Euphrates. It is possible to understand ‘alā as indicating the object of or motive for the fighting, rather than where the fighting occurred, but in what follows it seems generally to have the latter sense; compare the phrase jalasa 'alā al-nār, “he sat by the fire.”
54. Qadīla hamm alayhā: here ‘alā must indicate the object of the fighting rather than where it should take place [see preceding note].
Al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindi\textsuperscript{55} came to him and said, “Shall I go against them?” and 'Ali said, “Do so.” He did, and we went with him. When we approached the water, they rose up ahead of us and showered us with arrows while, by God, we loosed arrows at them for a while. Then we thrust at each other with spears for a long time, and finally we and they had recourse to swords and fought with them for a while. Next Yazid b. Asad al-Bajali\textsuperscript{56} came to reinforce the enemy with cavalry and footsoldiers, and they advanced toward us. I said to myself, “Will the Commander of the Faithful not send anyone to us to cancel them out?” I went and turned around and saw a number of men similar to that of the enemy, or more, whom 'Ali had sent to us to counteract Yazid b. Asad and his men. Shabath b. Rib'i al-Riyahi\textsuperscript{57} led these new troops, and the fighting increased in intensity.

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ came out against us from Mu‘āwiya's camp with a large force, and he began to give support to Abū al-A'war and Yazid b. Asad, but al-Ashtar came from 'Ali with a mighty body of men. When al-Ashtar saw 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ reinforcing Abū al-A'war and Yazid b. Asad, he sent help to al-Ash'ath b. Qays and Shabath b. Rib'i and our fighting became fiercer. I will never forget what Abdallah b. 'Awf b. al-Ahmar al-Azdiss said:

[3266] Give us access to the flowing waters of the Euphrates, or stand fast against a host many in number,
Defying death against every warrior and selling themselves dearly,
thrusting with their lances and wheeling to the attack,
Striking their enemies' skulls and full of daring.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—a man from the family of Khārijah b. [al-Ṣalt?] al-Tamimi\textsuperscript{59} Zabyān b. 'Umārah kept fighting on that day while saying:

55. The leader of the Banū Kindah in al-Kufah (see EI\textsuperscript{2}, s.v. al-Ash'ath b. Kays; Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Ma'dikarib b. Qais; and Crone, Slaves on Horses, 110).
56. Leader of the Banū Bajlah in Syria and grandfather of the future governor Khalid al-Qasri (see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.; Crone, Slaves on Horses, 102).
57. A leader of the Banū Tamim in al-Kufah (see Ibn Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Šabat b. Rib'i al-Riyahi; Crone, Slaves on Horses, 118).
58. A participant in many of the events of the period and often cited as an authority by his fellow Azdī Abū Mikhnaf (see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.).
59. The name of Khārijah's father, missing in the text, is suggested by the editor, referring to I, 3214, l. 14; WŚ, 172, has Khārijah b. al-Ṣalt.
Can you, Oh Zabyān, endure life
without water among those who inhabit the earth?
No, by the God of earth and heavens—
so strike the faces of the faithless ezitmies
With the sword in the ferocious clamor
until they render you equality.

Zabyān said: "By God we smote them until they gave us access to
the water."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—his father, Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd—his
paternal uncle, Muḥammad b. Mikhnaf: At that time I was with
my father Mikhnaf b. Sulaym. I was seventeen years old and not
yet enrolled for pay (lastu ft 'atā'). When the men were denied
access to the water, my father said to me, “Keep close to the
camp!” But when I saw the Muslims going toward the water
I lost patience, took up my sword, set out with the men, and took
part in the fighting.

Then I saw a slave lad of one of the men of Iraq, and with him
he had a waterskin. When he saw that the Syrians had left open
the way to the watering place, he pushed forward and filled his
waterskin. Then he headed back, but one of the Syrian soldiers
attacked him and threw him to the ground, so that the waterskin
fell from his grasp. I assailed the Syrian, struck him, and laid him
low, but his companions fought hard and rescued him. However,
I overheard them saying to him (as they took him away), “We are
not sure about your chances.” I went back to the slave and carried
him, and he could talk to me, even though he had a gaping wound.
Quickly his master came, and he went off with him, while I took
his waterskin, which was full, and brought it to my father, Mikhnaf.
He asked, “From where did you get this?” and I said, “I bought it,”
for I did not want to tell him the story and make him angry with
me. He said, “Let the men drink!” I did that, and he was the last
to drink.

By God, my soul urged me on to fight, and I hurried forward with
those who were fighting, and we battled with the enemy for a while.
Then I saw that they had left the way to the water open to us, and
by evening we could see our water carriers and theirs crowded

60. On this system of payment in the early Muslim armies, see EI 3, s.v. "atā'"
together at the watering place without harming one another. I turned back and came upon the master of the lad who had had the waterskin, and I said to him, "We have your waterskin with us—send someone to get it or tell us where you are so that I can send it to you." He replied, "God's mercy on you, we have enough with us." I then turned away, and he went off. Next morning he passed by my father, stopped and greeted him, and saw me by his side. "This young man is not yours?" he said; and my father replied, "It is my son." The man said, "May God show you joy in him. Last evening God through him rescued my lad from death, and the young men of my clan told me that he was the bravest of the men at that time." My father gave me a look, and from his face I could see that he was angry. He kept quiet, and then, when the man had gone on, he said, "Is that what I instructed you?" and he made me swear that I would not go out to fight without his permission. So that was the only engagement I took part in until a later time.

According to Abû Mikhnaf—Yûnus b. Abî Is'hâq al-Sabî'i—Mihrân, client [mawla] of Yazîd b. Hâni':\(^6\) By God, my patron, Yazîd b. Hâni', was fighting "by the water" with the waterskin in his hand. When the Syrians withdrew from the water I turned around to drink, fighting and firing arrows in between.

According to Abû Mikhnaf—Yûsuf b. Yazîd—'Abdallah b. 'Awf b. al-Ahmar: When we reached Mu'âowiyyah and the Syrians at Šîffîn, we found that they had chosen an even, wide, and spacious position. They had seized the watering place, and it was in their possession. Abu al-Awar al-Sulami had lined up horsemen and footsoldiers by it, and he had placed the archers in front of his men. He had formed a row with spears and shields, and helmets on their heads, and they had resolved not to let us reach the water.

In alarm we went to the Commander of the Faithful and told him about that, and he summoned Ša'ša'ah b. Šûhân.\(^6\) He told him, "Go to Mu'âowiyyah and say this: 'We have come to you like this but are reluctant to fight you before exhorting you by all possible means. But you have advanced your horsemen and footsoldiers against us and have attacked us before we attacked you. You began the fighting against us while we considered that we should hold back from

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61. See p. 80, below, for Yazîd b. Hâni'.
62. Of the Banû 'Abd al-Quays/Rabi'ah (Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.).
fighting you until we had appealed to you and put before you our arguments. And this is another thing that you have done—you have barred our men from the water, and they will not stop fighting unless they have drunk. So send to your men to allow mine access to the water and to hold off from fighting until we consider our dispute and what we have come for and what you have come for. But, if you prefer that we should give up what we came for and leave the men to fight at the water, so that only the victors drink, we will do so."

When he heard that Mu'āwiya said to his men, "What do you think?" Al-Walid b. Uqbah answered, "Keep water from them, just as they kept it from 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, may God be pleased with him. They besieged him for forty days, allowing him neither the coolness of water nor the comfort of food. Make them die of thirst. May God make them die of thirst!" But 'Amr b. al-‘Āṣ said, "Let them get to the water, for surely the men will not thirst when you have drunk sufficiently. But, leaving aside the water, consider the dispute between you." Al-Walid b. Uqbah repeated what he had said, and 'Abdallāh [b. Sa'd] b. Abi Sarḥ said, "Keep them from the water until night, for if they cannot get to it they will go back. If they go back, their return will be a flight. Keep them from the water, and may God keep it from them on the day of resurrection."

Ṣa'ṣa'ah ('Ali's messenger) retorted, "God will keep it on the day of Resurrection only from the infidels, the wanton ones, and the drinkers of wine—like you and this wanton one (meaning al-Walid b. Uqbah)!" They rushed at him, verbally abusing him and threatening him, but Mu'āwiya said, "Keep away from the man, for he is simply a messenger."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—'Abdallāh b. 'Awr b. al-Aḥmar: Ṣa'ṣa'ah came back to us and told us what he had said to Mu'āwiya, what the answer had been, and how he had replied. We asked him how Mu'āwiya had responded to that, and he said, "When I desired to leave his presence, I asked, 'How do you answer me?' and he answered, 'You will learn of my decision.'"
By God, the next thing we knew, Mu'āwiya was sending troops of horsemen to Abū al-A'war to stop our men from getting to the water. 'Ali sent us against them, and we fired arrows and thrust with spears and then gave blows with the swords. We were granted victory over them, and the water came into our hands. We said, "By God we will not allow them to drink from it," but 'Ali sent to us, saying, "Take what water you need and return to your camp. Leave them alone, for God has given you victory over them because of their evil and oppression."

[3270]  

'Ali Calls Mu'āwiya to Obedience and Unity

According to Abū Mikhnafl—Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ḥurrah al-Ḥanafī: 'Ali said, "On this day you have been given victory through zeal." The men went back to their camp, and 'Ali remained two days, during which he and Mu'āwiya did not exchange messengers. Then 'Ali summoned Bashīr b. 'Amr b. Mīḥṣan al-Anṣārī,65 Sa'id b. Qays al-Hamdānī,66 and Shabath b. Rib'i al-Tamīmī and said, "Go to this man and summon him to God, to obedience, and to unity."67 Shabath b. Rib'i asked, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, will you not tempt him with an offer of an office of authority and a position in which he will have influence with you if he gives you the oath of allegiance?" 'Ali replied, "Go to him and argue with him and find out his opinion." This was at the beginning of Dhū al-Hijjah [May–June 657].

They came and entered in upon Mu'āwiya, and Abū 'Amrah Bashīr b. 'Amr praised God and extolled him.68 Then he said, "Oh Mu'āwiya, this world is transitory, but to the next you are returning. God will assess you according to your deeds and recom-

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66. Leader of the Banū Hīmyar in al-Kūfah, said to be descended from the ancient south Arabian kings (Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.; Crone, Slaves on Horses, 119).
67. Al-jamā'ah. Literally, the word indicates "community" and has a positive value in contradistinction to the implications of fitnah. "Splitting the staff of the community" or "of the Muslims" (ṣaqqa 'asā al-jamā'ah/ al-muslimūn) is a charge frequently brought against rebels, and the year in which Mu'āwiya ended the Fitnah and established his rule over all the lands of the Arabs is known in tradition as the "year of unity" (fī am al-jamā'ah).
68. Hamīda 'llah wa-athnā 'alayhi, a stereotyped formula used to open a religious exhortation.
pense you ‘for what your hands have offered.’ I implore you by
God not to split the unity of this community and not to shed its
blood in internal conflict.” But Mu‘āwiyah cut him off, saying,
“He have you not commended that to your master?” Abu ‘Amrah
replied, “My master is not like you. Of all of creation, he has the
most right to this position of authority by virtue of his merit, his
religion (din), his precedence in Islam, and his relationship with
the Messenger of God.” Mu‘āwiyah asked, “What does he say?” and
Abu ‘Amrah replied, “He asks you to fear God and to respond to
your cousin in acknowledging the truth to which he calls you. It
is safer for you regarding your life in this world and better for you
regarding your final end.” Mu‘āwiyah said, “And are we to make
the blood of ‘Uthman count for naught? No, by God, never!”

Sa‘id b. Qays went to speak, but Shabath b. Rib‘î plunged in first,
saying, after praising God and extolling him:

Mu‘āwiyah, I understood your reply to Ibn Miḥsan, and, 
by God, we are not unaware of what you intend and seek.
The only way you could find to misguide the people, pervert
their desires, and get from them their obedience was by
saying “Your Imam was killed unjustly, and we seek revenge
for his blood!” Some stupid riffraff responded to it, but we
know that you delayed in giving ‘Uthman help and that
you desired his killing so that you might obtain this posi-
tion that you now seek. There is many a one who desires
something and seeks it, but God prevents it by His power,
and sometimes he who desires a thing is granted his wish
or even more than it. But, by God, there would be no good
for you in either of the cases. If you fail to attain what you
hope for, then you will be the most wretched of the Arabs
as a result, while, if you achieve what you desire, you will
have achieved it only by deserving the flames of hell from

70. It was commonly held, by the opponents of the Umayyads, that the murder
of ‘Uthmān was the result of plotting by members of his [Umayyad] family who
feared that the caliphate would pass into the hands of ‘Ali if ‘Uthmān were to die
a natural death. The accusation that Mu‘āwiya deliberately delayed in responding
to the appeals for help that were made to him by ‘Uthmān is part of the argument
in support of this theory [see further, N. A. Faris, “Development in Arab
Historiography,” 435–44].
your Lord. Fear God, oh Mu'awiyyah. Leave off what you are about, and do not contest authority with its rightful possessor.

Mu'awiyyah praised God and extolled him, and then he said, "The first thing in which I recognized your stupidity and low level of maturity was your interrupting the speech of this respected and high-born man, who is the leader of his people [i.e., Sa'id b. Qays]. Then afterward you meddled with something about which you know nothing. You have lied and been base, you rude and uncouth bedouin, in everything you have referred to and described. Get out of my presence, all of you! Between you and me there is nothing but the sword!" He was furious.

The deputation departed with Shabath saying, "Do you threaten us with the sword? I swear by God that it will soon be raised against you!" They came to 'Ali and told him what Mu'awiyyah had said. That was in Dhū al-Hijjah (36, i.e., May–June 657).

Following this, 'Ali would give orders to certain individual leaders of high status, and a band of men would go out to fight in support while another man of rank, a follower of Mu'awiyyah, would come out against him with a group of his followers. The two of them would fight with horse- and footmen and then retire. They were reluctant to confront the Syrians with the whole body of the Iraqis because of the fear that it would entail mass slaughter and destruction.

At different times 'Ali sent out al-Ashtar, Hujr b. 'Adi al-Kindi,71 Shabath b. Rib'i, Khalid b. al-Mu'ammar,72 Ziyad b. al-Nadr al-Ḥārithi, Ziyād b. Khasafah al-Taymi,73 Sa'id b. Qays, Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyahi,74 and Qays b. Sa'd.75 The one who was sent out most often was al-Ashtar. Mu'awiyyah sent out against the men of Iraq, at

71. The leader in al-Kufah, in 51/670, of what is often seen as the first pro-'Alid anti-Umayyad movement after the death of 'Ali, and a rival of al-Ash'ath for the leadership of the Banū Kindah in al-Kufah [see further EI3, s.v. Hudjr b. 'Adi al-Kindi].
72. Of the Banū Shaybān/Bakr b. Wa'il [see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Ḥālīd b. al-Mu'ammar].
73. Of the Banū Taym Allah/Bakr b. Wa'il [see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Ziyāda b. Ḥāṣafah].
74. See n.30.
75. Son of Sa'd b. 'Ubadah of the Banū Khazraji/Anṣār, he had been governor of Egypt for 'Ali, for an account of his removal from there and his joining 'Ali, see pp. 142–44, below [see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Qais b. Sa'd].
various times, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khalīd al-Makhzūmī,76 Abū al-
Awar al-Sulami, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī,77 Dhū al-Kalā' al-
Ḥimyart,78 Ubaydallāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khättāb,79 Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṣīr
al-Kindī,80 and Ḥamzah b. Mālik al-Hamdānī.81 They fought for the
whole of Dhī al-Ḥijjah, sometimes twice in one day, at its beginning
and at its end.

According to Abū Mīkhnaf—‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āṣim al-Fā'ishī: One
of my fellow tribesmen82 told me that one day al-Ashtar went out
to fight at Sīffīn among some men of the qurrāʾ83 and some of the
bedūnin horsemen. “The battle became fierce, and there came out
against us a man taller and mightier than whom I have rarely seen.
He put out a challenge to single combat, and no one responded to
him except al-Ashtar. They exchanged blows and al-Ashtar struck
him and killed him. I swear by God that we had been fearful for
al-Ashtar and asked him not to answer the challenge. When al-
Ashtar killed him, one of the dead man’s heralds proclaimed:

Oh Sahm, Sahm Ibn Abī al-'Ayzār,
the best whom we know of Zār.84

[Zārah is a clan of Azd.] And he said, “I swear by God that either
I will kill your killer, or he will kill me.” He came out and attacked
al-Ashtar, who turned toward him and struck him, and suddenly

76. Son of the famous Khalīd b. al-Walīd, settled in Ḥimṣ (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index,
s.v. ‘Abdarrāḥmān b. Ḥalīd).
77. Of Quraysh, he had been put in charge by Muʿāwiya of the force that he sent,
too late, to help ‘Uthmān (see n.70, and see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).
78. Leader of an important family of the Bānū Ḥimyar settled in Ḥimṣ (see Ibn
al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. ‘Ammāyis b. Nākūr; Crone, Slaves on Horses, 94). Delete text’s
“Ibn”?
79. A son of the second caliph (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).
80. A rival of al-Asḥāṭh for the leadership of the Bānū Kindah in al-Kūfah, he
had subsequently settled in Ḥimṣ and supported Muʿāwiya (see Ibn al-Kalbī,
II, index, s.v. ‘Aṣḥāṣīl b. al-Simṣīr; Crone, Slaves on Horses, 101).
81. WS 44, refers to him among a group of the leaders of Qahtān and Yaman who
were trusted by Muʿāwiya. For his role in witnessing on behalf of Muʿāwiya the
“arbitration document” signed at Sīffīn, see p. 87, below.
82. There are two groups called Fā'ish among the Bānū Hamdān.
83. The qurrāʾ are frequently referred to throughout this volume and in connection
with certain other events of early Islamic history. Traditionally they have been
associated with the Qurʾān and are often described as “Qurʾān reciters/readers.” A
number of scholars have recently been dissatisfied with that interpretation and have
suggested others. For the literature, see E1; s.v. kurrāʾ; and Calder, “The Qurʾān and
the Arabic Lexicographical Tradition,” 297–307.
84. This seems to be Tabāri’s only reference to Sahm b. Abī al-'Ayzār.
The man was down on the ground in front of al-Ashtar's horse, but his companions bore down on him and carried him off wounded. Abū Rufayqah al-Fahmi said, "This was a fire, but he came upon a whirlwind."85

The men fought for the whole of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, but when it was the end of the month they called on one another to refrain from fighting for the month of Muḥarram86 and perhaps God would bring about peace or an agreement. So they refrained from fighting one another.

In this year 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib led the pilgrimage (hajj)87 in accordance with 'Ali's appointment of him. That is what I was told by Ahmad b. Thābit from someone who told him on the authority of ʻIṣāq b. ʻIsā, who had it from Abū Ma'shar88

In this year, too, Qudāmah b. Mazʿūn89 died, according to the claim of al-Wāqīdī.90

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85. This seems to be .Tabarī's only reference to Abū Rufayqah. WS, 196, has al-Sahmī instead of al-Fahmi.  
86. Although our information is rather confused, the month of Muḥarram is said to have been one of the sacred months in pre-Islamic Arabia, during which fighting was prohibited. The Qur'ān thrice refers to the sacred month (in the singular) and once to there being four sacred months (see further EI², s.v. al-Muḥarram).  
87. The annual complex of rituals performed at various places in and around Mecca during the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [see EI², s.v. Ḥajj].  
88. Abū Ma'shar is a well-known collector of tradition who died in 171/787 (see EI², s.v.; GAS, I, 291–92). He is said to have composed a Ta'rīkh al-khulāsā' and it is apparently this work that .Tabarī frequently cites with the isnād used here. .Tabarī's immediate authority, al-Rāzī, is categorized as a liar (kadhdhāb) in Ibn Abī Ḥātim's Kitāb al-ṣarh wa'l-tādīl, 91, 44.  
89. An early follower of the Prophet Muhammad, from Bānū Jumāh/Quraysh, who had refused to give allegiance to 'Alī [see Ibn al-Kalbi, index, s.v.].  
90. On this scholar, d. 207/822–823, important especially in the field of the biography of the Prophet, see EI², s.v. al-Wāqīdī; GAS, I, 294–97.
The
Events of the Year
37
(JUNE 19, 657-JUNE 8, 658)

The Truce between 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah

In the first month of this year, al-Muharram, there was the truce between 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah. Desiring a settlement of their differences, they agreed not to fight during the whole of the month.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf al-Azdī—Sa'd Abū al-Mujāhid al-Ṭā'ī—al-Muḥill b. Khalīfah al-Ṭā'ī: When 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah made a truce at Ṣiffin messengers went back and forth regarding the matters in dispute between them, in the hope that a settlement could be reached. 'Ali sent 'Adī b. Ḥātim, Yazīd b. Qays al-Arhabī, Shabath b. Ribʿī, and Ziyād b. Khaṣafah to Mu'āwiyah, and, when they came to him, 'Adī b. Ḥātim praised God and said: "Now, we have come to invite you to some-

91. Of the Banū 'Adī b. Akhzam of Ṭayyī', he had been prominent in the affairs of the Banū Ṭayyī' in the lifetime of the Prophet and afterward (see EI?, s.v., and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v., for his struggle to carry the banner of Ṭayyī' at Ṣiffin, see p. 26, below, and n. 113).

92. Of the Banū Ḥamdān, he had been involved in the anti-'Uthmān movement in al-Kūfah, and subsequently (see p. 102, below) governed Ṣībahān and Rayy for 'Ali (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Yazīd b. Qays b. Tammān).
thing be means of which God will overcome our dissensions and reunite our community, avoid our shedding blood, give security to the roads, and settle discord. Your cousin ['Alī] is the lord of the Muslims, the most meritorious of them regarding his early acceptance of Islam, and the best of them in it respecting his deeds. The people have agreed upon him, and God has guided their decision. There only remains you and those with you (who have not accepted him). Stop, Mu'āwiya, lest God afflict you and your companions with a day like that of the Camel."

Mu'āwiya replied: 'It is as if you have come merely to threaten, not to reach a settlement. You could not be more wrong, 'Adi. I am the son of Ḥarb, by God, so do not try to frighten me with empty threats.' By God, you are one of those who raised a clamor against ['Uthmān] Ibn 'Affān, one of those who killed him, and I hope that you will be one of those whom God will kill for it. How wrong you are, 'Adi b. Ḥātim—you have resorted to force when you could not succeed by persuasion.'

Shabath b. Rib'āt and Ziyād b. Khaṣafah, both of them answering together, said, "We have come to you to make a settlement between us, but you have started to spout proverbs at us. Cease useless words and deeds, and agree to our proposal, which will benefit both us and you!" Yazīd b. Qays spoke, saying:

We came merely to convey to you the message we have been sent with and to take back whatever we hear from you. Nevertheless, we will not refrain from offering you sound advice or from telling you what we think provides a sure argument for us against you and by means of which you will return to unity and community. Our master is he whose excellence you and the Muslims have recognized, and I think it is obvious to you that the people of religion

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93. Translating the text's fa'ntahi; Ann., A.H. 37 §2, suggests fa'nbah, sta' attentio!
94. The name of Mu'āwiya's grandfather, Ḥarb, means "war." For the expression mā yuqa'qa'ū lī bi-al-shindān (literally, "a confused clattering noise will not be made to me with the old, worn-out water-skins"), see Freytag, Arabum proverbia, III, 588; Lane, Lexicon, s.v. shān.
95. Qad halabta bi-al-sā'ida al-ashadd (literally, "you have milked with the strongest forearm"), see Freytag, Arabum proverbia, I, 343 Lane, Lexicon, s.v. halaba. Ann., A.H. 37 §2, suggests it should be read halabtu, "I have resorted to force only because persuasion was not successful."
and merit will not put anyone on a level with 'Ali or waiver in a choice between you. Fear God, Mu'āwiyyah, and do not oppose 'Ali, for we have never seen anyone more God-fearing in his deeds, more abstemious in the things of this world, or more complete in all the good qualities than he.

Mu'āwiyyah praised God and extolled Him and then said, "You have summoned us to obedience and unity. As for the unity to which you have called us, we have it among ourselves, but, as for obedience to your lord, we will not conceive of it, for he has killed our caliph and shattered our unity, and he has given shelter to those from whom we seek vengeance and those who killed 'Uthmān. Your master claims that he did not kill him, and we will not argue with him about that, but have you not seen those who killed our master, and do you not know that they are the companions of your master? Let him then deliver them up to us and let us kill them in revenge for 'Uthmān, and then we will respond to your call for obedience and unity."

Shabath said to him, "Would it make you happy, oh Mu'āwiyyah, if you were given power over 'Ammār [b. Yāsir] to kill him?" He replied, "Why should I not? But, by God, if I were given power over Ibn Sumayyah [i.e., 'Ammār], I would not kill him in revenge for 'Uthmān but [only] for Nātil the mawla of 'Uthmān." Shabath said to him, "By the God of earth and of heaven, then you would not have acted equitably. No, by He other than Whom there is no god, you will not lay hands on 'Ammār until the heads fall from the shoulders of the peoples and the vast earth becomes too narrow for you, for all its breadth." Mu'āwiyyah replied, "If it were so, then the earth would be more straitened for you."

When they had left Mu'āwiyyah, he sent to Ziyād b. Ḫaṣafah al-Taymī and spoke to him privately. After praising God and extolling Him, he said, "Brother of Rabī'ah! 'Ali has severed our ties of kinship and given shelter to those who killed our lord. I am asking for help against him from you with your family and clan. I give you a binding oath in the name of God that, if I achieve the victory, I will put you in charge of whichever of the two garrison towns you desire."

96. A Qurashī companion of the Prophet (see EI², s.v.; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.); for his death, see p. 64, below; Lecker, "Hudhayfa."
97. See Qur'ān 9:118.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sa’d Abū al-Mujāhid—al-Muhill b. Khalīfah: I heard Ziyād b. Khāṣafah reporting this event, and he said: When Mu‘āwiya had finished, I praised God and extolled Him and then I said, “I have a clear proof from my Lord,”98 and ‘with what He has graciously given me I will not help the evildoers.’99 Then I arose, and Mu‘āwiya said to ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, who was sitting by his side, “No one of us ever argues with one of them but that they always assent to something good. What is the matter with them, may God cut them off with evil? It is as if their hearts were the heart of one man.”

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid al-Azdī—Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Ubayd Abū al-Kūnūd: Mu‘āwiya sent Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī, Shu‘rābīl b. al-Simt, and Ma‘n b. Yazīd b. al-Akhnās100 to ‘Āli. They went in unto him, I being present. Ḥabīb praised God and extolled Him and then said: “Uthmān b. ‘Affān, may God be pleased with him, was a caliph guided by God (khaliṣiṣah mahdī), who acted according to the Book of God and constantly busied himself with God's commands. You found his life a burden and could not wait for his death, and so you attacked and killed him. If you claim that you did not, then hand over to us the killers of ‘Uthmān so that we can kill them in recompense. Then relinquish authority over the people: That will be a matter for consultation (ṣhūrā)101 among them, and they will give authority over them to whomsoever they agree on.”

‘Āli b. Abī Ṭālib said to him, “Who are you, you wretch, to tell me to relinquish authority? Keep silent, for it is no business of yours, and you are not fit for it.” Ḥabīb arose and said, “By God, when you see me you will wish that you had not.” ‘Āli said, “What are you, even though you rally your horsemen and your foot-soldiers!”102 May God not show mercy to you even if you show mercy

100. Of the Banū Sulaym [see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; Lecker, The Banū Sulaym, esp. 70–72].
101. The idea that the choice of caliph (sometimes even of governor) should result from a process of consultation is of frequent occurrence in early Islam, but only rarely put into practice; see Crone and Hinds, God’s Caliph, index, s.v. shūrā.
102. See Qur’ān 17:64 [God addressing Satan]
The Events of the Year 37

God sent Muhammad with the truth and through him provided deliverance from error, salvation from destruction, and the overcoming of division. Then God took him to Himself after he had carried out his mission. The people appointed Abū Bakr as caliph, and Abū Bakr appointed 'Umar after him, and those two conducted themselves well and led the community with justice. We resented their ruling over us, the family of the Messenger of God, but we excused them for that. Then 'Uthmān ruled and did things that the people found reprehensible, so that they came to him and killed him. Afterward they came to me, who was keeping out of their concerns, and they asked me to accept the oath of allegiance. I refused, but they insisted and said that the community would never find anyone acceptable but me and that, if I did not, they were afraid that division would result. So I accepted the oath of allegiance from them. But then I was surprised to find the dissension of two of those who had given me the oath of allegiance and

103. Lā abqā' illāhu 'alayka in abqayta 'alayya (the last word has been supplied by the editor), for this saying, uttered derisively to somebody who affects to be showing mercy because unable to take his revenge, see Freytag, Arabum proverbia, II, 327; Lane, Lexicon, s.v. form IV of baqiya. The significance of the next two words, a-huqrātāt wa-saw'an (or sū'an), is not at all clear. Ann., A.H. 37 §4, suggests reading khufrah (= dhimmah) for huqrāh and the translation “do you with to profit from your immunity (as a messenger) to say evil things?” The parallel passage at WS, 200, does not include these words.

104. 'Ali’s speech resuming the early history of the caliphate from a particular viewpoint can be seen as an example of a topos; for another example, see, e.g., Tabart, II, 515-18. In the present version 'Uthmān's alleged misdeeds are not elaborated but others often list them.

105. That is, the companions 'Abdāl and al-Zubayr, who are widely reported to have rendered allegiance to 'Ali but then rebelled against him when he would not accede to their demands for important governorships.
the opposition of Mu'āwiyah, to whom God had given neither precedence in accepting the religion nor forebears of good character in Islam. He is one of those who were set free [taliq] by the Prophet, and the son of one of them, a member of those "parties" that persisted in enmity to God, His Prophet, and the Muslims, both he and his father, until they reluctantly entered Islam. But it is a surprise that you take part in his opposition and are led by him, abandoning the family of your Prophet, against which you must not show discord and opposition nor place any one on the same level. I call you to the Book of God, the precedent [sunnah] of His Prophet, the suppression of what is false, and putting into practice the signs of the religion. That is what I have to say, and I ask God's pardon for me and for you and for every Believer, male and female, and every Muslim, male and female."

Shurahbil and Ma'n both said, "Testify that 'Uthmān was killed unjustly." 'Ali, however, answered, "I will not say either that he was killed unjustly or that his killing was justified, because he was unjust himself." They replied, "Whoever does not assert that 'Uthmān was killed unjustly, we dissociate ourselves from him," and they got up and left. 'Ali said, "You will not make the dead hear, you will not make the deaf hearken to the call when they turn away, going back, and you will not guide the blind from going astray. You will only make those who believe in our signs give ear, for they are the Muslims." Then he went to his supporters and said, "Do not let these be more earnest in their error than you are in your truth and obedience to your Lord."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ja'far b. Ḥudhayfah, of the family of 'Āmir b. Juwayn: [Qays b.] 'Ā'idh b. Qays al-Ḥizmīrī contested

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106. The derogatory references are to Mu'āwiyah as (a) one of those liable to enslavement by the Prophet when he conquered Mecca, but allowed to go free by him [al-taliqā'], and (b) one of the "parties" or "confederates" [ahzāb] who attacked the Prophet and his followers in Medina at the time of the "Trench" in AH 5 (Qur'ān, surah 33, Sūrat al-Ahzāb, is said to allude to this event).


108. For the likely need to insert "Qays b." before the name of 'Ā'idh b. Qays, see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Qais b. 'Ā'id b. Qais, although, as is indicated there, some sources have another son of 'Ā'idh b. Qays as the one who contested the honor of the banner with 'Adī b. Ḥātim. The clan of this Qays, the Banū Ḥizmīr, was part of the tribe of Ṭayyīrī', on which see EI, s.v. Taīy.
with 'Adi b. Ḥātim for the privilege of carrying the banner at Ṣiffīn. Banū Ḥizmir were more numerous than Banū 'Adi the clan of Ḥātim. 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah al-Ṭāʾi al-Bawlānī rushed up to the Banū Ḥizmir in the presence of 'Ali and said:

Oh Banū Ḥizmir do you dare to compete with 'Adi? Is there one among you like 'Adī or any ancestor of yours like the father of 'Adi? Was 'Adī not the one who protected the waterskin and defended the water on a "day of want"? Is he not the son of the "lord of the fourth" and of "the generous one of the Arabs"? Is he not the son of the man who allowed his wealth to be plundered and of the defender of his client (jār)? Is he not the one who never acted perfidiously, never wickedly, never ignorantly, never avariciously, never ungratefully, and never cowardly? Come up with one of your ancestors who may be compared with his father, or one of you who may be compared with him. Is he not the most meritorious of you in Islam, the leader of your delegation to the Prophet, and your leader at the battles of al-Nukhaylah, al-Qadisiyyah, al-Madā'in, Jalūlā'

109. On whom, see EI². Son of the renowned pre-Islamic poet of the Banū Tayyī', Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾi, his clan was Banū 'Adi b. Rabī'ah b. Jarwal of Tayyī'.

110. For this poet of the Banū Tayyī', see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah.

111. Yawm rawīyyah. Possibly this refers to the battle "by the water" recounted previously, which is also alluded to in the first line of the poem of 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah later.

112. 'Adi's father, the poet Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾi, was famed for his generosity, the subject of legend and proverb [see EI³, s.v. Ḥātim]. Ann. 37 A.H., §5, translates "lord of the fourth" (dhī'ī a'l-mirba) as "quello dal quarto del bottino," which may well be correct. Ḥātim was famous for allowing his own booty to be taken by others, that is, probably the substance of "the man who allowed his wealth to be plundered" (al-munhibu màlahu), later. According to the notice of Ḥātim in Ibn Qutaybah's Kitāb al-Shī'r, "whenever he acquired booty, he allowed it to be plundered, and whenever he was asked for anything, he gave it" (wa-idhā ghanima anhaba wa-idhā su'ilā wahaba). It seems likely that Ṭabari's phrases referring to Ḥātim are meant to be understood generally and not as allusions to any specific instance—defense of the jār was also a typical virtue of the Arab hero.
The First Civil War

al-Waqqā'ah, Nihāwand, and Tustar? What do you have in common with him? By God, there is no other of your people who seeks what you seek!

'Ali b. Abī Talib said to him, “That is enough, Ibn Khalīfah! Come to me, ye people, and gather around me all of Ṭayyī!” When they had come together, 'Ali asked, “Who was your chief in these battles?” Ṭayyī replied, “'Adī.” Ibn Khalīfah said, “Ask them, Oh Commander of the Faithful, if they are not satisfied to give up the leadership to 'Adī.” 'Ali asked them, and they said that they were. He then said to them, “Of all of you, ‘Adī has the best claim to the banner—give it up to him.” Then, because Banū al-Ḥizmīr caused a disturbance, he said, “In my view, he ('Adī) has been your chief in the past and none of his people, apart from you, is against giving it up to him. Therefore, I follow the majority in that.” And 'Adī took the banner.

Later, at the time of Ḥuṭr b. 'Adī,114 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah was sought so that he might be sent together with Ḥuṭr [as a prisoner to Mu‘āwiyyah], for he was one of the supporters of Ḥuṭr. Then he was exiled to the region of the two hills (al-Jabalān). 'Adī [b. Ḥātim al-Tā'ī] had given him cause to hope that he would have Ibn Khalīfah's exile revoked and that he would seek an amnesty for him, but when that took a long time 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah said:

You forget my deeds at the Battle of the Watering Place, and the lances shattering against their shoulders at Ṣīffin.

May his Lord requite 'Adī b. Ḥātim for me, for having abandoned me and forsaken me, an ample requital.

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113. 'Adī, like his father, was originally a Christian, but he accepted Islam toward the end of the Prophet's life and led the Banū Ṭayyī into Islam. The battles named here are famous landmarks in the Arab conquest of Iraq and southwest Iran. See further E12 sv 'Adī.

114. That is, at the time of Huțr's revolt in al-Kufah in 516/670 (see n. 71, above). The subsequent mention of “the two hills” (al-Jabalān) is a reference to two hills [Ajā‘ and Salma] in the tribal lands of the Banū Ṭayyī in northern Arabia, the region now known as Jabal Shammar (see Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-buldān, s.v. Jabalān). See also n. 229, below.

115. See Gloss., s.v. t-l-b with ft.
The Events of the Year 37

Do you forget, oh son of Ḥātim, my reckless bravery
on that evening when your company ('adī) was not enough to
outdo Ḥizmir?
But I protected you against the gang until they let up,
and I was the fierce and courageous adversary.
They turned tail and could not stand against me, as if
they thought me a lion lurking among the reeds.
I gave you aid when those who were near moved away and
those farther off held themselves apart. On me alone depended
the victory.
My reward is to be stripped of everything among you,
dragged along, brought to degradation, and made captive.
How many times you have promised to me that you would bring
me back!
You have not achieved with your promise anything for me.

The Organization of the Military Units (Katā'ib)
and Preparation of the Troops for Battle

According to Abū Mikhnaf: The men waited until the end of
Muḥarram drew nigh, and then 'Alī ordered Marthad b. al-Ḥārith
al-Jushami to call out to the Syrians at sunset: "The Commander
of the Faithful announces to you: 'I have given you time so that
you might revert to the truth and turn to it in repentance. I have
argued against you with the Book of God and have called you to
it, but you have not turned away from oppression or responded to
truth. Now I have cast back to you (the covenant between us) in
a just manner, for God does not love the faithless.'"

The Syrians rushed anxiously to their commanders and leaders,
and Muʿawiyah and 'Amr b. al-ʾĀṣ went out among the men, or-
ganizing them in fighting units and preparing them and encouraging

116. The ms. and Ibn al-Athir have sahiban, which the editor has emended to
sağnan, "imprisoned." See, however, Gloss., s.v. s-h-b, which has sahib as the
equivalent of mashāb.

117. Ḥabar, literally, "a fox"; it also can mean "short" (see LA, s.v.).

118. For a longer quotation of the poem from which these verses come and the
story of the events surrounding their composition, see Tabart, II, 148 l.1-155 l.1.

119. This seems to be Tabart's only reference to Marthad b. al-Ḥārith al-Jushami.

120. See Qurʾān 8:58 (substituting nabadhtu ilaykum for Qurʾānic faʾnbidh
ilayhim).
them to fight. 'Ali, too, spent the entire night preparing his men, forming the units, and going around inciting the soldiers.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jundab al-Azdi—his father: On every occasion on which we confronted an enemy 'Ali would command us in these words: “Do not fight them unless they attack you first. You, praise be to God, have a good case and holding back from fighting them until they attack will strengthen it. If you fight them and defeat them, do not kill the fugitives, do not finish off the wounded, do not uncover their nakedness, and do not mutilate the slain. If you reach their abodes, do not tear aside a curtain, enter a dwelling without permission, or seize any of their property apart from what you find in the army camp. Do not do harm against any woman, even if they utter abuse against your honor and vilify your leaders and righteous men, for women are weak of body and soul.”

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ismāʿīl b. Yazīd—Abū Ṣādiq—al-Ḥaḍrami: I heard 'Ali encouraging the men at three battlefields—Ṣiffin, the Camel, and the Canal (yawm al-nahr) in these words: “Servants of God! Fear God, cast down your gaze, lower your voices, keep your speech short, accustom yourselves to dismounting to fight, assaulting and being assaulted, individual combat, contention, fighting with swords and staves, wrestling, biting, and grappling. ‘Stand firm and frequently mention the name of God so that you might prosper.’ And do not contend one with another and so lose courage and your strength expire; be steadfast, for God is with the steadfast! Oh God! Inspire them with steadfastness, send down victory to them, and make great their reward.” The next morning 'Ali arose and appointed his commanders over the right and left wings and over the footsoldiers and horsemen.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadij al-Kindi: 'Ali sent out al-Ashtar over the Kūfān cavalry and Sahl b. Ḥunayf over the

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121. Literally, “they lit the fires,” but perhaps to be understood metaphorically.
122. Lā tamthulū bi-qatlin; the verb mathala and the noun muthlah are used with a variety of related meanings in the context of the punishment and treatment of enemies; because here it refers to the slain, “ mutilation” seems to fit best.
123. For the third of these “battles” (yawm al-nahr), see pp. 130–34, below.
124. Qur'ān 8:45.
125. Qur'ān 8:46
126. A Companion of the Prophet from the Banū Aws/Anṣār (see Ibn Sa'd, III/2, 39–41; Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.).
The Events of the Year 37

Baṣraṇ; he put 'Ammār b. Yasir over the Kufan infantry and Qays b. Sa'd over the Baṣraṇ; Hāshim b. 'Utbaḥ carried 'Alī's banner, and Mis'ar b. Fadakr al-Tamimi127 led the Baṣraṇ qurra'. The Kufans rallied to 'Abdallāh b. Budayl128 and 'Ammār b. Yāsir.

According to Abū Mīkhna'[Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Jābir al-Azdi—al-Qāsim, the client (mawla) of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya]: Mu'āwiya sent Dhū al-Kalā' al-Ḥimyarī out over his right wing and Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī over his left. At the time of his advance from Damascus, Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī, who was in command of the horsemen of Damascus, had charge of the vanguard, while 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ commanded the Syrian horsemen generally. Muslim b. 'Uqbah al-Murri129 led the infantry of Damascus, al-Dahhāk b. Qays130 the infantry as a whole. Some of the Syrians gave the oath of allegiance to Mu'āwiya to the death and bound their legs together with turbans (to prevent flight). Those who did so made up five rows. The Syrians who went out to fight formed ten rows, while the men of Iraq went out to fight in eleven.

On the first day of Śīffīn, when the men went out and fought, al-Ashtar commanded those of the Kufans who took part and Ḥabīb b. Maslamah commanded the Syrians. That was a Wednesday. A fierce battle took place for most of the day, and then both sides fell back, with honors even.

Hāshim b. 'Utbaḥ then went out with a numerous and well-equipped force of horsemen and footsoldiers, and Abū al-A'war moved out to oppose him. They fought for that day, the horsemen attacking the horsemen and the footsoldiers the footsoldiers. They returned having held each other in check.

On the third day 'Ammār b. Yāsir went out, and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ opposed him. One of the fiercest battles ever was waged, and 'Ammār began proclaiming, "Men of Iraq, do you wish to look on one who showed enmity to God and His Messenger and struggled against them, one who oppressed the Muslims and gave support to the

127. Subsequently a leader of the Baṣraṇ Khārijites (see pp. 79, 118, below).
128. Of the Banū Khuzā'a (see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.); the context and a subsequent variant indicate that the qurra' of the Kufans rallied to him.
129. Of the Banū Murra of Ghatafān, he subsequently led the army sent by the caliph Yazīd to attack Medina (see EI, s.v.; Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.).
130. Of the Banū Fihrī/Quaysh, he subsequently played a leading role in the events of the second fitnah (see EI, s.v.; Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.).
polytheists? But, when he saw that God would make mighty His religion and grant victory to His Messenger, he went to the Prophet and accepted Islam, it seems to us, out of fear and not from desire. Then God took to Himself His Messenger and, by God, this man continued to be known for enmity to the Muslim and forbearance to the evildoer. So hold firm against him and fight him, for he will extinguish God’s light\(^{131}\) and give help to His enemies.”

With ‘Ammār was Ziyād b. al-Nādhr, who had command of the horsemen. ‘Ammār ordered him to make an attack with them. He did so, but the men fought against him and held firm, so ‘Ammār reinforced the attack with the footsoldiers and caused ‘Ammr b. al-‘Āṣ to abandon his position. At that time Ziyād b. al-Nādhr met a uterine brother of his in single combat. The man’s name was ‘Ammr b. Mu‘āwiyyah b. al-Muntafīq b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Uqayl, and his and Ziyād’s mother was one of the children of Yazīd.\(^{132}\) When they met to fight, they recognized one another and desisted. Then each of them turned away from the other, and the forces retired.

On the following day Muḥammad b. ‘Alī and ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Umar went out to fight each other with two strong detachments and fought extremely fiercely. ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Umar then sent to Ibn al-Hanafiyyah, inviting him to single combat, and he agreed. He went out on foot, but the Commander of the Faithful [‘Alī] saw him and asked who the two challengers were. When he was told that they were Ibn al-Hanafiyyah and ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Umar, he urged on his mount and called to Muḥammad, who waited for him. ‘Alī then ordered his son to hold fast his horse. When he had taken hold of it, ‘Alī walked toward ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Umar on foot. He said to him, “I will take you on in in single combat—come on!” But Ibn ‘Umar replied, “I have no desire to meet you in combat.” ‘Alī insisted, but Ibn ‘Umar remained adamant. When he withdrew Ibn al-Hanafiyyah began saying to his father: “Oh my father, why did you stop me from facing him in single combat? By God, if you had

\(^{131}\) Possibly alluding to the Qur’an, 9:32, 61:8.  
\(^{132}\) ‘Amr was active against the Byzantines under Mu‘āwiyyah and later governed Ahwāz for him, his mother was a certain Unāmah or Umaymah, daughter of Yazīd b. ‘Abd b. al-Dayyān of the Bal-Hārith/Madḥiij (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. ‘Amr b. Mu‘āwiyyah b. al-Muntafīq).  
\(^{133}\) For this son of ‘Alī by a woman of the tribe of Ḥanfīyah, see EIP; s.v. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.
left me alone I hope that I would have killed him." 'Ali replied, "If you had fought him, then I hope you would have killed him, but I was not sure that he would not have killed you." His son said: "Oh my father, would you have taken on this evildoer in single combat? By God, if his father had invited you to single combat I would have wished for you to avoid it."[134] But 'Ali answered, "Oh my son, speak nothing but good of his father." The forces then separated and retired.

On the fifth day 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās and al-Walid b. 'Uqbah went out and fought together fiercely. Ibn 'Abbās drew near al-Walid b. 'Uqbah, who began to denigrate the descendants of 'Abd al-Mu'ttālib and to say, "Oh Ibn 'Abbās, you have severed the ties of kinship and killed your imām. How do you think God will treat you? You will not be given what you seek nor attain what you hope for. If He wills it, God will destroy you and secure victory over you." Ibn 'Abbās sent, calling him to single combat, but he refused. On that day Ibn 'Abbās fought fiercely and personally engaged the Syrian forces.

Then Qays b. Sa'd al-Anṣārī and Dhū al-Kalā' al-Himyārī came out, fought fiercely, and retired. That was the sixth day.

Al-Ashtar came out and Ḥabīb b. Maslamah again met him on the seventh day. They fought fiercely and then retired at noon, neither of them being victorious. That was Tuesday.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yān al-Juhānī—Zayd b. Wahb: 'Ali said, "For how long will we not commit our whole force against them?" On Tuesday evening[135] after the afternoon prayer he stood among his men and said: "Praise be to God. What He has destroyed will not be firmly established, and what He has firmly established the destroyers will not destroy. If He wished, no two of His creatures would differ, the community would not dispute

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[134] That is, Ibn al-Hanafiyyah regarded the second caliph, 'Umar, as unworthy to fight against 'Ali in single combat.

[135] Literally, "on the evening of Tuesday, night of Wednesday"; it should be remembered that in the lunar calendar a day ends and begins at sunset, not midnight; accordingly the presunset period is counted to one day and the immediately following night to the next day.
about any of His affairs, and the second best\textsuperscript{136} would not fail to acknowledge the merit of the best. But the divine decrees have herded us and these people and entangled us together, in this place, and our Lord sees and hears us. If God wished He would hasten the retribution and alter things so that He would give the lie to the evildoer and make known the outcome of the truth.\textsuperscript{137} But He has made this world the place for deeds and the next world, with Him, 'the place of stability' 'so that He might requite those who have done evil for what they have done and reward those who have done good with a good outcome.'\textsuperscript{138} "Tomorrow you will meet the enemy, so lengthen the night standing in prayer, make abundant recitation of the Qur'an, and ask God for help and steadfastness. Meet them with eagerness and resoluteness and be righteous!" He departed and the men rushed for their swords, lances, and arrows to ensure that they were in order. Ka'b b. Ju'ayl al-Taghlabî\textsuperscript{139} passed them, saying:

The community has entered upon a strange matter,

and the kingship tomorrow is gathered up for whoever wins it.

I have said something true and not false:

Tomorrow the distinguished ones of the Arabs will perish.

'Ali spent the whole of that night preparing the men. When morning came, he advanced with them while Mu'awiyah came to meet him with the Syrians. 'Ali set about asking, "Who is this tribe?" and "Who is this tribe?" And the genealogy of the tribes of the Syrians was explained to him. When he knew who they were and saw their positions, he said to the Azd [on his own side], "Take care of the Azd for me," and to the Khath'am, "Take care of the Khath'am for me." He asked each tribe among the men of Iraq to

\textsuperscript{136}. *Al-mafdal*, literally, "the one who is surpassed." The word was a technical term in discussions about the imamate: The Zaydiyyah sect of the Shi'a regarded it as legitimate to recognize the imamate of the "second best" if the man who was rightfully the imam failed to assert his rights. This enabled them to recognize Abû Bakr and 'Umar as legitimate even though 'Ali, according to the Shi'a, was the rightful imam following the Prophet.

\textsuperscript{137}. Cairo reads: *wa-ya'lamu al-ḥaqqu ayna maṣṭruhu* "and the truth will know its outcome" [!].


\textsuperscript{139}. For this poet of the Banû Taghlib, see al-Isfahâni, *Kitâb al-Aghânt*, V, 13 and passim; and Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Ka'b b. Gu'ail.
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take care of its counterpart among the Syrians, and if there was
a tribe of whom there were none in Syria he would assign it against
another of whom there were members among the Syrians but not
among the Iraqis. For example, he assigned those of his men of Banū
Bajīlah, of whom there was only a small number in Syria, to face
Lakhm.

On Wednesday the men fought with one another and strove
fiercely for the whole day. At evening they withdrew, neither side
victorious, and on Thursday morning 'Ali led the prayer while it
was still dark.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jundab al-
Azdī—his father. I never saw 'Ali lead the prayer of daybreak while
it was still dark at an earlier time than he did on that day. Then
he led his men out against the Syrians, advancing toward them and
taking the initiative against them. When they realized that he had
advanced toward them, they came to meet him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan—Zayd b. Wahb al-
Juhānī: 'Ali went out to them on Wednesday morning, met them,
and said,

Oh God, Lord of the vault raised aloft, maintained and
held back, which You made as a place for the passing away
of night and day, and in which You put the course of the
sun and the moon and the stations of the stars, and the
inhabitants of which You made a host of angels who never
weary of worship, and Lord of this earth that You made
as a fixed place for mankind, creatures great and small,
and the innumerable invisible and visible things of Your
great creation, and Lord of the ships that navigate the sea
with goods useful for men, and Lord of the clouds forced
to go between the heavens and the earth; and Lord of the
heavens and the earth.

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140. Mā...ghallasa bi l-ṣalāt ashadda min taghlisihī yawma'idhin. Taghīṣ is
a technical term in hadith and fiqh discussions about the correct time for the dawn
prayer (ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ or ṣalāt al-ṣafīr). For references, see EI, s.v. Mīkāt, and Wensinck
et al., Concordances, s.v. gh-ls. The Prophet and a number of his Companions are
said to have made ṭagḥīṣ bi-al-ṣalāt.

141. See Qur'ān 52:5. For the following speech, see SNB, IX, 30ff.

142. See Qur'ān 41:37.

143. See Qur'ān 40:64, 55:10.

144. Qur'ān 2:164.
swarming sea\textsuperscript{145} encircling the earth; and Lord of the mighty-headed mountains that You made as pegs for the earth\textsuperscript{146} and as a benefit for creation; if You give us victory over our enemy, remove oppression from us, and guide us to the right; but if You give them victory over us, then recompense me with martyrdom and preserve the remnant of my companions from the \textit{fitnah}.

On Wednesday the men crowded together and fought one of the fiercest battles until night, desisting from one another only for prayer. The number of those slain on both sides was great, and when they separated at night neither side was victorious. The next day ‘Ali led his men in prayer early on Thursday morning, praying extremely early, while it was still dark. He then took the initiative from the Syrians by going out to fight, but when they saw that he had set out toward them they went out to face him. ‘Abdallāh b. Budayl was in command of ‘Ali’s right wing and ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās of his left. The \textit{qurrah} of the Iraqis were with three individuals—‘Ammār b. Yāsir, Qays b. Sa’d, and ‘Abdallāh b. Budayl—while the other men were positioned according to their banners and stations. ‘Ali himself was in the center among the men of Medina, between the Kūfān and the Baṣrans. Most of the men of Medina with him were the Anṣār,\textsuperscript{148} but there was also a good number of Khuzā’ah, Kinānah, and other people of Medina with him.

‘Ali advanced with his men, while Mu‘āwiyah erected a large dome-shaped tent over which he had cast hangings of cloth.\textsuperscript{149} Most of the Syrians gave him the oath of allegiance that they would fight

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{145} Qur’ān 52:6.
  \item \textsuperscript{146} See Qur’ān 78:7, 79:32–33.
  \item \textsuperscript{147} The idea of \textit{fitnah} is often referred to in this volume and also in the Qur’ān and much early Muslim literature. It is a word with a variety of connotations, according to context. Often used to refer to periods of “civil war” among the Muslims, it also frequently implies “trial,” “test,” “temptation,” and “calamity,” sometimes with apocalyptic associations. See \textit{EP}, s.v.
  \item \textsuperscript{148} The name given in tradition to those members of the Medinese clans of Aws and Khazraj who “helped” (\textit{n-s-r}) Muhammad when he came to Medina from Mecca, and hence to the Aws and Khazraj in general. See \textit{EP}, s.v.
  \item \textsuperscript{149} \textit{Al-karābīs}, pl. of \textit{kirbās}. The Arabic lexicographical tradition defines it as a “coarse garment” or “piece of cloth” and derives it from Persian \textit{karvās; }Lane, \textit{Lexicon}, s.v., draws attention to Hebrew \textit{karpas} (Esther 1:6. “[in the court of the garden of the king’s palace were] white, green and blue \textit{hangings}”), Greek \textit{karpasos}, and Latin \textit{carbasus}. See Sanskrit \textit{kārpāśa}, “cotton.”
\end{itemize}
to the death, and he sent out the cavalry of Damascus to surround his tent. 'Abdallāh b. Budayl advanced with 'Alī's right wing against Ḥabīb b. Maslamah and constantly harried him and drove back his cavalry from the left wing of Mu'āwiya until he had forced them back to Mu'āwiya's tent about noon.

According to Abū Mikhnāf—Mālik b. A'yān—Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhānī: Ibn Budayl stood among his men and said, "Mu'āwiya has claimed what he has no right to and has contested this affair with someone not to be compared with him. He has used futile argument to attempt to refute the truth and has attacked you with the bedouins and confederates. He has made error seem good to them and sowed the seeds of fitnah in their hearts. He has deceived them in this matter and increased the filth in which they were already plunged. But you have a light from your Lord and a clear proof. Fight the crude tyrants and do not fear them. How can you fear them when you have in your hands the Book of God in purity and reverence? Do you fear them? It is more fitting that you should fear God if you are Believers. Fight them, and God will punish them at your hands and humiliate them. He will give you victory over them and restore to health the hearts of a people who believe.

We have fought against them with the Prophet, and now we do so again. By God, they are not now any more God-fearing, pure or right guided. Stand against your enemy, and may God give you His blessing!" And he and his men fought bravely.

According to Abū Mikhnāf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Amrah al-Anṣārī—his father and a client (mawla) of his: At Siffin 'Alī incited his men as follows:

"God has guided you to a commerce that will deliver you from a bitter punishment" and bring you to the verge of good: "belief in God and His Messenger, and jihad in the path of God," may His name be exalted. He has made His reward a pardon of sin "and blessed abodes in the gardens
of Eden."¹⁵⁷ Then He has informed you that He "loves those who fight in His path in lines as if they were a tightly compact building"¹⁵⁸ so make your lines even like a tightly compact building. Advance the armed man and hold back the unarmed, and grit your teeth, for it makes the swords rebound from the heads. Twist the ends of the lances, for it better preserves the points. Avert your gaze, for that is more calming for the soul and more soothing for the heart. Deafen your voices, for that is better for driving out cowardice and more dignified. As for your banners, neither lower them nor abandon them, and make sure they stay in the hands of the valiant men among you. Those who defend what it is their duty to defend and are steadfast in protecting what it is obligatory for them to protect, they are the guardians who surround their banners and protect them, fighting on both sides of them, behind and in front of them, and not abandoning them. A man has given satisfaction who strikes his opponent hard—may God have mercy on you—and puts his brother on a level with himself, and does not leave his opponent to his brother, so as to acquire blame and become base. And why is it that he should not act thus, one man fighting two opponents while another who has held back his hand leaves his opponent to confront his brother, he himself fleeing or standing looking on? Whoever does that, God hates him. So do not expose yourselves to the hatred of God, praise be to Him, for your place of return is only to God.¹⁵⁹ God, the mightiest of those who speak, said to a people, "Flight will not avail you if you flee from death or slaying, in that case you will be allowed to enjoy only a little time."¹⁶⁰ And I swear by God that, if you escape from the sword of this world, you will not escape from that of the next. Ask for the assistance of sincerity and steadfastness, for after steadfastness God sends down the victory.

¹⁵⁹. See Qur’ān 40:43.
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The Intensity of the Fighting

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Rawq al-Hamdānī: Yazīd b. Qays al-Arḥabī encouraged 'Alī's men to fight by saying:

The perfect Muslim\textsuperscript{161} is he whose religion and understanding are free from error. By God, these, our enemy, do not fight us to reestablish a religion that they think we have brought to naught and to restore a truth that they think we have destroyed. They are fighting us only for this world, that they may be tyrants and kings in it. If they were to triumph over you—and may God not show them victory or enjoyment—they would appoint over you\textsuperscript{162} the likes of Sa'id, al-Walīd, and the stupid and misguided 'Abdallah b. 'Āmir.\textsuperscript{163} Each of them made gifts\textsuperscript{164} in his court of sums equivalent to his own blood money and that of his father and grandfather, saying, “This is mine, and I do no wrong (in making such a gift)—as if he had merely been given what he had inherited from his father and mother. In fact, that is God's property that He has granted to us as spoils, won by our swords and our lances. Servants of God, fight those evil people who rule and judge by other than what God has revealed, and do not let any reproach divert you in your jihad against them. If they have the victory over you, they will pervert your religion and your life in this world. They are those whom you have known and experienced, and I swear by God that until now they have merely become more evil.

'Abdallah b. Budayl fought hard (against the Syrians) with the right wing and got as far as the tent of Mu'āwiya. Those who had sworn the latter allegiance to the death then came to Mu'āwiya,
and he ordered them to resist Ibn Budayl and 'Ali's right wing. He sent to Habib b. Maslamah, who was with his own left wing, and, with those men and the others who were with himself, he (Habib) attacked our right and defeated them. The men of Iraq on the right wing were routed, and eventually only Ibn Budayl and 200 or 300 of the qurra' were left (there), fighting back to back. 'Ali's men panicked, but he ordered Sahl b. Hunayf to advance with those Medinans who were with him. A large group of the Syrians came to meet them and attacked them, forcing them to join the men of the right. In the right wing, as far as the place where 'Ali was in the center, were the men of the Yemen, and when they were put to flight the rout was effective as far as 'Ali, who moved back unhurriedly on foot toward the left wing. The Mudar of the left wing abandoned him while the Rabi'ah held firm.

According to Abu Mikhnaf—Malik b. A'yan al-Juhani—Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhani: 'Ali, together with his sons, passed by, going toward the left wing. I could see the arrows barely missing him, but each one of his sons was careful to protect (his father) with his own self. When that happened, 'Ali would go ahead and put himself between the Syrians and his son, taking his hand and placing him in front of him or behind. Almar, a maula of Abu Sufyan or of 'Uthman or another of the Umayyad family, saw him and swore: "By the Lord of the Ka'bah! May God kill me if I do not either kill you or you kill me." He moved toward 'Ali, but Kaysan, the maula of 'Ali, attacked him. The two of them exchanged blows, and the maula of the Umayyads killed Kaysan. 'Ali, however, seized the Syrian, put his hand in the breast of his armor, pulled him up, and then lifted him onto his shoulders. I can still see his two feet.

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165. That is, those belonging to tribes classified by the genealogists as "southerners" 166. Kashifa, a quasi-passive of kashafa; WS, 248, has inkashafta. 167. Two tribal groupings, both classified as "northerners." 168. The referents of the pronouns are slightly ambiguous, so that it is not clear whether the father was sheltering the sons or the sons the father, although the latter seems more likely. WS, 249, inserts fa-yakrahmu 'Aliyyan dhaliq "'Ali did not like that" to make it clear that it was his sons who tried to protect 'Ali, who then took them and sheltered them himself. 169. That is, a maula of Mu'awiyah's father. 170. WS, 249, makes 'Ali the one who swore the oath. 171. The name also occurs as that of a maula prominent in the rising of al-Mukhtār and as the eponym of a Shi'i sect; see EP, s.v. Kaysan, Kaysaniyya. 172. Rujaylatâ, a diminutive; see Gloss., s.v. r-j-l.
coming down on 'Ali's neck, but then the latter smashed him to ground and broke his shoulder and his upper arms, and 'Ali's two sons, Husayn and Muhammad, fell on him and struck him with their swords. I can still see 'Ali standing and his two cubs striking the man. When they had killed him and come up to their father, 'Ali asked al-Hasan, who was standing by, "My son, why did you not act as your two brothers did?" He answered, "Commander of the Faithful, they made it unnecessary for me to do so."

Then the men of Syria got close to him, but, by God, that did not make him move any faster. Al-Hasan said, "It would not do any harm if you went more quickly so that you would reach those of your men who have held fast against the enemy." But he answered: "My son, there is a day coming for your father that he will inevitably face, and going fast will not postpone it for him, and walking normally will not hurry it up. By God it does not matter for your father whether he comes upon death or death comes upon him."

According to Abu Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadij al-Kindi—a mawla of al-Ashtar: When the right wing of the Iraqis was defeated and 'Ali joined the left, al-Ashtar passed him galloping in the direction of the right wing toward the panic. 'Ali said to him, "Malik," and he answered, "Yes, here I am at your service." 'Ali said, "Go to those men and ask them why they are fleeing from death, whose power they cannot destroy, to life, which will not long remain for them?" Malik went on and met the men in their flight. He said to them what 'Ali had told him to say and rallied them, saying, "To me, men! I am Malik b. al-Hārith, I am Malik b. al-Hārith!" But then he thought that perhaps he was better known among them as al-Ashtar, and he said, "I am al-Ashtar! To me, men!"

A group joined him, but a group deserted, and he cried out: "Men, how shameful you are! How wretched has been your fighting today! Men, sort out Madhhij, and send them to me."

Madhhij joined him, and he said: "May you bite on hard rock! You have neither pleased your Lord nor been true to Him regarding your enemy. How can that be when you are born warriors, lords

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173. See Wright, Grammar, index, and Lane, Lexicon [Supplement], both s.v. han.
174. Together with Kindah and Hamdan, Madhhij was one of the main "southern" tribes settled in al-Kufah; al-Ashtar's own tribe of Nakha' belonged to them (see EP, s.v., Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Madhhij).
175. See Lane, Lexicon, s.v. aṣamm.
of the raid, lads for a fight, heroes of the chase, bringers of death to your opponents, Madhhij of the weapon thrust, those who are ever first in taking their revenge, whose blood is not left unavenged, who never know disgrace on a battlefield? You are the sharp blade among the men of your garrison town, and the most ready to fight of the clans of your people. Whatever you do on this day will be handed down afterward, so take heed of the accounts that will be passed on in the future. Prove true in meeting the enemy, for God is with those who are true. By Him in whose hand is Mālik's life, there is no man among those—and he pointed with his hand to the Syrians—comparable with Muhammad, even to the extent of a gnat's wing. You have not fought well. Remove the pallor from my face, and let my blood return to it. Rouse yourselves against this great host! If God—may He be magnified and exalted—scatters it, those on each side will follow it, just as the tail of a flood of water follows its head."

They responded, "Lead us wherever you want," so he went toward the thick of the enemy from the side adjoining the right wing, beginning to advance toward them and pushing them back.

Warriors of Hamdān turned toward him—they were 800 fighters at that time. The rest of the men had been routed, but they had held firm in the right wing until 180 of them had been laid low and 11 of their leaders had been killed. Each time one of them was killed, another took the banner. The first was Kurayb b. Shurayh, then Shurahbil b. Shurayh, then Marthad b. Shurayh, then Hubayrah b. Shurayh, then Yarim b. Shurayh, then Sumayr b. Shurayh. Those six brothers were all killed, and then Sufyān b. Zayd seized the banner, then 'Abd b. Zayd, then Kurayb b. Zayd. Those three brothers were all killed, and then 'Umayr b. Bashīr seized the banner, then al-Ḥārith b. Bashīr. They were both killed.

176. A'add; Ann. has "la più numerosa;" but see jaysh a'add in Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.
177. WS, 352, inserts al-yawma before al-qirā'.
178. Reading suwād, rather than sawād.
179. For this "southern" tribal group, see *EP*, s.v.; together with Madhhij and Himyar they made up one of the sevenths into which al-Kūfah was organized. None of the following names of Hamdānis are listed in Ibn al-Kalbi, and these appear to be the only references to them in Tabari's *History*. 
Wahb b. Kurayb seized the banner, the brother of al-Qalūs. He wanted to advance, but one of his fellow tribesmen said: “Go back with this banner, may God have mercy on you! The noble men (ashraf) of your tribe have been killed around it. Do not kill yourself and those of your tribe who are left.” They retreated, therefore, saying: “Would that we had an equal number from among the other Arabs who would swear an alliance with us to fight to the death. Then we and they together would advance and not retreat until we were killed or achieved the victory.” They passed by al-Ashtar while they were saying this, and he addressed them: “Come to me. I will swear an alliance with you and make a covenant never to retreat until we have gained the victory or have perished.” So they came to him and stood with him in battle.

Regarding what they said, Ka‘b b. Ju‘ayl al-Taghlabi recited:

And Hamdān are blind; they seek someone with whom to ally.

Al-Ashtar proceeded toward the right wing, and there joined his men who were falling back, men of steadfastness who would avoid shame and fulfill their undertakings. He defeated every squadron he fought against and overcame and drove back every detachment. While he was doing that he passed Ziyād b. al-Nādr, who was being carried to the army camp. He asked who it was and was informed: “Ziyād b. al-Nādr. ‘Abdallāh b. Budāyl and his men were surrounded in the right wing. Ziyād went forward and raised aloft his banner for the men of the right wing, and they stood firm. He fought until he was felled.”

Then hardly any time seemed to pass before al-Ashtar passed Yazīd b. Qays al-Arhibi, who was being carried back to the camp. He asked who it was, and they told him: “Yazīd b. Qays. When Ziyād b. al-Nādr was felled, Yazīd raised aloft his banner for the men of the right wing and fought until he himself was laid low.” Al-Ashtar said: “This, by God, is real perseverance and nobility in action. Is not the true man ashamed to turn back without killing or being killed or being brought close to it?”

180. W$, 252, has the following suggested emendations to the names previously given, based on the citations of W$ in SNB: Shimā/ Shāmir (for Sumayr) b. Shurayh; Karīb (for Kurayb) b. Zayd; ‘Abdallāh (for ‘Abd) b. Zayd; ‘Umayr and al-Ḥarīth b. Bishr (for Bashir); Wahb b. Kurayb Abū (for akhṭ) al-Qalūs.

181. Zurq; see Lane, Lexicon, s.v. azraq, with reference to Qur‘ān 20:102.

182. Ann. suggests read ḫāḍ for a-lā; W$, 254, has a-lā.
According to Abu Miknaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ al-Nakha’ī: At that time al-Ashtar was fighting, mounted on one of his horses with a Yemeni sword in his hand. Every time he lowered it, you would have thought that it contained water flowing forth, and every time he raised it the rays of light from it were almost blinding. As he struck with his sword he would say, "Ill luck will change." 

Al-Ḥārith b. Jumhān al-Ṭifî looked at him, but al-Ashtar was obscured by his armor, and al-Ḥārith did not recognize him. He drew near al-Ashtar and said, "May God reward you well henceforth for what you have done on behalf of the Commander of the Faithful and the Muslims." Al-Ashtar recognized him and said, "Does a man like you, Ibn Jumhān, lag behind when I am fighting like this?" Ibn Jumhān then looked at him and recognized him—al-Ashtar was one of the strongest built and tallest of the men, and he rarely trimmed his beard—and he said: "May I be made a ransom for you! By God, I did not know where you were until just now. I will stay with you until the death."

Munqīdh and Himyar, two sons of Qays of Banū al-Ṭā’ī, saw him, and Munqīdh said to his brother, "There is no one among the Arabs like this, judging from what I have seen of the way he fights!" Himyar asked, "Do you think he has some ulterior motive beyond what you see him doing?" Munqīdh answered, "I fear that he aims for kingship."

According to Abū Mikhnafl—Fuḍayl b. Khadij—a mawlā of al-Ashtar: When most of those of the right wing who had fled had joined him, al-Ashtar worked them up and said,

Grit your teeth, and meet the enemy head on. Fight like a people who have been denied vengeance for their fathers and brothers, wrathful against their enemy, determined on death for themselves so as not to be forestalled in their vengeance and not to meet shame in this world. I swear by

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183. See Ann. 37 A. H. §20, for literature referring to the sword of al-Ashtar.
184. Literally, "the floods [come] and then pass from us;" Freytag, Arabum proverbia, II, 173.
185. See n. 46, above.
186. The Banū al-Ṭā’ī are a branch of Hamdān (Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 227); Munqīdh and Himyar do not seem to be further identifiable.
God that there is nothing in which a people are cheated of vengeance that presses on them more than that they should be cheated in their religion (dīn). The enemy are fighting you precisely on account of your religion, so as to destroy the accepted practice (sunnah), cause innovation (bid'ah) to flourish, and cast you back into the error from which God has delivered you by the grace of His regard. Servants of God, gladly surrender your blood, not your religion, and your reward will be due from God, for with Him are pleasant gardens. In refusal to go forward there is the ruin of our honor, the seizure of the spoils we have won (fay'), abasement in life and in death, and shame in this world and the next.

He attacked the Syrians and defeated them until he had driven them back to the lines of Mu‘awiya, during the time between the afternoon and evening prayers. He came to ‘Abdallah b. Budayl, who was with a group of the qurra’ between 200 and 300 strong, which had held its ground so stubbornly that they might have been heaps of stones. He drove the Syrians back from them, and when those qurra’ perceived that their brethren were at hand they asked about the Commander of the Faithful. Al-Ashtar’s men replied, “He is alive and in good health, in the left wing and fighting the enemy in front of him.” “Praise be to God. We thought that he must have perished and you too,” they said. ‘Abdallah b. Budayl said to his men, “Let us advance,” but al-Ashtar sent to him: “No! Hold fast with the army and fight—that is better for them and increases the chances of survival for you and your men.” But he refused to heed that and went on just as he was toward Mu‘awiya, surrounded as if by mountains. In his hand he had two swords. He had been wounded, but he was in front of his men, and every time a Syrian approached him he would strike him and kill him. When he had killed seven, he came close to Mu‘awiya, but the latter’s supporters rushed to him from every side, and he and a band of his men were

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187. See Qur’an 31:8.
188. For the custom of fighting with two swords, see F. W. Schwarzlose, Die Waffen, (Leipzig, 1886), 55–56 [Ann., A. H. 37 §21].
189. Read jurīʿa for kharaja (Add. et emend.), Cairo maintains kharaja.
surrounded. He fought until he and some of his men were killed, while a group of those who had been wounded retreated in flight.

Al-Ashtar sent Ibn Jumhān al-‘Uff to attack those Syrians pursuing the men of Ibn Budayl who had escaped. After he had brought them relief, they came to al-Ashtar, who said: “Would not my view have been better for you than your own? Did I not tell you to hold fast with the men?”

While Ibn Budayl was striking out in front, Mu‘awiyyah had said regarding him, "Do you think that he is the bellwether of the army?" After he had been killed, he sent with instructions to find out who he was. Some of the Syrians looked at him but said that they did not recognize him, so Mu‘awiyyah came and stood over him, and said: “Indeed, it is ‘Abdallah b. Budayl. By God, if the women of Khuza‘ah had been able to fight us as well as their men, they would have done so. Lay him out!” They laid him out, and Mu‘awiyyah said, “By God, this is just as the poet said:

Valiant fighter! If war afflicted him, he afflicted it, and if, one day, war became vehement for him, he strove [in it] vehemently.

(The verse is by Ḥātim Ṭayyi‘.)

Al-Ashtar advanced against them, and Mu‘awiyyah met him with the ‘Akk and the Ash‘ar. Al-Ashtar said to Madhhij, “Protect me against ‘Akk,” and he positioned himself among Hamdān and said to Kindah, “Protect me against the Ash‘ar.” They fought fiercely while he went off to his own kin (Madhhij), saying, “That is only ‘Akk—attack them!” The ‘Akk went down on their knees reciting in rajaz:

Woe to the mother of Madhhij from ‘Akk!

That is the mother of Madhhij weeping.

190. Read jurihū for kharajū (Add. et emend.).
191. Qāla li ibni Budayl.
192. Mudtūhū; Ann. has “lasciatelo.”
193. See his Dīwan, ed. F. Schultess [Leipzig, 1897], no. XLIX [p. 34, line 18].
194. Two “southern” tribes settled in Jordan; Ash‘ar was counted as a uterine brother of Madhhij (see Ibn al-Kalbī, s.vv. ‘Akk b. ‘Ahdān and Aš‘ar b. ‘Udād; and EP, s.v. ‘Akk).
They fought until evening, and then al-Ashtar attacked them with Hamdān and other groups. He charged at them and forced them to abandon their positions, eventually forcing them back among the five lines bound together with turbans around Mu‘āwiyah. Then he bore down fiercely once more. He brought down the first four lines (they were bound together with turbans), and they reached the fifth line around Mu‘āwiyah. Mu‘āwiyah called for a horse and mounted. (Subsequently) he would say, “I wanted to flee, but I remembered what Ibn al-Itnābāh195 of the Anṣār (he was a poet before Islam, and his mother al-Itnābāh was a woman of Balqayn) said:

My integrity and sense of honor have forbidden me (to flee),

[together with my boldness against the advancing hero,

My giving away what I have, in spite of my abhorrence for that,

my acquisition of praise for a gainful price,

And my saying each time my heart heaves with fright,

“Hold, heart, to your place—you will be given either praise or rest.”

These words prevented me from fleeing.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A‘yān al-Juhanī—Zayd b. Wahb: When ‘Alī saw that his right wing had taken up its position again and reformed its lines and that it had driven back the enemy facing it so decisively that they were fighting them in their own lines, he came up to them and said,

I have seen how you were forced to move and pushed out of your lines. It was rude and evil ones and Syrian bedouins who dispersed you, while you are the magnanimous heroes of the Arabs, their mighty peak, denizens of the night in your reciting of the Qur’ān, and people summoning to the truth [ahl da‘wat al-haqq] when those in error have gone astray. If it were not for your advancing after your retreat and your attacking following your retirement, there would have been required of you what is required of the one who turns tail on the day of the advance, and you would have

195. This seems to be Tābarī’s only citation from this poet. For the mother’s tribe, see EI2, s.v. Kayn.
been among those who are lost. But it has abated my passion and remedied some of the anger of my soul that I have seen you, at the end, force them back just as they had forced you and make them leave their lines just as they had made you. You raked them with your swords, their foremost charging after their hindmost like camels being chased. But now, be steadfast. May God's spirit (al-sakinah) descend on you, and may God make you firm with conviction so that he who is put to flight knows that he displeases his Lord and mortifies his soul. For flight arouses God's anger and results in lasting humiliation, abiding shame, the loss of the spoils that have been won, and the ruin of life. For he who flees there is no increase in the span of his life, and his Lord is not given gratification. It is better that a man should die righteous, before what I have described happens, than that he should be satisfied with accustoming himself to it and accepting it.

According to Abū Mihkhaf—‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Abdallāh b. Jābir al-Āhmāsī: At Šīfīn the banner of the Bajilāh was borne by Banū Āḥmas b. al-Ghawth b. Anmār. Abū Shaddād, that is, Qays b. Makshūḥ b. Ḥilāl b. al-Ḥārīth b. ‘Amr b. Jābir b. ‘Alī b. Aslam b. Āḥmas b. al-Ghawth, had it. Bajilāh said to him, “Take our banner,” but he said, “Someone else would be better for you.” “We do not want anybody else,” they said, and he replied, “By God, if you give it to me, I will not stop leading you forward until I reach the man with the gilded shield.” They said, “Do as you wish.” He took it, therefore, and went forward until he had led them as far as the man with the gilded shield, who was with a large group of Mu‘āwiyah’s men. (They said that he was ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī.) A violent fight broke out there, and Abū Shaddād rushed with his sword against the man with the shield. A Greek (rūmī), a mawla of Mu‘āwiyah, barred his way, struck at

196. Wa-inna al-fāra minhu lā yazīdu ft ‘umrihi. The minhu seems intrusive and difficult to understand. WS, 236, has wa-inna al-fāra lā yazīdu al-fāru ft ‘umrihi.
197. For the Banū Bajilāh, see Ibn al-Kalbī, I table 221, II, index, s.v. Bağila, and EI, s.v. Badjila; for the Banū Āḥmas b. al-Ghawth of Bajilāh, see Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 223.
Abū Shaddād’s foot, and cut it off, but Abū Shaddād stabbed him and killed him. Then the points of spears were directed at Abū Shaddād, and he was killed.

‘Abdallah b. Qil‘ al-ʾAlmasi99 seized the banner, saying:

May God not dismiss Abū Shaddād
since he answered the call of the summoner
And fell with his sword on the opponents.
How excellent a hero he was in face of the attack
And in the thrusting with spears of the footmen and their smiting with swords.

And ‘Abdallah b. Qil‘ fought until he was killed.

Then his brother, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Qil‘, took the banner and fought until he was killed. Next ‘Affī b. Iyās took it, and he kept hold of it until the two sides separated. Ḥāzim b. Abī Ḥāzim al-ʾAlmasi, brother of Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, was killed on that day, and so too was Nu‘aym b. ʾUlayyah al-Bajalt. The latter’s cousin and namesake, Nu‘aym b. al-Ḥārith b. al-ʾUlayyah, came to Mu‘āwiya, whose side he was on, and said: “This slain man is my cousin. Give him to me so that I may bury him.” But Mu‘āwiya responded: “Do not bury him—they200 are not fit for that. By God, we could bury Ibn ‘Affān only in secret.” Nu‘aym b. al-Ḥārith said, “By God, either you allow me to bury him, or I will join them and abandon you.” Mu‘āwiya said: “Do you see the shaykhs of the Arabs preoccupied with these events—and you trouble me about burying your cousin?201 Bury him if you want, or leave him alone!” He buried him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—all-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah al-Azdī—shaykhs of Banū al-Namir of the Azd: When the Azd were

199. He and the ʾAlmasīs who are mentioned subsequently do not seem to be further identifiable.

200. Mu‘āwiya apparently disparages all his opponents; Cairo has layṣa in the singular.

201. The context seems to demand some such translation as this; Gloss., s.v. h-w-l, form IV, with reference to this passage, has for ʾabālāhu annuḥu: res sua ejus mentem mutavit, ut ad partes alias transiret,” which would presumably produce a translation such as, “Do you think that their affairs cause the shaykhs of the Arabs to change their minds (and loyalties)?” WS, 259, has tarā ʾ ashyaḵh al-ʿarab ḥa nuwāthim wa-anta... “[do you see the shaykhs of the Arabs whom we have not buried, and you ask me about...?”.
assigned to fight the Azd, Mikhnaf b. Sulaym202 praised God and exalted Him and then said: "It is one of the worst wrongs and most terrible trials that we should be sent against our own people and they against us. By God, it is nothing less than cutting off our own hands and hacking off our arms with our swords. Yet, if we do not assist our community and act faithfully toward our leader, we deny our faith (kafarna), and, if we do that, we abandon our honor and extinguish our fire."203

Jundab b. Zuhayr204 said to him: "By God. Supposing we were their fathers who had begotten them or their sons whom they had sired, and then they had removed themselves from our community and attacked our imām, and thus they exercised authority over those of our religion (millah) and those under our protection with tyranny. In that case the rest of us would not disband after joining together until the renegades had abandoned what they had taken up and returned to that to which we summoned them. Or, if they did not respond, there would be much slaughter between us."

Mikhnaf, who was a maternal cousin of Jundab, replied: "May God honor you for your motive. But, by God, you were always known205 as a child and as a grown man, as unlucky. By God, there never was a time, either in the time of our ignorance (jāhiliyyah) or after we had accepted Islam, when we had to make a choice about which of two things we should accept and which we should leave alone, but that you chose the hardest and most difficult. Oh God, we would rather that You gave us security than put (us) to the test. Grant to each of us what he asks of You."

Abū Buraydah b. 'Awf206 said: "Oh God, judge between us according to what pleases You. My clansmen, you can see what the

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202. For this Azdī ancestor of Abū Mikhnaf, see p. 13, above.
203. WŠ, 262, omits kafarna.
204. An Azdī who is said to have accepted Islam from the Prophet himself, and an opponent of 'Uthmān (see ibn al-Kalbī, II index, s.v. Gundab b. Zuhair; ibn Sa'd, 1/2, 30).
205. I have adopted the reading of the Cairo edition; Leiden (and Ann.) read 'ulumi, "I was always known"; WŠ, 263, has Mikhnaf say to Jundab, 'alimituka, "I have always known you."
206. This is Tabari's only reference to him and it seems possible that it is the later mentioned Abū Zaynab b. 'Awf who is intended—a possible orthographic confusion. WŠ, 263, has Abū Baradah, who is mentioned elsewhere in WŠ and Tabari, and that, too, would be possible orthographically.
people are doing. We have the example of what the community has agreed on, if we are in the right and they righteous; and to follow an example in evil, is, by God, as we know, a misfortune in life and in death."

Jundab b. Zuhayr came forward and challenged the head of the Syrian Azd to combat. The Syrian killed him. 'Ijl and Sa'd, the two sons of 'Abdallâh of the Banû Thâlabah, were also killed out of Jundab's group. Together with Mikhnaf, of his companions were killed 'Abdallâh and Khâlid the two sons of Nâjîd, 'Amr and 'Amîr the two sons of 'Uwayf, 'Abdallâh b. al-Hasâ'în, Jundab b. Zuhayr,207 and Abu Zaynab b. 'A'wî b. al-Hasâ'în. 'Abdallâh b. Abî al-Hasâ'în al-Azdi went out to fight among the qurra' who were with 'Ammâr b. Yâsîr and was struck down with him.208

According to Abu Mikhnaf—al-Hasâ'îr b. Ḥâşîrah—shaykhs of Banû al-Namîr: At the time of Sîffîn 'Uqbah b. Ḥâdîd al-Namîr209 said:

The pastures of this world have become dry stalks and its trees broken; what was new has become tatters, and what was sweet, bitter. I tell you of a truthful man. I had grown weary of this world and turned myself away from it. I longed for martyrdom and exposed myself to it in every combat and raid. But God insisted that I should attain this day. Now I again expose myself to it and yearn that I shall not be refused it. Servants of God, what do you expect of your jihad against those who act in enmity to God, while you are in fear of death coming to you and seizing your life—for there is no preventing death—or of a blow from a sword? You will exchange this present world for the vision of the face of God—powerful and mighty is He—and for the meeting with the prophets, the truthful ones, the martyrs, and the just210 in the abode of rest. [Fear of death] is not the right attitude!

207. The Leiden editor suggests that Jundab's name should be deleted from this list; the parallel in W$ 263 [which has some minor variants], includes it.
208. See on this p. 64ff, below.
209. This seems to be Tabarî's only mention of him; note that this is not the Banû al-Namîr b. Qâšît of Rabî'ah, but al-Namîr b. 'Utbân b. Naṣr . . . b. Mâlik b. al-Azîd. W$ 263–64, calls him 'Utbân b. Juwayriyyah.
Then he went on and said, "My brothers, I have sold this abode for that which lies ahead of it. Here I look toward it. May you not lose sight of it\textsuperscript{211} and may God not deny your hopes!"

His brothers 'Ubaydallah, 'Awf, and Malik followed him, saying, "We will not seek the rewards of this world after you have gone, for God has made life hateful without you. Oh God, we hope that the loss of our lives will be rewarded with You." And they went forward and fought until they were killed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sha'lah\textsuperscript{212} b. Zuhayr al-Nahdi—Muslim\textsuperscript{213} b. 'Abdallah al-Dirābī: I was at Siffin with our clan, and Shamīr b. Dhī Jawshan\textsuperscript{214} al-Dirābī was with us. Adham b. Muhriz al-Bahlī\textsuperscript{215} challenged him to combat and struck Shamīr in the face with his sword; Shamīr gave him a blow that did no harm. Then Shamīr returned to the place where he had left his equipment and drank something, for he was thirsty. He took his lance and went forward, saying:

It is my responsibility to give the brother of Bahlīlha a lance thrust, since I did not kill [him] immediately;\textsuperscript{216} Or a blow, beneath the spears and the fighting, that will almost kill him or indeed kill him.

Then he attacked Adham and felled [but did not kill] him and said, "Take this [blow] for that one!"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Amr b. 'Amr b. Malik al-Jushamī: Bishr b. 'Ismah al-Muzānī had joined Mu‘āwiya. When the armies fought at Siffin, Bishr noticed Malik b. al-Aqādiyyah

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\textsuperscript{211} Hadāh wajjī ilayhā la tubrāhu wujāhakum, WŞ, 264, has hādāh wajjī ilayhā la yubrihu (i) Allāhu wujāhakum.

\textsuperscript{212} Text has Mallāh, but see \textit{Add. et emend.}; he appears as Šilāh at Źabār, II, 636 (= XX, 220, of this translation, where al-Dirābī should be corrected to al-Dirābīl). WŞ, 268, cites the following report from Muslim via al-Šalt b. Zuhayr al-Nahdi, a name that figures in the isnāds of a number of its other reports.

\textsuperscript{213} Delete the Abū before Muslim in the text (see \textit{Add. et emend.}).

\textsuperscript{214} Of the Banū Kilāb [of Qays]; later famous as one of the leaders of the force that killed al-Husayn at Karbalāʾ [see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index sv. Shirm b. Šurāḥbil].

\textsuperscript{215} Of the Banū Qays [see Crone, \textit{Slaves on Horses}, 168–69 and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, sv.].

\textsuperscript{216} Following the reading suggested in note d); \textit{idh lam uṣīb}; the printed text has \textit{in lam uṣab}, presumably giving a rendering like "if I am not killed." Ann. seems to amalgamate the two possibilities: "poichē non sono stato colpito" [A.H. 37 §26]. WŞ, 268, has \textit{in lam anum}. 

The Events of the Year 37

(he was Malik b. al-Julah al-Jushami, but the name al-'Aqadiyyah had prevailed) achieving wonderful deeds against the Syrians. Malik was a true Muslim and brave, and Bishr was annoyed by what he saw. So he attacked him, stabbed him, and felled him to the ground, but then he turned back and was sorry about stabbing him treacherously and said:

From my “king” (i.e., God) I hope for forgiveness

while in my heart is disquiet concerning the master of the branded camel.

I crept up to him beneath the dust of battle with a thrust

at a time when spear thrusts were being exchanged violently.

Ibn al-'Aqadiyyah learned of what Bishr had said and replied:

Inform Bishr b. 'Igmah that I

was preoccupied and that those whom I was against distracted me. You seized upon a moment of inattention and took advantage of it like that; true champions are direct in attack or take advantage of opportunities.

Then 'Abdallah b. al-Ṭufayl al-Bakka'i attacked a group of Syrians. When he was on his way back, a man of the Banū Tamīm called Qays b. Qurrah one of the Iraqis who had joined Muʿawiyyah, attacked him and placed his lance between his shoulder blades. Yazid b. Muʿawiyyah, the cousin of 'Abdallah b. al-Ṭufayl, then went up to him and put his own lance between the shoulders of the Tamīmī. He said, "By God, if you stab him, I stab you." The Tamīmī answered, "Do you swear faithfully by God that if I remove the spear point from the back of your companion you will take yours away from mine?" Yazid said, "Yes, I promise you that by God." And the Tamīmī removed his spear from Ibn al-Ṭufayl, and Yazid removed his.

217. For Bishr b. 'Iṣmah al-Muzani, see Ibn al-Kalbi, Il, index, s. v. Biṣr. For Malik b. al-Julah al-Jushami, WS, 269, n. 4, refers to the Muʿjam al-shuʿarāʿ of al-Marzubānī (Jerusalem, 1354), 363. For the various possibilities regarding Banū 'Aqad, see Kahhalah, Muʿjam gabd'il al-ʿarab, II, 797.

218. Jabbaran; see Gloss., s.v.

219. Of the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣaʿṣa'ah (see Ibn al-Kalbi, Il, index, s.v. 'Abdallah b. al-Ṭufail al-Bakka'i).

220. WS, 277, has Qays b. Nahd al-Ḥanḍalī al-Yarbuʿī.
The Tamīmī asked which tribal group Yazīd was from, and he answered, "From Banū 'Amīr."

The Tamīmī said to Yazīd, "May God make me a ransom for you. May you two return with the friendship between us and your clan as it was before the battle, you (all) being noble; (even though) you have killed eleven men of my family and clan today, and I am the last of them."

When the army got back to al-Kufah, Ibn al-Ṭufayl reproved Yazīd regarding something of the sort for which a man censures his cousin, and Yazīd responded:

Did you not see me shielding you in good faith
at ṣiffin when every close friend deserted you?
And I held the Ḥanṣalī (of Tamīm) back from you, who had come
on a charger in the freshness of its youth and full of running.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khādij: One of the Syrians came out challenging anybody to fight and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥriz al-Kindī, al-Ṭahmī, went out against him. The two of them sparred with each other for some time, and then 'Abd al-Raḥmān attacked the Syrian and stabbed him right between his collar bones and felled him to the ground. Then he dismounted and plundered his armor and weapons and found that he was a Ḥabashi. 'Abd al-Raḥmān said: "We belong to God (and to Him we will return). Against whom did I hazard my life? Against a black slave!" Then a man of the 'Akk came out asking for combat, and Qays b. Fahdān al-Kindī, al-Baddā'ī, accepted the challenge. The

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221. In the Arabic subject and object are not clearly distinguished grammatically, but it seems that the Tamīmī asked the question of Yazīd, since the Banū 'Amīr b. Ša'ṣa'ah are the group of which the Banū Bakkā' are a fraction.

222. Ubtumā ilfukum ilfukum kirāman. For this translation, see Gloss., s.v. 'l-l-f, with reference to Wright, Grammar, II, §§81a, rem., for the case of a verb followed by a nominal clause but without wa [one might have expected ubtumā wa-ilfukum . . .]. Cairo has aynumā ulfikum ulfikum kirāman ("wherever I find you, I will find you noble ones"), and WŠ, 277 (aynumā laqaynākum wajadhānākum kirāman), gives the same sense.

223. WŠ, 276, emends Ṭahmī to Tumahī or Tamaḥī, which is a fraction of Kindah. See Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Tumb b. al-Hārith.

224. That is, an Abyssinian, but here probably simply meaning "black."

225. See Add. et emend. for the nisba al-Baddā'ī [of Kindah]; the printed text has al-Kinānī al-Badānī, which is adopted by WŠ, 276–77, apparently from Tabari (the ms. reading al-Kindī). See Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Qais b. Fahdān, where it is said that he is falsely ascribed to Banū Baddā'.

'Akkî attacked Qays. He, however, stabbed his attacker, whose companions then carried him off. Qays b. Fahdân said:

'Akk have learned at Siffin that we,

when the two horsemen meet, shall thrust at them from every side,

And carry the banners of battle as they merit.

We will come with them white and bring them back red.

According to Abû Mîkhnaf—Fudayl b. Khadij: Qays b. Fahdân was urging on his companions, saying: "When you attack, attack together, and, when you turn away, turn away simultaneously. Lower your eyes, and be few in your words. Take turns in taking on your opponents, and indeed destruction will not befall the Arabs on your part."

Nahîk b. Zuhayr of the Banû al-Hârith b. 'Adî, 'Amr b. Yazîd of the Banû Dhuhl, and Sa'id b. 'Amr226 were all killed. Qays b. Yazîd then came out—he was one of those who had fled to Mu'âwiyah from 'Alî—and issued a challenge. His brother Abû al-'Amarrâtah b. Yazîd went out against him, but they recognized each other and desisted from fighting together and then returned to their respective armies, each of them reporting that he had met his brother.

According to Abî Mîkhnaf—Ja'far b. Hudhayfah of the family of 'Amîr b. Juwayn al-Ta'i': At Siffin the Tayyî fought fiercely, and a large force of them was mobilized. Hamzah b. Malik al-Hamdân227 came to them and asked, "To which people do you belong, God be with you?" 'Abdallah b. Khalîfah al-Bawlâmî, who was a partisan of 'Alî (shî'î) and a poet and orator, replied,228. "We are Tayyi' of the plain, Tayyi' of the sand, and Tayyi' of the mountain, which is well defended and supplied with palm trees; we are the defenders of the two hills229 as far as what is between

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226. WS, 285, has Nuhayk b. 'Azîr, Cairo Nuhayk b. 'Uzayr, Ibn al-Kalbî, II, index, has Nahîk b. Ghurayr (Gurair). The Banû al-Hârith b. 'Adî are of Kindah. I cannot identify 'Amîr b. Yazîd, but both names seem to be common among the Banû Dhuhl b. Mu'âwiyah of Kindah. For Qays and his brother Abû al-'Amarrâtah, see Ibn al-Kalbî, II, index, s.v.v. Qais b. Yazîd b. 'Amîr b. Šârâfî and 'Umair b. Yazîd.

227. See n. 81, above.

228. The following words are in saj', rhyming prose.

229. See n. 114, above, on the two hills of the Banû Tayyi'.
al-'Udhayb and al-'Ayn, we are Tayyi' of the lances, Tayyi' of the butting, and warriors of the morning." Hamzah b. Malik answered, "Well done! Excellent! You are great in praising your own people," and 'Abdallâh b. Khalîfah said:

If you do not know of the courage of a group of people, then come to us, may misfortune not fall upon you, and you will know.

Then the men fought together most fiercely and 'Abdallâh b. Khalîfah began calling out: "O band of Tayyi', may all that I have which is new and all that I have which is old be a ransom for you. Fight in accordance with your noble status!" And he began to say:

| I am he whose sword, when the crier gives the call, penetrates through the bone, he who is spritely and excites admiration. I unhorse the one who has donned the breastplate, the one concealed by his helmet, and I kill the noble man who fights on foot. |

Bishr b. al-'Asús al-Ṭâ'i, al-Milqatî said:

Tayyi' of the plains and the mountains! Attack with your swords and iron tips of your spears and with your ironclad and heroic men. And fight against the imams of the ignorant ones, those who wander in the ways of error.

On that day the eye of Abû al-'Asús was put out, and he said about it:

I wish that this eye of mine was like that one (which was lost), and then I could not walk among men, except with a guide.

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230. Al-'Ayn is probably 'Ayn al-Tamr in the desert south of Hit [n. 114, above], while al-'Udhayb is the name of a water source farther south, on the edge of the desert and the Sawâd, close to the site of the Battle of Qâdisiyyah (Yaqût, Mu'jam al-buldân, s.v.).

231. WS, 279, has Bishr b. al-'Ashush; for the Banû al-Milqaṭ b. 'Amr of Tayyi', see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.

232. Cairo has Ibn al-'Asús. WS, 280, simply reads fa-fuqi'at 'aynuhu, thus indicating Bishr as the one who lost his eye and composed the following verses.
And would that I had not survived after Mutarrif
and Sa'd and after al-Mustanir b. Khālid\textsuperscript{233}
horsemen to the likes of whom the wet nurses never gave suck,
when war became vehement.\textsuperscript{234}
If only my foot there was cut off with its other part,\textsuperscript{235}
and my hand had perished with my forearm.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymī—some shaykhs
of Muḥarīb: There was among them a man called Khanthar b.
'Ubaydah b. Khālid,\textsuperscript{236} one of the bravest of the men. At the time of Śiffin, when the men fought one another, he thought that his companions were routed, and he started to cry: "Oh band of Qays, is obedience to Satan preferable to you to obedience to the Merciful One? Flight entails rebellion against God, praise be to Him, and His anger, but in holding steadfast is obedience to God, mighty and great is He, and His pleasure. Will you choose God's anger over His pleasure and rebellion against Him over obedience to Him? Repose after death is only for he who dies able to account for himself.\textsuperscript{237}

And he said:

The soul of a man who has turned his back finds no refuge.

I am he who does not turn tail or flee
and is not seen with those who stand apart, the treacherous ones.

He fought until he was carried off wounded. Subsequently he departed (kharaja) with the 500 men who withdrew (i'tazala) with Farwah b. Nawfal al-Ashja'i and settled at al-Daskarah and al-Bandanijayn.\textsuperscript{238}


\textsuperscript{233} I cannot further identify these heroes of Tayyi'.
\textsuperscript{234} Literally, "when war reveals the anklets of the virgins"; see Lane, \textit{Lexicon}, s.v. \textit{khadamah}.
\textsuperscript{235} \textit{Bi-niṣfīdhā}.
\textsuperscript{236} The subsequent invocation to the Banū Qays seems to identify the Banū Muḥarīb as Muḥarīb b. Khāṣafah (Ibn al-Kalbi, I, table 92); WJ, 286, reads 'Antar b. 'Ubayd b. Khālid.
\textsuperscript{237} \textit{Muhāṣiбан li-nafshihi}, \textit{Ann.} has "essendo in regola con se stesso."
\textsuperscript{238} A reference to the withdrawal of Farwah and his men from the Khārijīte forces facing 'Alī at Nahrawān. (see p. 135, below). \textit{Ann.}, A.H. 37 §53a, translates \textit{kharaja} ("he departed") here as "si fece Kharijita," which may be intended.
The First Civil War

and Ubayy b. Qays the brother of 'Alqamah b. Qays, the man learned in religion and law (faqīh). On that day 'Alqamah's foot was cut off, and he would say: "I do not wish my foot to be restored to health as it was. It is one of the things for which I hope for a goodly reward from my Lord." And he said: "I desired to see my brother or one of my brethren in my sleep, and I saw my brother. I asked him, 'Brother, what is it like where you are?' He replied, 'We and the enemy have met together and disputed before God, and we have defeated them with our arguments. I have never been as happy since attaining reason as when I had this dream.'\[3311\]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Suwayd b. Ḥayyah al-Asadi—al-Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir: Before the battle some people had gone to 'Alī and said, "We suspect that Khalīd b. al-Mu'ammar has been in correspondence with Mu'āwiyah and we are afraid that he is an adherent of his." So 'Alī sent for him and for some of our notables. After praising God and extolling Him, he said, "Now, band of Rabi'ah, you are my supporters (ānṣār) and the ones who have responded to my call, and you are one of the clans of the Arabs on which I rely most. But I have heard that Mu'āwiyah has been in correspondence with your companion Khalīd b. al-Mu'ammar. So I have brought him here and gathered you together that you may be witnesses in his case and so that you may hear what I say." Then he turned to him and said: "Khalīd b. al-Mu'ammar, if what I have heard is true, then I make God and those of the Muslims who are here my witnesses that you have security so long as you remain in the land of Iraq or the Hijāz or in any land where Mu'āwiyah does not have authority. If, on the other hand, you have been lied against, then our heart will rest easy in you." Khalīd denied it, swearing by God, and many of our men said, "If we knew that he had done that, we would make an example of him." Shaqiq b. Thawr al-Sadūs said, "May Khalīd b. al-Mu'ammar never prosper if he has aided Mu'āwiyah and the Syrians.

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239. For the Banū al-Nakha', see n. 174, above. For the Banū Bakr b. 'Awf of Nakha', see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; and for 'Alqamah b. Qays, ibid., s.v.
240. For the role of this man of the Banū Shaybān (Bakr b. Wā'il) in the fighting, see pp. 59, 63, below; and see Crone, Slaves on Horses, 113.
241. See p. 18 and n. 72, above.
242. For this man of the Banū Sadūs of Bakr, see Crone, Slaves on Horses, 120.
against 'Ali and Rabī‘a’.” Ziyād b. Khāsafah al-Taymī243 said, “Oh Commander of the Faithful, reassure yourself of Ibn al-Mu‘ammar by making him swear that he will not betray you.” He did that, and we departed.

On Thursday our men were routed on the right, and ‘Ali came out as far as us, together with his sons, and cried out in a loud and public voice as if he were not concerned with the plight of the men, “Whose banners are these?” “The banners of Rabī‘ah,” we replied, but he said: “No indeed, they are the banners of God, may God protect those who rally to them. May He make them steadfast and set their feet firm.”244 Then he said to me, “Young man, will you not take this banner of yours one dhīrā’245 nearer (to the enemy)?” and I said, “Yes, by God, even ten of them,” So I got up and took it nearer until ‘Ali said, “That is close enough.” Then I stood fast where he had told me, and my companions gathered around.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymī: I heard shaykhs of our clan of Taymallāh b. Tha‘labah saying that the banner of those of Rabī‘ah settled in al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah246 was with Khalid b. al-Mu‘ammar of the people of al-Baṣrah. Those shaykhs said further that Khalid b. al-Mu‘ammar and Shaqiq247 b. Thawr reached an agreement by putting al-Huclayn b. al-Mundhir al-Dhuhli in charge of the banner of the Baṣran Bakr b. Wā‘il. Khalid and Shaqiq had contested with each other for possession of it but then said: “This youth of ours has an honorable status. Let us assign it to him until we have decided the question.” Then afterward ‘Ali put Khalid b. al-Mu‘ammar in charge of the banner of all of Rabī‘ah.

Mu‘āwiyyah cast lots to decide which of the three strongest tribes among the people of Iraq at that time—Rabr‘ah, Hamdān, and Madhā‘ij—his own Himyarīs should fight. The lot fell on Rabī‘ah.

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243. See p. 18 and n. 73, above.
244. See Qur’an 2:250, 3:147.
245. A unit of measurement, sometimes translated “cubit” (see Hinz, Islamische Masse und Gewichte, 55ff.).
246. Rāyatu Rabī‘ata al-Chūfah wa-Baṣrahīhā.
247. The printed text has Su‘yān b. Thawr, and so too the mss. cited by Hinds in “Banners”; W$S, 290, has Sa‘īd b. Thawr. But the other references to Shaqiq here suggest that Shaqiq should be read on this occasion too. Al-Jāhiz, Al-Bayān, III, 108, refers to him as Shaqiq b. Majza‘ah b. Thawr, whereas Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 153, has Shaqiq and Majza‘ah as brothers.
Dhū al-Kalāʾ said, "God damn you for a lot—you did not like the fighting!" Dhū al-Kalāʾ advanced with Ḥimyar and those attached to it, including 'Ubaydallah b. 'Umar b. al-Khattāb with 4,000 qurra' of the Syrians, and Dhū al-Kalāʾ commanded their right wing. They attacked Rabi'ah, who were the left wing of the people of Iraq and with whom was Ibn 'Abbās, in command of the left wing. Dhū al-Kalāʾ and 'Ubaydallah b. 'Umar attacked them fiercely with their cavalry and footmen, and the banners of Rabi'ah were brought low, except for a few of the best and the noblest.

Then the Syrians turned away, but it was not long before they attacked again, and 'Ubaydallah b. 'Umar was saying: "Men of Syria! This clan of the men of Iraq are the killers of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān [may God be pleased with him] and the supporters (ansār) of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. If you defeat this tribe, you will attain your revenge for 'Uthmān, and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the men of Iraq will be destroyed." They fiercely attacked the men, but Rabi'ah held firm against them and were most steadfast—except for a few of the lesser sort (du'afa') and the cowardly ones. The bearers of the banners, and those who were steadfast and concerned to protect their honor, held firm and kept fighting hard.

When Khalid b. al-Mu'ammār saw that some of his fellow Rabi'ah had withdrawn, he did so as well. But when he saw that the men of the banners had stood firm and that (others of) his people had patiently held fast, he returned to the fray and shouted to those who were fleeing, ordering them to go back. Those of his fellow tribesmen who wished to cast suspicion on Khalid said, "He wanted to retreat, but when he saw that we had held fast he came back to us." Khalid, however, said: "When I saw that some of our men had been put to flight I decided to confront them and make them come back to you. Now I have come to you with those of them who obeyed me." His behavior was ambiguous.

248. See p. 19 and n. 78, above.
249. Karihta al-dirāb, a pun playing on the fact that the root d-r-b, "to strike," is used in connection with both the casting of lots and fighting. Presumably the story, which is being told from the point of view of the Banū Rabi'ah, is meant to illustrate the dismay of Dhū al-Kalāʾ at the prospect of fighting such a valiant enemy. 250. Abdāl here is presumably a doublet for akhyār.
251. For discussion of the use of the term da'īf, see Serjeant, "Da'īf and the Mustaḍ'af," 32–47.
According to Abu Mikhnaf—a man of Bakr b. Wa’il—Muhriz b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-'Ijlī: On that day Khalid said,

Oh band of Rabi'ah! God has brought every one of you from his birthplace and his home and gathered you all together here, in a way unprecedented since your dispersal in the land. But if you hold back your hands, shrink from your enemy, and stay away from your battle lines, God will not be pleased with what you have done, and you will never meet anyone, either small or great, but that he will say, "Rabi'ah has disgraced its honor and turned its back on battle, and the Arabs have been ruined on their account."

Beware lest the Arabs and the Muslims see you as an evil omen today. If you go forward and advance, you will be seeking a reward from God. Advancing is your custom and being steadfast a trait. Be steadfast, fixing your intention on being recompensed, for the reward of he who fixes his intention on what is with God is nobility in this world and rank in that to come. God does not cause the reward of he who acts rightly to be lost.²⁵²

A man arose and said, "By God, the concerns of Rabi'ah were lost when they entrusted them to you. You order us to continue fighting and not to depart until our lives are lost and our blood shed. Do you not see that most of the men have retreated?" Then some of Khalid's own kinship group came up to dispute with him. They criticized him and argued with him, but Khalid said: "Drive this man out from your midst. If he remains among you, he will be a source of evil for you, and, if he leaves you, he will not cause you any loss; this is the one who (is so insignificant that), 'He will not diminish the band and will not augment the land.' May God afflict you for being an orator to a noble people! How widely you have missed the mark!"

The fighting between Rabi'ah and Himyar, supported by 'Ubaydallah b. Umar, became fierce, and the number of those slain multiplied. Sumayr b. al-Rayyān b. al-Ḥārith al-'Ijlī was killed²⁵³—he was one of the most courageous of the men.

²⁵². See Qur'an 9:120.
²⁵³. Verses referring to his death are in WS, 384.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ja'far b. Abī Qāsim al-'Abdī—Yazīd b. 'Alqamah—Zayd b. Badr al-'Abdī: Ziyād b. Khaṣafah came to Banū 'Abd al-Qays at the time of Ṣiffin. The tribes of Ḥimyar together with 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, had been made ready under Dhū al-Kalā' against the Bakr b. Wā'il. The Bakr were so fiercely attacked that they were afraid of being wiped out, and Ziyād b. Khaṣafah said, "Oh 'Abd al-Qays, there will be no Bakr left after this day!"

We ('Abd al-Qays) mounted our horses and then went forward and contested the fight. It was not long before Dhū al-Kalā' was struck down and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar killed. Hamdān said that Ḥānī b. Khaṭṭāb al-Arhabī killed him, while Ḥadramawt said that it was Mālik b. 'Amr al-Tin'ī. Bakr b. Wā'il, however, said that Muḥriz b. al-Ṣaḥṣah of the Banū 'A'ish b. Mālik b. Taymallāh b. Thā'labah killed 'Ubaydallāh and took his sword, Dhū al-Wishāh. Muʿāwiya criticized Bakr b. Wā'il in al-Kūfah for that [when he came there at the end of the fitnah]. They insisted that it was one of their number in al-Baṣrah, called Muḥriz b. al-Ṣaḥṣah, who had killed 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar. Muʿāwiya sent to him and took the sword from him. The chief of al-Namir b. Qāṣīt was 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr of the Banū Taym.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [Ibn al-Kalbi], it was Muḥriz b. al-Ṣaḥṣah who killed 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar. He took his sword, Dhū al-Wishāh, which had belonged to ('Ubaydallāh's father) 'Umar. Ka'b b. Ju'ayl al-Ṭaghlabī said about that:

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254. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, has him as Ḥānī b. Ḥaṭṭāb [s.v. Ḥaṭṭāb]; for Arhab of Hamdān, see ibid., I, table 231.
255. WṢ, 298, calls him al-Sabītī. The Sabītī, who were prominent in al-Kūfah, were a branch of Ḥāshid/Hamdān, but Tin'ī seems better because it has specific connections with Ḥadramawt [see Ibn al-Athīr, al-Lubāb, I, 183].
256. See Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v., 'A'ish b. Mālik were part of the Banū Shaybān of Bakr b. Wā'il/Raḥ'īah.
257. That is, "Lord of the Sword Belt."
258. The ms. had Tamīm [and so too WṢ, 304], but the editor suggested emendation to Taym; the Cairo edition rightly supplies the Banū Taymallāh b. al-Namir b. Qāṣīt of Raḥ'īah [Ibn al-Kalbi, I, table 141]. It is not immediately obvious how this last sentence relates to the story that is the subject of the rest of the paragraph. It may be better situated as the first sentence of the paragraph reporting the death of some men of the Banū al-Namir b. Qāṣīt, following the subsequent verses. The verses are attributed to a poet of the Banū Ṭaghlib, of which the al-Namir b. Qāṣīt were allies [idem, II, index, s.v. al-Namir b. Qāṣīt].
The Events of the Year 37

The eyes weep only for a horseman\textsuperscript{259} whose fellows fled at Si\"uffin while he stood firm, exchanging (the company of) Asm\"a' (his wife) for the swords of Wa'il.

He was a warrior; if only the fields of death had spared him. (But) they left 'Ubaydall\"ah on the battleground, his flowing veins spitting out blood from the wound.

(There is more than this.)\textsuperscript{260}

And on that day Bishr b. Murrah b. Shura\"hbil and al-\'H\'arith b. Shura\"hbil\textsuperscript{261} were among those of the Ban\"u al-Namir b. Q\'asit killed. Asm\"a', the daughter of 'U\'at\'arid b. Hajib al-Tam\'imi\textsuperscript{262} was married to 'Ubaydall\"ah b. 'Umar, and then al-Hasan b. 'Al\'i took her in marriage.

According to Ab\'u Mikhnaf—the nephew of Ghiy\'ath b. Laq\'it al-Bakr\'i:\textsuperscript{263} When 'Al\'i reached the Rabi'ah, they were vying with one another (in deeds of valor), and they said, "If 'Al\'i is struck down among you, having sought refuge at your banner, you will be disgraced." Shaqiq b. Thawr said to them: "Oh band of Rab\'ah, there will be no excuse for you among the Arabs if hands are laid upon 'Al\'i while he is among you and there remains a man alive among you. But, if you protect him, you will win the glory of life." So, when 'Al\'i came to them, they fought more fiercely than they ever did before and 'Al\'i said about that:

Whose is the black\textsuperscript{264} banner, the shadow of which quivers as it blows?

When it was said, "Take it forward, \'U\'ayn!" he advanced, going ahead with it into death in order to take it to visit the pools of fate that drip death and blood.

\textsuperscript{259} That is, Ubaydall\"ah b. 'Umar.

\textsuperscript{260} For fuller versions of these verses, see al-D\'inawar\'i, 178–79; WS, 298–99.

\textsuperscript{261} WS, 304, has ful\'\'un (so-and-so) b. Murrah b. Shura\"hbil and al-\'H\'arith b. 'Amr b. Shura\"hbil.

\textsuperscript{262} 'U\'at\'arid was a famous man of the Ban\"u D\'ar\'im b. Malik of Tam\'im. See further, ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.

\textsuperscript{263} This seems to be \'Tabari's only citation of this transmitter.

\textsuperscript{264} In the version of these verses in WS, 289, the banner of Rabi'ah is described as "red" (\'amr\'ad?), which Hinds ("Banners and Battle Cries," 11) understands literally. We might take both "red" and "black" metaphorically to mean something like "blood-soaked."
We caused Ibn Ḥarb (Muʿāwiyyah) to taste our spear thrusting and our striking
with our swords, until he turned away and recoiled.
May God reward a people who are patient and steadfast in their confrontation
in the presence of death, a people of surpassing virtue and nobility,
Of the most pleasing traits and most noble character
when the voices of men cry out in battle.
I mean Rabīʿah. They were a people of courage
and bravery in their confrontation with a numerous army.

The Killing of ‘Ammār b. Yāsir

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī Ḥurrah al-Ḥanafi
‘Ammār b. Yāsir took the field and said: “Oh God, You know that, if I knew that your pleasure was that I should throw myself into this river, I would do so. Oh God, You know that, if I knew that Your pleasure was that I should put the point of my sword against my breast and then lean on it until it came out of my back, I would do so. But today I do not know of any deed more pleasing to You than jihād against these evildoers (fāsiqīn). If I did know of any deed more pleasing to You, I would do it.”

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaqʿāb b. Zuhayr al-Azdi: I heard ‘Ammār saying, “By God, I see a people who will indeed strike you a blow as a result of which those who consider our religion a vain thing will doubt us, but I swear by God that even if they strike us until they bring us to the palm leaves of Hajar, we will know that we follow the truth and they falsehood.”

Mas'ūd went off to Hudhayfah at al-Madā' in and went in to him. He said: “Welcome to you both. There is nobody among the Arab tribes whom you have come from who is dearer to me than you two.” I left the reply to Abū Mas'ūd, and we said, “Oh Abū 'Abdallāh, report to us hadith for we are afraid of the time of troubles (al-fitān).” He replied, “Hold to the party in which is Ibn Sumayyāh ('Ammār b. Yāsir), for I heard the Prophet saying, ‘The party of oppression that swerves from the (right) road will kill him, and his last sustenance will be milk mixed with water.’”

Habbah continued: And I saw 'Ammār at Ṣiffin when he was saying, “Bring me my final sustenance in this world,” and he was brought a drink of diluted milk in a shallow bowl with a red rim. Hudhayfah was not wrong even by the thickness of a hair, for 'Ammār said: “Today I will meet the loved ones—Muḥammad and his party. By God, even if they strike us so as to bring us to the palm leaves of Hajar, we will know that we hold to the truth and they to falsehood.” And he began to say, “Death is beneath the spears and paradise beneath the flashing swords.”

According to Muhammad—Khalaf—Mansūr b. Abī Nuwayrah—Abū Mikhnaf; and Hishām b. al-Kalbī—Abū Mikhnaf; then in both lines of transmission Abū Mikhnaf cites from Mālik b. A'yān al-Juhānī—Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhānī: 'Ammār b. Yāsir said on that day, “Where are they who desire to please God and will not return to property or offspring?” A group of the men joined him and he said:

Men, let us go directly against those who seek vengeance for the blood of Ibn 'Affān and claim that he was killed

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269. For Habbah b. Juwayn, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Habbah b. Ğuwain; Ibn Sa'd, VI, 133. For Abū Mas'ūd ('Uqba b. 'Amr al-Anṣārī), who fought on the Muslim side at Badr, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Uqba b. 'Amr; Ibn Sa'd, II/1, 91. For Muḥammad b. 'Abbād, see al-Mizzzī, al-Tahdhīb, XXV, 443-45.

270. For Hudhayfah b. al-Yāmān al-'Abst, 'Alī's governor over al-Madā'in, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ḥuḍaiya b. Ḥusayn.

271. Asnadtu hu ilā Abī Mas'ūd. The meaning is rather elusive. In view of the subsequent hadith, it is tempting to relate the expression to the use of an ānād, but no obvious sense suggests itself.

272. Haddithnā for the following hadith and parallels, see Wensinck, Concordance, s.v. baghā.

273. See the prophetic hadiths “the gate of heaven is beneath the flashing swords” (al-suyāf al-bātiqah) and “heaven is beneath the shadows of the swords” (zilāl al-suyāf) (see Wensinck, Concordances, s.vv. baraqa, jannah).
unjustly. By God, they are not after vengeance for his blood but have tasted this world and liked and enjoyed it. They know that, if they have to accept the truth, it will be a barrier between them and the worldly things in which they are wallowing. They have no precedence in Islam by which they might deserve obedience from the people or exercise authority over them. They duped their followers by saying that their imam had been killed unjustly, so that that they could be tyrants and kings, and by this trickery they have got where you see them. If it were not for that, not even two men would have followed them. Oh God, if You help us, many a time You have helped us, but, if You give them the rule, store up for them, for what they have done to Your servants, the most painful chastisement.

He and the band who had responded to him went forward until they had drawn near 'Amr (b. al-‘Aṣ), and ‘Ammār said: “‘Amr, you have sold your religion (dīn) for Egypt. Damn you, damn you! For long you have desired a deviation in Islam.” And he said to ‘Ubaydallāh b. Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: “May God cast you down! You have sold your religion to the enemy of Islam and the son of its enemy.”’274 ‘Ubaydallāh replied, “No, I only seek vengeance for the blood of 'Uthmān b. ‘Affān, may God be pleased with him!” But ‘Ammār said to him: “I bear witness, from what I know of you, that you do not seek the face of God in anything that you do. If you are not killed today, you will die tomorrow, so consider, since men are rewarded in accordance with their intention, what it is that you intend.”


274. Presumably indicating Abū Sufyān and Mu‘āwiyyah.
275. ‘Aṭā’ b. Muslim al-Ṣan‘ānī and Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A‘marsh are well-known transmitters of ḥadīths; for Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān, see Ibn Ḥajjār, Taḥdīḥ, V, 185–84 (sv. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥabīb b. Rabī‘ah); Ibn Sa‘d, VI, n19. SNB, X, 104 f. (citing from the Ḳūfī ‘Abd al-Barr) has some parallels for the following reports, but most of the obscure and difficult passages are missing.
whose banner this is. This fourth time is no more pious or God-fearing.\footnote{276}

According to Ahmad b. Muhammad [al-Rāzī]—al-Walid b. Ṣāliḥ—‘Aṭā’ b. Muslim—al-A’mash: Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulami said: We were with ‘Alī at Ṣiffin and we had assigned two men to (stand by) ‘Ammār’s horse to guard him and prevent him from being attacked. But, whenever they were distracted for a moment, he would himself make an attack and not come back until he had stained his sword (with blood). And once he made an attack and did not return until his sword had bent out of shape. He threw it at them, saying, “If it were not that it has bent, I would not have come back.”

(Al-A’mash said, “By God, that was a blow of someone above doubt,”\footnote{277} and Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān responded, “Those there heard something and transmitted it, and they were not liars!”)

Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān then continued: I saw that whenever ‘Ammār went into one of the wādīs of Ṣiffin those Companions of Muḥammad (the Prophet) who were there followed him. And I saw him go to the Mirqāl, Ḥāshim b. ‘Utba,\footnote{278} who was bearer of ‘Alī’s banner, and say, “Ḥāshim, one-eyed and a coward! There

\footnote{276. Possibly meaning that on this fourth occasion the enemy is no less hostile to God than on the previous ones. WS, 321, has a variant (wa-hādhihi al-rūbi’ a mā hiya bi-khayrīhimma wa-lā abarrihimma ba‘l hiya sharruḥumma wa-ajā‘aruhumma), which specifies the three occasions as Badr, Uhud, and Ḥunayn. In the variant ‘Ammār is not addressing ‘Amr b. al-‘A but an anonymous questioner who is puzzled as to why the two sides are fighting when they share the same religion. In reply, ‘Ammār points out the black flag of ‘Amr b. al-‘A and identifies it as the flag of the mushrikīn, against which he had fought together with the Prophet on the three occasions specified. ‘Ammār’s point is to identify the Syrian opponents as direct descendants of the polytheists who had fought against the Prophet.}

\footnote{277. Darbū gha‘yri murtāb [see n. 367, above]}

\footnote{278. See n. 48, above. For an explanation of al-mirqāl (“the swift she-camel”), see p. 72, below. The following sentences are rather difficult and the meaning is obscure. It may be that the text is disordered. Given Ḥāshim’s high reputation as a soldier (in addition to his participation at al-Qādisiyah, he led the Arab army at Jālūt), the battle that sealed the conquest of Iraq, the charge of cowardice is surprising and harsh. In WS, 326, it is explained that the words “one-eyed and a coward” were addressed jestingly to Ḥāshim by ‘Alī, who had noticed that he was wearing two sets of armor. However, the same report than has an anonymous man of Bakr b. Wa‘il use the same words, apparently really thinking that Ḥāshim was afraid (qad intafakha sabruka). In ibid., 327, it is again ‘Alī who makes the remark. At ibid., 328, ‘Ammār addresses Ḥāshim, “There is no good in a one-eyed man who does not confront fear” (lā ya‘t al-faza‘), and here the intention is evidently to goad Ḥāshim to make him fight harder.}
The First Civil War

is no good in a one-eyed man who does not plunge into battle. And then, what if some man from either side says, 'By God, this one is abandoning his imam, deserting his army, and holding back his effort?' Mount, Hāshim!" Hāshim mounted and advanced, saying:

A one-eyed man who seeks a worthy opponent
has busied himself with life until tired of it.
It needs must be that he conquer or be conquered.

And 'Ammār was saying: "Press forward, Hāshim; paradise is beneath the shadows of the swords and death in the tips of the spears. The gates of heaven have been opened, and the houris have adorned themselves. Today I shall meet the beloved ones, Muḥammad and his party." Neither returned, and both were killed.

[Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān commented: The words "those Companions of the Prophet who were there" inform you, al-A'mash, about the two of them, that they had distinguished themselves as men of courage.]  

He then continued: And when it was night I said, "I will go to the enemy to find out if news of the killing of 'Ammār has affected them as it has affected us," for, when we left off fighting (each day), they used to talk with us and we with them. So I mounted my

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279. Ann., 37 A.H., §43, suggests reading walyufiranna (in al-Jāhiz, al-Bayān, III, 301, 'Ammār includes the phrase walyufiranna jaḥdahu in a similar remark to 'Alī—but in a different context—with reference to Abū Mūsā) for walyasurranna. Cairo, V, 40, has walyasbiranna. The sense of fa-īdha is also questionable: Ann., loc. cit., appears to understand it as the temporal adverb ("quand'ecce'"), rather than the conditional conjunction if. Bayna '1-ṣaffayn ("on either side"; Ann. has "fra le due file") seems odd. I can find no parallel in W$.

280. See the variants in W$, 327, 355.

281. Leiden does not set as verse, but see W$, 341, 342; SNB, X, 104; and Cairo, V, 41.

282. Yūṣfudu laka 'alayhimā man kāna hunāka min asbābi rasūli Allāhi (s) annahumā kānā 'alamā. For the translation, see Add. et emend., ad loc., and Lane, Lexicon, sv. 'l-m, form II and f-y-d, form IV. Cairo reads yūṣfudu laka 'ilmahumā man kāna . . . annahumā kānā 'alamā, "Those of the Companions who were there will provide you with information about them, namely, that they were a banner (around which the soldiers congregated)." SNB, X, 104, has the phrase "as if he was a banner for them" (ka-annahu 'alam lahum) as part of the sentence that tells us that the Companions followed 'Ammār into the wadis of Ṣiffin.

283. Tahaddathū ilaynā wa-tahaddathnā ilayhim. In spite of the subsequent hadith, it seem unlikely that we are supposed to envisage meetings for the exchange of reports about the Prophet.
horse—early in the evening—and then I went into their camp. I found four men making the rounds together: Mu‘āwiyaḥ, Abū al-
A‘war al-Sulamī, ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, and ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr, who was the best of them. I brought my horse in among them, fearing that I would miss what one of the discussants was saying.

‘Abdallāh said to his father, “Father, have you killed this man in your fighting today, even though the Messenger of God has said what he said about him?” ‘Amr asked what that was, and his son said: “Were you not with us while we were building the mosque and everyone was moving stone by stone and brick by brick while ‘Ammār brought two stones and two bricks at a time? The effort caused him to faint, and the Messenger of God came to him and began wiping the dust from his face, saying, ‘Alas for you, Ibn Sumayyah! The people transport stone by stone and brick by brick while you move two stones and two bricks at a time, desiring (divine) reward. In spite of that the usurping party will kill you. Alas for you.’” ‘Amr pushed ‘Abdallāh’s horse away and pulled Mu‘āwiyaḥ toward him. He said, “Mu‘āwiyaḥ, do you not hear what ‘Abdallāh is saying?” Mu‘āwiyaḥ asked what it was, and ‘Amr reported the story. Mu‘āwiyaḥ said: “You are a stupid old man. You keep on telling stories while you slither about in your piss. Was it we who killed ‘Ammār? It was only those who brought him here.” And the men came out from their tents and bivouacs, saying, “It was only those who brought ‘Ammār who killed him.” I do not know who was the more strange—he or they.

Abū Ja‘far [al-Tabari] said: It is reported that when ‘Ammār was killed, ‘Alī said to the Rabī‘ah and the Hamdān, “You are my armor and my spear!” About 12,000 presented themselves to him, and ‘Alī went in front of them on his mule. He and they attacked together as one man, and there was no line of the Syrians that was not destroyed. ‘Alī and his men killed everybody they came up against until they reached Mu‘āwiyaḥ, and ‘Alī was saying:

I strike them but Mu‘āwiyaḥ do not see,
he of the bulging eye and the great belly.286

284. The reference is to the building of the mosque in Medina.
285. La tazālu tuḥaddithu bi-al-ḥadīth.
286. See al-Mas‘ūdī, Murūj, IV, 370.
Then he called for Mu‘āwiyyah and said: “Why are the people being killed in our quarrel? Come, I will entrust God with the decision between us (uḥākimuka išā Allāhī). Whichever of us kills the other, authority (al-umūr) will remain for him.” ‘Amr said, “The man has made you a fair offer;” but Mu‘āwiyyah replied: “I have not been made a fair offer. You know that he has killed everyone whom he has challenged to combat.” ‘Amr said, “But it is not fitting that you should not accept the challenge and fight him.” Mu‘āwiyyah said, “You cannot wait to get power after my death.”

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhna‘f—’Abdallah b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī ‘Amrah287—Sulaymān al-Ḥadrami: I asked Abū ‘Amrah, “Do you not see how splendidly equipped they appear (he meant the Syrians) and what a wretched flock are we?” He answered: “You look to your own state, make it better, and leave the others to themselves. They are as they are.”

Hashim b. ‘Utbah al-Miqāl and the “Night of Howling”288

According to Abū Mikhna‘f—Abū Salamah: At evening Hāshim b. ‘Utbah al-Zuhrī summoned the men: “Let anyone who seeks God and the next world come to me!” Many came to him, and he attacked the Syrians with a band of followers several times, but everywhere he attacked them they held firm against him and the fighting was fierce. He said to his men: “Do not let this steadfastness

287. The Leiden text here and subsequently reads ‘Umrah; Ann. and Cairo both have ‘Amrah. WS has two versions of this isnād: on p. 185 it goes ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān—Abū ‘Amrah—his father, Sulaymān al-ḥadramī; on p. 369 it goes ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān—his father—Abū Sulaymān al-ḥadramī, and there is further reference to Abū Sulaymān in the matn.

288. Laylat al-harrī. The verb harra, used of dogs, indicates snarling, howling, whining, and similar noises and actions. By extension it can also refer to other sounds, such as the turning of a millstone and the twanging of a bow. Harrī is also said to be used to indicate the looking of courageous men at one another (see Lane, Lexicon, s.v.). With reference to Ǧīfīn, Wellhausen (Das arabische Reich, 49) used the expression die Nacht des Pfauchens (“Night of the Peacock Chick”), rendered in the English translation (Arab Kingdom, 78) as “Night of Clangour.” The expression laylat al-harrī is also used in tradition to indicate a part of the Battle of Qadisiyya (Ṭabarī, I, 2337–38). In that connection, EI3, s.v. Qadisiyya, has “Night of the Cries of Sorrow.”
of theirs that you see frighten you. By God, it is only the fervor of the Arabs that you see and their steadfastness beneath their banners and in their battle positions. But they are in error while you follow truth. 'Oh my people, be patient and firm and vie with them in steadfastness.' Unite together, and let us march against our enemy with deliberation and purpose. Then stand firm, help one another, remember God, let no man ask his brother for anything, do not keep turning round, be valiant in face of their courage, and make jihad against them in expectation of your divine reward 'until God decides [yahkum] between us and them, for He is the best of judges [hākimān].' Then he went forward with a band of the qurrah and he and they fought fiercely at evening until they were content with what they had achieved. At that point a young warrior came out against them, saying:

I am the son of the great kings of Ghassān, and today I adhere to [al-da'ā' in bi] the religion (dīn) of 'Uthmān. There has come a report that has caused much alarm, that 'Alī has killed the son of 'Affān.

He rushed to the attack and did not turn away until he had struck with his sword. He then made free with abuse and curses, and Ḥāshim b. 'Utbah said to him: "Servant of God, after such talk there is conflict and after such fighting there is the reckoning. Fear God, for you are returning to Him and He will question you about this encounter and what you sought by it." He replied, "I am fighting you because your master does not perform the prayer ritual, as I have been told, and neither do you; I am fighting you because your master killed our caliph and you urged him to it." Ḥāshim said to him: "What have you got to do with Ibn 'Affān? It was the companions of Muḥammad and the sons of his companions and the qurrah of the people who killed him when he introduced innovations (ahdāth) and opposed the authority (ḥukm) of the Book. They were people of religion (dīn) and more worthy of handling the affairs of the people than are you and your companions. I do not think that the affairs of this community and of this religion have been neglected even for an instant."

290. See Qurʾān 7:87.
The young man replied, "Indeed, by God, I will not lie, for lying is harmful and achieves no good." Hāshim said, "The people concerned with this matter know best about it, so leave it to those who have knowledge about it." The young man said, "By God, I do not doubt that you have advised me sincerely." Hāshim said: "As for what you said about our master not performing the prayer ritual, he was the first one to do so and he is the most knowledgeable [afqah] of God's creatures regarding the religion of God and the closest to the Messenger. As for those whom you see with me, each one of them is a reciter [qārī'] of the Book of God, not sleeping at night in his vigil. Do not allow these deluded miscreants to turn you away from your religion." The youth replied, "Servant of God, I consider you a righteous man, so tell me—is there any repentance for me?" He answered, "Yes, oh servant of God. Turn in repentance to God and He will relent toward you, for He accepts repentance from His servants and forgives sins" and 'He loves those who seek to be clean.'

By God, the youth, on returning (to his own side), abandoned his fellows. One of the Syrians said to him, "The Iraqi has cheated you, the Iraqi has cheated you!" He replied, "No, he has given me sincere advice."

Hāshim and his men fought fiercely. He was called al-Mirqāl because he used to rush (r-q-l) into battle. He and his men fought until they had overcome those who were around them and until they considered that they had achieved the victory. At sunset a squadron of Tanūkḥ came to them and pressed an attack against the men. Hāshim fought them, saying:

A one-eyed man who seeks a worthy opponent
has occupied himself with life until tired of it.
He fells them with the knotty-shafted spear.

They claimed that he killed nine or ten on that day, but al-Ḥārith b. al-Mundhir al-Tanūkḥī attacked him and pierced him with a spear, and Hāshim fell. 'Ali sent to him, saying, "Take your banner forward," but he answered the messenger, "Look at my belly;" and

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292. Qur’ān 2:222.
The Events of the Year 37

behold he had been ripped open. The Anṣārī al-Ḥajjāj b. Ghaziyyah\textsuperscript{293} said:

If you boast [of killing] Ibn al-Budayl and Hāshim, we have killed Dhū al-Kalā' and Hawshab.\textsuperscript{294} We have left, after meeting you in battle, your brother ‘Ubaydallāh\textsuperscript{295} as meat stripped from the bone. And we have surrounded the camel and its people\textsuperscript{296} and given you deadly poison to drink.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaŷ—Malik b. A’yan al-Juḥānī—Zayd b. Wahh al-Juḥānī: ‘Alī passed near a group of the Syrians, among them al-Wālīd b. ‘Uqbah, who were abusing him verbally. He was told about that and stopped with those of his men who were close to them and said:

Attack them! The presence of God, the dignity, the dignity of Islam,\textsuperscript{297} and the sign of the righteous\textsuperscript{298} be with you. By God, those among them who are closest to ignorance\textsuperscript{299} are their leaders and the one who has mustered

\textsuperscript{293} Of the Banū Najār/Anṣār, he is referred to on pp. 163, below, as being in Egypt with Muhammad b. Abī Bakr. WS, 401, has the first verse as part of a long poem attributed to Jarīsh al-Sakūnī, but refers to al-Ḥajjāj on p. 448 among a group of Anṣārīs supporting ‘Ali.

\textsuperscript{294} This seems to be the only reference to Hawshab in Tabart’s material on Siffin, but he is mentioned frequently in WS. See also Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Haušab b. Yazīd . . . b. Dī Zulaym.

\textsuperscript{295} That is, ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

\textsuperscript{296} Ann., A.H. 37 §46, suggests an allusion to the Battle of the Camel.

\textsuperscript{297} ‘Alaykum al-sakīna wa-al-waqr waqr al-Īsām. For a discussion of the words sakīna and waqr, see Goldziher, “Über den Ausdruck «sakīna»;” in his Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie, I, 177ff., especially 186 and n. 5. Goldziher notes the equivalence of waqr with Aramaic iqārā (= Hebrew kabār), “abundance, honor, glory,” and indicates the use of iqārā and shekhnā together in Jewish Aramaic (for an example, see Michael Sokoloff, A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period [Bar Ilan, 1990], s.v. ‘yqr: “the glory of the divine presence”). In ‘Alī’s speech waqr al-Īsām seems intrusive and may be a gloss. Perhaps a more basic translation (“the presence of God and the glory of God be with you”) would convey the sense better.

\textsuperscript{298} See Qur’ān 48:29, etc., for formulas such as smāhum fi wujūhihim.

\textsuperscript{299} ‘Iahl, “ignorance,” here implies the complete opposite of Islam. ‘Alī seems to be saying that the men who are named subsequently, although they might nominally be Muslims, are barely removed from the enmity that they showed to Islam in the jāhilīyyah.
them, Mu'āwiya, together with Ibn al-Nābighah,300 Abū al-A'war al-Sulami, and Ibn Abī Mu'ayt, the wine drinker who was flogged according to God's law in the time of Islam. They are just the ones who would stand and cause harm to me and find fault301 with me, for even before today they have fought against me,302 at a time when I was calling them to Islam, and they were calling me to the worship of idols. Praise be to God. Formerly the evil ones (fāsiqūn) acted with enmity against me, but God made them slaves—were they not "conquered"?303 This indeed is the important and grave matter—that evil ones, who are not regarded with favor but are fearful of Islam and its people,304 duped a large part of this community and caused their hearts to drink the love of fitnah, winning over their wandering desires with lies and falsehood. They have raised war against us in putting out the light of God.305 Oh God, disperse their congregation, shatter their arguments, and deliver them for destruction for their sins. He whom You befriend is not cast down, and he whom You oppose does not wax mighty.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Wa'lah—al-Sha'bi: 'Ali passed by a body of enemy men with a banner and saw that they clung to their position. He urged on the men against them and was told that they belonged to Ghassān. He said: "They will not give up their position without an efficient spear thrust that will drive the breath from them and a sword blow by which heads will be split asunder, bones will be scattered, and from which wrists and hands will fall; not until their foreheads are split by shafts of iron

300. That is, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, here called derogatively after his mother.
301. See Add. et emend. for the suggested correction to yajdubūnānī; WS, 391, has yashtumānānī.
302. Wa-qabella al-yawmi mā qatalānt. For the use of mā after expressions involving qabella, see Gloss., s.v. mā, with reference to Wright, Grammar, II, §127, rem. c, and other works.
303. Fa'abbadahum Allāhu a-lam yuftahū. The two verbs are undotted and Cairo reads qa'idahum Allāha a-lam yuqbahū. "By God who watches them, were they not denied success?" which seems smoother.
304. Wa'ālā al-islāmi wa-ahlīhi mutakhawwīfīn. It is difficult to see how takhawwafa 'alā can have its usual sense of "to fear for" here. See Gloss., s.v., for khawwafa 'alā.
and their eyebrows are dispersed over their chests and chins. Where are those who will be steadfast and those who seek after eternal reward?” A band of the Muslims rallied to him, and he summoned his son Muḥammad and said, “March slowly against the people of that banner, taking your time, and when your lances are trained on their hearts wait until you hear my plan.” They did what they had been told, and ‘Alī made ready a similar group. When ‘Alī had got close to them and the lances were trained on their hearts, he commanded those whom he had made ready and they attacked them, and he urged Muḥammad and those with him to attack from in front, and the Ghassānīs abandoned their position, while our men killed or wounded many of them. Then a great battle took place after sunset so that most of the men could perform the prayer ritual only cursorily.306

According to Ābu Mikhnaf—Ābu Bakr al-Kindī: ‘Abdallah b. Ka‘b al-Murādī307 was killed at Ǧiffin. Al-Aswad b. Qays al-Murādī was passing by him, and ‘Abdallah said to him, “Aswad!” “Yes,” he replied, “what can I do for you (labbayka)?” Seeing that ‘Abdallah was on the point of death, al-Aswad said: “By God, your being struck down pains me. By God, if I had been with you, I would have helped you and protected you, and, if I knew who has shed your blood, then I would not want him to get away before I killed him or was joined to you (in death).” He then dismounted and said to ‘Abdallah, “Indeed, by God, your neighbor has had security against your evil conduct,308 and you have been one of those who frequently call God to mind, so give me your final instructions, may God have mercy on you.” ‘Abdallah said, “I recommend to you the fear of God, that you faithfully serve the Commander of the Faithful, and that you

306. Ḣādīth, literally “by sign or gesture”, for hadiths regarding the circumstances in which such a form of prayer is permissible, see Wensinck, Concordances, s.v. w-m-’, form IV.

307. This seems to be Thabari’s only mention of ‘Abdallah, for whom see Ibn Ḥajar, al-Ṭabarī, II, 363 (no. 4918); for al-Aswad in the fighting against the Khawārīj, see p. 131, below. There seems to be some confusion in the sources: SNB (cited by the editor of WS, 436) refers to ‘Abdallah b. Budayl al-Khuza‘ī (see n.128) and al-Aswad b. Ṭuhmān al-Khuza‘ī, while the index of WS confuses ‘Abdallah b. Ka‘b al-Murādī with ‘Abdallah b. Ka‘b al-Nahdt, who likewise fell at Ǧiffin fighting for ‘Alī (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

308. Bawḍ ʿiq. The phrase seems to mean something like “you have led a good life and observed your duties toward your neighbor.” See Wensinck, Concordance, s.v. b-w-q, and Lane, Lexicon, s.v. ba‘iqah, for the occurrence of the phrase in hadiths.
fight the transgressors (muhillin) with him until you are victorious or are united with God." Then he said, "Give him my greetings and say to him, 'Fight for the battlefield so that you put it behind you,' for he who finds on the morrow that the battlefield is behind him, will be superior.'" Shortly after that he died. Al-Aswad then went and informed 'Ali, who said, "May God have mercy upon him. In life he made jihād for us against our enemies, and in death he has offered us sincere advice."

According to Abū Mikhna4—Muḥammad b. Ishāq, mawlā of the Banū al-Muṭṭalib:310 It was 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥanbal ad-Jumāh311 who expressed these opinions to 'Alī at Šīfīn. According to Hishām—'Awānāh: On that day Ibn Ḥanbal began to say:

If you kill me, Ibn Ḥanbal am I,
he who said, "A hairy one is nigh."312

According to Abū Mikhna4 (whose account now continues]: The men fought for the whole of that night until morning—that was the "night of howling"—until the lances were broken, the stock of arrows exhausted, and the men had resorted to swords. 'Alī moved between his right and left wings, ordering every squadron of the qurra' to advance on those adjacent to them. He kept that up, leading the men until, when morning came, the entire battlefield was behind his back.313 Al-Ashtar commanded the right wing and Ibn 'Abbās the left. 'Alī was in the center, and the men were fighting on every side. It was Friday.

Al-Ashtar started to move forward with the right wing, fighting with them. He had been in charge of them on Thursday evening

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309. Qātil 'an al-ma'arakah ḥattā taj'alahā khalta zahrika. Perhaps signifying, "fight so fiercely that the battlefield comes to be behind you (because you have advanced so far)?" Cf. the report of Abū Mikhna4, below.
310. That is, Ibn Ishāq, the compiler of the Shā' (d. 151/768).
311. For this poet of Quraysh, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.
312. There are more anti-'Uthmān verses ascribed to 'Abd al-Rahmān in Ibn 'Abbās al-Barr, al-Istā'āb, 398, no. 1715 (= Ann., A.H. 37 §238). For an explanation of al-Na'thal ("hairy") as an abusive nickname for the caliph 'Uthmān, see The Lāṭa'īf al-Maʿārif of Thaʿālībī, tr. C. E. Bosworth [Edinburgh, 1968], 56, and the literature cited there.
313. Wa al-ma'arakah kulluhā khalta zahrihi.
and night until dawn appeared, and he kept saying to his men, "Go forward the length of this spear," advancing with them toward the Syrians. When they had carried out his order he would say, "Go forward the length of this bow." When they had carried out his order he would command them again in a similar manner until most of them had run out of courage. When al-Ashtar saw that he said, "I pray to God lest you suckle from sheep from now on." Then he called for his horse and left his banner with Hayyān b. Hawdhah al-Nakha'ī while he went around among the squadrons, saying, "Who will purchase his life from God and fight with al-Ashtar until he is victorious or joins God?" And no man of those who had gone out to join him and Hayyān b. Hawdhah withdrew.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—Umārah b. Rabī‘ah al-Jarmī: By God, al-Ashtar passed by me, and I went forward with him and many men joined him. He proceeded until he had returned to the place of the right wing, where he led his men and said: "Launch an attack! May my paternal and maternal uncles be a ransom for you, by which you will please your Lord and glorify your religion (dīn). When I attack, attack!" Then he dismounted and struck the face of his mount, and he said to his standard bearer, "Advance with it." He and his men with him then attacked the enemy and fought the Syrians until they had pushed them as far as their camp. They fought him fiercely by the camp, and his standard bearer was killed. ‘Alī, seeing the victory of his men, began to send reinforcements.

According to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abmad [al-Marwazī]—his father—Sulaymān—‘Abdallāh—Juwayriyah: At Siffin ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ said to Wardān: "Do you know what we two may be compared with? With

314. Literally, "on Thursday evening and Friday night." The day was counted as beginning and ending at sunset.
315. For the expression, see Lane, Lexicon, s.v. radi‘a: used of a man who becomes mean, sordid, or ignoble.
316. Already reported as having been killed on p. 57, above. It could be that, with Wṣ, 286, we should read Hanān on p. 57, possibly that we should amend here to Hanān b. Hawdhah al-Nakha‘ī (see ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.), or perhaps that we simply have variant traditions.
317. That is, to cause it to flee so that he himself could not escape if the battle were going against him. See Gloss., s.v. 4-r-b.
the sorrel camel\textsuperscript{318} that, if it presses ahead, is hamstrung and, if
it lags behind, is slaughtered. If you lag behind, I will cut off your
head. Bring me a cord." [He did so, and 'Amr] fixed it on the feet
of Wardān, who said: "By God, 'Abū 'Abdallāh, I will lead you to
the pool of death. Put your hand on my shoulder." Then he began
to go forward, looking at 'Amr from time to time and saying,
"Indeed I will lead you to the pool of death."

(Resuming the account of Abu Mikhnaf:) When 'Amr b. al-‘Āṣ
saw that the position of the Iraqis had strengthened and was afraid
that it would lead to destruction, he said to Mu'āwiyah, "What if
I put something to you that can only increase our unity and their
division?" "All right," said Mu'āwiyah. 'Amr said, "We will raise
the \textit{maṣāḥif}\textsuperscript{319} and say, 'their contents are to be authoritative in
our dispute \textit{ma fiha hukm baynana wa-baynakum}!' Even if some
of them refuse to accept it, you will find that some of them will
say, 'Indeed, yes, we must accept;' and there will be a division
between them. If, on the other hand, they say, 'Yes, indeed, we
accept what is in it;' then we will have disburdened ourselves
of this fighting and this warfare until an appointed time or a later
occasion." So they raised the \textit{maṣāḥif} on lances and said: "This is
the Book of God between us and you. Who will protect the frontier
districts of the Syrians if they all perish, and who those of the Iraqis
if they all perish?" When the men saw that the \textit{maṣāḥif} had been
raised, they said, "We respond to the Book of God, and we turn in
repentance to it."

\textsuperscript{318} Al-\textit{ashqar}, a sorrel camel or horse; if the latter, then one of the best sort (Lane,
\textit{Lexicon}, s.v.). Ibn al-\textit{Athār} has a pun here: In response to 'Amr's question, Wardān
says, "With al-\textit{Ashtar}!" 'Amr answers, "No, with al-\textit{ashqar}. . . ."

\textsuperscript{319} Al-\textit{muṣḥaf} (of which al-\textit{maṣāḥif} is the plural) may refer simply to a volume
or a book but, used without further specification, usually refers to the Qur’ān or
a copy of it. Many scholars, traditional and modern, have been happy to accept
that 'Amr b. al-‘Āṣ's famous plan was for the raising of copies of the Qur’ān on the ends
of the Syrian lances. Some, however, have seen problems in that interpretation: Most
obviously, according to the tradition, this would have been relatively soon after the
promulgation of the text by 'Uthmān (who is said to have had all variant copies
destroyed), and it is hard to see that many manuscript copies could have been made
as yet. Various theories have been proposed to get around this difficulty (see, e.g.,
Hinds, "\textit{Sijfín Arbitration Agreement}"). To allow for the possibility that, at the time
of the Fitnah, al-\textit{muṣḥaf} (or expressions such as the \textit{Book of God} or the \textit{Book}) did
not yet designate the Qur’ān as we understand it and to avoid imposing an
interpretation, the terminology of the text has been maintained in the following.
According to Abu Mikhnafa ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Jundab al-Azdi—his father: ‘Ali said: “Servants of God, carry on fighting your enemies, for you have truth and right on your side. Mu’awiyah, ‘Amr b. al-‘As, Ibn Abi Mu’ayt, Habib b. Maslamah, Ibn Abi Sarh, and al-Dahhak b. Qays are men without religion and without Qur’an. I know them better than you, for I was with them both as children and as men, and they were the worst of children and the worst of men. Alas for you! They have not exalted them (the Masahif), and they do not exalt them and do not know what it is that they contain. They have raised them up to you only to deceive you, to outwit you, and to trick you.” They answered him, “If we are called to the Book of God, we are bound to respond.” ‘Ali said to them, “The only reason I have fought against them was so that they should adhere to the authority of this Book (li-yadim bi-hukmi hadha al-kitab), for they have disobeyed God in what He has commanded and they have forgotten His covenant and rejected His Book.”

Mis’ar b. Fadaki al-Tamimi and Zayd b. Husayn al-Ta’i, al-Sinbisi, who were with a band of the Qurra’ who afterward became Khawarij, said to him: “‘Ali, respond to the Book of God when you are called to it. Otherwise we shall indeed deliver you up entirely to the enemy or do what we did with Ibn ‘Affan. It is our duty to act in accordance with what is in the Book of God. We have accepted it and, by God, if you do not do what we tell you, we will do what we say.” ‘Ali said: “Do not forget that I forbade you to do this, and remember your words to me. As for me, if you are obedient to me, fight, and, if disobedient, then do whatever seems best to you.” They answered, “At least send for al-Ashtar, and let him come to you.”

320. Qur’an parallels “religion” (din), both of which are grammatically undefined.
321. Innahum mā rafa’āh thumma lā yarfa’ūnahā w~lā y~lamānā bimā fhā wa-mā rafa’āhā lakum illā . . . W3, 489, has innahum wa-Allāhi mā rafa’āhā anhum ya’rifunahā wa-y~lamānā [changed from the first edition’s ya’lamānā] bihā wa-lakinnahā . . . “They have not raised them up because they recognize them and act according to them, [they have raised them] only. . . !”. There seems to be some punning involving rafa’a in the two senses of “to lift up” and “to exalt” and playing on the words rafa’a/arafa and ‘alima/‘amala.
322. See Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Zaid b. Hishn; he was of the Banu Sinbis b. Mu’awiyah of the Tayyi’.
According to Abū Mikhnafl Fuḍayl b. Khadij al-Kindī—a man of the Banū al-Nakha': The informant saw Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar visit Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, and Ibrāhīm said: I was with 'Alī when the people compelled him to accept the arbitration (al-hukūmah), and they said, "Send for al-Ashtar and let him come to you."

[Abū Mikhnafl, continuing the narrative from Jundab al-Azdi:] So 'Alī sent Yazīd b. Hāni' al-Sabī' to al-Ashtar to tell him to come. Yazīd went to al-Ashtar and gave him the message, but al-Ashtar said that he should tell 'Alī: "Now is not the time for you to move me from my post. I am expecting success in battle; do not rush me." Yazīd b. Hāni' returned to 'Alī and told him the answer, but he had scarcely reached us when there was a cloud of dust and raised voices from the direction of al-Ashtar. The men said to 'Alī, "By God, we think you must have ordered him to give battle;" but he replied: "What makes you think that? Do you think I spoke secretly with him? Did I not speak to him (the messenger) openly in your hearing?" They answered him: "Send for him and have him come to you. Otherwise, by God, we will withdraw (i'tazala) from you." 'Alī, therefore, said to Yazīd (the messenger): "Alas for you, Yazīd! Tell him, 'Come to me, for the fitnah has come!" Yazīd told al-Ashtar that, and the latter asked, "Is it because of the raising of the maṣāḥif?" "Yes," he answered. Al-Ashtar said: "By God, indeed when they were raised I thought that they would cause division and disunity. It was the counsel of the son of the harlot. Do you not see what God has done for us? Do I have to leave the enemy and go away from them?"

I (Yazīd b. Hāni') said: I asked him, "Would you like to be victorious here while the Commander of the Faithful is driven from the place where he is or is made to submit there?" "No, by God," he replied; "Glory be to God." Yazīd said, "They have told 'Alī, 'Send to al-Ashtar and have him come to you, or we will kill you as we killed Ibn 'Affān.'"

So al-Ashtar came to them and addressed them: "Men of Iraq! Men of baseness and feebleness! [Will you abandon the battle] when you have won the upper hand over the enemy and they think that
you are defeating them?\textsuperscript{325} They have raised the \textit{masāḥif}, calling you to what is in them but, by God, they have abandoned what God commanded in them and the example (\textit{sunnah}) of him to whom they were sent down. Do not respond to those people. Just grant me the respite of a time between two milkings, for I sense success in battle." They answered, "No." He then said, "Just grant me the respite of a time of the running of a horse, for I am sure of victory."\textsuperscript{326} They replied, "In that case we would be partaking of your sin (\textit{khaṭṭah})."

Al-Ashtar said: "Tell me, now that the best of you have been killed and only the base ones remain, when were you in the right? Was it when you were fighting and the best of you were killed? In that case, since you have now withdrawn from the fighting, you are in the wrong. Or are you now in the right? In that case, those of you who have been killed, whose merits you do not deny and were better than you, are in hell." They answered: "Leave us alone, Ashtar! We fought them in God's cause, and we will now leave off fighting them for His sake. We will not obey you or your master. Get away from us." Al-Ashtar said: "By God, you have been cheated and allowed yourselves to be duped. You have been invited to leave aside war and you have assented. Oh you of the dark foreheads\textsuperscript{327} we used to think your prayers were a renunciation of this world and a longing to join God. But now I see that you merely flee to this world from death. Shame on you, you who are like the aged she-camel who seeks after filth to eat. After this you will never see glory again. May you perish just as those evil people perished."\textsuperscript{328}

They reviled al-Ashtar and he them, and they struck the face of his mount with their whips while he moved forward, striking the faces of theirs with his. 'Ali called to them, and they desisted, and he said to the men, "We have agreed to make the Qur'ān an authority (\textit{ḥukm}) between us and them."

\textsuperscript{325} WS, 491, agrees with the reading \textit{a-hīna} given in Add. et emend.

\textsuperscript{326} From "Just grant me..." to this point the translation includes material from the editor's footnote, which suggests that text has been omitted in the ms.

\textsuperscript{327} Ann. understands this term as a reference to their cowardice.

\textsuperscript{328} Possibly a reference to the Qur'ānic theme of the \textit{umam khaliyyah}, those communities that had been destroyed by God because they rejected the prophets He had sent to them (e.g., Qur'ān 11:94–95).
Al-Ash'ath b. Qays came to 'Ali and said to him: "The men all seem satisfied and pleased to respond to the enemy's summons regarding the authority of the Qur'an. If you like, I will go to Mu'awiyah and ask him what he wants, and you will see what he asks." 'Ali said, "Go to him if you want and ask him."

Al-Ash'ath went to him and said, "Mu'awiyah, why have you raised these maṣāḥif?" He answered: "So that you and we together turn to what God commanded in His book. You will send a man from among you whom you find acceptable, and we will send a man from among us, and we will impose upon them that they act according to what is in the Book of God, not opposing it. Then we will follow what they agree upon." Al-Ash'ath b. Qays said to him, "This is just;" and then he went back to 'Ali and told him what Mu'awiyah had said.

Our men said, "We are pleased and accept." The Syrians said, "We have chosen 'Amr b. al-'As, and al-Ash'ath and those who became Khawārij afterward said, "We are content with Abu Mūsā al-Ash'ārī."

'Ali said: "You disobeyed me in the start of this business; do not disobey me now. I do not think I should grant power to Abū Mūsā."

But al-Ash'ath, Zayd b. Hūṣayn al-Ṭā'ī, and Mis'ar b. Fadakī insisted, "We do not find anyone else acceptable: What he warned us against we have fallen into."329 'Ali said: "I do not consider him trustworthy. He separated from me and caused the people to abandon me. Then he fled from me until I granted him security after some months. But here is Ibn 'Abbās; we will give him power in that matter." They replied, "It would not make any difference for us whether it was you or Ibn 'Abbās. We insist on someone who is equally distant from you and Mu'awiyah, no closer to one of you than he is to the other." 'Ali said, "I will appoint al-Ashtar:"

According to Abū Mikhnař—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī: Al-Ash'ath said, "Was it anybody but al-Ashtar who caused this conflagration in the land?"

According to Abū Mikhnař—'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jundāb—his father: Al-Ash'ath said, "Are we not already under the authority (ḥukm) of al-Ashtar?" 'Ali said, "What is that?" and al-Ash'ath answered, "That we should strike one another with swords until what you and he want comes to pass." 'Ali said, "Do you then refuse

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329. That is, fitnāh.

They sent to Abū Mūsā, who had withdrawn apart (i’tazala) from the fighting and was in ‘Urd. A mawlá of his came to him and said, “The people have made a peace.” He replied, “Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds.” The mawlá then said, “They have made you an arbitrator (ḥakam),” and Abū Mūsā said, “We belong to God and to Him we return.”

Abū Mūsā came and entered the army camp. Al-Ashtar went to ‘Ali and said, “Assign me to ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and, by God other than Whom there is no god, if I lay eyes on him, I will kill him.” And al-Ahnaf came and said: “Commander of the Faithful, you have been assaulted by a crafty and cunning man and by one who made war against God and His Messenger at the beginning of Islam. I have tested this man (Abū Mūsā) and tried him out in varying circumstances and I have found him dull-witted and shallow in intellect. Only somebody who can get so close to the enemy as to be in the palms of their hands, and be so far from them as the Pleiades, will avail us in dealing with them. If you refuse to make me an arbitrator on the question, at least make me a second or a third (delegate). (Then) I shall untie any knot that he shall fasten, and he shall not undo any knot that I tie, unless I have (already) tied for you another more binding (ahkamu).” But the people insisted on (the choice of) Abū Mūsā and acceptance of (the call to refer to) the Book. Al-Ahnaf said, “If you insist on Abū Mūsā, then make sure someone is watching him.”

330. See Yaqūt, Mu’jam al-buldān, III, 644, for this place, said to be between Palmyra and Ruṣafah.

331. Qur’an 2:156. This is a standard formula of resignation to God’s will, often uttered on receipt of bad news, especially news of someone’s death.

332. Rumlta bi-hajar al-ard. Gloss., s.v. hajar, refers to Freytag, Arabum proverbia, I, 520, for the similar ramayta al-amra bi-hajaristi; for the translation adopted here, see Lane, Lexicon, s.v. hajar. The reference is to ‘Amr’s initial opposition to the Prophet and his acceptance of Islam only when it had become clear that it would be victorious.

333. Halabtu ashturahu. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. shatr, has the idiom.

334. Kalilu al-shafrati garibu al-qā’ri; literally, “blunt of blade and lacking in depth.” Lane, Lexicon, s.v. qā’r, has ba’ eradicate al-qā’r as meaning “of deep intellect.”

335. Literally, “keep his back warm with the men”; perhaps, “give him some men to back him up.”
They wrote: "In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. This is what 'Ali the Commander of the Faithful has determined." But 'Amr said, "Just write his name and that of his father, for he is your commander but not ours." Al-Ahnaf said to 'Ali, "Do not efface the title of Commander of the Faithful, for I fear that if you erase it the office will never revert to you. Do not erase it, even though the people kill one another." 'Ali refused (to make the erasure) for much of the day, but then al-Ash'ath b. Qays said, "Erase this name, for God has removed it." So it was erased, and 'Ali said: "God is most great! A precedent (sunnah) following a precedent and an example (mathal) following an example! I was writing in the presence of the Messenger of God on the day of al-Hudaybiyyah when they said, 'You are not the Messenger of God, and we will not lend credence to that—just write your name and that of your father;' and he wrote it." 'Amr b. al-'Ash said, "God preserve us from this comparison—that we should be compared to infidels although we are believers!" 'Ali said: "Ibn al-Nabighah, when were you not a friend to the wicked (fāsiqūn) and an enemy to the Muslims? Do you resemble anybody but your mother who brought you forth?" 'Amr stood and said, "You and I will never sit together again." 'Ali said, "I hope that God cleanses my circle of you and the likes of you!" And the document was written.

According to 'Ali b. Muslim al-Tusi—Habbān—Mubarak—al-Hasan: Al-Ahnaf told me that Mu'āwiya wrote to 'Ali: "If you want there to be a peace agreement, then erase this title." 'Ali took counsel. He had a tent that he had given the Banū Hashim permission to enter and me (al-Ahnaf) with them. He asked, "What is your view regarding what Mu'āwiya has written—erase this title?" (Mubarak said: That is, the title Commander of the Faithful.) They replied, "God has removed it, for, when the Messenger of God made a peace with the people of Mecca, he wrote, 'Muhammad, 336. Gloss. insists that barraha is not to be understood as an optative but with reference to the story of al-Hudaybiyyah in the following. The account refers to the tradition that at al-Hudaybiyyah the still polytheist Meccans refused to allow Muhammad to use the title "Messenger of God" in the document they and he drew up at the time of their truce in 6/628. They insisted that he style himself merely "Muhammad the son of 'Abdallah." Muhammad is said to have agreed to this apparently humiliating concession. See further EI², s.v. al-Hudaybiyya.

337. A Baghdādi traditionist who died in 253/867 (see Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, VII, 382, no. 622, where Ḥabbāb [sic] b. Ḥilāl is named as one of his authorities).
Messenger of God, but they rejected that until he had written, 'This is what Muhammad b. Abdallah has determined.' I said to 'Ali: "What is this comparison between you and the Messenger of God? In giving you the oath of allegiance we have not given any special respect to you as an individual. If we had known anyone among us with more right in this matter than you, we would have given him our oath of allegiance and then fought you. I swear by God that, if you delete this title, upon which I have given an oath of allegiance and for which I have fought against them, it will never return to you." And, by God, that is how it was. Rarely was al-Ahna's opinion set against that of someone else without its proving to be superior.

(The narrative of Abu Mikhnaf is now resumed.) The document was written:

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, this is what 'Ali b. Abi Talib and Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan have mutually determined. 'Ali has decided it for the men of al-Kufah and those of their party (shiah) who are with them of the believers and the Muslims; Mu'awiya has decided it for the men of Syria and those believers and Muslims with them.

We will comply with the authority (hukm) of God and His Book, and nothing else will bring us together. We will refer to the Book of God from its opening to its close. We will effect what it lays down and eliminate what it does away with. The two arbitrators (hakaman)—and they are Abi Musa al-Ash'ari 'Abdallah b. Qays and 'Amr b. al-'As al-Qurashi—will act in accordance with whatever they find in the Book of God. For whatever they do not find in

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338. Cairo reads "upon which you have accepted an oath of allegiance and for which you have fought against them."
339. For variant readings of the following text, and variants in the names of the witnesses, see Hinds, "Siffin Arbitration Agreement"; and see Serjeant, "Early Arabic Prose," esp. 142–47.
340. Literally, "the Book of God is between us."
341. It is not clear whether we are meant to understand that the two names were part of the document or whether this is an explicit editorial interpolation. The two versions analyzed by Hinds contain the names.
the Book of God they will resort to the just precedent (al-
sunnah al-'ādilah), which unites and does not divide.

The two arbitrators have from 'Alī and Mu'āwiyyah and from the two armies pacts and covenants and from the people an assurance that they have security for themselves and their families. The community will be helpers (ansār) for the two arbitrators regarding what they both determine, and the believers and Muslims of both parties are bound by God's pact and covenant that we will abide by the contents of this document (ṣaḥīfah), that what the two of them decide upon is obligatory for the believers. Security, right conduct, and the setting aside of arms are to be between the believers wherever they go, for themselves, their families, their properties, those of them who are here and those who are absent. 'Abdallāh b. Qays and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ have sworn to God that they will decide the issue disputed among this community and that they will not return it to warfare or division so long as they are not disobeyed.

The appointed time for the decision is Ramaḍān, but, if the two of them wish to defer that, they may defer it by mutual consent. If one of the two arbitrators dies, then the commander of (his) party (shī'ah) will choose in his stead one of those who are recognized for justice and probity342 and will not delay. The place in which they will make their decision shall be a place equidistant between the people of al-Kūfah and those of Syria, and, if they so wish and desire, only those whom they want may be present there with them. The two arbitrators will take whomsoever they wish of those (now) present and write the fact of their witnessing343 to what is in this document. They will be helpers (of the two arbitrators) against whoever abandons what is in this document and desires impiety (i'lād) and injustice regarding it. Oh God, we ask for Your help against whoever abandons what is in this document.

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342. Min ahl al-ma'dalah wa-al-qisṭ: for the concept of 'adālah in Muslim law, see EI², s.v. 'Adl.

343. Read shahādatahum, not shahādatahumā.
The Events of the Year 37


According to Abû Mikhnaf—Abû Jây'b al-Kalbî—Umârah b. Rabî'ah al-Jarmî When the document (ṣahîfah) had been written, al-Ĥastar was summoned to (witness) it, but he said: "May I lose my right hand, and may my left be useless after it, if my name is inscribed in this document in favor of peace or settlement. Do I not have a clear sign from my Lord about the error of my enemy, and did you not have the prospect of victory if you had not agreed upon acting wrongfully?" Al-Ash'ath b. Qays said to him: "By God, you have seen neither victory nor wrongful acts. Come to us, for there is no reason for you to shun us."[^348] He replied: "Yes, indeed, by God, there is reason to shun you in this world on its account and in the next on its account. God has shed by my sword the blood of men no worse than you in my view, and their blood was no less sacrosanct than yours."

'Umârah said: I looked at that man—he meant al-Ash'ath—and it was as if charcoal had been crushed on his nose (that is, he was black with rage).

[^344]: Again, it is not clear whether this is to be understood as a continuation of the text of the document ("Witnessed by:...") or as an editorial comment.

[^345]: For al-Ash'ath, Ibn 'Abbâs, and Sa'id b. Qays, see nn. 55, 3, 66, above; for Yazîd b. Hujhayyah, Ibn al-Kalbî, II, index, s.v.; for Mâlik b. Ka'b, ibid., s.v. Mâlik b. Ka'b Abû al-Ĥârîth, Hujrî b. 'Adî (see n. 71, above), appears in other versions as Hujrî b. Yazîd (which may be a better reading).

[^346]: For Ḥamzah b. Mâlik, see n. 81, above; for al-Mukhârîq, Zîml, and 'Utba (the brother of Mu'âwiyyah), see Ibn al-Kalbî, II, index, s.v.v.

[^347]: A-wâ-lastu 'alî bâ'yinah min rabbi min dalâl 'adâtî. Cairo has a wâw before the second min; W٥, 51, has... wa-yaqîn min dalâlat 'adâtî.

[^348]: Lâ raghbata bika 'annâ.
According to Abu Mikhnaf—Abu Janab: Al-Ash'ath went out with the document to read it to the men and to present it to them to read it (themselves). He came with it to a party of the Banu Tamim, among whom was 'Urwah b. Udayyah, the brother of Abu Bilal (Mirdas). Al-Ash'ath read it to them, and 'Urwah said: "Do you appoint men as arbitrators in God's business? Authority (hukm) belongs to God alone." Then he wielded his sword and lightly struck the rump of his mount with it so that it plunged forward, but his companions shouted to him, "Control yourself!" and he withdrew. The people of al-Ash'ath's tribe and many others of the Yemenis were furious on his behalf, but al-Abnaf b. Qays al-Sadi, Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyahi, Mis'ar b. Fadaki, and many of the Banu Tamim came to al-Ash'ath and offered apologies and excuses. He accepted them and forgave them.

According to Abu Mikhnaf—Abu Zayd 'Abdallah al-Awdi: A man of Awd called 'Amr b. Aws fought alongside Ali at Siffin, and Mu'awiyah took him prisoner with many others. 'Amr b. al-As told Mu'awiyah to kill them, but 'Amr b. Aws said to Mu'awiyah, "You are my maternal uncle, so do not kill me." The Banu Awd came up to Mu'awiyah and requested, "Give us our brother," but he replied: "Let him be. By my life, if he is telling the truth, then we do not need your intercession; and, if he is lying, then your intercession will be of no use." He asked 'Amr b. Aws: "How is it that I am your maternal uncle? By God, there is no marriage relationship between us and the Banu Awd." 'Amr replied, "If I tell you and you recognize it, then will it gain a safe-conduct for me from you?" "Yes," he said. 'Amr said, "Do you not know that Umm Habibah the daughter of Abu Sufyan was the Prophet's wife?" "Yes, indeed," Mu'awiyah answered. "Well, I am her son, and you are her brother, and therefore you are my maternal uncle." Mu'awiyah said: "May God grant rest to your father! Among these there is nobody who

349. For these two brothers of the Banu Hanzaalah/Tamim, see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. 'Urwa b. Hudair and Mirdas b. Hudair.
351. For al-Abnaf, a Tamim leader proverbial for his tact and diplomacy, see EI?, s.v.
352. Apparently the Banu Awd b. Sa'ib of Madhhiij, which had members in both al-Kufah and Syria (Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Aud).
353. Literally, "will come from behind him."
would have thought of it other than he (i.e., 'Amr b. Aws)." Then he said to the men of Awd: "Indeed he has no need of your intercession! Let him go!"

According to Abu Mikhnaq—Numayr b. Wa'lah al-Hamdani—al-Sha'bi: The prisoners taken by 'Ali at Šiffin were numerous, but he released them, and they went to Mu'awiyah while 'Amr was advising the latter to kill the many whom the Syrians had captured. But they were surprised to find that the prisoners taken from their own side had been released, and Mu'awiyah said to him: "'Amr, if we were to follow your advice regarding these prisoners, we would incur disgrace in the matter. Do you not see that our own captives have been released?" And he ordered the release of the prisoners who were in his hands.

According to Abu Mikhnaq—Ismail b. Yazid—Humayd b. Muslim—Jundab b. 'Abdallah: At Šiffin 'Ali said to his men: "You have done something that has demolished strength, brought down might, caused weakness, and bequeathed lowness. When you had the upper hand and your enemy feared destruction, when the slaughter was great among them and they experienced the agonies of wounds, they raised the masāḥif and summoned you to what was in them so as to obtain relief from you, to break off the fighting over the issue that divides you from them, and to await the accidents of fate, as a trick and a cunning trap. You gave them what they asked and insisted on leniency and forbearance toward them, and I swear by God that I do not think that henceforth you will agree upon right conduct or achieve a gate of discretion."

Abu Ja'far (al-Tabarr) said: The document (kitab) regarding the matter between 'Ali and Mu'awiyah was written, according to report, on Wednesday, thirteen days having elapsed of Safar in the year 37 of the Hijrah. It was agreed that 'Ali and Mu'awiyah would come to the place of the two arbitrators at Dāmat al-Jandal. 

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354. The point is that Umm Habibah, Mu'awiyah's sister, enjoyed the honorific title "Mother of the Believers" (Umm al-mu'minun) along with the Prophet's other wives (see Qur'an 33:6).

355. For a in place of a-ľa, see Gloss., s.v. a.

356. It is not clear whether we are to understand that the following was agreed in the document itself. Ann., A.H. 37 §67, seems to think so and translates "con la clausola."

357. For this oasis on the borders between the Arabian peninsula and modern Jordan, see EI², s.v.
in the month of Ramaḍān and each of them would bring 400 companions and followers.

According to 'Abdallāh b. Ahmad [b. Shabbawayh al-Marwazi]—his father—Sulaymān b. Yūnus b. Yazīd—al-Zuhrī: At Siṣfīn, when Şā'ṣa'ah b. Şūḥān358 saw the men contending with one another,359 he said: "Hear and understand! Know well, by God, that, if 'Alī is triumphant, he will be like Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, but, if Mu'āwiyyah wins, he will not acknowledge any man's word as truth."

Al-Zuhrī said: So it was that the Syrians displayed360 their maṣāḥif and appealed to what they contained. The men of al-Kūfah and al- Başrah361 were filled with awe, and at that they appointed the two arbitrators. The men of Iraq chose Abū Mūsā al- Ash'āri and those of Syria 'Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. When the two had been appointed, the men at Siṣfīn dispersed, and the two arbitrators stipulated that they should elevate what the Qur'ān elevates362 and put down what the Qur'ān puts down, that they should make a choice for the community of Muhammad, and that they would meet together at Dāmat al-Jandal or, if they did not meet for that,363 that they should meet in the next year at Adhruh.364

When 'Alī went back the Harūriyyah365 opposed him and rebelled (kharaja). That was the first manifestation (of their movement). They exhorted him to fight (against Mu'āwiyyah) and rejected his giving authority to (ḥakkama) men in something that was a matter for God's authority (ḥukm). They said, "Authority belongs to God alone" (la ḥukma illa lillāh subhānahu) and fought against 'Alī.

When the two arbitrators met at Adhruh, al-Mughirah b. Shu'bah366 came to them among those of the men who were present there. The two sent to 'Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and to 'Abdallāh

358. See n. 62, above.
359. Reading, with Cairo, yatabārawna [Leiden reads yatabārřana].
360. Nashara, which could mean "to unroll," "to unfurl," or perhaps "to hoist" (like a flag); Ann., A.H. 38 §23, understands it in this last sense—"sollevarono."
361. Literally, "the men of the two Iraqs."
362. An yarfa a and raf'a al-Qur'ān. Here the metaphorical sense of raf'a al-Qur'ān is explicit.
363. In lam yatāmi'a li-dhālik; possibly, "if they did not agree to that," although one would expect 'alā rather than li.
364. Between Ma'n and Petra (see El², sv.).
365. A name for the Khawārij, said to be derived from the village of Harūrā', where they first gathered (see El², s.v. Harūrā').
366. For this controversial Companion of the Prophet and future governor of al-Kūfah for Mu'āwiyyah, see El², s.v.
b. al-Zubayr\textsuperscript{367} asking them to come with many men. Mu'āwiyah came with the Syrians, but 'Ali and the Iraqis refused to come. Al-Mughirah b. Shu'bah said to some men of Quraysh who were well versed in public affairs, "Do you think anybody is well versed enough to devise it so as to find out whether the two arbitrators will agree or differ from one another?" They replied, "We do not think anyone knows how to do that." He said, "By God, I think that I will find it out from them when I am alone with them and question them."

He went in to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and spoke to him, saying: "Abū Abdallāh, answer my question. What do you think about us—a group of those who have removed themselves from the conflict \( {\text{ma'shar al-mu'tazilah}} \)? We are in doubt about the matter of this fighting, which is clear to you, and we thought that we should wait and be cautious until the community reached an agreement." 'Amr answered, "I consider you a band that has gone apart \( {\text{mu'tazilah}} \), behind the righteous ones but ahead of the evil ones." Al-Mughirah went away, not asking him anything else, and came to Abū Mūsā.

He questioned him just as he had 'Amr, and Abū Mūsā said: "I think you are the most steadfast of the people in holding the right opinion. In you is the remnant of the Muslims." Al-Mughirah left without asking him anything else and met those well-versed men of Quraysh to whom he had said what he did. He said, "These two will never agree about anything."

When the two arbitrators met and debated, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "Abū Mūsā, I think that the first part of the truth we should determine is to decide in favor of those who fulfill their undertakings according to their fulfillment and against those who are perfidious according to their perfidy." Abū Mūsā said, "What do you mean?" and 'Amr said, "Do you not know that Mu'āwiyah and the Syrians have fulfilled their undertaking and come at the time and to the place upon which we pledged them?" "Indeed yes," said Abū Mūsā. 'Amr told him to write that down, and he did so. 'Amr said: "Abū Mūsā, do you accept that we should name a man who will have authority over the affairs of this community? Give me a name, and, if I can accept your suggestion, I undertake to do so; otherwise,\textsuperscript{367}

\textsuperscript{367} Both sons of prominent Companions of the Prophet, and possible candidates themselves for the caliphate (see \( {\text{E1}} \), s.vv.).
you must accept mine." Abû Mūsā said. "I suggest 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar." (Ibn 'Umar was one of those who had "gone apart" [i'tazala].) 'Amr replied, "I suggest Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān." Their meeting ended in mutual vilification.

Then they went out to the people, and Abû Mūsā said to them, "I have found 'Amr to be like those of whom God says, 'Recite to them the tidings of him to whom We have brought Our signs but he has cast them off.'" When Abû Mūsā fell silent, 'Amr spoke and said, "People, I have found Abû Mūsā to be like those of whom God says, 'Those who were made to bear the Tūrah but then did not carry it are like the ass carrying writings.'" And each one of them wrote down the simile he had coined regarding the other (to be sent to) the garrison towns.

Ibn Shihāb (al-Zuhri) said: One evening Mu'āwiyah stood and addressed the people. He praised God in suitable terms and then said, "Whoever has something to say on this matter, let him show himself to us." Ibn 'Umar said: "I got up from my hubwah for I wanted to say, 'Men who fought your father in the cause of Islam have something to say about it; but then I was afraid to say anything that would divide the community, or about which blood would be shed, or in which I might become carried away, for what God promised regarding the gardens (of paradise) is dearer to me than that. When Mu'āwiyah had returned to his dwelling place, Habīb b. Maslamah came to me and asked, 'What stopped you speaking when you heard what the man was saying?' I replied, 'I wanted to do so but then was afraid to say anything that would be divisive, or about which blood would be shed, or in which I might become carried away. What God promised of the gardens is dearer to me than that.'" Ibn 'Umar said, "Habīb said, 'You have been preserved by God from evil.'"

368. Qur'an 7:175, which continues, "and Satan followed after him and he became one of those who go astray" [al-ghāwin].
370. On the hubwah, a garment or piece of cloth used to wrap around oneself when sitting on the ground with the knees drawn up against the chest, or the act of sitting in such a posture, see Lane, Lexicon, s.vv. hubwah and h-b-w, form VIII.
371. Uṣimta. The story is illustrative of Ibn 'Umar's unwillingness to become involved in the fitnah. See the report in al-Bukhārī, Maghāzī, bāb 29 (ghazwat al-khandaq).
(The narrative of Abū Mikhnaf resumes.) According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadij al-Kindi: After the document (ṣahīfah) had been written, Ṭalḥa was told, "Al-Ashtar will not agree to what is in it, but insists on fighting." Ṭalḥa replied: "By God, I did not accept [the appeal to stop the fighting] and I did not want you to accept it, but, after you insisted, I agreed. Now, since I have accepted it, it is not right to reject it again and to change our mind after confirming it, unless God is disobeyed and His Book transgressed. Fight those who have neglected God's command, but, as for he who you tell me has forsaken my command and my position, he is not one of those. I have no fear that he will be like that. Would that there were two like him among you; would that there was one like him, who sees my foe as I do. Then the burden of you would become light for me and I would hope that some of your deviation would be returned to the straight path for me, for I ordered you not to do what you have done, but you disobeyed me. I and you are as the brother of Ḥawaṣīn said:

Am I anything but one of Ghaziyyah? If it goes astray, so do I, and, if it follows the right path, so do I."³⁷²

A group of those with him said, "Commander of the Faithful, we have only done what you have done." Ṭalḥa said: "Yes, but why was your answer to them in favor of our stopping fighting? As for the decision (to appoint arbiters), we have given you a pledge regarding it, and all I wanted was for you not fall into error, please God, the Lord of the worlds."

The document (kitāb) was written in the month of Ṣafar, and the time appointed for the meeting of the two arbiters was Ramaḍān, eight months later. Then men buried their dead, and Ṭalḥa gave the order to al-Aʿwar³⁷³ to call upon the men to depart.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abd al-Rahmān b. Jundab—his father: When we left Siffin we took a different road from that by which we had come. We went by way of the open country on the

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³⁷² In al-Iṣfahānī, Kitāb al-Aghānt, X, 8, line 8, the verse is attributed to Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah of the Banu Jusham b. Muʿāwiyyah/Hawaṣīn, of which Ghaziyyah b. Jusham was a subclan (see Ibn al-Kalbi, I, table 116).

³⁷³ Possibly to be identified with al-Aʿwar al-Shannāt, the poet (see the index to WS, s.v.).
bank of the Euphrates as far as Hit and then by way of Ṣandawdāʾ.374 There the Anṣārī descendants of Sa’d b. Ḥarām375 came out and met ʿAlī and proposed to him that he should pitch camp, and he passed the night among them.

The next morning, we continued the journey with him, and, when we had passed al-Nukhaylah and could see the houses of al-Kūfah, we came upon an old man sitting in the shade of a house, whose face bore traces of illness. ʿAlī went to him [and we were with him] and greeted him, and so did we. He returned ʿAlī’s greetings in such a handsome manner that we guessed he must have recognized ʿAlī. ʿAlī said to him: “I see that your face is changed. What caused that—is it from an illness?” “Yes,” he answered. ʿAlī said, “You must have suffered from it?” but he answered, “I am glad that it afflicted me rather than another.” ʿAlī asked, “Are you not expecting a divine reward for the way it has afflicted you?” and he replied, “Indeed yes.” ʿAlī said: “Rejoice in the mercy of your Lord and the forgiveness of your sins. Who are you, servant of God?” He answered, “I am Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaym.” “Of what people?” asked ʿAlī. “In origin I am from Salāmān Ṭayyi’, but I live among and count myself as one of the Banū Sulaym b. Manṣūr.”376 ʿAlī said: “Praise be to God, how excellent is your name and that of your father, that of your adopted relatives and of those to whom you trace your descent. Have you been with us on this expedition?” He said: “No, by God, I have not. I wanted to, but the scourge of the fever, the traces of which you see, prevented me.” ʿAlī said: “The weak, the sick, and those who do not have the means to spend [in contributing to the support of jihād] are exempt from blame if they are true toward God and His Messenger, and there may not be any compulsion against those who do good. God is forgiving and merciful.”377 Tell me what the people

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374. For Ṣandawdāʾ (or Ṣandūdāʾ), south of Hit (n. 40, above), see Yāqūt, Muʾjam al-buldān, III, 420.

375. Read Sa’d b. ‘Amr b. Ḥarām (as noted in Ann., 37 A.H., §69); he is reported as having been appointed over Ṣandawdāʾ by Khālid b. al-Walid in 13/634, to enforce the submission of various Christian Arabs there (see Tabart, I, 2109; al-Baladhūrī, Kitāb al-futūḥ, II).

376. The index to the Leiden edition has Salāmān Ṭayyi’ (to which this is the only reference) as a person, whereas the Cairo index lists the name as that of a tribe. Possibly it refers to Salāmān b. Thu’al of the Ṭayyi’ (for which, see Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 253). For the Banū Sulaym b. Manṣūr of Qays, see ibid., table 92.

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say about what has happened between us and the Syrians." The old man said, "There are some who are pleased by it, and they are the faithless ones; but there are some who are crushed and sad about it, and they are those who are true to you." 'Ali went to leave and said: "You have spoken truly. May God make your sufferings a decrease of your sins. There is no heavenly reward for illness, but it does decrease any sin that a servant of God incurs. There is only a reward for speaking with the tongue and acting with hand and foot, but God, who is to be greatly praised, admits to paradise a great multitude of his servants by reason of the purity of their intentions and the righteousness of their hearts."

Then 'Ali went on a short distance, and 'Abdallâh b. Wâdi'ah al-Anṣârî met him. He drew near, greeted him, and journeyed along with him. 'Ali asked him, "What have you heard the people saying about what we have done?" He replied, "Some of them approve and others disapprove, just as God said, 'They persist in their differences except for those upon whom your Lord has mercy.'"380 'Ali said to him, "What do those of sound understanding say about it?" He answered: "They say: 'Ali had a mighty body of support and he split it, he had a firm fortress and he razed it. How long will it take him to rebuild what he destroyed and to reunite what he sundered? If he had pressed on with those who obeyed him when those who disobeyed him disobeyed him, and if he had fought until he was victorious or had perished, that would have been good judgment (hazm).'

'Ali said:

Did I destroy, or did they destroy? Did I split asunder, or did they? As for their saying, "If he had pressed on with those who obeyed him when those who disobeyed him disobeyed him and fought until he was victorious or had perished, that would have been good judgment," by God, it is not as if I did not think of that. I have no concern for the things of this world and am content with death. I

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378. Ḥatt 'a-li-sayyi'atika. For discussion of the benefits of pain, suffering, and illness, see the chapters with titles such as Fi ajr al-mard in the hadith collections, and Wensick, Concordances, s.vv. mard, marid.

379. Perhaps the son of Wâdi'ah b. 'Amr, a half of the Banû al-Najjâr, who fought at Badr (Ibn Sa'd, III/2, 58; Ibn Ḥajar, Isâbah, III, 632, no. 9118).

intended to advance against the enemy, but I considered those two who had rushed ahead of me (he meant al-Hasan and al-Husayn), and I considered those (other) two who had gone forward (he meant 'Abdallah b. Ja'far and Muhammad b. 'Ali).\footnote{The identifications are part of the Arabic text. Al-Hasan and al-Husayn were 'Ali's sons from Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet; 'Abdallah b. Ja'far was the son of an elder brother of 'Ali (a line of descent that became the focus of messianic aspirations toward the end of the Umayyad period); and Muhammad b. 'Ali was the already mentioned Ibn al-Hanafiyyah.} I knew that if the first two perished, the progeny of Muhammad would be cut off from this community, and I abhorred that (thought). And I was concerned for the second two lest they perish, for I knew that if it were not for my situation they would not have gone forward (he meant Muhammad b. 'Ali and 'Abdallah b. Ja'far). I swear by God that if I meet the enemy in the future I shall indeed meet them (in battle) so long as they (his three sons and his nephew) are not with me in any camp or dwelling place.

Then he moved on and, when we passed Banû 'Awf, on the right were the graves of seven or eight men. 'Ali asked, "What are these graves?" and Qudamah b. al-'Ajlân\footnote{WS, 530, supplies the nisbah al-Azdi. The Banû 'Awf might be the branch of 'Adwâni with that name settled in al-Kufah.} answered: "Commander of the Faithful, after you had departed Khabbâb b. al-Aratt\footnote{For this early follower of the Prophet in Mecca, where he is said to have suffered mistreatment from Quraysh, see EI, sv.} died, and his final wish was that he should be buried outside\footnote{Previously burials were made only in the people's houses and courtyards.} al-Kufah. (Previously burials were made only in the people's houses and courtyards.) He was buried outside the town (may God have mercy on him), and the others were buried alongside him." 'Ali said: "May God have mercy on Khabbâb. He entered Islam willingly, he made hijrah obediently, he lived as a fighter for Islam (mujâhid), and he was physically put to the test on several occasions. God will not neglect the reward of he who performs good deeds." Then he came and stood over the graves and said: "Greetings to you, you of the
desolate abodes and forsaken places, of the believing men and women, and of the Muslim men and women. You are they who have
gone ahead before us, while we come after you and will shortly join
you. Oh God, pardon us and them and forgive us and them.” And
he said: “Praise be to God, Who has created you from it (the earth)
and made it the place to which you return. He will make you arise
from it again and gather you together upon it. Blessings upon he
who remembers the return, acts for the final reckoning, is content
with a sufficiency, and is satisfied with the reward that God will
bestow upon him.” Then he went ahead until, when he was
opposite the lane of the Thawriyyūn, he said: “Go in. Enter
among these houses.”

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abdallāh b. ‘Āṣim al-Fā’ishī: ‘Alī
passed by the Thawriyyūn and heard weeping. He asked about it
and was told, “They are weeping for the slain at Ṣiffīn.” He replied,
“I bear witness for those of them who were killed patiently holding
fast and expecting the rewards of martyrdom.” Then he passed by
the Fā’ishiyūn and heard crying and said something similar.
He moved on and passed by the Shibāmiyyūn and heard a great
convulsion. He halted, and Ḥarb b. Shurāḥbīl al-Shibāmī came
out to him. ‘Alī said: “Have your women taken control of you? Can
you not prevent this wailing of theirs?” He answered: “Commander
of the Faithful, if it were one house or two or three, we could, but
180 of this clan have been killed, and there is no house in which
there is no weeping. As for us men, we do not weep but are happy
for them. Should we not be glad for them on account of their
martyrdom?” ‘Alī replied, “May God have mercy on your slain and
your dead,” and Ḥarb began walking along with him while ‘Alī rode.
‘Alī said to him, “Go back.” He stopped and repeated: “Go back.
Someone like you walking with someone like me is a temptation

386. Wa-rādiya ‘an Allāh; see Qur’an 9:100, where the expression is often
understood in the sense of satisfaction with the reward given by God, rather than
with God Himself.

387. This district of al-Kūfah is referred to in Tābarī’s account of al-Mukhtār’s revolt
(II, 628 = XX, 213, of this translation), the Thawriyyūn were part of the Bānū Hamdān.

388. See Jawīz, al-Bayān, III, 148, for this speech over the tombs.

389. There were two clans of the Hamdān called Fā’ish settled in al-Kūfah.

390. For the Bānū Shibām b. As’ad of Hamdān, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

391. This seems to be Tābarī’s only reference to him.
(fitnah) for the governor (wāli) and a humiliation for the believer (mu'min). Then he passed on and went by the Na'ittiyyūn, the majority of whom were 'Uthmāniyyah. He heard one of them, called 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Yazīd of the Banū 'Ubayd of the Na'ittiyyūn, saying: "By God, 'Ali has done nothing. He went away and then came back without anything." When they saw 'Ali, they fell silent, and 'Ali said, "These are the leaders of a people who have not seen Syria this year." Then he said to his companions, "A people from whom we have separated at the beginning is better than these." Then he began to say:

Your brother is he who, if a mischance of fate distressed you, did not continue silent in face of your grief.
Your brother is not he who, if matters become bad for you, will persist in insulting and blaming you.

Then he went on, continuously uttering the name of God, until he had entered the governor's residence (qasr).

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbi—'Umarah b. Rabī'ah: They left for Siffin with 'Ali full of brotherly love and affection, and they came back with mutual hatred and enmity. Before they had left their camp at Siffin the cry "Authority belongs to God alone" (lā ḥukma illā illāh) had spread among them, and they had set out, pushing each other aside all along the way, insulting one another and beating each other with whips. The Khawārij were saying, "Enemies of God, you have fallen short in God's affair and you have appointed arbitrators." And the others responded to them, "You have separated from our imam and divided our community." When 'Ali entered al-Kufah, they (the Khawārij) did not go in with him but went to Harūrā, where 12,000 of them encamped. Their herald proclaimed: "Shabath b. Rib'i al-Tamimī"
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is in command of the fighting, and 'Abdallāh b. al-Kawwā' al-Yashkurī is over the prayer ritual (ṣalāt). After the victory authority will be consultative, and the oath of allegiance will be to God and (conditional on) the commanding of the good and the prohibiting of what is reprehensible.

'Alī Sends Ja'dah b. Hubayrah to Khurāsān

In this year (37/657-58), according to reports, 'Alī sent Ja' dah b. Hubayrah to Khurāsān.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'īnī)402—'Abdallāh b. Maymūn—'Amr b. Shujayrah—Jābir—al-Sha'ībī: After 'Alī had returned from Siffin, he sent Ja'dah b. Hubayrah al-Makhzūmī to (establish authority over) Khurāsān. He got as far as Abrashahr,403 the people of which had espoused unbelief (kufr) and refused to yield. Ja'dah, therefore, went (back) to 'Alī, who sent out Khulayd b. Qurrah al-Yarbūšī404 who besieged the people of Naysābūr until they made peace with him, and so too those of Marw.405 He took two maidens of royal blood who had been given safe-conduct, and these he sent to 'Alī, who proposed that they should enter Islam and that he should marry them to someone. They said, “Marry us

399. Like Shabath, he developed from opposition to 'Uthmān, to support for 'Alī, to support for the Khawārij, to support for Mu’awiyah (see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr [al-Kauwā']).

400. Wa-al-amr shārīṣ. Presumably meaning that a shūrā (council) will be appointed to choose an imam, just as was done on the death of 'Umar. One could also read the sentence as “Authority will be consultative after the victory, the oath of allegiance to God, and the commanding of the good and prohibiting of what is reprehensible.” The last phrase (al-amr bi-al-maṣūf wa-al-nahy 'an al-munkar) is of frequent occurrence in the Qur'ān; in theory it is a duty of all Muslim governments, but it is emphasized especially by those of an activist disposition.

401. His mother was a sister of 'Alī (see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Ga'da b. Hubaira).


403. Abrashahr (or Abarshahr) was an alternative name for Nishapur (or Naysābūr), the major city of western Khurāsān (see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, map VIII and 382–88). Both names could also be applied to wider areas, and in this report it seems that Abrashahr is the name of the province and Naysābūr that of the town. (See EI1, s.v. Nishāpur.)

404. Dinawart, 153–54, calls him Khulayd b. Kās. At Ṣabart, I, 2349, we are told that the name was also transmitted as Khulayd b. Ṣabī.

405. Marw is the major town in eastern Khurāsān (Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, map VIII and 397–400).
to your two sons," but he refused that. One of the dihqāns406 said to him, "Give them to me, for then you would bestow an honor on me." 'Ali did that, and the two of them stayed with the dihqān, who spread out for them silken carpets and gave them food from golden vessels. Then they returned to Khurāsān.

The Secession of the Khawārij from 'Ali and His Companions, and Their Subsequent Return

In this year the Khawārij withdrew from 'Ali and his companions and proclaimed their formula "Authority (hukm) belongs only to God." Then 'Ali argued with them, and they returned and entered al-Kūfah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janab (al-Kalbi)—'Umarah b. Rabī'ah: After 'Ali had come to al-Kūfah and the Khawārij had separated from him, his party (al-shī‘ah) hurried to him and said: "We pledge ourselves to you with a second oath of allegiance. We are the friends of those whom you befriend and enemies of those to whom you are an enemy." The Khawārij said: "You and the Syrians have vied with each other in unbelief (kufr) like two horses in a race. The Syrians gave the oath of allegiance to Mu'āwiya, following their whims, while you gave yours to 'Ali, stipulating that you are friends of those whom he befriends and enemies of those to whom he shows enmity." Ziyād b. al-Nadr answered them: "By God, 'Ali only ever offered to accept our allegiance,407 and we only gave him our oath, on (condition that he follows) the Book of God and the example (sunnah) of His Prophet. Only after you had opposed him did his party come to him and say, 'We are friends of those whom you befriend and enemies of those to whom you show enmity.' That is our position. He is following the truth and right guidance and those who oppose him are lost and misleading."

'Ali sent Ibn 'Abbās to them, telling him, "Do not be in a hurry to reply to them and dispute with them before I came to you." Ibn 'Abbās went to them and they began to debate with him, and he

406. The local gentry of the Sasanid empire, who remained as a distinct group for some time after the Arab conquest (see EI², s.v. DihIQān). For reference to a dihqān in Egypt, see p. 145, below.

407. Ma' basata 'Ali yadahu... illā... Literally, "'Ali only stretched forth his hand..."
was impatient to reject their arguments and said: "What is it that you hold against the two arbitrators (hakams)? God said, 'If the two of them desire reconciliation, God will bring about agreement between them.'\(^{408}\) [If that is how it is with a married couple], how much more so with the community of Muḥammad!" The Khawārij answered: "Regarding whatever God has delegated authority for to mankind and ordered them to look into and make better, that is for them just as He commanded. But what He has decided (hakama) and effected Himself is not for His servants to look into. God has decided for the fornicator a hundred lashes, and for the thief the cutting off of the hand, and it is not for His servants to look into that." Ibn 'Abbās said, "But God says, 'Two "just men" from among you shall judge (yahkumu) it.'\(^{409}\) The Khawārij replied. "Do you place the precept (hukm) regarding game (killed while the slayer is in a condition of ritual purity) and what passes between a man and his wife on a par with the blood of the Muslims?"

(The Khawārij said: We said to him, "This verse separates us from you. Do you consider Ibn al-'Āṣ a 'just man,' given that yesterday he was fighting us and shedding our blood? If he is a 'just man,' then we are not, for we are at war with him. You have appointed men as arbitrators (hakams) in the affairs of God, but God has effected His precept (hukm) regarding Mu'āwiyyah and his party—that they should be killed or repent.\(^{410}\) In the past they always rejected our appeals when we summoned them to the Book of God. Now you and he have written between you a document and agreed on a truce and discussion.\(^{411}\) but God has put an end to discussion and truces between the Muslims and the 'people of war' since the revelation of 'Quittance;' except for those who agree to pay the jizyah."\(^{412}\)

\(^{408}\) Qur'ān 4:35, referring to dispute between a married couple.

\(^{409}\) Qur'ān 5:95, referring to adjudication of the penalty imposed on someone who kills game while in a state of ritual purity (ihrām).

\(^{410}\) Literally, "return" (jarī'ī). Semantically the notions of return and repentance are close; see Qur'ān 9:5, where the polytheists (mushrikān) are ordered to be killed unless they repent (tābū). Presumably that is the hukm to which the Khawārij refer; the variant wording is interesting.

\(^{411}\) Al-istifādah. See Lane, Lexicon, s.v. f-y-d, forms IV and X.

\(^{412}\) "Quittance" (bara'ah) is the title of sūra IX [also called Sūrat al-Tawbah] of the Qur'ān, in which jizyah (in Muslim law a poll tax to be paid by non-Muslims in exchange for toleration and protection, also a sign of inferiority) is mentioned in verse 29. However, the argument of the Khawārij here, with its general reference to the "people of war," does not distinguish [as the Qur'ān appears to] between "polytheists" and "people of the Book."
'Ali sent Ziyād b. al-Naḍr to them and told him, "See which of their leaders has the strongest support." He investigated and told 'Ali that the majority seemed to be gathered around Yazīd b. Qays.\(^{413}\) So 'Ali left with some of his men, went to the Khawārīj, came to the tent of Yazīd b. Qays, and entered. There he performed his ritual ablution, prayed two rak'ahs, and appointed Yazīd as governor over Iṣbahān and Rayy.\(^{414}\) Then he left and went to [the others] who were disputing with Ibn 'Abbās. 'Ali told him, "Leave off debating with them. Did I not tell you not to, may God have mercy on you?" Then 'Ali himself entered into debate with them. He praised God and extolled Him, and said, "Oh God, he who is successful [in his arguments] in this place most merits success on the day of Resurrection, but he who speaks in it and makes no sense\(^{415}\) will be blind in the next world and straying yet more from the path."\(^{416}\) Then he asked them, "Who do you say is your leader?" "Ibn al-Kawwār," they replied. 'Ali asked, "What led you to rebel against us?" and they told him, "The arbitration process [hukūmah] [agreed by you] at the time of Ṣifīfīn." 'Ali said,

I implore you by God! Do you know what I said to you when they raised the maṣḥīf, and you said that we should respond to their call to the Book of God? I said, "I know them better than you. They are men without religion (dīn) or qur'ān.\(^{417}\) I was with them and knew them as children and as men, and they were the worst of children and the worst of men. Persist in your truth and your righteousness, for they have raised these maṣḥīf only to outwit you and to trick you." You rejected my view and said, "No, rather we will yield to them," and I warned you, "Do not forget what I have said to you and your disobedience to me." When you, nevertheless, insisted that I enter into a written agreement, I stipulated to the two arbitrators that they should bring about that which the Qur'ān has brought into being

\(^{413}\) See n. 92, above.  
\(^{414}\) Two towns of western Iran, the former in the south, the latter in the north, of the province known as Jibāl [Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, map V, and 202–5, 214–17].  
\(^{415}\) Aw'atha. See Gloss., s.v.  
\(^{416}\) Qur'ān 17:72.  
\(^{417}\) See p. 79 and n. 320, above.
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and suppress what it has put an end to. For, if they both decide according to the authority (ḥukm) of the Qurʾān, it is not for us to oppose a decision that is made according to what is in the Qurʾān. But, if the two of them reject that, then we will be free of their authority.

The Khawārij said, “Tell us—do you think it is ‘just’ to give men authority in a matter of blood?” ‘Ali replied, “We have not given men authority; we have made the Qurʾān the authority. But this Qurʾān is merely a writing set down between two covers. It does not speak; it is merely men who speak through it.” They said to him, “Tell us about the delay—why have you made it in [pursuing] your dispute with them?” He answered, “So that he who is ignorant might know and he who knows might make sure. Perhaps God will reconcile this community during this truce. Go and enter your garrison town, may God have mercy on you.” And they did so to the last man.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Jundab al-Azdī transmitted from his father a report similar to that just narrated. But as for the Khawārij, they say: We said [to ‘Ali], “You have spoken truly and it was just as you have said,”418 but that was unbelief on our part and we have turned to God in repentance from it. Repent as we have, and we shall give you the oath of allegiance; otherwise we will oppose you.” ‘Ali took the oath of allegiance from us and said, “Go in [to al-Kūfah] and we will wait for six months until the money [from taxation] is raised and the horses are fattened, and then we will go out against our enemy.” We do not accept what they have said for they have lied.

Ma‘n b. Yazīd b. al-Akhnas al-Sulāmī419 came to ‘Ali about the delay in effecting the arbitration process (al-ḥukūmah), and said, “Mu‘āwiyyah has kept his promise. You keep yours. Do not let the bedouins of Bakr and Tāmīm420 change your mind.” ‘Ali ordered the putting into effect of the arbitration. They had separated from Siffin having stipulated that the two arbitrators should come with 400 men each to Dūmat al-Jandal.421

418. That is, we did insist that you accept the Syrians’ call to stop fighting.
419. See n. 100, above; presumable Ma‘n was sent to ‘Ali by Mu‘āwiyyah.
420. That is, the Khawārij.
421. The relationship of the various reports and the chains of authority claimed for them in the previous section seems quite ambiguous. Is the paragraph beginning
Al-Waqidi claimed that Sa'd [b. Abi Waqqas] had been present with those who were with the arbitrators and that his son 'Umar did not leave him until he had accompanied him to Adhruh. Then Sa'd repented of that and entered the required state of ritual purity in Jerusalem for an 'Umrah.

The Meeting of the Two Arbitrators at Dumat al-Jandal

In this year [37/657–58] there was the meeting of the two arbitrators. According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Sa'īd—al-Sha'bi—Ziyād b. al-Nadhr al-Ḥarithi: 'All sent 400 men under the command of Shurayh b. Hāni' al-Ḥarithi, with 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, who led them in prayer and directed their affairs, together with Abū Musā al-Ash'ari; and Mu'āwiyyah sent 'Amr b. al-ʿĀs with 400 of the Syrians. They came to Dumat al-Jandal at Adhruh.

Whenever Mu'āwiyyah wrote to 'Amr the messenger passed between them not knowing what message he brought or what he took back, and the Syrians did not question him about anything. But, whenever the messenger of 'Ali came, his men went to Ibn 'Abbās and asked, "What did the Commander of the Faithful write to you?" If Ibn 'Abbās concealed the message, they speculated about it and said, "We think he wrote to you such-and-such." He would reply, "The Khawārij said, 'We said to him...,'" which has been put in parentheses, part of Abū Mikhnaf's report from Abū Jannāb—'Umārah, or is it an interpolation into it? Similarly, the part beginning "But as for the Khawārij, they say: We said to 'Ali..." may be part of Abū Mikhnaf's report from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jundab—his father, or it may be another interpolation. The source of the comment in the last sentence of that paragraph ("We do not accept what they [the Khawārij say...]") is not clear (Abū Mikhnaf?) and neither is that for the last paragraph (beginning "Ma'n b. Yazīd...came to 'Ali").

422. A leading companion of the Prophet, of the Banū Zuhrah of Quraysh, who might have been a candidate for the caliphate [see EI 2, s.v.]. For his unwillingness to become involved in the events of the arbitration, see p. 105, below.

423. The "minor pilgrimage" to Mecca that may be performed at any time of the year [see EI 2, s.v.].

424. Ar. tawfāq bi-Dumat al-Jandal bi-Adhruh. The Leiden editor's note indicates that we should understand something like "they came to Dumat al-Jandal or rather Adhruh," while the note in Add. et emend. suggests that a marginal comment might have found its way into the text. Some sources read min Dumat al-Jandal bi-Adhruh, which Ann., AH. 38 §18, understands as "at Adhruh, coming from Dumat at-Jandal." It is possible that the various formulas should be seen as attempts to reconcile contradictory traditions about the place of the arbitration meeting. For a modern attempt, see EI 2, s.v. 'Ali b. Abī Talib.
"Don't you understand? Don't you see Mu'āwiyah's messenger coming and going without knowing what message he brings and takes back? You hear nothing from them, no word. But every day you are with me indulging in speculation."

There were present at that meeting: 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar; 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr; 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī; 'Abd al-Rahmān b. [al-Aswad b.] 'Abd Yaghūth al-Zuhrī; Abū Jahm b. Ḥudhayfah al-‘Adwī; and al-Mughīrah b. Shu‘bah al-Thaqafī.425 'Umar b. Sa‘d [b. Abī Waqqās] went to his father who was at a water hole of the Banū Sulaym in the desert. He said to him, "Oh my father, you have heard about the dispute between the people at Siyāfīn and that they have appointed 'Abut Mūsā al-Ash‘arī and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ as arbitrators. A group of Quraysh have turned up with them. You should go and be present with them for you are a Companion of the Messenger of God and one of the šūrā,426 and you never entered into anything that this community objected to. Join them, for you have the most right among the people to the caliphate." But Sa‘d answered, "I will not do that, for I have heard the Messenger of God saying, 'There will be a fitnah in which the best will be he who is inconspicuous and fears God!' By God, I will never have anything to do with this matter."427

The two arbitrators met and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "Abū Mūsā, do you not know that 'Uthmān was killed unjustly?" He replied, "I testify to that!" 'Amr said, "Do you not know that Mu'āwiyah and the family of Mu'āwiyah are his closest kin (awliya')?" He answered, "Yes, indeed." 'Amr continued:

God has said, "Whoever is killed unjustly, we have given authority (ṣultān, i.e., to exact revenge) to his next-of-kin (wallāh), but do not let him (the wallāh) go to excess in killing (in revenge), he will be helped (mansūr)."428 So why do you

425. Apart from al-Mughīrah b. Shu‘bah (see n. 366, above), all are leading members of Quraysh of Mecca, sons of figures active in the time of the Prophet, and now possible contenders for the caliphate. In Sunni legal theory, descent from Quraysh was a necessary condition for the caliphate.

426. That is, the group of six appointed to choose a successor as caliph to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in 23/644.

427. That is, the caliphate, in contexts such as this al-amr ("the matter" or "the affair") usually indicates the issue of the leadership of the community.

428. Qur'ān 17:33.
refrain from supporting Mu'āwiya, the next-of-kin of 'Uthmān, Abū Mūsā? (The status of) his family in Quraysh is as you know. If you are afraid that the people will say, "Abū Mūsā has given power to Mu'āwiya," but he is not one of the early Muslims, you have an argument in response to that. You will say, "I have found him to be the next-of-kin of 'Uthmān, the unjustly killed caliph, and the seeker of revenge for his blood, and I have found him adept in government and in managing things. He is the brother of Umm Habibah, the wife of the Prophet, and he was a Companion to the Prophet, one of the group of Companions."

Then 'Amr hinted to Abū Mūsā that he would obtain a position of authority and said, "If Mu'āwiya rules, he will bestow on you honors such as no caliph has ever granted."

Abū Mūsā answered:

'[Amr, fear God. Regarding what you have said about the nobility of Mu'āwiya, it is not on the basis of nobility that those who are right for it are given power. If it were on the basis of nobility, then the rule would belong to the family of Abrahah b. al-$abbah. Rather it is something only for people of religion (din) and merit (fadl). Moreover, if I were to give it to the best of Quraysh in nobility, I would give it to 'Ali b. Abi Ṭālib. And as for what you said about Mu'āwiya as the one responsible for taking vengeance for the blood of 'Uthmān, and that therefore I should accord the rule to him, I will not give Mu'āwiya power in it and abandon (the rights of) the first muḥājirūn. And concerning your hinting at a position of authority for me, by God, even if all of Mu'āwiya's authority devolved on me,

429. Following the suggestion of Ann., A.H. 38 §18, to read wallā for waliya.
430. Said to be named after his maternal grandfather, the famous Abyssinian ruler of the Yemen in the sixth century C.E., he is referred to in Dinawarī, 199, as "one of the sons of the kings of the Yemen (al-tabī'ah)" (see Tabari, I, 2386; II, 211; Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.).
431. Here perhaps meaning the surviving earliest followers of the Prophet who had moved with him from Mecca to Medina (such as Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ), and their descendants (such as 'Abdallah b. al-Zubayr).
I would not give him power, and I am not to be bribed in
[a matter concerning] the authority (hukm) of God. But if
you wish we will revive the name of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.432

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbi—['Umārah b.
Rabī'ah or al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāh]: Abū Mūsā said. "Indeed, by God,
if I could I would revive the name of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb." 'Amr
said to him, "If you want to give the oath of allegiance to the son
of 'Umar, what prevents you from giving it to my son433—for you
know his merit and righteousness?" He answered, "Your son is a man
of righteousness (ṣiddiq), but you have submerged him in this fitnah."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Muḥammad b. Ishāq—Nafi', the
mawlā of Ibn 'Umar: 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ said, "Only a man with a
tooth, who eats and gives food, is suitable for this office."434 Ibn
'Umar was oblivious and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr said to him, "Take
note and pay attention."435 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar replied, "No, by God,
I will not give anything as a bribe to obtain it (i.e., the rule)." And
he said, "Oh Ibn al-'Aṣ, the Arabs have entrusted their affair to you
after clashing with swords and fighting one another with spears. Do
not cast them back into the fitnah."436

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Nāṣr b. Ṣāliḥ al-'Absāl: I was with
Shurayḥ b. Hāni on the campaign in Sijistān,437 and he told me
that 'Ali had entrusted him with a message to 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ. 'Ali
had told Shurayḥ that when he met 'Amr he was to tell him that
'Ali had sent him the following message:

The most excellent in God's sight is he who prefers
acting rightfully, even if it diminishes him and causes him

432. That is, by appointing 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar.
433. That is, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ [see n. 10, above].
434. Inna hadha al-amra ḥuṣṭiṣighu illā rajuhun lahudirsunan al-kulu wa-yuṭ'imu.
The context seems to indicate that the phrase refers to a man willing to take and
give "sweeteners." See Dinawarī, 200: "a man with two teeth, with one of which he
eats and with the other gives food (succors?)."
435. Or, said to him, "Take note!" and he paid attention.
436. In the variant form of this report in W, 543, the remark about the man with
the tooth is made by 'Amr to Abū Mūsā, who has suggested that the rule should
be offered to Ibn 'Umar. It is Abū Mūsā who is oblivious. Then Ibn al-Zubayr advises
Ibn 'Umar to offer 'Amr a bribe, but he refuses and, instead, addresses the final
sentence to 'Amr.
437. Shurayḥ (n. 26, above) is said to have been killed in Sijistān with the army
of 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah in the time of al-Hajjāj.
grief, over vain deeds, even if he yearns for them and they augment him. 'Amr, by God you know where the right lies, so why do you pretend not to know? If you are given the least thing that you covet, with it you will be an enemy to God and His friends, and (consequently) it will be as if you have lost what you have been given, woe unto you! "Do not be an adversary on behalf of the traitors" nor a partisan of the evildoers. Indeed, I know of a day when you will be remorseful—that is the day of your death, (when) you will earnestly desire that you had not displayed enmity to a Muslim or accepted a bribe for a judgment (hukm).

Shurayh said: I told 'Amr that, and his face became suffused with anger. He said, "When have I ever accepted the advice of 'Ali, done what he said, or taken account of his views?" I answered him, "Why do you not, Ibn al-Nābihah, accept the advice of your master, the one who, after their Prophet, is the lord of the Muslims? Those who were your betters, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, asked for his advice and acted in accordance with his views." He said, "People like me do not argue with the likes of you." I said, "On account of which of your two parents do you have a disdain for me—is it because of your low-class (washīz) father or your 'distinguished' (nābihah) mother?" 'Amr got up and left and I did too.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī: When 'Amr and Abū Mūsā met together at Dumat al-Jandal, 'Amr at first gave Abū Mūsā precedence in speaking, saying himself, "You are the companion of the Messenger of God and you are my senior. Speak and I will speak!" 'Amr had accustomed Abū Mūsā to think that he would give him precedence in everything, wishing thus to make him go first so he would take the initiative in deposing 'Ali. Abū Mūsā considered the matter in hand and what they had come together for, and 'Amr wanted him to declare in favor of

438. Qur'ān 4:105. The verse talks of God's sending down the Book "so that you may judge (b-k-m) between the people." Ann., A.H. 38 §9, translates fa-lā takun lil-khd'inina khaṣṭman as "non entrare in disputa coi traditori."

439. See Qur'ān 28:17, 28:86.

440. Shurayh is being insultingly ironic; 'Amr's father, al-'Āṣ b. Wa'il b. Hishām, was a prominent man of the Banū Sahm of Quraysh, while his mother Nābihah (= "distinguished") was a slave.
Mu‘awiyah, but he refused. ‘Amr then wanted him to declare in favor of his son, but again he refused. Abū Mūsā tried to get ‘Amr to declare in favor of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, but he refused. ‘Amr then said to Abū Mūsā, “Tell me what you think.” He answered, “I think we should depose these two men and make the matter consultative between the Muslims, who will choose for themselves whomsoever they like.” ‘Amr said to him, “I agree.” They went toward the people who were gathered together. ‘Amr said, “Abū Mūsā, tell them that we have a meeting of minds and an agreement.” Abū Mūsā spoke and said, “I and ‘Amr have agreed on something by which we hope God will bring about peace to this community.” ‘Amr said, “You have spoken the truth and kept your word, Abū Mūsā, go ahead and speak.”

Abū Mūsā went forward to speak, but Ibn ‘Abbās said to him: “Woe to you, by God, I suspect that he has tricked you. If you have both agreed on something, let him go first and speak about that thing before you, and then you speak after him. ‘Amr is a treacherous man and I am not sure that he has given you satisfaction when it was just the two of you, but, when you stand among the people he will oppose you.” But Abū Mūsā was heedless and said, “We have agreed.”

Abū Mūsā went forward, praised God and extolled Him, and then said, “People, we have considered the affairs of this community and we do not think that there is anything that will be more beneficial for it or more conducive to resolving its difficulties than that upon which I and ‘Amr have agreed. That is, that we should depose ‘Ali and Mu‘awiyah and that this community should confront the issue and appoint over themselves from among themselves whomsoever it is that they want. I have accepted the deposition of ‘Ali and Mu‘awiyah, and now you confront the issue and give power over you to whomsoever you think is fitting for this matter.”

He then stood aside and ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ took his place. He praised God and extolled Him, then said, “This fellow has spoken as you have heard and declared the deposition of the one whom he represents. Similarly, I declare that he is deposed and I confirm my support for my candidate Mu‘awiyah. He is the next-of-kin of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān and the one who seeks vengeance for his blood. Of all the people, he has most right to take his place.”

Abū Mūsā said, “What are you doing, may God foil you? You have acted treacherously and unrighteously. You are like the dog which,
if you attack it, it lolls out its tongue, or, if you leave it alone, it still lolls out its tongue.'"441 'Amr responded, "And you 'are like the monkey which carries writings.""442 Shurayḥ b. Ḥāni' attacked 'Amr, lashing at his head with a whip, and a son of 'Amr assailed Shurayḥ, striking him with a whip. Everyone got up and separated the two of them, and subsequently Shurayḥ used to say, "There is nothing I regret more than my striking at 'Amr with a whip. If only I had struck at him with a sword and let fate bring him what it would!" The Syrians sought Abū Mūsā, but he mounted his camel and retired to Mecca.

Ibn 'Abbās said, "God damn the decision (ra‘y) of Abū Mūsā! I warned him and told him to be circumspect, but he took no heed." And Abū Mūsā used to say, "Ibn 'Abbās warned me of the treachery of the evildoer (fāsiq), but I trusted him and did not imagine that he would put anything above sincere advice to this community."


Al-Wāqīḍī claims that the meeting of the two arbitrators was in the month of Sha‘bān in the year 38 of the Hijrah (January 659).

**The Actions of the Khawārij at the Time of ‘Ali’s Sending Abū Mūsā to the Arbitration, and the Battle at the Canal**444

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mughaffal445—‘Awn b. Abī Juḥayfah: When 'Alī was about to send Abū Mūsā to the arbitration

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441. Qur’ān 7:177.
442. Qur’ān 62:5.
443. Yaqnutu; the qunát are supplications made in standing position at the end of the salāt.
444. Yawm al-nahr; this refers to the canal of Nahrawān (see later). On the following, see Wellhausen, Religio-Political Factions, 27–29.
445. The name is doubtful.
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(ḥukūmah) two men (from the Khawārij), Zur'ah b. al-Burj al-Ṭā'ī and Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr al-Sa’dī,446 came to him. They went in to where he was and said to him, “Authority (ḥukm) belongs to God alone.”447 ‘Alī responded, “Authority belongs to God alone.”

Ḥurqūṣ said to him, “Repent of your sin (khāṭi’ah), retract your decision, and come out with us against our enemies whom we will fight until we meet our Lord.” ‘Alī answered them, “That is what I wanted you to do, but you disobeyed me and now we have a written agreement with them and stipulated conditions, and we have made them promises and given them our word regarding it. God has said, ‘Observe God’s covenant when you have entered into it and do not break your oaths after you have pledged them, for now you have made God your guarantor. God knows what you do.’”448 Hurqūṣ said to him, “That is a sin (dhanb) from which you must repent,” but ‘Alī answered, “It is no sin but only a failure of judgment (ra’y) and weakness of action. I enjoined you concerning it and told you not to do it.”

Zur’ah b. al-Burj said to him, “‘Alī, unless you stop giving men authority over the Book of God, I will fight against you, seeking thereby the face of God and His favor.” ‘Alī answered, “May woe befall you! How abject is your state! I seem to see you slain with the wind blowing on you.”449 Zur’ah said, “That is what I would like.” ‘Alī said, “If you followed the truth there would be consolation for (the loss of) this world in dying while supporting the truth, but Satan has seduced you. Fear God. There is no good for you in this world over which you fight.”

The two of them left him, proclaiming the slogan “Authority belongs to God alone” (yuḥakkīmūn).

According to Abū Mikhnaf—‘Abd al-Malik b. Abī Hurrah al-Ḥanafī: One day ‘Alī went out to deliver an address. In the course of it those who objected to his giving men authority in God’s affairs proclaimed their slogan, “Authority belongs to God alone”450 from

446. This seems to be the only appearance of Zur’ah, the more prominent Ḥurqūṣ belonged to the Banū Sa’d b. Zayd Manāt of Tamim.
447. See Qur’ān 6:57, 12:40, 67. This is the famous slogan (jā ḥukma illā lillāh) of the Khawārij, known as the tahkim. See Hawting, “The Significance of the Slogan.”
449. That is, lying dead and unburied after battle.
450. Ḥakkamat al-muḥakkimah.
all sides of the mosque. 'Alī responded, "God is most great! Their words are true, but they use them to mean something false! If they are silent, we will embrace them (in our community); if they insist on arguing, we will argue against them; but if they rebel against us, we will fight them." Yazīd b. 'Āṣim al-Muḥāribī⁴⁵¹ leaped up and said, "Praise be to God! Our Lord is not to be set aside nor dispensed with. Oh God, I take refuge with you from perpetrated shameful behavior in our religion. That would be falling short in the affairs of God and a baseness that subjects those who do it to God's wrath. 'Alī, do you threaten us with killing? By God, I hope that we will strike you with the swords after a little while, with their edges, not their flats. Then you will know to which of us hell's burning is most due."⁴⁵² Then he and three of his brothers (he was the fourth) "went out" with the Khawārij and were killed with them at the canal (al-nahr)—one of them was killed later at al-Nukhaylah.⁴⁵³

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ajlāh b. 'Abdallāh—Salamah b. Kuhayl—Kathīr b. Bahz al-Ḥadramī: 'Alī stood among the men to deliver an address one day and someone said from the side of the mosque, "Authority belongs to God alone." Another arose and proclaimed similarly, and then a number, one after the other, proclaimed the slogan (taḥkīm). 'Alī said, "God is most great! Their words are true but something false is meant by them. Three things do we grant you. So long as you remain with us, we will not deny to you the mosques of God that you may mention His name in them; we will not deny to you the spoils (fay') so long as your hands are joined with ours; and we will not fight against you unless you make the first move against us." Then he returned to the place where he had been in his address.

⁴⁵¹. Apparently Tabari's only reference to this man who was presumably of the Banū Muḥārib b. Khaṣafah/Qays.
⁴⁵². See Qur'ān 19:70.
⁴⁵³. There is much confusion in the sources about the battle(s) of the Khawārij at al-Nukhaylah. Al-Mubarrad, 576 ff., has two: one in which they fought against 'Alī and another in which they fought against Muʿāwiyah after he had taken possession of Iraq following the death of 'Alī. The latter matches the battle reported by Tabari, II, 10. Wellhausen, Religio-Political Faction, 35, n. 7, seems to argue that there was only one such battle—that against Muʿāwiyah.
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According to Abū Mikhnaf—anonymouss—al-Qāsim b. al-Walīd: Ḥakīm b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Saʿīd al-Bakrāt454 shared the views of the Khawārij. One day he came to ʿAlī while he was delivering an address and said, “It has been revealed to you and to those who were before you that if you ascribe partners to God your deeds will be of no avail and you will be one of those who are lost.”455 ʿAlī responded, “Bear patiently, for the promise of God is truth, and do not let those who have no certainty despise you.”456

According to Abū Kurayb457—Ibn Idrīs—Ismāʿīl b. Ṣamīʿ al-Ḥanāfī—Abū Razīn: When the appointment of the arbitrators had been made [lamma waqāʿa al-tahkīm]458 and ʿAlī returned from Ṣīfīn, the Khawārij came back in a state of separation from him. When they reached the canal459 they stopped there, while ʿAlī entered al-Kūfah with the men. The Khawārij camped at Ḥarūrā460 and ʿAlī sent ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās to them. But he came back without achieving anything, so ʿAlī himself went to them and debated with them until both sides were satisfied and the Khawārij entered al-Kūfah. Then someone came to ʿAlī and said, “It is being said that you gave in to their demand that you renege on your unbelief (kufr).” So ʿAlī delivered an address during the midday prayer. He referred to the position of the Khawārij and criticized it, and they leaped up on all sides of the mosque proclaiming, “Authority belongs to God alone.” One of them stood facing him with his fingers in his ears and said, “It has been revealed to you and to those who were before you that if you ascribe partners to God your deeds shall be of no avail and you will be one of those who are lost.”461 ʿAlī replied, “Bear

454. Again, this is the only appearance in Ṭabarī's work of this man: the Banū al-Bakrāt were part of ʿAmīr b. Ṣaʿṣa′ah/Qays; for his son, see later, p. 117 and n. 485, below.
456. Qurʾān 30:60.
457. For Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ, d. 247/861, see GAS, I, index, s.v., with reference to Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib.
458. Possibly, “when the protest against the appointment of arbitrators had been made.”
459. This canal is not Nahrawān, which is not on route from Ṣīfīn to al-Kūfah; it must refer to one of the canals in the vicinity of al-Kūfah.
460. Ḥarūrā (see n. 365, above) seems to have stood by a water course in the early Islamic period although later references speak of it as being in the desert (see EI2, s.v.).
patiently, for the promise of God is truth, and do not let those who have no certainty despise you.1462

According to Abu Kurayb—Ibn Idrīs—Layth b. Abī Sulaym—his companions: ‘Alī began to wring his hands (the narrator said: with his hands like that) while on the dais (minbar). He said, “God’s decision (hukm) is looked for among you twice.463 We grant you three things. We will not prevent your prayer in this mosque; we will not prevent your partaking of these spoils so long as your hands are joined with ours; and we will not fight you unless you fight against us.”

According to Abū Mikhnaf—‘Abd al-Malik b. Abī Hurrah: When ‘Alī had sent Abū Musā to effect the arbitration, some of the Khawārij met together and gathered in the dwelling of ‘Abdallah b. Wahb al-Rāsibi.464 He praised God and extolled Him, and then said, “By God, it is not fitting that a people that believes in God the Merciful and turns in repentance to the authority (hukm) of the Qur’ān should prefer this world to the commanding of good, the forbidding of evil, and the proclaiming of the truth. Pleasure in this world, confidence in it, and love for it, is an occasion of distress and destruction. If someone is wearied and injured, then he who is wearied and injured in this world,465 has his reward on the day of Resurrection in God’s good favor and perpetual abode in His gardens.466 So let us go out, brethren of ours, from this settlement whose people are wicked467 to one of the districts of the mountains468 or to one of those towns,469 rejecting these innovations (bida’) that lead astray.”

462. Qur’ān 30:60.
463. Presumably this refers to the change of mind of the Khawārij—first they had insisted on stopping the fighting against Mu‘āwiyah, and now they insisted on starting it again.
464. See EI3, s.v., for this pietist of the Banū Rāsib of Azd.
465. Wa-in munna wa-ṣūra fa-īnahu man yumannu wa-yaḏarru.... The reading of the text is unsure. It is unpointed and apparently meaningless (see editorial note c in Leiden text). The man has been conjecturally supplied by the editor. Ibn al-Athīr, III, 281, merely paraphrases the passage.
466. From this point as far as “And he wrote to the Khawārij at the canal” p. 119, below, there is a gap in the manuscripts, supplied by reference to Ibn al-Athīr, III, 281, 1.3–283, bottom. See the editorial note d in the Leiden text.
467. See Qur’ān 4:75.
468. Or, “a district in [the region of] al-Jībāl”?
469. Perhaps, “to one of the settlements that formed part of al-Madā’in [Ctesiphon]”
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Hurqūs b. Zuhayr said to him, "The delights of this world are few and separation from it is imminent. Do not let its fineries and delights tempt you to stay in it or turn you from seeking what is true and rejecting evil. 'God is with those who fear, and they are those who do good.' "

Hamzah b. Sina' al-Asadi said: "Oh people, you are right. Grant authority over your affairs to a man from among you, for you cannot do without a support and a prop and a banner around which you can gather and to which you can return." They offered the position to Zayd b. Huṣayn al-Ṭā'i, but he refused, and to Hurqūs b. Zuhayr, who also refused. Hamzah b. Sina' and Shurayh b. Awfā al-'Absī both refused, too. When they offered it to 'Abdallāh b. Wahb, he said, "Give it to us! By God, I do not accept it out of a desire for this world and I will not abandon it out of fear of death." They gave him the oath of allegiance when ten days had passed of Shawwāl, and he was called Dhū al-Thafināt.

Then they gathered in the dwelling of Shurayh b. Awfā al-'Absī, and Ibn Wahb said, "Let us go to a land where we shall gather to effect the authority (hukm) of God, for you are the people of the truth." Shurayh said, "Let us leave for al-Madā'in. There we shall dismount, seize its gates, expel its inhabitants, and send for our brethren among the people of al-Baṣrah that they might come to us." Zayd b. Huṣayn said, "If you depart together, you will be followed, but go out one by one in secret. As for al-Madā'in, there are those there who will resist you; do not stop there but go on until you reach Jisr al-Nahrawān and there write to your brethren among the people of al-Baṣrah." They said, "That is right!" and 'Abdallāh b. Wahb wrote to those of them who were in al-Baṣrah, telling them what they had agreed on and urging them to join them. The letter was conveyed to them and they answered it, saying that they would join him.

471. Of the Banū Asad b. Khuzaymah of Khindif.
472. Sometimes referred to as Shurayh b. Aby Awfā, he was of the Banū 'Abs of Ghaṭafān/Qays (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Šurāib).
473. That is, "he with the scars" on his forehead or knees as a result of his constant prostration in prayer (cf. Wellhausen, Religio-Political Factions, 27, and EI², s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb).
474. This was the town [Nahrawān Bridge] on the canal of Nahrawān, northeast of al-Madā'in.
When they had decided to depart, they passed the night—that was the night before Friday—and the day of Friday worshiping God. On Saturday they set out. Shurayh b. Awfā al-'Absi left, reciting God's words, "And he (Moses) departed from it in fear, looking about him. He said, 'Oh my Lord, deliver me from the evil people;' and when he was journeying toward Midian, he said 'Perhaps my Lord will guide me on an even path.'"

Ṭarafah b. 'Adī b. Ḥātim al-Ṭārī went out with them. His father 'Adī went after him but could not catch up with him, when he got as far as al-Madā'in he turned back. When he had reached Ṣābāṭ, however, 'Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsībi came upon him with about twenty horsemen. 'Abdallāh wanted to kill him, but 'Amr b. Mālik al-Nabhān and Bishr b. Zayd al-Bawlān prevented him. 'Adī then sent to Sa'd b. Mas'ūd, 'Ali's prefect over al-Madā'in, warning him about what the Khawārij were doing, and Sa'd was thus on his guard. He secured the gates of al-Madā'in and went out with a body of horsemen, leaving behind his nephew, al-Mukhtar b. Abī 'Ubayd, in command of the town. Sa'd then went in pursuit of the Khawārij.

'Abdallāh b. Wahb was informed of this and he took care (to avoid) Sa'd's route, going by way of Baghdādh. At al-Karkh Sa'd b. Mas'ūd caught up with them with 500 horsemen at evening time. 'Abdallāh turned to attack Sa'd's force with thirty mounted men. They fought for a while, but most refrained from joining in. Sa'd's men said to him, "Why are you fighting against these men when you have received no order concerning them? Let them go on their way and write to the Commander of the Faithful. If he tells you to follow them, do so, but if someone other than you takes care of them for you that will be all the better for you." Sa'd rejected that but when night had fallen, 'Abdallāh b. Wahb went and crossed

476. For the father, 'Adī, see p. 27, above.
478. Nabḥān and Bawlān are both clans of Ṭayyī', 'Adī's tribe.
479. For Sa'd and his nephew, see n. 29, above.
480. This was the Persian name of the village on the site of which the town of Madinat al-Salām (Baghdād) was later to be built.
481. Al-Karkh, southwest of Baghdād toward al-Kūfah, was later incorporated as a suburb of Baghdad.
the Tigris to the district of Jūkhā,482 where he headed for al-Nahrawān483 and joined up with his companions. They had despaired of him and had said, "If he has perished we will put Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn or Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr in charge of our affairs."

A group of Kūfans set out wishing to join the Khawārīj, but their own families forced them to return under duress. Among them were al-Qa‘qā’ b. Qays al-Ṭā‘ī, the paternal uncle of al-Ṭirimmāh b. Ḥakīm,484 and ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥakīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bakkā‘ī.485 ‘Ali had heard that Sālim b. Rabī‘ah al-‘Absī486 wanted to go out to join them, so he summoned him and forbade him, and he desisted.

When the Khawārīj had left al-Kūfah, the companions and supporters (shī‘ah) of ‘Ali came to him and gave him the oath of allegiance. They said, "We are the friends of those whom you befriend and enemies of those to whom you show enmity." (In accepting their oaths) ‘Ali undertook (to adhere to) the example (sunnah) of the Messenger of God. Rabī‘ah b. Ṭābi Shaddād al-Khath‘ām487 came to him (he had been present with ‘Ali at the battles of the Camel and Ṣifīn and had borne the banner of Khath‘ām), and ‘Ali said to him, "Give me the oath of allegiance on (condition that I observe) the Book of God and the example of His Messenger." Rabī‘ah said, "(And that you observe) the example of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar!" ‘Ali said to him, "Woe to you! If Abū Bakr and ‘Umar had not acted according to the Book of God and the example of His Messenger they would not have had any legitimacy (lam yakunū ‘alā shay‘ min al-ḥaqiq)." So Rabī‘ah gave him the oath of allegiance, and ‘Ali looked at him and said, "By God, it is as if I see you now having departed with these Khawārīj and been killed. It is as if I see you, the horses having trampled on you with their

482. The district east of the Tigris, usually regarded as south of al-Madā'in although here it presumably refers to the lands north of that town also (see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, 42).
483. Probably indicating the aforementioned Jīsr Nahrawān (see n. 474, above).
484. Al-Ṭirimmah is a well known Khārīj poet of the Banū Ṣayyid of the Umayyad period (see El‘, s.v.).
485. Son of the aforementioned Ḥakīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bakkā‘ī (p. 113 and n. 454, above).
486. For his participation in the movement of the Khawārīj after ‘Ali’s death, see Ţabarī, II, 171.
487. This seems to be his only appearance in Ţabarī’s work.
hoofs." And he was killed on the day of the Canal with the Khawārij of al-Baṣrah.

The Khawārij of al-Baṣrah gathered together in a party of 500 and appointed Mis'ar b. Fadakī al-Tamīmī over them. When Ibn 'Abbās learned of that, he sent Abū al-Aswad al-Du'ali488 to follow them. He caught up with them at the great bridge, and they confronted one another until nightfall separated them, and Mis'ar and his men set off again. He began attacking people indiscriminately,489 with al-Ashras b. 'Awf al-Shaybānī490 over his advance guard, and he continued until he met up with 'Abdallāh b. Wahb at the canal.

When the Khawārij had "gone out," Abū Mūsā had fled to Mecca, and 'Alī had sent Ibn 'Abbās back to al-Baṣrah, 'Alī gave an address in al-Κūfah and said:

Praise be to God, even though destiny brings oppressive circumstances and momentous events. I bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His Messenger. Now, disobedience bequeaths distress and leads to remorse. I have given you my orders regarding these two men and this arbitration, and I have freely shared my views with you even though my authority is little. But you have insisted upon what you wanted. I and you are as the brother of Hawāzin491 says:

I have given them my command at the curving of the sand hill,
but they only saw the right path on the morning of the next day.

Those two men whom you have sent out as arbitrators have cast the authority (hukm) of the Qur'ān behind their

488. On this poet and alleged founder of the science of Arabic grammar, see EI², s.v.; and Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Zalim b. 'Amr. The vocalization Du'ali seems to be more correct than the Leiden edition's Du'ilī, although his tribe was the Banū Du'il b. Bakr of Kinānah.

489. Ya'taridu al-nās. This could be a technical term referring to the Khārijite practice of isti'rād [q.v. in EI²], the subjection of individuals to an inquisition and their execution if they failed to answer correctly [for examples, see pp. 123-25, 176, below]. But it may be that the term is used here in a less technical sense.

490. This appears to be Tabari's only reference to this man of Bakr b. Wā'il.

491. That is, Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah [see n. 372, above]; for the verses see al-Ιṣfahānī, Kitab al-aghānī, IX, 5, lines 15-20.
backs. They have revived what the Qur'án has suppressed, and each of them has followed his own inclinations without any guidance from God. They have passed judgment (hakama) without any clear proof or accepted precedent (sunnah mādiyah). They have differed in their judgment (hukm), and neither of them has been rightly guided. God and His Messenger and the righteous of the Believers are quit of those two! Prepare and get ready to set out for Syria. Be in your army camp, God willing, on Monday morning. Then he stepped down.

And he wrote to the Khawārij at the canal:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, from the servant of God, 'All, Commander of the Faithful, to Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn and 'Abdallah b. Wahb and those who are with them: Now these two men whose authority (hukm) we accepted have opposed the Book of God and followed their own inclinations without any guidance from God. They have not acted according to the precedent (sunnah) nor effected a judgment (hukm) according to the Qur'án. God and His Messenger and the Believers are quit of the two of them. When you receive this letter of mine, come, for we are setting out against our enemy and your enemy and we are still concerned with the matter that occupied us originally. Farewell!

The Khawārij wrote to 'Ali: "You were never zealous on account of your Lord, only on account of yourself. If you recognize your own unbelief and turn to repentance, we will consider that which divides us from you. Otherwise we have separated from you 'without distinction, for God does not like those who are faithless.' " When 'Ali read their letter, he despaired of ever convincing them and decided that he should leave them alone and go with the men against the Syrians in order to meet and fight them.


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492. Qur'án 8:58.
at al-Nukhaylah, had given up hope of winning back the Khawārij, he arose, praised God and extolled Him, and then said,

Whoever abandons the *jihād* that is waged for God and falls short in His affairs is on the brink of his own destruction, unless God extends a blessing to him.493 Fear God and fight against those who oppose Him494 and who try to extinguish His light.495 Fight against those who are in error and go astray, the unrighteous and the evildoers, those who are not “readers” of the Qur’ān (*qurrā’ al-Qur’ān*), experts in religion (*fuqaha’ fi al-dīn*), or learned in exegesis (*‘ulamā’ fi al-ta’wīl*), those who have no right to be concerned with this matter by reason of any precedence in accepting Islam. By God, if they were to have charge over you, they would treat you like Chosroes and Heraclius.496 Make ready and prepare to set out against your enemies among the people of the west.497 We have sent to our brethren of al- Başrah, asking that they come to you. When they do and you have united your forces, we will depart, God willing, and there is no power or strength but with Him.

‘Alī sent ‘Utba b. al-Akhnas b. Qays of the Banū Sa‘d b. Bakr498 with a letter to ‘Abdallah b. ‘Abbās. It read, “We have gone out to our army camp at al-Nukhaylah and agreed to set out against our enemies among the people of the west. Set out with your men, and, when my messenger comes to you, wait until you receive further orders. Salutations.”

When the letter reached Ibn ‘Abbās, he read it aloud to the men and commanded them to set out with al-Aḥnaf b. Qays. Of them, 1,500 left with him, but ‘Abdallah b. ‘Abbās considered that too

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493. See Qur’ān 68:49.
494. See Qur’ān 58:22.
496. The names ([Sasanid and Byzantine rulers] symbolized worldly kingship and tyranny in contrast to the righteous caliph.
497. The characterization of the Syrians as westerners and their opponents ([first ‘Alī and later the Zubayrids] as easterners is common in non-Muslim sources, rarer in Muslim ones.
498. Of Hawāzin/Qays, he was subsequently ([51/671] implicated in the revolt of Hujr b. 'Adī [n. 71, above] but released by Mu‘awiyyah [see Tabari, II, 136ff.].
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few and he therefore arose among the people, praised God and extolled Him, and then said,

Men of Basrah, there has come to me the order of the Commander of the Faithful telling me to send you out. I have ordered you to go out to join him with al-Ahnaf b. Qays but only 1,500 of you have done so and yet you number 60,000, without taking account of your sons, slaves, and clients (mawālī). Now go out with Jāriyah b. Qudāmah al-Sā’dī⁴⁹⁹ and do not let any man give me grounds for taking action against him, for I shall punish anyone who absents himself from his post⁵⁰⁰ in disobedience to his imam. I have ordered Abū al-Aswad al-Du‘ālī to muster you, and anyone who gives grounds for action to be taken against him has only himself to blame.

Jāriyah went out and established a camp and Abū al-Aswad went there and mustered the men. Seventeen hundred men joined Jāriyah. He then proceeded until 'Alī met him at al-Nukhaylah, where he had remained until those two armies from al-Basrah, 3,200 men, should come to him. He assembled the leaders of the Kūfans, the leaders of the “sevenths,”⁵⁰¹ the leaders of the tribes (qabā’il), and the prominent men. He praised God and extolled Him and then said, “Men of al-Kufah, you are my brethren, my supporters (anṣār), my helpers in establishing what is right, and my companions in making jihad against my enemies, the profaners of God’s law (al-muḥillīn). With you I will smite the backslider (ṣudbhīr) and hope for perfect obedience from him who goes ahead (muqbalīl). I have sent to the Bāhrans and asked them to come to join you, but only 3,200 of them have come to me. Help me with a counsel that is clear and devoid of all deception for you [...]⁵⁰² our going out to Sīfīn. Rather, gather all together. I ask that the head of each tribe (qawm) write down for me what fighting men he has in his kinship

⁴⁹⁹. Of Sa’d b. Zayd Manāt/Tāmīm, for his mission against Ibn al-Hadramī in al-Basrah, see pp. 169–70, below (see EI, s.v. Djariya b. Kūdāma; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ġariya).
⁵⁰⁰. Maktāb (see Gloss., s.v.).
⁵⁰¹. For the seven groupings into which the tribes in al-Kufah were organized, see Djait, “Les Yamanites,” 154.
⁵⁰². There is a lacuna in the text.
group (‘ashirah), together with their sons who have reached fighting age, and the slaves and clients of his kinship group, and then present that to us.”

Sa'id b. Qays al-Hamdānī stood and said, “Commander of the Faithful, we hear and obey, we offer love and counsel. I shall be the first to bring what you ask for and seek.” Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī stood and spoke similarly, and 'Adī b. Ḥātim, Ziyād b. Khāṣafah, Ḥujr b. 'Adī, and the notables of the men and the tribes did the same. Then the chiefs wrote down the names of those under them and presented them to 'Alī, and they ordered their sons, their slaves, and their clients to go out with them and that none of them should lag behind. They presented to 'Alī 40,000 fighting men, plus 17,000 of their sons who had reached the right age, and 8,000 clients and slaves. They said, “Commander of the Faithful, as for those fighting men with us and their sons who have reached puberty and can fight, we have put before you those who are strong and resolute and we have ordered them to depart with us. But there are also nonfighting men (du‘afā‘) among them, and they are involved in crafts and doing things that will be of benefit for us.”

There were 57,000 Arabs from al-Kūfah and 8,000 of their clients and slaves (mamdīk): altogether 65,000 from al-Kūfah. In addition there were 3,200 Basrans, so that the number of those with 'Alī came to 68,200.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymi: ‘Alī wrote to Sa'd b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, his prefect over al-Madā'in, as follows. “I have sent Ziyād b. Khāṣafah to you. Dispatch with him those of the fighting men of al-Kūfah whom you have with you, and make haste, God willing, and there is no power except with Him.”

'Alī heard that the men were saying among themselves, “If only he would go with us against these Ḥarūriyyah, and we dealt with them first and then, having finished with them, we turned our attention to the profaners of God's law (al-muḥillīn).”503 So 'Alī addressed them, and after praising God and extolling Him, said, “I have heard what you have been saying: ‘If only the Commander of the Faithful would go with us against this group of Khārijites that has rebelled against him, and we dealt with them first and then, having finished with them, we turned to the profaners of God's law.’

503. That is, the Syrians.
But others are more important for us than these Kharijites. Stop talking about them and march instead against a people who are fighting you so that they may be tyrants and kings and take the servants of God as chattel.” And the men shouted from every side, "Commander of the Faithful, lead us wherever you wish!"

Šayfī b. Fasīl al-Shaybānī stood to speak and said, "Commander of the Faithful, we are your party (hizb) and your supporters. We oppose those whom you oppose and join together with those who are obedient to you. Lead us against your enemies whoever they are, wherever they are. God willing, you will not lack followers great in number and firm in intention." Muhriz b. Shihāb al-Tamīmī of the Banū Sa’d also stood and said, "Commander of the Faithful, your party (shi’ah) is as one man in its agreement to unite together to support you and in its eagerness for jihād against your enemies. Rejoice at the help we give and lead us against whichever of the two bands you wish. We are your party that hopes for a fitting recompense in obeying you and making jihād against those who oppose you. And we fear the dire consequences that would follow from betraying and opposing you."

According to Ya’qūb—Isma’īl [b. ‘Ulayyah]—Ayyūb [b. ‘Abī Tamīmah al-Sakhtiyānī]—Humayd b. Hilal—a man of the Banū ‘Abd al-Qays who was one of the Khawārij but then separated from them: (The Khawārij) entered a village and ‘Abdallāh, the son of Khabab the Companion of the Prophet, came out in terror dragging his ridd’. They asked him, "Why are you frightened?" and he answered, ‘By God, you have made me terrified.’ They asked, "Are you ‘Abdallah the son of Khabab the Companion of the Prophet?" and he answered, "Yes." They asked, "Did you hear from your father a report (hadith) that he narrated from the Prophet, according to which the Prophet said, ‘(There will be) a fitnah in

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504. Later implicated with Hujr b. ‘Adī and killed.
505. Also implicated with Hujr and killed (see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.).
507. For ‘Abd al-Qays/Rabî’ah, see EI², s.v.
508. Son of the Companion of the Prophet who is referred to previously (p. 96 and n. 383, above).
509. An outer garment that is wrapped around the body (see Dozy, Dictionnaire... Vêtements, s.v.).
which the sitting man is better than the standing, the standing better than the walking, and the walking than the running. And if you are alive then, servant of God, be the one who is slain?" (Ayyūb said: I do not know any other version but that in which the Prophet said, "Do not be, servant of God, the one who is the slayer.") Ibn Ḫabbāb answered them, "Yes." So they brought him to the canal bank, where they cut off his head and his blood flowed like the lace of a sandal, and they pierced the womb of his concubine (umm walad) and emptied it of its contents.

According to Abū Mīkhnaf—ʿAṭāʾ b. ʿAjlān—Ḥumayd b. Hilāl: The Khawārij who came from al-BAṣra proceeded until they drew near their brethren on the canal. A band of them went out and came upon a man who was driving a donkey carrying a woman. They crossed to him, called to him, threatened and terrorized him, and said, "Who are you?" He replied, "I am 'Abdallah, the son of Ḫabbāb the Companion of the Prophet." Then he grasped at his robe (thawb), lifting it from the ground where it had fallen when they were terrorizing him. They said, "Have we frightened you?" and he answered, "Yes." They said, "There is no need to be alarmed. Tell us a hadīth that your father heard from the Prophet. Perhaps God will give us some benefit by it." He said, "My father told me from the Prophet, 'There will be a fitnah in which the heart of a man will die as does his body. In the evening he will be a Believer and by the next morning an unbeliever, and in the morning he will be an unbeliever and by the next evening a Believer.'" They said, "This is the hadīth we have asked of you. And what do you say about Abū Bakr and ʿUmar?" He heaped praise on them both. They asked, "What do you say about ʿUthmān in the first part of his caliphate and in the last part?" He said, "He was in the right in the first part and in the last part." They said, "And what do you say about ʿAlī before the appointment of the arbitrators (tāḥkīm)

510. For hadīths of this type, see Wensinck, Concordance, s.v. fitnah, V, 60, col. b; and for hadīths with injunctions of the type "be 'Abdallah the slain not 'Abdallah the slayer," see ibid., s.v. q-t-l, V, 289, col. b.

511. Muslim law forbids the killing of the women and children of the enemy. But it is reported that some of the extreme Khārijites killed women and children as part of their practice of isti'rād, taking the view that they shared in the sin and unbelief of their menfolk [see EI2, s.vv. Azārikah, isti'rād]. Evidently this story is intended to illustrate that their doctrine even extended to an unborn child.
and afterward?” He answered, “He knows more of God than you do. He is more God-fearing in his religion (dhnh), and more perceptive in his views.” They said, “You follow your own inclinations and support men according to their names rather than their deeds. By God, we will inflict on you a death such as we have never inflicted on anybody.”

They took him and bound him and then led him and his wife who was in the last stages of pregnancy beneath heavily laden palm trees. A date fell from them and one of them took it and put it in his own mouth. Another said, “(You do that) without permission and without paying!” and he spat it out. Then he took his sword and began swinging it around. A pig belonging to one of the “protected peoples” (ahl al-dhimmah) passed by, and the Khawarij struck it with his sword. They said, “This is evil in the land,” and the one who had struck it went to the owner of the pig and gave him satisfaction for it. When Ibn Khabbāb saw them doing that, he said, “If you are sincere in what I have seen, I need fear no evil from you. I am a Muslim who has not caused any wrong in Islam, and you have given me security when you said, ‘There is no need to be alarmed.’” But they took him and made him lie down, and then slaughtered him so that his blood flowed into the water. Then they came to his wife, who said, “I am only a woman! Do you not fear God?” But they slit open her belly. And they killed three women of Tayyi’, as well as Umm Sinān al-Ṣaydāwiyyah.

When ‘Alī and those of the Muslims heard about the way in which the Khawarij had killed ‘Abdallāh b. Khabbāb and about the slaughter (i’tirād) they were imposing, he sent al-Ḥarīth b. Murrah al-‘Abdī to them, to go to them and enquire about what he had

512. The text is unpointed here; I have followed the suggestion of Ann., A.H. 38 §100, to read yahuzzuhu as in Balādhūrī, Ansāb. Cairo has yamnaḥu yamnuḥu/yumuḥu, which is closer to the ductus of the manuscript, but it is difficult to supply a meaning to fit the context.

513. That is, the non-Muslims who had accepted Arab rule and maintained their preconquest religious and communal allegiances in return for tax.

514. See Qur’an 5:33, 5:64, 8:73, etc.

515. I have not been able to identify this Umm Sinān further.

516. Al-Dinawarī, 207, has al- Faq’as (Faq’as b. Ṭaʿīf of Asad) instead of al-‘Abdī, and Ann., in its necrology for 38 A.H., says that the Dinawarī reading is certainly correct. On p. 171, presumably referring to the same individual, Dinawarī has al-‘Abdī. Lectio difficilior would favor al-Faq’as. This seems to be Ṭabarî’s only mention of him.
heard concerning them and to write back about it fully and without concealment. He left and when he had got as far as the canal, intending to question them, they came out against him and killed him. News of this reached the Commander of the Faithful ['Ali] and his followers, who came to him saying, "Commander of the Faithful, why are you letting them remain at our backs, to take our properties and our families from us?" Lead us against them and then, when we have settled the matter with them, we will go against our Syrian enemy."

Al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindi came and spoke to him in the same way. There had been an impression that al-Ash'ath shared the views of the Khawārij because at Siffin he had been saying, "[The Syrians are] a people who have treated us fairly, appealing to the Book of God." But [now], when he asked 'Ali to go against the Khawārij, it was realized that he did not share their point of view.

'Ali agreed that they should go against the Khawārij first, and announced the setting out, He left and crossed the bridge, and prayed two rak'ahs at al-Qanṭarah. He stopped at Dayr 'Abd al-Rāḥmān and then at Dayr Abī Mūsā, then took the route via Qaryat Shāhī, Dabāhā, and the bank of the Euphrates. On the way he was met by an astrologer who advised him to travel only at a certain time of day. He said, "If you journey at another time, you and your companions will meet a dire evil." But 'Ali rejected that and deliberately traveled at the time when the astrologer had told him not to. When he had finished the battle at the canal, 'Alī praised God and extolled Him, and then said, "If we had journeyed at the time the astrologer said, the ignorant ones who have no knowledge would have said, 'He traveled at the time that the astrologer ordered and consequently has been victorious.'"

According to Aba Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—'Abdallāh b. 'Awf: When 'Alī wished to set out from al-Anbār against the men of

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517. *Yakhlufanā fi amwālin wa-'iyālinā,* indicating that the Khawārij would take over the properties of families of those Iraqis killed in fighting the Syrians.
518. *Ann.,* A.H. 38 §100, has "sul ponte." But it perhaps refers to the place known as Qantarah al-Kūfah or al-Qanṭāṭir, about a day's journey north of al-Kūfah, where the road crossed the Badāt canal (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 74).
519. For Qaryat Shāhī and Dabāhā, see Yaqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, III, 246 and II, 545.
520. On the Euphrates due west of the town of al-Nahrawān (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II).
the canal, he sent Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubâdah ahead and told him to go to al-Madâ'in, where he should wait until further orders reached him. Then 'Ali came proceeding against the Khawârij, and Qays and Sa'd b. Maskid al-Thagafi joined him at the canal. 'Ali sent to the men of the canal, saying, "Surrender to us those among you who killed our brethren so that we may kill them for what they have done. Then I will leave you alone and refrain from action against you so that I may meet the Syrians. And perhaps God will bring about a change of heart on your part and bring you back to a better situation than that in which you are." They sent back, saying, "All of us were their killers and all of us consider your and their blood to be licit."

According to Abû Mikhnaf—al-Hârith b. Ḥâṣirah—Abd al-Rahmân b. 'Ubayd Abû al-Kunûd: Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubâdah addressed the Khawârij, "Servants of God, send out to us those among you whom we seek and come back into this undertaking that you have deserted. Return with us to the fight against our enemy and your enemy. You have done a terrible thing, bearing witness against us that we have committed polytheism (shirk), 'and polytheism is a terrible evil;521 shedding the blood of the Muslims, and counting them as polytheists (mushrikân)!' 'Abdallah b. Shajarah al-Sulamî522 replied, "The truth has shone forth for us. We will not follow you unless you bring us someone like 'Umar." Qays said, "We do not see anyone of that description among us other than our lord ('Ali); do you see such among you?" And Qays said, "I implore you by God not to destroy yourselves, for I think fitnah has triumphed over you."

Abû Ayyûb Khalîd b. Zayd al-Ansârî523 addressed them, saying, "Servants of God, you and we are again in exactly the same position as we were before (Siffin) and there is no division between us. Why are you fighting against us?" They said, "If we were to give you the oath of allegiance today, you would appoint arbitrators tomorrow!" Abû Ayyûb replied, "I implore you by God not to rush into fitnah in this year out of fear of what may happen in the next."524

522. This speech and the subsequent reference to his death seem to represent the only appearance in Tabart's work of this Qaysi.
523. For this famous Companion who is said to have died in the attack on Constantinople during Mu'awiyah's caliphate, see EI², s.v. Abû Ayyûb.
524. See Gloss., s.v. qâbil.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—Malik b. A'yan—Zayd b. Wahb: 'Ali came to the men of the canal, stood before them, and said, "You band, which a quarrelsome animosity and stubbornness have caused to rebel, which your own inclinations have turned away from the truth and rashness carried away, and which has fallen into confusion and great misfortune! I warn you lest tomorrow this community find you laid low by the bends of this canal and the beds of this lowland without a clear proof from your Lord or a conclusive demonstration. Do you not know that I ordered you not to accept the arbitration process (hukūmah) and that I told you that the enemy's seeking it from you was (really) a ruse and a trick directed against you? And I informed you that they were not men of religion (din) or scripture (qur'ān); that I knew them better than you, for I knew them as children and as men and they are a people of cunning and treachery; and that if you rejected my opinion, you would be setting aside sound judgment. But you disobeyed me so that consequently I agreed to appoint an arbitrator. When I did so, I made conditions, extracted undertakings, and imposed on the two arbitrators that they give life to that which the Qur'ān effects and do away with what the Qur'ān suppresses. But they did differently and opposed the authority (hukm) of the Book and the authoritative precedent (sunnah). Therefore, we have rejected the whole procedure involving them and have gone back to our previous situation. What then is your position and what do you want?"

They replied, "We accepted the setting up of arbitration and when we did so we sinned and became unbelievers. But we have repented and, if you do the same, then we will be with you fully. If you refuse, however, then withdraw (j' tazil) from us, for we reject you 'without distinction for God does not love the treacherous.'" 525

'Ali answered them, "May a whirlwind strike you and not one of you survive! After my believing in the Messenger of God, making hijrah with him, and jihād in the way of God, should I (now) testify to unbelief against myself? 'Then I would have gone astray and would not be of the rightly guided.'" 526 He then turned away from them.

525. Qur'ān 8:58.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Salamah al-Zuhrī, whose mother was the daughter of Anas b. Malik:527 'Allī said to those who had gathered at the canal:

You have let yourselves be enticed into the abandonment of this arbitration process that you yourselves initiated and asked for, while I abhorred it. I told you that the enemy had asked for your agreement to it as a trick and a ruse, but you rejected me like opponents and turned away from me like disobedient wretches until I changed my mind and gave in to you. By God you are a light-headed and simple-minded people. Unworthy to be called sons!528 I did not introduce anything illicit nor, by God, did I deprive you of anything that concerned you or conceal any of this matter from you. I did not make you do anything without proper consideration and did not seek after adversity for you, even though our cause is clearly that of the Muslims.529 Your council (mala')530 agreed to choose two men, and we imposed on them that they should judge (yahkuma) according to what is in the Qur'ān and not disregard it. But they went astray and left the truth, even though they perceived it. Oppression was all their desire, even though we had entrusted to them to judge with justice, together with their opposing to the truth their evil views and their oppressive judgment.531 We must trust ourselves now those two have deviated from the path of truth and done what is not acceptable. Make clear to us why you consider it lawful to fight against us and go out from our community. The people did not choose two men so that you should put your swords on your shoulders, slaughter (isti'rad) people, cut off their

527. Abū Salamah al-Zuhrī was an elder relative of the famous Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (see Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, index, s.v. Abū Salama), for the famous Companion and transmitter Anas b. Mālik, see EI², s.v.
528. Là aba laka does not have the same force in Arabic as “Bastard!” in English (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. aba).
529. (?) Wa-in kāna amrnā la-amra al-muslimīna zāhirān, Cairo reads . . . li-amrī al-muslimīna . . . . It is difficult to see what precisely it means.
530. Perhaps indicating a general opinion rather than any consultative institution.
531. Following the reading of SNB and Cairo: wa-al-ṣaddū li al-haqī q suw'ā ra'yihīmā wa-jawrī hukmihīmā. Leiden has bi-suw'ī ra'yihīmā wa-jawrī hukmihīmā.
heads, and shed their blood. "Indeed that is clear depravity," \(^{532}\) By God, if you killed even a chicken like that, its killing would be a weighty matter with God. How will it be, then, regarding a soul the killing of which God has prohibited?

But the Khawārij shouted out, "Do not address them or argue with them. Prepare to meet the Lord; hasten, hasten to Paradise."

So 'Alī went and made ready the men. He gave Ḥujr b. 'Adī command of his right wing and Shabath b. Rib‘ī or Ma‘qīl b. Qays al-Riyahī command of his left. He put Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī over the cavalry and Abū Qatādah al-Anṣārī \(^{533}\) over the infantry and placed Qays b. Sa‘d b. ‘Ubādah over the men of al-Madīnah, of whom there were 700 or 800.

The Khawārij made ready, too, and gave command of their right wing to Zayd b. Ḥusayn al-Tā‘ī, of their left to Shurayh b. Awfā al-‘Absī, of their cavalry to Hamzah b. Sinān al-Asadi, and of their infantry to Ḥurqūs b. Zuhayr al-Sa‘dī.

'Alī sent al-Aswad b. Yazīd al-Murādī \(^{534}\) with 2,000 horsemen against Hamzah b. Sinān, who led 300 of the cavalry of the Khawārij, and hoisted a flag of safe conduct alongside Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī. This last called out to the Khawārij, "Whoever of you who has not committed murder or slaughter (isti‘rād) and comes to this flag, he has safe-conduct; and whoever of you goes back to al-Kūfah or al-Madā‘in and abandons this party, he has safe-conduct. We will have no need to shed your blood after we have slain those among you who have murdered our brethren." Farwāh b. Nawfal al-Asḥija‘ī said, "By God, I know of no reason why we should fight against 'Alī; I think that I must retire until it becomes clear to me whether to fight against him or to follow him." So he withdrew with 500 horsemen and waited at al-Bandānījān and al-Daskarāh. \(^{535}\) Another group also separated and went to al-Kūfah. And about 100 of them went over to 'Alī. The Khawārij numbered (originally) 4,000 and

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\(^{532}\) Qur‘ān 22:11, 39:15.

\(^{533}\) A Companion who is reported to have led the expedition to Baṭn Ḫidam (8/629) and fought at Hunayn (8/630), and who is the source of various reports about the Prophet.


\(^{535}\) For these two places northeast of Nahrawān (Yāqūt calls the former a baldah and the latter a qaryah), see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, 80 and map II.
there remained with 'Abdallah b. Wahb 2,800. They marched against 'Ali, who sent forward his cavalry in front of the footsoldiers, and arranged his men in two lines behind the horsemen, placing the bowmen in front in the first line.

'Ali said to his men, "Hold back from them until they attack you. If they launch an attack against you—and the majority of them are on foot—they are bound to be tired when they get to you while you will be repulsing them and defending against them." The Khawārij advanced, and when they were close they called out to Yazīd b. Qays. (Yazīd b. Qays was governor of Iṣbahān.) They said, "Yazīd b. Qays, authority belongs to God alone, even though Iṣbahān denies it." 'Abbas b. Sharīk and Qabīlah b. Ḍubay'ah, both of them 'Absīs called out to the Khawārij, "Enemies of God, is not Shurayḥ b. Awfā, who has wasted his own soul, among you, and are you not all like him?" They said, "And what is your argument against a man who suffered temptation and found in us his repentance?" Then they called out, "Hasten, hasten to Paradise!" and launched an attack.

'Ali's horsemen were in front of his infantry, but the horsemen of the Muslims did not hold firm against the attack and split into two groups, one on the right, the other on the left, and the Khawārij advanced on the infantry. 'Ali's bowmen confronted them with their arrows, while the horsemen from both the right and the left turned on them, and the footmen rushed at them with spears and swords. By God, they wasted no time in killing the Khawārij. Then Ḥamzah b. Sinān, the leader of the cavalry of the Khawārij, when he saw the destruction, called to his men, "Dismount," and they went to do so but had not taken up positions before al-Aswad b. Qays al-Murādī attacked them and horsemen came at them from the direction of 'Ali. They were slain in a short time.

536. See n. 92 and p. 102, above.

537. For these two supporters of 'Ali (the latter was implicated with Ḥujr b. 'Adī), see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.vv.

538. For Shurayḥ, also an 'Absī, see n. 472, above. Dinawarī, 210, refers to him as one of the ascetics (mussābīq) of the Khawārij. Tabarī's report here indicates that he had defected to the Khawārij after first supporting the decision to go to arbitration. For his death, see p. 132, below.

539. That is, 'Ali's horsemen.

540. See Gloss. for this meaning of andāma.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—‘Abd al-Malik b. Muslim b. Sa‘ād b. Thumāmah al-Ḥanafi—Ḥākim b. Sa‘d:541 As soon as the Başrān Khawārij met us we did not delay in fighting them.542 It was as if they had been ordered to die, and they did so before their strength became effective and could cause significant damage.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb: Abū Ayyūb came to ‘Alī and said, “Commander of the Faithful, I have killed Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn.” ‘Alī asked, “What did you say to him and what did he say to you?” He replied, “I stabbed him with a spear in his chest so hard it came out of his back, and I said to him, ‘Rejoice, enemy of God, that you are going to Hell,’ and he answered me, ‘You will find out which of us is “more fitting to burn in it.”’543 ‘Alī said nothing. [But according to] another version of the report from Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb: ‘Alī said to Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, “He is more fitting to burn in it.”]

And ‘Ā’idh b. Ḥamalah al-Tamnim544 came and said, “Commander of the Faithful, I have killed Kilāb.”545 ‘Alī replied, “You have done well. You are a supporter of the truth and you have killed an adherent of falsehood.”

And Ḥanī’ b. Ḥaṭṭāb al-Arḥabī546 and Ziyād b. Ḥaṣaṇah came quarreling with one another about who had killed ‘Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāṣibī. ‘Alī said to them, “How did you do it?” and they answered, “Commander of the Faithful, when we saw him we recognized him, and we vied with one another to attack him and stabbed him with our spears.” ‘Alī said, “Do not argue with one another—both of you killed him.”


542. For mā huwa ills an...fa... see Gloss., sv. ills.
543. Qur’an 19:70.
544. Involved in the rising of Ḥuǧr b. Ḍā‘ī [see Ṭabart, II, 120, for his verses about an injury received at that time].
545. I am unable to identify.
546. See n. 254, above.
547. This seems to be his only appearance in Ṭabart’s history.
548. Another only appearance.
attacked 'Abdallah b. Shajarah al-Sulamî and killed him. Shurayh b. Awfā came to a wall and fought for a long time of the day by a gap in it. He had killed three men of Banû Hamdân, and he began to extemporize, saying:

An 'Absî handmaiden knows, gentle and sheltered among her people, that I will defend my gap tonight.

Qays b. Mu'āwiyyah al-Duhni attacked him and cut off his foot, but he moved to fight them, saying: "The stallion camel, though hobbled, defends its pregnant females." Then Qays b. Mu'āwiyyah attacked and killed him, and the people said:

One day Hamdân and a man fought together. They fought from dawn until just before evening, and God gave Hamdân success over the man. Shurayh said:

I will strike them and, were I to see Abû al-Hasan ('Alî), I would strike him with the sword until he becomes still.

And he said:

I will strike them and, if I should see 'Alî, I would envelop him with a white gleaming mashraft sword.\(^{550}\)

According to Abû Mikhna‘f—Abd al-Malik b. Abî Hurrah: 'Alî went out seeking Dhû al-Thudayyah.\(^{551}\) With him were Sulaymân b. Thumâmah al-Hanâfî Abû al-Jabrah, and al-Rayyân b. Sabrah b. Hawdhah.\(^{552}\) The latter found him in a hollow on the bank of the canal among forty or fifty slain men.

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549. Another only appearance.
550. For variant explanations of the epithet mashraft, of frequent occurrence in conjunction with sayf, see Lane, Lexicon, s.v.
551. That is, "he with the woman's breast"; see Wellhausen, Religio-political Factions, 24, n. 6, for discussion. The point of the following story becomes clearer on p. 139, below: There was a hadith, known to 'Alî, associating "a people who would pass through Islam as an arrow through game" with a man with a deformed arm, and 'Alî was looking for this man to confirm that the men he had fought at the canal were indeed those referred to in the hadith. The hadith is generally understood as referring to the Khawârij.
552. Both of the Banû Hanîfah/Bâkr b. Wâ'il, for the latter, see Ibn al-Kalbî, II, index, s.v. al-Rayyân b. Sabîra.
When he was dragged out, al-Rayyān examined the upper part of his arm and saw some flesh attached to the shoulder, looking like a woman's breast with a nipple bearing some black hairs. When it was stretched out it extended until it was equal to his other arm, and when it was let go it retracted to his shoulder like the breast of a woman.

When Dhu al-Thudayyah was dragged out, 'Ali said, "God is most great! By God, I did not lie and was not deceived. Indeed by God, were it not that you would refrain from good deeds, I would tell you what God decreed through the mouth of His Prophet for him who fights against them while conscious of his motive for fighting them and recognizing the right to which we adhere." Then he passed among the fallen Khawārīj and said, "Woe unto you! He who has deluded you has done you harm." His own men asked, "Commander of the Faithful, who is it who has deluded them?" He replied, "Satan and their own selves inciting to evil deluded them with their desires, made disobedience seem attractive to them, and told them that they would be victorious."

A search was made for any among them who still had a spark of life, and we found 400 of them. 'Ali commanded that they be given back to their kin, to whom he said, "Take them away with you and restore them to health. When they are better, take them to al-Kūfah and take possession of anything in their camp:"

As for weapons, mounts, and the matériel of war, 'Ali divided them among the Muslims. Regarding goods and male and female slaves, he returned them to their owners when he came (to Kūfah). 'Adī b. Ḥātim sought his son Ṭarafah. Having found him, he buried him and then said, "Praise be to God, who put me to the test, by your death in this battle, in spite of my yearning for you." Some of our men buried the slain men of their own tribe, but when the Commander of the Faithful heard about that he said, "Leave them! Do you kill them and then bury them?" And the men departed.

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553. See Qur'an 12:53.
554. Ann., 38 A.H., §107, reads ṭāhirunā, "pure."
555. (1)Wa-mā shahidū bihi 'alayhi al-ḥarb.
556. See p. 116, above.
557. (1)Alladhī ibtalānt bi-yawmika 'alā ḥājat ilayka.
The Events of the Year 37

According to Abu Mikhnaf—Mujahid—al-Muḥill b. Khalīfah [al-Tā’ī]: One of the Bānū Ṣadūs, called al-'Ayzār b. al-Akhnas⁵⁵⁸ who shared the views of the Khawārij, went out to join them. Beyond al-Madā'in he met 'Adī b. Ḥātim, with whom were al-Aswad b. Qays and al-Aswad b. Yazīd, both of the Bānū Murād⁵⁵⁹. When he met him, al-'Ayzār said to him, "Are you secure from sin and gainful of recompense or evil and sinful?" 'Adī replied, "Indeed, secure from sin and gainful of recompense." The two Murādis said to him, "You have only said that because of an evil in your heart, for we know that you, 'Ayzār, share the views of those people [the Khawārij]. You will not leave us before we bring you to the Commander of the Faithful and tell him about you." It was not long before 'Alī arrived and the two of them told him about al-'Ayzār, saying, "Commander of the Faithful, he shares the views of the enemy—we have recognized that in him." 'Alī said, "Shedding his blood is not licit for us, but we will imprison him." 'Adī b. Ḥātim said, "Commander of the Faithful, give him to me and I will take responsibility that nothing untoward happens to you on his part." So 'Alī gave al-'Ayzār to 'Adī.

According to Abu Mikhnaf—'Imrān b. Ḥudayr—Abū Mīljaz—'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jundab b. 'Abdallāh: Only seven of 'Alī's companions were killed.

According to Abu Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Wa'lah al-Yanāʾī—Abū Darda': When 'Alī had finished with the people of Nahrawān, he praised God and extolled Him and then said [to his own men], "God has favored you and reinforced your victory, so direct yourselves immediately against your enemy."⁵⁶⁰ They answered, "Commander of the Faithful, our arrows are exhausted, our swords have become blunt, the tips of our spears have fallen off, and most of them have been broken in pieces. Go back to our garrison town and let us make the best possible preparation. Perhaps the Commander of the Faithful will add to our equipment that of those of us who have died.

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⁵⁵⁸. This seems to be his only appearance. Ann., A.H. 38 §108, says that we should read Sinbis rather than Sadūs [the Banū Sinbis of Tāyi' fits better with the subsequent tribal affiliations]. Baladhuri Ansāb, cited in Ann., A.H. 38 §120, has al-Akhnas b. al-Ayzar al-Tāʾī al-Sinibis.

⁵⁵⁹. See nn. 307, 534, above.

⁵⁶⁰. That is, the Syrians.
for that will make us better fitted to confront the enemy." Their spokesman in putting that forward was al-Ash'ath b. Qays.

'Ali went and stopped at al-Nukhaylah, where he told the men to remain in their camp and prepare themselves for jihad, and to cut down on visiting their wives and children until they set out against their enemy. They remained there for some days, but then they slipped away from their camp and entered (the town), apart from a few of their leaders, and the camp was left empty. When 'Ali saw that, he entered al-Kufah and his idea of departing to fight Mu'awiya was shattered.

According to Abu Mikhnaf—anonymous—Zayd b. Wahb: In his first address to the men after the fighting at the canal, 'Ali said, "Men, get ready to go out against an enemy, in the making of jihad against whom there is drawing near to God and obtaining a way of getting close to Him. They are confused regarding what is right, they shun the Book, and they deviate from the religion (din), wandering perplexedly in rebellion and cast down in the flood of error. Get ready against them all the force that you can muster and all the horses you can bridle. Put your trust in God, for He is a sufficient protector and He is a sufficient helper."

But they neither went to do what he said nor prepared themselves. He left them alone for a few days until, despairing of their doing what he had asked, he summoned their chiefs and leaders and asked them their opinion and what was delaying them. Some among them offered excuses and some evinced an antagonism to his wishes; those who showed enthusiasm were in the minority. So 'Ali stood to address them in a khutbah.

He said:

Servants of God, what possessed you, when I commanded you to go to fight, that you were averse to war and inclined to the earth? Do you desire the life of this world

561. See Qur'an 2:15, 6:110.
563. See Qur'an 4:45.
564. A formal address delivered from the dais (minbar) in the mosque. It became a formal part of the midday prayer service on Friday, but in early Islam was not limited to liturgical contexts. See EI, s.v.
565. Iththāqaltum ilā al-ard; i.e., "you were slow and sluggish" (see Lane, Lexicon, th-q-1, form VI).
more than the next and lowliness and degradation to glory? Each time I have urged you to the jihad, your eyes have rolled as if you are in the agonies of death, as if you are mad and without reason, and as if your eyes are blind and you cannot see. I am amazed at you. You are only lions of al-Sharâ in time of peace and sly foxes when you are called to be brave. You will never be men on whom I can rely, you are not riders with whom one can attack, and you are not men of strength to whom one may cling. By the eternal God, you are wretched men of valor—you are duped and you do not outwit: your lands are diminished and you do not care; others are not taken off guard by you, but you are heedless and negligent. The true warrior is he who is alert and has understanding, while he who seeks for agreements comes to abasement. He who engages in dispute overcomes, but those who are defeated are vanquished and despoiled.

Then he said, "Now, you have obligations toward me and I have obligations toward you. My duties toward you are good counsel to you so long as I am associated with you, increasing your spoils (fay'), providing you with knowledge so that you are not ignorant, and educating you so that you acquire knowledge. Your duties to me are fulfillment of the oath of allegiance, good advice in private and in public, responding when I call you, and obedience when I command you. If God intends a good outcome for you, draw back from what I dislike, return to what I desire, and you will obtain what you seek and achieve what you hope for."

Narrators other than Aba Mikhnaf say that the battle between 'Ali and the people of the canal was in year 38 (658–659). That is

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566. See Qur'an 9:38.
567. Li Allâhi antum! An expression usually indicating appreciation of some good quality, perhaps used here ironically.
568. A proverbial expression for fierceness or bravery, said to refer to a mountain abounding in lions [Lane, Lexicon, s.v.].
569. Hushshîsh al-barb. Literally, "kindlers of war" [Lane, Lexicon, s.v. mistashsh].
570. (f)Wi-yatanaqqasu âtrâfukum. Ann., A.H. 38 §11, has "vi si rattrapisccono le mani e i piedi." NaNqasu min âtrâfihâ is Quranic [13:41, 21:45] and is variously understood.
571. (!)Lâ yundmu 'ankum.
what most of the specialists in historical traditions (ahl al-siyar) say, and it is supported, too, by what 'Umārah al-Asadi told me—'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā—Nuʾaym—Abū Maryam:572 Shabath b. Rībʿ and Ibn al-Kawwāʾ went out from al-Kūfah to Ḥarthāʾ, and 'Alī ordered the men to appear with their weapons. They all went out to the mosque, which became full with them, but 'Alī sent to them, saying, "What you have done in entering the mosque with weapons is wrong. Go to the Jabbānah of Murād573 and await my orders."

So we went to the the Jabbānah of Murād and waited there for part of the day. Then we heard that the Khawārij were returning, marching back.

I said, "I will go out to see them." So I went and infiltrated their columns until I came to Shabath b. Rībʿ and Ibn al-Kawwāʾ, who were resting on one thigh in the saddles874 of their mounts. With them were 'Alī's messengers, who were imploring the two of them by God to return with the men575 and saying to the men, "We beseech you by God not to hasten the fitnah this year out of fear of next year."

A man (of the Khawārij) came up to one of the messengers of 'Alī and hamstrung his mount. The messenger then dismounted, uttering the istirjdā876 picked up his saddle, and went on with it. The Khawārij were saying, "All we want is to resume open hostilities with them (the Syrians);" and the messengers were imploring them by God. We waited for a time and then they went back to al-Kūfah, where it was as if it were a day of breaking the fast or a day of sacrifice577

572. Abū Maryam al-Thaqafi is cited at Ṭabbar, I, 3154, as being in al-Kūfah when al-Ashtar seized it for 'Alī and expelled Abū Mūsā, before the Battle of the Camel; Tabbar reports from him via al-Minqārī. The present instance seems to be Tabbar's only citation from 'Umārah al-Asadi. The ahl al-siyar would seem to be scholars specializing in reports about the military events of early Islam; for a discussion of the development of the term siyar and related fields of tradition, see Hinds, "Maghāzi and Sīrah," esp. pp. 61–62 and n. 8.

573. A jabbānah is a cemetery. In al-Kūfah the jabbānāhs seem to fulfill the role of public squares in each tribal quarter (see EI2, s.v. al-Kūfah, p. 347a).

574. ([]Wāqīfān mutawarrīkān; the significance of the description escapes me.

575. For this sense of Īmmār (= illā) after a verb of swearing or imploring, see Wright, Grammar, II, 340, at top.

576. See n. 331, above.

577. Because of the commotion. (The "breaking of the fast [of Ramadān]" and the "day of sacrifice" [during the Ḥajj] are the two major feasts of the Muslim year.)
The Events of the Year 37

‘Ali had been narrating to us before that that a people would go out from (yakhrujūna min) Islam, passing through the religion as the arrow passes through the hunted game.578 The sign of them would be a man with a deformed arm (mukhdaj al-yad). I heard that hadith from him several times.

Nāfi’579 the Deformed [al-Mukhdaj] also heard it, and I saw him going off his food because he had heard him saying it so often. Nāfi’ was with us in the mosque, praying by day and spending his nights there too. I had given him a burnus to wear, and I met him subsequently and asked him if he had gone out with those who had gone to Ḥarūrā’. He replied, “I went out intending to join them, but when I came to the Banū Sa’d some youth met me and divested me of my weapons and made fun of me, so I went back.”

About a year later, the men of the canal “went out” and ‘Ali went against them. I did not go with him, but my brother Abū Abdallāh did and he told me: ‘Ali went to them, and when he was opposite them on the bank of the Nahrawān, he sent imploring them by God and asking them to return. A succession of messengers went ceaselessly from him to them until they killed a messenger of his. When he saw that, he attacked them and fought them until he had finished with them. Then he asked his companions to seek for the Deformed One [al-Mukhdaj], and they did so. Some of them said, “We cannot find him” and some said, “No, he is not among them.” Then a man came and announced good news to ‘Ali and said, “Commander of the Faithful, we have found him beneath two slain men in an irrigation ditch.” ‘Ali said, “Cut off the arm that is deformed and bring it to me.” When he was brought it, he took it and lifted it up and said, “By God, I did not lie and was not deceived.”

578. See n. 551. For the hadith, see Wensick, Concordance, s.vv. maraqa and akhdaja, and idem, Muslim Creed, 38. Maraqa, “to pass through,” is used of an arrow that goes clean through the animal at which it is shot.

579. Apparently not a reference to the famous Ḥārījī Nāfi’ b. al-Azraq.

580. The wearing of the burnus, most likely here a hooded cloak, is probably meant to be indicative of an ascetic. Al-Dinawari, 203, has ashab al-barūnis with reference to supporters of the Ḥārījītes. The continuation of the narrative in the first person makes it difficult to be sure where the words of Nāfi’ end, but the following sentence surely cannot be his and must belong to the narrator Abū Maryam.

581. This story relates to that of Dhū al-Thudayyah earlier.
Abū Ja’far [al-Ṭabarî] said: Abū Maryam has indicated with his words, “...so I went back. About a year later, the men of the canal ‘went out,’” that the war between ‘Alī and the men of Ḥarūrâ’ was in the year after that in which they had rejected ‘Alī’s agreement to arbitration. This latter occurred in 37, as has been established previously, and, if that was the case, and the matter developed according to the report that we have transmitted from Abū Maryam, then it is sure that the battle between ‘Alī and them was in 38.582

According to ‘Alī b. Muhammad [al-Madâ‘îni]—‘Abdallâh b. Maymûn—‘Amr b. Shujayrah—Jâbir—al-Sha‘bî: After he had returned from Siffin, ‘Alī sent Ja‘dah b. Hubayrah al-Makhzûmî, whose mother was Umm Hâni’ bint Abî Talib, to Khurâsân. He got as far as Abrashahr, the people of which had espoused unbelief and refused to yield. He therefore went back to ‘Alī, who sent out Khulayd b. Qurrah al-Yarbû’tî, who besieged the people of Nâysâbûr until they made peace with him, and so too the people of Marw.583

In this year, that is, 37 (657-658), ‘Ubaydallâh b. ‘Abbas led the pilgrimage.584 He was ‘Alī’s governor over the Yemen and its provinces [makhâlif]. Qutham b. al-‘Abbâs was over Mecca and al-Ṭa‘îf, and Sahîl b. Ḥunayf al-Ansârî over al-Madînah. It is also said that Tammâm b. al-‘Abbâs585 was over al-Madînah. ‘Abdallâh b. al-‘Abbâs was over al-Bâṣrâh, with Abû al-Aswad al-Du‘â‘î over its judicial affairs. Muhammad b. Abî Bakr586 was over Egypt and Khulayd b. Qurrah al-Yarbû’tî over Khurâsân. And it is said that when ‘Alī departed for Siffin, he left behind Abû Mas‘ûd al-Ansârî587 as his deputy over al-Kûfah. According to Ahmad b. Ibrâhîm al-Dawraqî588—‘Abdallâh b. Idrîs—Layth—‘Abd al-‘Azîz b. Rufay’: When ‘Alî went out to Siffin, he left behind as his deputy over al-Kûfah Abû Mas‘ûd

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582. For discussion of the chronology and the cause and effect relationship between the meeting of the arbitrators, the defection of the Khawârij, the Battle at the Canal [Nahrawân], and the rebellion of al-Khîrît b. Râshid [see later], see Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 88-90.

583. Apart from the addition of the information about Ja‘dah’s mother, this passage is identical to that on pp. 99, above.

584. ‘Ubaydallâh was a full younger brother of ‘Abdallâh b. ‘Abbâs [n. 3, above].

585. Tammâm was a half-brother of ‘Abdallâh and ‘Ubaydallâh, known for his great strength [Zubayrî, Nasab Quraysh, 27].

586. Son of the first caliph [see EI2, sv.]

587. See n. 269, above.

588. D. 246860, brother of the previously cited Ya‘qûb b. Ibrâhîm [n. 506, above; see GAS, I, 112].
al-Anṣārī 'Uqbah b. 'Amr. As for Syria, that was the territory of Muʿāwiyyah b. Abī Sufyān.
The Events of the Year

38

(JUNE 9, 658–MAY 28, 659)

The Killing of Muhammad b. Abi Bakr in Egypt

Among the events of this year was the killing of Muhammad b. Abi Bakr in Egypt, where he was governor. We have already reported the circumstances of 'Ali's appointing him there and the deposition of Qays b. Sa'd. Now we will recount why and where he was killed and how things turned out regarding him. We will begin with the conclusion of the report of al-Zuhri, the beginning of which we have given previously.\(^{589}\)

According to 'Abdallah b. Ahmad al-Marwazi—Yunus b. Yazid—al-Zuhri: When Qays b. Sa'd was told that Muhammad b. Abi Bakr was coming to replace him as governor, he went to meet him and spoke to him in private. He took Muhammad into his confidence and said, "You have been sent by a man who lacks judg-

\(^{589}\) See Tabart, I, 3241–42, 3245–46. According to the account, 'Ali had been led to believe that Qays b. Sa'd (n. 75) was not entirely reliable as governor of Egypt and had sent Muhammad b. Abi Bakr instead. Qays's father, Sa'd b. 'Ubādah, is said to have been a rival of Abū Bakr, the father of Muhammad, at the time of the saqīfah following the death of the Prophet. On the following, see El, s.v. Muhammad b. Abî Bakr and the literature cited there.

\(^{590}\) The isnād is given in an abbreviated form (for the full version, see Tabart, I, 3245).
ment (ra'y), but the fact that you are removing me from office will not stop me offering you sincere advice. I have some insight into your task here, for I was involved in something in which I was attempting to get the better of Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr and the people of Kharbita. You use the same stratagem against them for, if you try to get the better of them by any other means, you will perish." Qays described to him the stratagem whereby he was trying to get the better of them, but Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr suspected his motives and acted completely differently from the way Qays had said.

When Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr had established himself and Qays b. Sa'd had left for Medina, Muḥammad sent the Egyptian army to Kharbita, where they fought but were defeated. When Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr heard that, they came with the men of Syria, conquered Egypt, and killed Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. The land remained under Mu'āwiyah’s control henceforth until he secured victory (in the struggle with ‘Ali).

Qays b. Sa'd reached Medina, but Marwān and al-Aswad b. Abī al-Bakhtārāri threaten him until eventually, fearing that he would be seized or killed, he mounted up and went to join ‘Ali. Mu'āwiyah wrote to Marwān and al-Aswad, expressing his anger at them and saying, "You have reinforced ‘Ali with Qays b. Sa'd, and his sound opinion and his shrewdness. By God, if you had sent him 100,000 fighting men, that would not have angered me more than your forcing Qays b. Sa'd to leave to join ‘Ali."

Qays b. Sa'd came to ‘Ali and when he had told him what had happened and news reached them of the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, ‘Ali realized that Qays b. Sa’d was equally the object of some substantial trickery and that those who had advised him to remove Qays from office had not given him sincere advice.

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591. Kharbita, in the delta near Alexandria (Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, II, 416), was the center of a group of 'Uthmāniyyah, opponents of 'Ali, who were, nevertheless, willing to accept the authority of Qays on certain conditions. Qays, we are told, had been willing to negotiate with them in exchange for their agreement not to resist him, so that he could oppose the attempts of Mu'āwiyah to take over Egypt. See Tabari, I, 3237-38, 3241.

592. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was the senior Umayyad in Medina, and became caliph himself in 64/683-84 (see EP, s.v.) for al-Aswad b. Abī al-Bakhtārī of the Banū Asad of Quraysh, son of an opponent of the Prophet who is said to have been killed at Badr, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. al-Aswad b. al-'Āṣī.
As for Abū Mikhnaf's version of the start of the affair of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, his going to Egypt and his governorship over it, our report of it has been given earlier. Now we will report the remainder of the account about Muḥammad according to Abū Mikhnaf from Yazīd b. Zabyān al-Hamdānī: When those at Kharbitā had killed Ibn Muḍāhim al-Kalbī, whom Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr had sent against them, Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudayy al-Kindī al-Sakūnī went out and called for vengeance for the blood of 'Uthmān. Others responded to him and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr was unable to maintain order in Egypt. 'Alī heard about the rising of the Egyptians against Muḥammad and about their determination (to overthrow) him, and he said, “Only one of two men is right for Egypt—the companion of ours whom we removed from it (meaning Qays b. Saʿd) or Malik b. al-Ḥārith (meaning, al-Ashtar).”

When 'Alī returned from Suffin, he had sent al-Ashtar back to his command over the Jazīrah and had said to Qays b. Saʿd, “Stay with me in charge of my personal guards (shurāt) until we have finished this business of the arbitration (ḥukūmah), and then go to Ādharbayjān.” So Qays remained with 'Alī over his personal guard and when the business of the arbitration was over, 'Alī wrote to Malik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar, who at that time was at Naṣibīn: ‘Now, you are one of those whose help I need in making the religion (din) effective, by whom I restrain the arrogance of the sinner, and by whom I fortify the dangerous frontier district (thaghr). I have put Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr over Egypt, but the rebels (khawāridjī) there came out against him and he is a raw youth with no experience of war and untested. Come to me so that we can consider what is necessary regarding that, and leave behind over your province those of your men who are trustworthy and sincere advisors. Salutations.”

594. Ibid., I, 3248, l. 18.
595. One of the 'Uthmāniyyah (n. 591); see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, sv. Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥadīg.
596. That is, Naṣibīn in northern Mesopotamia.
597. Khawāridjī, the word seems to be used in the general sense of rebels or defectors. It does not imply that the followers of Ibn Hudayj shared the views of those who fought 'Alī at Nahrawān (in fact, their views about 'Uthmān were contradictory). Rather it indicates that the name al-Khawāridjī probably originally had the general connotation of separatists or rebels and only later became the standard name for the Khārijites, whose origins were traced back to their rejection of the ḥukūmah.
Malik came to 'Ali and went in to him. 'Ali told him the news about the men of Egypt and gave him the reports about them, and he said, "You are the only man for it. Set out there, may God have mercy on you. If I do not tell you what to do about it, it is because I am content with your own judgment. Ask for God's help if anything worries you, and mix firmness with gentleness. Be mild so long as mildness is effective, but insist on firmness when you have to." So al-Ashtar left 'Ali, went to the place where he had left his things, and got ready to set out for Egypt.

Mu'awiyah's spies came and informed him of 'Ali's appointment of al-Ashtar, and that weighed heavily on him for he coveted Egypt and knew that if al-Ashtar arrived there he would be a more difficult prospect than Muhammad b. Abi Bakr. He therefore sent to al-Jāyastār, one of those subject to the khardāj tax, and told him that al-Ashtar had been appointed over Egypt. And he said to him, "If you take care of him for me, I will not take any khardāj from you as long as I live; so do what you can to outwit him." Al-Jāyastār then went to al-Quļuzum and waited there. Al-Ashtar left Iraq for Egypt, and when he reached al-Quļuzum al-Jāyastār met him and said, "Here is somewhere to stay and here is food and fodder. I am one of those subject to the kharāj." Al-Ashtar stayed there with him and the diḥqān came with fodder and food. Then, when he had fed him, he brought him a honeyed drink into which he had mixed poison. He gave it to him to drink and when he had done so he died.

Mu'awiyah proceeded to tell the Syrians, "'Ali has sent al-Ashtar to Egypt—call on God that He will suffice you against him!" So every day they implored God against al-Ashtar, and then he who had given him the drink came to Mu'awiyah and told him of al-

598. Jāyastār may be a version of an administrative title in Byzantine Egypt that appears in the administrative papyri as the Arabic jastāl. “Quaestor,” “logistarius,” and “augustalis” have been suggested (see EI, s. v. Arabia, d. Arabic Writing [1, 383, col. b.]), Becker, Neue arabische Papyri," 255; and Ann., A.H. 37 §219). “Subject to the Kharāj” (najul min ahli 'l-khardāj) perhaps indicates that the man had responsibility for collecting the tax from a district and paying part of it over to the Arabs. The promise to be released from it for life would then be a substantial reward—what he collected would be entirely his own. Note the subsequent reference to him as a diḥqān (n. 406, above).

599. Or, "as long as you live" (thus Cairo and Ibn al-Athir).

600. Ancient Klysma, modern Suez at the head of the Red Sea; a canal ran from it to join up with the Nile in the region of modern Cairo (see EI, s. v. Kulzum).
Ashtar’s death. Mu’āwiyah stood among the people and delivered a *khutbah*. He praised God and extolled Him and then said, “‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib had two right hands; one of them was cut off on the day of Siffin (meaning ‘Ammār b. Yāsir) and the other today (meaning al-Ashtar).”

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadij—a *mawla* of al-Ashtar: When al-Ashtar died we found among his things the following letter of ‘Alī to the people of Egypt:

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, from the servant of God, ‘Ali, Commander of the Faithful, to the community of Muslims who are jealous for God when He is disobeyed in the land and tyranny pitches its tents over the pious and the immoral equally, so that no right is respected nor any evil abstained from. Greetings. Praise be to God—there is no other but He. Now, I have sent to you one of the servants of God who does not sleep on the days of fear and does not shrink from the enemies out of wariness against calamities, who is harder on the unbelievers than the burning of the fire. He is Malik b. al-Ḥārith, the brother of Madhhij. Hearken unto him and obey him, for he is one of the swords of God, which does not rebound when striking and the blade of which does not become dull. If he orders you to advance, advance, and if he orders you to retire, retire, for he advances and withdraws only on my orders. (By sending him to you) I have given you preference over myself on account of his sincere advice to you and his stubborn unyielding attitude to your enemy. May God preserve you with right guidance and confirm your conviction. Salutations.

[3395] When Muhammad b. Abī Bakr heard that ‘Alī had sent al-Ashtar, he was troubled. Then, at the time of al-Ashtar’s death, ‘Alī wrote to Muhammad b. Abī Bakr—that was when ‘Alī learned of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr’s displeasure at al-Ashtar’s coming:

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, from the servant of God, ‘Alī, Commander of the Faithful, to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, greetings. Now, I have learned that you are displeased at my sending al-Ashtar to your
province. But I did not do that because I found you tardy regarding the *jihād* nor in an attempt to increase your effort. If I had removed from your authority that which is under your hand, I would have appointed you over something that would have been less troublesome and more pleasing for you to exercise authority over. The man whom I had appointed over Egypt was a sincere adviser to us and resolute against our enemies. But he has completed his days and met his appointed fate, we being pleased with him. May God be pleased with him, may He increase his reward and may He make pleasant for him the place to which he has been removed. Be steadfast against your enemy and get ready for warfare. "Summon people to the path of your Lord with sagacity and goodly exhortation." 601 Multiply the mention of God's name, the asking of Him for help, and fear of Him, so that He may protect you against what troubles you and help you in that to which He has assigned you. May God help us and you in that which cannot be achieved without His mercy. Salutations.

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr wrote to 'Ali in reply:

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, to the servant of God, 'Ali, Commander of the Faithful, from Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, greetings. Praise be to God—there is no other but He. The letter of the Commander of the Faithful has reached me, and I have understood it and am cognizant of its contents. There is none among the people who finds the opinion of the Commander of the Faithful more acceptable than I, no one who exerts himself more against the Commander of the Faithful's enemy or is more gracious to his friend. I went out and established the army camp and I granted security to the people except for those who raised war against us and manifested their opposition. I follow the commands of the Commander of the Faithful, I am mindful of them, I seek refuge in them, and I take my stand with them. And the help of God is sought in every circumstance. Salutations.

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According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Jahdam al-Azdi, one of the Syrians—'Abdallah b. Ḥawālah al-Azdi: After the Syrians had returned from Siffin, they waited for the decision that the two arbitrators would reach. When the two of them left the arbitration disagreeing with one another, the Syrians gave the oath of allegiance as caliph to Mu'āwiyyah, and his strength continued to increase, while the people of Iraq were in disagreement regarding 'Ali. Mu'āwiyyah's only concern was Egypt, fearing its fighting men because of their proximity to him and the strength of their enmity to anyone who was of the opinions (ra'y) of 'Uthmān. Nevertheless, Mu'āwiyyah knew that a group there had found the killing of 'Uthmān reprehensible and opposed 'Ali. Furthermore, he hoped that if he won control over Egypt he would also be victorious in the war against 'Ali on account of the huge sum that was raised from its kharāj.

Mu'āwiyyah summoned those of Quraysh who were with him: 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah, Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, al-Ḍahhāk b. Qays, and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid b. al-Walid; and others (not of Quraysh): Abū al-Aʿwar 'Amr b. Sufyān al-Sulami, Ḥamzah b. Malik al-Hamdānī, and Shurḥbīl b. al-Simṭ al-Kindī. He said to them, "Do you know what it is I have summoned you to? I have summoned you to a matter of great importance in which I desire that God grants help." The group said, all of them or those of them that spoke, "God has never informed anyone about the unknown and He will not let us know what you wish!" 'Amr b. al-Āṣ said, "By God, I think that it is the question of this land great in kharāj, rich in equipment, and numerous in population that concerns you. And you have summoned us then to ask us about what we think regarding it. If you have summoned us for that and gathered us together on account of it, then be determined and go forward, for how excellent is the view that you have formed! In conquering it you and your followers will achieve honor, your enemy will be put down, and those who oppose you will be humiliated." Mu'āwiyyah said to him in reply, "I know what it is that concerns you, Ibn al-'Āṣ!" He said that because 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ had made an agreement with Mu'āwiyyah, at the time when he had given Mu'āwiyyah the oath of allegiance in the fight against 'Ali b.

602. See p. 206, below.
Abū Talib, that Egypt would be his for the rest of his life. That was intended as an incentive for him.

Muʿāwiya turned to those others present and said, "This one (meaning 'Amr) has thought about it and affirmed his suspicions." They said, "But we do not know!" Muʿāwiya said, "Abū 'Abdallāh has got it right." 'Amr said, "I am Aba 'Abdallāh." Then he said, "The best supposition is that which resembles certainty."

Then Muʿāwiya praised God and extolled Him and said:

*Now, you have seen what God has done for you in your fight against your enemy.*603 They came to you expecting that they would devastate your territory and destroy your land. They had no doubt but that you would be in their hands. "But God repelled them with their rage, and they obtained none of the good"604 that they desired. We entrusted the decision (ḥākamnāhūm) about them to God, and He decided for us against them (ḥakama la nār alayhīm). Then He joined together our forces and settled our differences, while He cast them into enmity and division, bearing witness one against another of unbelief and shedding each other's blood. By God, I hope that this business will be concluded in our favor and I have conceived the idea that we should seek to deceive the Egyptians. What do you think of our opinion regarding that?605

'Amr replied, "I have informed you regarding that which you asked me about and I have advised you as you have heard." Muʿāwiya said, "'Amr has made up his mind, but he was sharp and cutting and failed to explain (yufassir). How should I act?" 'Amr said to him, "I will advise you how you should act. I think you should send a powerful army under the command of someone who is resolute and stern, someone on whom you rely and in whom you trust. He should go and enter Egypt, and those of its people who share our view will come to him and help him against our

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603. That is, 'Ali and the Iraqis.
604. See Qurʾān 33:25.
605. Comparison with parallel sources suggests that there is an omission in the text here: They answered, "We agree with 'Amr!" Muʿāwiya said, "But what should I do?"
enemies who are there. And when your army and those members of your party (shi’ah) there have united against your opponents, I hope that God will help you with your victory and aid your triumph."

Mu‘awiyah said to him, “Do you have any ideas other than this regarding what might be done in our dispute with them?” He replied, “Not that I know of.” But Mu‘awiyah said, “Indeed I do! I think we should write to those of our party (shi’ah) there, and to our enemy. I will tell those of our party to persevere in their cause, and I will promise them that we are coming to their aid. And we will call our enemies there to make peace with us and give them cause to hope for our gratitude at the same time as we make them afraid about fighting against us. If what they have to offer is agreeable to us without fighting, then that is what we wanted. If it is not, then we still have the option of war available. You, Ibn al-‘Āṣ, are a man blessed with hastiness, while I am a man blessed with deliberateness.” ‘Amr said, “Do according as God has shown you. By God, I think it inevitable that your dispute with them lead to a resumption of war.”

Thereupon Mu‘awiyah wrote to Maslamah b. Mukhallad al-Anṣārī and Mu‘awiyah b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī, both of whom had opposed ‘Ali:

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

Now, God has commissioned the two of you for a matter of importance, by which He will make great your reward, elevate your name, and make you magnificent among the Muslims—your seeking vengeance for the blood of the caliph unjustly slain and your zeal for God when the authority (hukm) of the Book was abandoned. You have waged jihad against the people of injustice and enmity. Rejoice in the good pleasure of God, in the imminence of the victory of the friends of God, and in the benefits that will come to you in this world. And rejoice in our authority, until that which will please you is achieved by it, and we give you by it what you deserve in full measure according to your merits. ‘Be patient and vie in patience’”

606. Like Mu‘awiyah b. Ḥudayj, Maslamah was a leader of the ‘Uthmāniyyah in Egypt (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).
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your enemies. Call the backslider (*muḍbir*) to your right guidance and protection. The army (of Muhammad b. Abī Bakr) has been led astray against you and everything that you reject has been cleared away and everything that you long for has come to pass. Peace be upon you.

Mu’āwiyah wrote this letter and sent it with a client of his called Subay’, who took it to Ibn Mukhallad and Ibn Hudayj in Egypt. There Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr was governor, having declared war on the followers of Ibn Mukhallad and Ibn Hudayj, and not (yet) having suffered any loss on the day the attack was made against him. Subay’ handed over his letter to Maslamah b. Mukhallad and also the letter of Mu’āwiyah b. Hudayj, but Maslamah said, “Take Mu’āwiyah’s letter to him so that he can read it, and then bring it to me so that I can answer it from both of us.” The messenger took his letter to Mu’āwiyah b. Hudayj, who had him read it out loud to him. When he had finished reading it, Subay’ said, “Maslamah b. Mukhallad told me that I should take the letter back to him after you had read it so that he could reply to Mu'āwiyah on behalf of both of you.” Ibn Hudayj said, “Tell him that he should do that;” and he gave the letter to the messenger, who returned to Ibn Mukhallad.

The latter then wrote on behalf of himself and Mu’āwiyah b. Hudayj:

This matter for which we have sacrificed ourselves and in which we have followed God’s command is something in which we hope for the reward of our Lord, deliverance from those who oppose us, and the hastening of retribution on those who violated our imām and rushed with haste into *jihād* against us: We, in this quarter of the earth, have re-

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608. Wa-qaḍ nāṣabā ḥa’ulā’i al-ḥarba biḥā wa-huwa ghayru mutakhabwwan biḥā yawma al-iqādāmi ‘alayhi. The sentence is problematic. In view of the preceding reference to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and the wa, ḥa’ulā’i is presumably the object, rather than subject, of nāṣabā, and refers to the followers of the two men to whom Mu’āwiyah sent the letter. The Leiden editor indicates that mutakhabwwan is unvocalized and only the *nām* is dotted. He suggests it be understood in the same sense as mutanaqqas ("diminished; “impaired")—Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. form V of kh-w-n, has “to diminish,” “to impair;" synonymous with tanaqqasa. It might be more obvious to read as mutakhabwwin, "suspecting treachery or trickery" (i.e., on the part of Mu’āwiyah)—Cairo leaves unvocalized.
jected those unjust ones who were here, and we have aroused those here who are equitable and just. You have referred to our sharing in your power and your worldly success but, by God, that is nothing to incite us nor is it anything we wish for. If God brings together for us that which we seek and gives us what we desire, then this world and the next belong to God, the Lord of the worlds, Who may cause them to coincide as one world of His creation, just as He has said in His Book (and His promise is never broken): “And God gave them the reward of this world and the fairest reward of the world to come, for God loves those who do good.”

Hasten your cavalry and your footmen to us for our enemy is furious against us and we are few among them. And (yet) they have become frightened of us while we have become equal adversaries of them. If God gives us help from your part, God will grant you success, and there is no power or might other than with God. “And God is sufficient for us, an excellent guardian.” Peace be with you.

This letter reached Mu’āwiyah, who was in Palestine at the time, He summoned the group of men whom he had called in connection with the letter, and said, “What do you think?” They answered, “We think that you should send an army and with God’s permission you will conquer it.” Mu’āwiyah said, “Get ready to go there, Abū ‘Abdallāh (meaning ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ).”

Mu’āwiyah sent ‘Amr with 6,000 men, and he went to bid him goodbye. While he was doing so Mu’āwiyah said to him, “‘Amr, I commend to you the fear of God and mildness, for that assures success; ease of pace and deliberateness, for hurrying comes from Satan; and I recommend that you receive kindly him who draws near and leave alone him who turns his back. If he agrees, then that is excellent, but if he refuses, then severity after leniency is more effective in argument and more likely to achieve a good result. Call the people to make peace and unite. When you have gained the victory, let your helpers (anṣār) be the most favored of all by you, but do good to all the people.”

'Amr departed and journeyed to the nearest parts of the land of Egypt, where he pitched camp. The 'Uthmāniyyah gathered to him and he remained with them. He wrote to Muhammad b. Abi Bakr: "Withdraw from me and do not make me shed your blood, Ibn Abi Bakr, for I do not want to lay a finger on you. The people of this land have agreed on opposition to you and rejection of your rule; they have repented of following you and are forsaking you (hum muslimūka), for matters have come to a head. Depart from it, for I am one of your sincere advisers." Salutations!

'Amr also sent to Muhammad b. Abi Bakr the letter that Mu'āwiyah had written to him:

The outcome of injustice and evil is great harm. Whoever sheds prohibited blood does not escape retribution in this world or evil consequences in the next. We do not know of anyone who was more persistent in injustice against 'Uthmān, more shamefully wicked against him, or more fervent in opposing him, than you. You were among those who rushed against him in assault, and you were among those who shed his blood. Then you thought that I would overlook or forget you to the extent that you made yourself ruler (amīr) over the land in which you are a neighbor of mine, and the majority of the people of which are my supporters who share my views, heed what I say and call on me for help against you. I have sent against you a band of men that is enraged against you, seeks your blood to drink, and attempts to draw near to God by jihād against you. They have given God an undertaking that they will make an exemplary punishment of you, and if it were not that they intend for your something more than merely killing you, I would not have warned you nor given you notice. I would have liked them to kill you for your evil, your breaking the bonds of relationship, and your enmity against 'Uthmān on the day when he was pierced by your arrow heads between the bone that protrudes behind the

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611. Following the suggestion of Ann., A.H. 38 §242, to read wa-qad for law qad. Literally the expression means "for the two rings of the camel-girth have met."
613. La-yumaththilunna bika.
ear and his jugular vein. But it is abhorrent to me that I should make an exemplary punishment of a Qurashi, though God will never deliver you from retaliation wherever you are. Salutations.

[3402] Muhammad folded up their two letters and sent them to ‘Ali, together with a covering letter of his own: ‘Ibn al-‘Āṣ has descended on the nearest parts of the land of Egypt, and the men of the land, most of whom are of those who share their views, have gathered to him. He has come with a clamorous and destructive army and I have observed signs of cowardice among those who are with me. If you have any use for the land of Egypt, then send me support in men and money. Peace be upon you.’

‘Ali replied to him:

I have received your letter in which you mention that Ibn al-‘Āṣ has descended on the nearest parts of the land of Egypt with a clamorous and destructive army and that those there with a view like his have gone out to join him. But the going out to him of those who see things like him is better for you than that they should remain with you. And you have mentioned that you have observed faintness of heart in some of those who are with you. Do not lose heart but, if they are faint-hearted, fortify your habitation, gather your party (shi‘ah) around you, and send Kinānah b. Bishr⁷¹⁴ who is well known for sincere advice, bravery, and courage, to go against the enemy. I am sending men to you for any sort of task you may require,⁷¹⁵ so be patient in face of your enemy, proceed judiciously, fight them as you have purposed, and make jihād against them patiently, expecting your eternal reward. If your party is the smaller of the two, then God may strengthen the few and forsake the many. I have read the letter of the wicked one (fājir) son of the wicked one, Mu‘āwiyyah, and the wicked one son of the infidel, ‘Amr, the two of them united in love of deeds of disobedience (to God), plotting together and taking bribes

⁷¹⁴. According to some accounts, this man of Banū Tujib of Kindah had given the fatal blow to ‘Uthmān [see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Kinānah b. Bishr].
⁷¹⁵. Literally, “on the difficult and the docile” [see Lane, Lexicon, s.v. ʿa‘b].
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regarding the arbitration, both of them abhorred in this world. "They have enjoyed their share as those who were before them enjoyed their share." Do not let their threats and menaces frighten you. If you have not responded to them, do so as they deserve. You will find the words you seek. Salutations.


I have received your letter in which you remind me of the matter of 'Uthmān, and I make no apology to you regarding that. You tell me to withdraw from you, as if you were a sincere adviser, and you try to frighten me with reference to an exemplary punishment (al-muthlah) as if you were sympathetic to me. I hope that fortune will raise me up again over you and that I will sweep you away in battle, but if you are given the victory and authority (al-amr) in this world is yours, then, by my life, how many an evildoer you will have helped and how many a Believer you will have killed and mutilated (mathaltum). But both you and they must appear before God, for all things return to Him, and "He is the most merciful of the merciful" and God's help is to be implored against what you describe." Salutations.

And Muhammad wrote to 'Amr b. al-ʿĀs: "I have understood what you have said in your letter, Ibn al-ʿĀs. You have claimed that you abhor that you should lay a finger on me, but I bear witness that you are one of the false ones. You claim that you are a sincere adviser to me, but I swear that I regard you as unworthy of trust. You claim that the people of the land have rejected my views and my authority and have repented of following me: then they are

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616. Al-ḥukūmah.
617. See Qurʾān 9:69.
618. Qurʾān 12:64, 12:92.
friends to you and to Satan the accursed. But God, the Lord of the Worlds, is our sufficiency, and our reliance is on God the Lord of the great throne. Salutations.”

‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ advanced, heading straight for Fustāt and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr stood to address the men. He praised God and extolled Him, and he prayed for His Prophet. Then he said: “You who have accepted Islam and you who believe! Those who are profaning what is sacrosanct, reviving error, kindling the fire of fitnah, and winning power by tyranny, have erected enmity against you and come against you with armies. Servants of God! Whoever desires Heaven and forgiveness, let him go out against this band and make jihad against them for God. Go against them, may God have mercy upon you, with Kinānah b. Bishr.”

About 2,000 men put themselves forward to go with Kinānah, and Muḥammad went out with another 2,000 men. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ went to meet Kinānah, who was over the vanguard of Muḥammad, and he proceeded toward him. When he drew near to Kinānah, he dispatched the squadrons, one after another. Whenever one of the Syrian squadrons approached him, Kinānah would attack it with the men he had with him and assail it so as to force it to draw near again to ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. He did that several times and ‘Amr, seeing it, sent to Mu‘awiyah b. Ḥudayj al-Sakūnī, who came with a sizable force and surrounded Kinānah and his men. Then the Syrians gathered against them on all sides and, when Kinānah b. Bishr perceived that, he dismounted together with his men, saying, “No soul may die except with the permission of God, according to the fixed time that is written; whoever desires the reward of this life, We shall give him of it, and whoever desires the reward of the next life, We shall give him of it, and We shall recompense those who are thankful.” And he fought the Syrians with his sword until he fell a martyr, may God have mercy upon him. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ advanced toward Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, whose men had deserted

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620. The expression occurs frequently in the Qur’ān. For the epithet al-rajim in the sense of “Accursed,” see Jeffrey, Foreign Vocabulary, s.v.
621. See Qur’ān 9:139.
622. The text has mistr, which can indicate Egypt in general or Fustāt in particular.
623. Fi mithli al-dahm “made a surprise attack”?
him when they heard about the killing of Kinānah, so that he remained entirely alone.

When Muhammad perceived that, he hurried off on foot along the road until he came to a ruined place close to it and sought shelter there. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ proceeded to occupy al-Fustāt, while Mu'āwiyyah b. Ḥudayj went off in pursuit of Muhammad. He came upon some local non-Arabs ('ulūd) on the highway and asked them, "Did anyone unknown to you pass by?" One of them replied, "No, by God, but I went in to this ruined place and I saw a man sitting in it." Ibn Ḥudayj said, "By the Lord of the Ka'bah, that is he," and they rushed forward and went in to him. They brought him out almost dead of thirst and took him off toward Fuslāl of Egypt.

Muhammad's brother, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, who was part of the army of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, hurried to 'Amr and said, "Will you kill my brother in chains? Send to Mu'āwiyyah b. Ḥudayj and forbid him to do that." So 'Amr sent to him, telling him to bring Muhammad b. Abī Bakr to him, but Mu'āwiyyah said, "Really! You have killed Kinānah b. Bishr and I should let Muhammad b. Abī Bakr go! What an idea! 'Are your infidels better than these? Or do you have an immunity (for them) in the scriptures (zubūr)?"

Muhammad said to them, "Give me some water to drink," but Mu'āwiyyah b. Ḥudayj answered him, "May God not give him anything to drink if he ever gives you a drop. You prevented 'Uthmān from drinking water until you had killed him, while he was fasting and in a state of ritual purity (iḥrām), and God received him with 'choice sealed wine.' By God I will kill you, Ibn Abī Bakr, and God will give you to drink boiling water and pus!"

Muhammad said to him, "Son of a Jewish weaving woman! That is not up to you or him whom you mentioned. It is only up to God. He provides drink for His friends and causes His enemies to thirst—

625. Fustāt basically means "tent" and that is how Arn., A.H. 38 §243, understands it here: ['Amr] "era tornato alla sua tenda." The name of the garrison town may be associated with Latin fossum "ditch."

626. Fustāt Misr, which may indicate that the source distinguishes between fustāt in its general signification (see the previous note) and in its use as the name of the main Arab garrison town of Egypt.

627. Qur'ān 54:43.

628. The remark is presumably addressed to the man from whom Muhammad requested water, and the following sentences to Muhammad himself.

629. See Qur'ān 83:25.

630. See Qur'ān 38:57, 78:25.
you and your ilk and him who has responsibility for it. Indeed, by God, if my sword had been in my hand you would not have got the better of me like this." Mu'awiyah said to him, "Do you know what I am going to do with you? I shall put you in the belly of a donkey and then burn it with you inside."

Muhammad said, "If you do that to me, then how often has it been done to the friends of God! I hope that God will make for me of this fire with which you burn me 'a saving coldness' just as He made it for His friend Abraham, and I hope that for you and your friends He makes it as He made it for Nimrod and his. May God burn you and him whom you mentioned previously and your imam (he meant Mu'awiyah) and this one (he indicated 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ) with a fire that will blaze over you. 'As often as (its fires) die down, God increases its blaze.'

Mu'awiyah said to him, "I am only slaying you in retaliation for 'Uthman." Muhammad asked him, "What have you got to do with 'Uthman? He acted unjustly and rejected the authority (hukm) of the Qur'an, and God has said, 'They who do not judge (h-k-m) with what God has revealed, they are the iniquitous.' We held that against him and killed him, but you give him merit for it, you and those who are like you. God has absolved us—from his sin (dhanb), but you share in his offense (ithm) and the enormity of his sin, and the one who uses you [i.e., Mu'awiyah b. Abi Sufyān] is just the same."

Mu'awiyah became angry, had him brought forward, and killed him. Then he cast him into the corpse of a donkey and set fire to it. When 'Ā'ishah heard about that, she mourned for him greatly and made extra prayers for him at the end of the ritual prayers, appealing to God against Mu'awiyah and 'Amr. She joined the household of Muhammad (b. Abi Bakr) to hers, and al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr became part of her household.

632. Presumably 'Uthman. Leiden has "I mentioned"; Cairo does not specify the person.
634. Qur'ān 5:47.
635. 'Ā'ishah, the widow of the Prophet, although an opponent of 'Ali, was a half-sister of Muhammad b. Abi Bakr.
636. Al-Qāsim became a leading religious scholar (humila 'anhu al-ilm) in Medina [see Zubayrī, Kitab nasab Quraysh, 279].
According to al-Waqidi—Suwayd b. 'Abd al-Rahmân: 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ went out with 4,000 men, including Mu‘awiyah b. Ḥudayj and Abû al-A’war al-Sulami, and they (he and Muḥammad b. Abî Bakr) met at al-Musannāt,637 where they fought a great battle. When Kinânah b. Bishr b. 'Attab al-Tujibi was killed and he could find no more men, Muḥammad b. Abî Bakr fled and tried to hide with Jabalah b. Masrūq.638 But Mu‘awiyah b. Ḥudayj was led to him and surrounded him, and Muḥammad then came out and fought until he was killed.

Al-Waqidi said that [the battle at] al-Musannāt was in Ṣafar of 38 (July–August 658) and [the arbitration meeting at] Adhruh was in Sha‘ban (January 659) of the same year.

(The narrative of Abî Mikhnaf continues.) 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ wrote to Mu‘awiyah when he had killed Muḥammad b. Abî Bakr and Kinânah b. Bishr: "We met Muḥammad b. Abî Bakr and Kinânah b. Bishr and they had with them large bodies of the men of Egypt. We called them to the right path, the accepted precedent (sunnah), and the authority (hukm) of the Book, but they rejected the truth and persisted in error. We made jihād against them and called on God for help, and God struck them in front and behind and they fled from us. God killed Muḥammad b. Abî Bakr, Kinânah b. Bishr, and the leading men. 'Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds,'639 and peace be upon you."

The Killing of Muḥammad b. Abî Ḥudhayfah

In this year Muḥammad b. Abî Ḥudhayfah b. 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah b. 'Abd Shams was killed,640 although the experts in historical tradition (ahl al-siyar) differ regarding the date of it.

Al-Waqidi dated it to the year 36 (656–657) and said that the cause of it was as follows: Mu‘awiyah and 'Amr set out against Ibn Abî

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637. Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 98, translates as "the dam"; Rhuvon Guest locates it on the map that accompanies his edition of al-Kindī's Kitab wulāt Mīr (The Governors and Judges of Egypt) as a little northeast of modern Cairo, but indicates that the position is doubtful.
638. This seems to be Ṭabarib's only reference to him.
640. Muḥammad b. Abî Ḥudhayfah (see El, s. v.) had been sent to Egypt by 'Uthmān but had led and fomented the opposition there against the caliph, seizing Fustāt in the disturbances at the time of 'Uthmān's murder.
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Hudhayfah in Egypt, which he had seized. They camped at 'Ayn Shams\textsuperscript{641} and tried to enter [Fustāt], but they could not prevail against him. Then they tricked Muhammad b. Abī Hudhayfah into leaving for al-'Arish\textsuperscript{642} with a thousand men, and he set out leaving al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt\textsuperscript{643} behind as his deputy over Fustāt.\textsuperscript{644} When Muḥammad b. Abī Hudhayfah had departed for al-'Arish, he fortified himself, and 'Amr came and set up the siege weapons, forcing him to descend with thirty of his companions, all of whom were taken and killed.\textsuperscript{645} That was before 'Ali sent Qays b. Sa'd to Egypt.

Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, however, reported that Muḥammad b. Abī Hudhayfah was taken only after the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and the entry of 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ into Egypt and his seizure of it. Hishām asserted that when 'Amr and his men entered Egypt, they captured Muḥammad b. Abī Hudhayfah and sent him to Muʿāwiyyah, who was in Palestine. He incarcerated him in a prison of his, where he remained for a short time before escaping. He was a maternal cousin of Muʿāwiyyah, but Muʿāwiyyah let it be thought that he disapproved of his escape and he asked the Syrians for volunteers to track him down.

In reality, it is thought Muʿāwiyyah had wanted Ibn Abī Hudhayfah to escape, but a man of Khath'am called 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. Zalām\textsuperscript{646} a brave man who was an 'Uthmāni, said that he would go in search of him. He went off immediately and came up with him at a place in the Balqa' in Ḥawrān.\textsuperscript{647} Ibn Abī Hudhayfah had gone into a cave there. Some donkeys, seeking to escape rain, went into it, but when they saw the man there they shied and bolted. Some people who were harvesting near the cave said, "By God, there

\textsuperscript{641} Ancient ʿOn/Heliopolis, northeast of modern Cairo (see \textit{EP}, s.v.).

\textsuperscript{642} Ancient Rhinokorura, an oasis on the Mediterranean marking the border between Palestine and Egypt but traditionally counted to the latter (see \textit{EP}, s.v.).

\textsuperscript{643} This is Tabart's only reference to al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt [b. Makhramah al-Qurashi], who is to be distinguished from the later Thaqafi governor of al-Kūfah with the same name.

\textsuperscript{644} Mīr.

\textsuperscript{645} The translation reflects the lack of clarity regarding the referents of the pronouns in the Arabic, but it must be Ibn Abī Hudhayfah and his men at al-'Arish who were taken and killed. Ann., 36 A.H., §399, argues that separate accounts of different expeditions of 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ have here been conflated.

\textsuperscript{646} This is his only appearance in Tabart's history.

\textsuperscript{647} The Balqa' is the region west of the Jordan to the south of Jerash (see \textit{EP}, s.v.). For the Ḥawrān, the mountainous region south of Damascus, see \textit{EP}, s.v.
is something behind the flight of these donkeys from the cave!” and they went to look and came upon him there. As they left the cave, 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. Zalam al-Khath'ami chanced upon them. He asked them about Ibn Abi Hudhayfah and described him to them, and they said, “There he is in the cave.” He went and brought him out and, unwilling to send him back to Mu'awiyah, who would let him go, cut off his head.648

According to Hisham—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b b. Fuqaym—Jundab—'Abdallah b. Fuqaym, the paternal uncle of al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b [ ... ]649 calling for help from the part of Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr to 'Ali. At that time Muḥammad was their governor. 'Ali rose among the men, having ordered a communal prayer service to be proclaimed and the men having gathered. He praised God and extolled Him, prayed for Muḥammad the Prophet, and then said,

Now, this is the cry of Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr and your brethren among the people of Egypt. Ibn al-Nabighah,650 the enemy of God and the friend of those who oppose God, has gone against them. Do not allow the people of error to be more united in their futility and their reliance on the path of wickedness (tāghūt) than you are in this just cause of yours. They have made the first move against you and your brethren in war; now you hasten to your brethren with assistance and help. Servants of God, Egypt is greater than Syria, more productive, and with better people. Do not let yourselves be defeated over Egypt, for the continuation of Egypt in your hands is a matter of pride for you and a humiliation for your enemy. Go out to al-jara'ah651 between al-Ḥirah and al-Kufah, and join me there tomorrow, God willing.

On the next day he walked out, arriving there early in the morning and waiting until it was about midday. Not one of them

648. Ann., A.H. 36 § 400, and Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 98, note the similarity between the accounts of the killing of the two Muḥammads, Ibn Abi Hudhayfah and Ibn Abi Bakr, both being associated with donkeys: not only was Ibn Abi Bakr burned in an ass's skin; his hiding place was revealed by 'ulūj, a word that can mean “donkeys” as well as non-Arabs.

649. There is a lacuna in the text.

650. That is, 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ.

651. See Yaqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, s.v. [II, 62].
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came to him there and he went back. In the evening he sent to the notables (ashrāf), and they went in unto him in the governor's residence (qasr). He was dejected and downcast and he said,

Praise be to God for what He has decreed concerning my affairs and ordained regarding what I do, and for my being put to the test through you, you party (firqah) of those who do not obey when I command or respond when I call. You are not worthy to be called sons! What do you expect for your steadfastness and jihād for your rightful cause? Death and humiliation are for you in this world for anything but what is right. By God, if death comes—and it will indeed come—it will certainly separate you and me, for I detest your companionship and I care nothing for you. I am amazed at you. No religion unites you and no zeal inflames you when you have heard that your enemy is coming to your country and launching an attack against you. Is it not astonishing that Muʿāwiya summons the uncouth and the lowly and they follow him without stipend (ʿātā) or support (maʿūnah), and they respond to him twice or thrice in one year for whatever purpose he desires? But I call you, you who are possessed of understanding, some of whom have a stipend and the rest receive support, but you remain apart from me, disobey me, and oppose me!

Mālik b. Kaʿb al-Hamdānī, al-Arḥābī, arose to respond to him and said, “Commander of the Faithful, send out the men for war for ‘there is no perfume after the bride’ I have kept myself for a day such as this and the reward only comes with the attack. Fear God and answer your imam, help his cause (daʿwah), and fight his enemy. I will set out for Egypt, Commander of the Faithful.”

652. Lā ābā li-ghayrikum. See n. 528, above, for lā abā lakum, the addition of the ghayr seems to be euphemistic in force (see Gloss., s.v.).
653. For these two forms of payment to soldiers, see EP, s.v. In the present instance they appear to indicate different types of payment to different types of soldiers, the maʿūnah being a gratuity to those not in receipt of regular stipends (ʿātā).
654. He had witnessed the arbitration document on behalf of 'All [see n. 345, above].
655. Apparently meaning “there is no point in saving things beyond the event for which they were intended” (see Freytag, Arabum Proverbia, II, 482).
656. (!) Wa-al-aḫrū lā yaʾtī illā bi-al-kurrah.
'Ali commanded his crier Sa'd, who proclaimed among the men, "Stand ready for Egypt with Malik b. Ka'b!" Then he, and 'Ali with him, went out to see and found that altogether about 2,000 men had presented themselves. 'Ali said, "Set out but, by God, I think that by the time you reach the men in Egypt everything will be over."

Malik set off with them and traveled for five days. Then al-Hajjaj b. Ghaziyyah al-Anṣārī, al-Najjārī, came to 'Ali from Egypt, and so did 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Shabib al-Fazārī. Al-Fazārī was 'Ali's spy in Syria, while al-Anṣārī had been with Muhammad b. Abī Bakr. Al-Anṣārī told 'Ali what he had seen and witnessed and informed him about the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. And al-Fazārī told him that before he had left Syria the reports of good tidings from 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ had arrived in succession, one after another, with news of the conquest of Egypt and the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, and his killing had been proclaimed from the minbar. He said, "Commander of the Faithful, rarely have I seen a people more overjoyed or a joy more openly manifested than I saw in Syria when news of the death of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr came to them." 'Ali said, "Indeed, our sorrow for him matches their joy—no, it is many times greater." And 'Ali sent 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Shurayḥ al-Shibāmī to Malik b. Ka'b, telling the latter to come back.

'Ali grieved for Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr so much that it was visible in his face and it was obvious. He stood among the men to deliver an address, and after praising God and extolling Him, and praying for His Prophet, said:

The wicked ones (al-fajarah), those who are unjust and evil, those who turned people from the path of God and evilly wished Islam crooked, have conquered Egypt. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr has been martyred—may God have mercy upon him—and we seek for his recompense with God. By God, he was, as I know, indeed one of those who await the (divine) decrees, act (to attain) the (eternal) reward, loathe the way of the wicked (fājir), and desire the right

657. For al-Hajjaj, see n. 293, for 'Abd al-Rahmān, pp. 201, below.
658. Shibām b. As'ad were part of Hamdān and this 'Abd al-Rahmān appears as a supporter of al-Mukhtār in Tabarī's account of the second civil war (see XX, 189–92, of this translation).
path of the Believer. By God, I do not blame myself for failing, for I am fully experienced in enduring in war; I set about the matter boldly and resolutely, and I stand expressing my views effectively. I publicly call upon you for help and openly cry to you for assistance, but you do not heed what I say or obey what I command, so that things could not become worse for me. You are a people with whom vengeance will not be attained and revenge not taken. I have called you to the aid of your brethren for some fifty days, but you have gurgled as do slack-jawed camels slurping their water and you were sluggardly like people with no intention of waging *jihād* against the enemy or acquiring eternal reward. Then a tiny force came out to me from among you, one by one (*mutadhanib*)\(^660\) "as if they were\(^661\) being driven toward death while looking around." Shame on you!

Then he sat down. And he wrote to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, who was in al-Basrah:

> In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate, from the servant of God, Ali, the Commander of the Faithful, to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, greetings. Praise be to God, for there is no other than He. Now, Egypt has been conquered and Muhammad b. Abī Bakr has been martyred. We look for his reward with God and we treasure him (in our hearts). At the very start I stood among the people and commanded them to help him before the calamity should occur. I summoned them in secret and in public, over and over again. Some of them came unwillingly, some made lying excuses, and some stayed where they were. I ask God that He give me a way out and an escape from them and that He deliver me from them before long. By God, if I were not so desirous of dying in God's cause (*shahādah*), then I would not want to remain with these people for one day. May God strive to bring about for us and for you right guidance,

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\(^{660}\) See Gloss., s.v.

\(^{661}\) Leiden has *ka-thabaratin*, but read *ka-annama* with Cairo and (as noted by the Leiden editor) Ibn al-Athīr and Nuwayrī; and see Qur'an 8:6.
(rightful) fear of Him and His right way. “He has power over everything.” Salutations.

Ibn ‘Abbās wrote back:

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. To the servant of God, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalib, the Commander of the Faithful, from ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās. Peace be upon you, Commander of the Faithful, and God’s mercy and blessings. I have received your letter in which you mention the conquest of Egypt and the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. God’s help is to be implored in every eventuality. May God have mercy upon Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and may He reward you, Commander of the Faithful. I have asked God to give you a way out and an escape from the flock with which you have been afflicted and that before long He strengthen you with the support of angels. God will do that for you and He will strengthen you and answer your call, and He will crush your enemy. I tell you, Commander of the Faithful, that the people sometimes drag their feet and then become eager. Treat them well, oh Commander of the Faithful, flatter them and give them something to hope for. Ask God for help regarding them. May God suffice to comfort you for the trouble they cause you. Salutations.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadij—Mālik b. al-Ḥūr: ‘Alī said, “May God have mercy on Muḥammad. He was a raw youth. I wish I had appointed the Mīrāq al-Ḥāshim b. ‘Utba over Egypt. By God, if he had ruled it, he would not have allowed entrance to ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and his helpers, the evildoers (al-fajarah al-arṣah) and he would not have been slain without his sword in his hand, not without shedding blood like Muḥammad. But may God have mercy on Muḥammad, for he exerted himself (ijtiḥād al-nafs) and did his duty.”

In this year, following the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Mu‘āwiya sent ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr Ibn al-Ḥadrāmī to al- Başrah.

663. See pp. 70ff. and n. 48, above.
664. Son of a ḥalīf of the Umayyads who was famous as the first Meccan to be killed by the Muslims after the Hijrah, ‘Abdallāh himself seems to be known only
to appeal for acceptance of the judgment (hukm) of 'Amr b. al-
'As in his favor. And in this year A'yan b. Dubay'ah al-Mujāshi, whom 'Ali had sent to drive Ibn al-Ḥandrāmî out of al-Baṣrah, was killed.

The Episode of Ibn al-Ḥandrāmî, Ziyād, and A'yan

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾīnî]—Abū al-Dhūayl—Abū Naʿāmah: After Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr had been killed in Egypt, Ibn 'Abbās departed from al-Baṣrah and went to 'Alī in al-Kūfah, leaving Ziyād behind as his deputy. Ibn al-Ḥandrāmî came (to al-Baṣrah) from Muʿawiyah and stayed among the Banū Tamīm. Ziyād sent to Huḍayn b. al-Mundhir and Mālik b. Misma saying, "You, group of Bakr b. Wāʾil, belong to the supporters (anṣār) of the Commander of the Faithful, and his confidants. You know where Ibn al-Ḥandrāmî has lodged and who visits him there. Protect me (imnā) until I hear what the Commander of the Faithful thinks." Huḍayn replied affirmatively, but Mālik's viewpoint inclined toward the Banū Umayyah (Marwān had sought refuge with him on the Day of the Camel). He said, therefore, "This is a matter in which I cannot act alone—I will ask advice and consider."

When Ziyād saw Mālik's hesitation, he was afraid that the Rabiʿah would be divided on the matter. He sent, therefore, to Nāfi' asking for advice. Nāfi' advised him to approach Ṣabrah

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[3414] for this episode in al-Baṣrah. On the following episode, see Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 400.


666. That is, Ziyād b. Abīhi who, following the death of 'Alī, transferred his allegiance to Muʿawiyah, was recognized by him as his own half-brother, and became one of the most famous governors of Iraq (see EI, s.v.).

667. Huḍayn and Mālik were rival leaders of the Banū Shaybān of Bakr b. Wāʾil (see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.vv.; Crone, Slaves on Horses, 113, 116).

668. See Tabarî, I, 3220.

669. That is, the confederation to which the Bakr b. Wāʾil belonged.

670. The text seems to have something missing, and the translation follows the conjectural interpolation of the editor [p. 3414, note e]. Nāfi' (b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah) was a uterine brother of Ziyād.
b. Shaymān al-Huddānī,\footnote{Or Šabirah (the edition indicates both forms of the name). He was a leader of the Azd al-Sarat in al-Baṣrah (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Šabra b. Šaiman). Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 126, n. 1, 400, refers to him as Šabirah, and that is how Cairo vocalizes.} to whom Ziyād sent, saying, “Will you not grant protection (\textit{jiwār})\footnote{For \textit{jiwār}, see \textit{EP}, s.v. Djiwār; Crone, Roman, Provincial, and Islamic Law, 51–56.} to me and the treasury of the Muslims, for the treasury holds your spoils (\textit{fay’}) and I am the trustee (\textit{āmin}) of the Commander of the Faithful?” Šabrah answered, “Yes indeed, if you bring it to me and stay in my house.” Ziyād said, “I will bring it.” He did that and came to Banū al-Huddān and stayed in the house of Šabrah b. Shaymān, and he moved the treasury and the \textit{minbar}\footnote{The \textit{minbar}, a dais from which the caliph or his representative delivered an official address (\textit{khutbah}), was a symbol of authority. Neither it nor the \textit{khutbah} had the mainly cultic significance that they later acquired and I have, therefore, avoided the common translations “pulpit” and “sermon.”} and put it in the mosque of the Banū al-Huddān. Fifty men moved together with Ziyād, among them the father of Abū Ḥādir.\footnote{Perhaps referring to the father of the Khāriji leader ‘Abdallāh b. Wahb (see n. 464, above).}

On Friday Ziyād would lead the ritual prayer in the mosque of the Ḥuddān and distribute food there. Ziyād said to Jābir b. Wahb al-Rāsībī\footnote{The brother of the Khāriji leader ‘Abdallāh b. Wahb (see n. 464, above).} “Abū Muḥammad, I do not think Ibn al-Ḥadramī is going to hold back—I am sure he will fight against you. I do not know what views your men have. Consult them and see.”

When Ziyād had led the prayer, he sat in the mosque and the men gathered around him. Jābir said, “Group of Azd, Tamīm are claiming that they are the ones who count and that they are more steadfast than you in war. I have heard that they desire to come against you so as to seize your guest (\textit{jār}) and expel him by force from the garrison town. How will things be with you if they do that when you have given him and the treasury of the Muslims protection?” Šabrah b. Shaymān, who was accorded special respect, said, “If al-ʿAhnaf comes, I will come, and if al-Hutāt comes, I will come,\footnote{For al-ʿAhnaf, see n. 351, above; for al-Hutāt b. Yazīd of the Banū Mujāshi b. Dārim of Tamīm, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.} but if merely young fellows come, then we have young
fellows of our own [who will suffice]." Ziyād used to say, "I had to laugh, and I jumped up. There was never any stratagem I attempted to carry out in which I came closer to exposing myself than on that day when I was overcome with laughter."\[677]\[3416\]

Then Ziyād wrote to 'Alī: "Ibn al-Ḥadramī has come from Syria and has put up in the house of the Banū Tamīm. He has lamented the death of 'Uthmān and appealed for war. Tamīm and most of the people of al- Ба^-rah have given him the oath of allegiance and there was nobody left with me with whom I might seek protection so I have asked for it for myself and the treasury from Ṣabrah b. Shaymān and I moved and put up with them. The party (shi'ah) of 'Uthmān continuously consorts with Ibn al-Ḥadramī!"

'Alī sent A'yan b. Dubay'ah al-Mujashi'ī to split his fellow tribesmen from Ibn al-Ḥadramī. He told him,\[678\] "See what the situation is. If the party of Ibn al-Ḥadramī has been split, then that is what you want, but if they manage to persist in disobedience, then go and make jiḥād against them. If you see any holding back in those on your side, and you are afraid that you will not achieve what you want, use flattery and procrastination toward them. Then keep your ears and eyes open, for it will be as if the armies of God have drawn near you, fighting the evil ones."

A'yan arrived and went and stayed with Ziyād. Then he went to his fellow tribesmen and, having gathered some together, went up to Ibn al-Ḥadramī. He appealed to the latter's followers, but they abused him verbally and skirmished with him, so that he had to leave them. Subsequently a crowd (qawm) broke in upon him and killed him.

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\[677\] Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 126, n. 1, expresses puzzlement at Ziyād's laughter following Ṣabrah's remark, and the point of Ziyād's remark is indeed puzzling. Presumably the "stratagem" (makūdah) here refers to his attempt to manipulate the Azd into opposition to the Tamīm, and perhaps he was moved to laughter by what he saw as Ṣabrah's overestimation of his own value—needing Ṣabrah's support, he could not afford to be seen to be belittling him?

\[678\] This phrase is not in the text, but is called for if we are to read, with the Leiden edition, following Ibn al-Athīr and Nuwayrī, fa-Wajja'a 'Aliyyun. The Leiden editor notes that in the ms. it is possible to read fa-Wajja'īh 'alayya ("send to me A'yan...") and, therefore, we could understand the following paragraph as a continuation of Ziyād's letter to 'Alī. However, the final sentences of the paragraph sound more appropriate in instructions from 'Alī to A'yan than in a letter from Ziyād to 'Alī.
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After A'yan b. Ḍubay'ah had been killed, Ziyād wanted to fight Tamīm, but they sent to the Azd, saying, "We have not assailed your guest nor any of your men; so what do you want with our guest [Ibn al-Ḥadramī] and making war against us?" The Azd did not want to fight and said, "If they assail our guest, we will oppose them; but if they refrain from attacking ours, we will refrain from attacking theirs." They restrained themselves.

Ziyād wrote to 'Ali:

A'yan b. Ḍubay'ah arrived and gathered together those of his clan who obeyed him, and with them he went in all seriousness and with a pure intention to Ibn al-Ḥadramī and called upon the opponents to obey. He summoned them to desist and cease their discord, and most of them agreed. That frightened the supporters of Ibn al-Ḥadramī, and many of those with them split away, giving them cause to expect that they would help him. There was skirmishing and A'yan returned to his own people, but then the enemy broke in upon him and took him unawares and he was felled. May God have mercy upon A'yan. At that I wanted to fight them, but there was no one I could prevail upon to hasten with me against them. The two tribes (Azd and Tamīm) have exchanged messages and refrained from fighting one another.

When 'Alī read his letter, he summoned Jāriyah b. Qudāmah al-Sa'dī and dispatched him with fifty men of the Banū Tamīm, and with him he sent Sharīk b. al-A'wal. (It is also said that he sent Jāriyah with 500 men.) 'Alī wrote to Ziyād, approving of what he had done and telling him to aid Jāriyah b. Qudāmah and to offer him advice. Jāriyah came to al-Baṣrah and went to Ziyād, who said to him, "Be ready and take care lest there befalls you what befell your companion (A'yan). And do not trust any of the people (qawm)."

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679. [?] Wa-wāfaqathum 'āmmatu qawmin; the editor notes that Ibn al-Āthīr has wa-wāqafahum nahārāhu, and he suggests that we might read wa-wāqafahum 'āmmata yawmin ("confronted them for an entire day"); see Gloss., s.v. 'āmmah).
680. See n. 499, above, for this Tamīmī.
681. For this supporter of 'Alī, see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.
Jāriyah went to his own tribe (qawm) and read the letter of 'Alī to them. He made them promises and most of them responded to him. Then he went to Ibn al-Ḥadramī and besieged him in the house of Sunbil. He set fire to the house with Ibn al-Ḥadramī and his supporters inside—there were seventy men (it is also said that there were forty). The people were dispersed and Ziyād returned to the governor's residence (dār al-imārah).

Ziyād then sent Zabyān b. 'Umārah, who was one of those who had come with Jāriyah, with a letter to 'Alī [. . .] "And Jāriyah came to us and went against Ibn al-Ḥadramī and put him in a state of commotion, forcing him into one of the houses of the Banū Tamīm with a number of his companions after offering him forgiveness, warning him, and calling him to obedience. But they did not repent or turn back, and he set fire to the house with them inside, and burned them in it, and then it was destroyed over them. And away with those who are tyrannical and disobey!"

'Amr b. al-'Arandas al-'Awdī said:

We sent Ziyād back to his residence, and the guest of Tamīm vanished in smoke.

May God revile a people that roasted its guest.

"For two dirhams the skin of the sheep will be singed off"

Call out the slaughterers and their rabble, after they have singed his (Ibn al-Ḥadramī's) head with flames.

We are a people whose custom it is to defend our protected guest from attack by force.

We have defended him when he abode among us, and only a people with honor can defend its guest.

They (Tamīm) did not acknowledge the sanctity of the grant of protection, when a noble people attaches great importance to its guest,
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Just as they did before with al-Zubayr,
on the evening when his arms were plundered.688

And Jarir b. ‘Atiyyah b. al-Khaṭafã689 said:

You (Tamim) acted treacherously toward al-Zubayr, and did not fulfill
your undertaking in the way that Azd did when they defended
Ziyãd.

Their guest received a mighty deliverance,
while the guest of the Banû Mujãshì [Ibn al-Ḥaḍramã] became ashes.

If you had tied the rope of Abû Sa‘îd,
then what the sword belt bears would have scattered the people.
He led the horses near the dust of death,
and enveloped them with the lances and spears.690

The Opposition of al-Khirrît b. Râshid and the Banû Nâjiyâh to ‘All, and al-Khirrît’s Separation from Him

And among the events of this year (that is, the year 38 [658-659])
there was the declaration of opposition to ‘Alî by al-Khirrît b. Râshid
and the Banû Nâjiyâh, and al-Khirrît’s separation from him.691

According to Hishâm b. Muḥammad—Abû Mikhnaf—al-Ḥârîth
Râshid came to ‘Alî, he being one of 300 men of the Banû Nâjiyâh
who were with ‘Alî in al-Kûfah. They had come with al-Khirrît from

688. According to the traditions, after the Camel al-Zubayr was granted jiwar by
a man of Tamim but was subsequently killed by Tamimis in Wâdî al-Sibâ’ (see, e.g.,
689. One of the famous poets of the Umayyad period (see EI, s.v. Djarir).
690. The last two verses refer to the abandonment of Yazîd b. al-Muḥallab (i.e.,
Abû Sa‘ûd, correctly identified in the Caim ed.) by those Tamimis who had supported
him in his revolt against Yazîd b. ‘Abd al-Malik in 102/720. See Tabari, II, 1395ff.;
Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 312ff.
691. For al-Khirrît b. Rashid and the following events, see SNB, III, 119-51; al-
Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 86ff.; Morony, Iraq, 443-44; EI, s.v. al-Khirrît b. Rashid;
Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. ‘Abdalbait b. al-Ḥârîth. For the complex issue of the
genealogy of the Banû Nâjiyâh, regarded by some as descended from Quraysh, see
Goldziher, Muhammedanische Studien, I, 188-89 [Eng. tr., I, 173-74]; Ibn al-Kalbi,
II, index, s.v. Nâjiyâh b. Garm.
al-Baṣrah, whence they had gone out to join 'Ali on the Day of the Camel, and had been present with him at Șiffin and al-Nahrawān. Al-Khirrīt came to 'Ali with 30 horsemen from among his men, proceeding in the midst of them until he stood before him, and said, "By God, 'Ali, I will not obey your orders nor pray behind you, and tomorrow I shall separate from you." (That was after the appointment of the two arbitrators.)

'Ali said to him, "May your mother be bereaved of you! Then you will disobey your Lord, violate your covenant, and cause only evil to yourself. Tell me why you are doing that." He answered, "Because you have given authority (to men) over the Book (of God) (bakkamta ft al-kitāb), and you have shown no strength for [defending] the truth when matters became serious, but have relied on those people who have done evil to themselves." I upbraid you and detest them, and I separate myself from you all."

'Ali said to him, "Come, and I will study with you the Book and examine with you the authoritative precedents (sunan), and I will broach with you matters concerning the truth of which I am more knowledgeable than you, and perhaps you will understand that of which you are now unaware and perceive that about which you are now ignorant." Al-Khirrīt said, "Then I will return to you." 'Ali said, "Do not let Satan seduce you or ignorance carry you away. By God, if you seek right guidance from me and my advice and accept what I say, I shall lead you in the path of righteousness." And al-Khirrīt left 'Ali's presence and returned to his people.

I ('Abdallāh b. Fuqaym) hurried after him. One of his cousins was a friend of mine, and I wanted to meet that cousin and tell him what had happened so that he could tell al-Khirrīt to obey the Commander of the Faithful and accept his advice and so he could inform him that that would be better for him in the things of this world and those of the next. I went to al-Khirrīt's house, where he had arrived before me, and I stood by the door. Inside were some of his

692. The sentence in parentheses is probably to be understood as an explanation of causation as well as temporal sequence, but the whole question of the temporal and causative relationship between the revolt of the Banū Nājiyyah and the other events of the Fitnah is very complex (see the previous note for the different treatments of Wellhausen and Morony).

693. The locution (ṣalātū anfusahum) is Quranic.
companions who had not been with him when he had had the audience with 'Ali.

By God, he did not skimp on any detail about what had passed between himself and 'Ali, and then he said to them, “Men, I had decided to separate from this man. I have now left him on the understanding that I will return to him tomorrow, but tomorrow I think it is inevitable that I shall separate from him.” Most of his men said, “Wait until you see him, and, if he produces something of which you approve, then accept it from him; if he does not, then how much better placed you will be to separate from him.” He said to them, “An excellent idea!”

Then I asked permission to go in unto him, and they allowed me to. I said, “I implore you by God not to separate from the Commander of the Faithful and the community of the Muslims, not to provide grounds for the use of force against you, and not to kill those whom I see of your clansmen. ‘Ali follows what is right.” Al-Khirrit said, “I will go to him tomorrow and listen to his arguments and see what he puts before me and has to say. If I see it to be what is right and true guidance, I will accept it, but, if I see it to be error and injustice, I will reject it.”

I went apart with that cousin of his, who was one of al-Khirrit’s closest intimates. He was Mudrik b. al-Rayyân, one of the important men among the bedouins. I said to him, “I owe to you the obligations that arise from brotherhood and love, in addition to the obligations of a Muslim to a Muslim. You have heard what your cousin has said about himself—work on him to make him change his mind and see the magnitude of what he is doing. I fear that if he separates from the Commander of the Faithful, he will kill both himself and his clansmen.” He replied, “God bless you for a brother. You have given sincere advice and have been a true friend. If my friend wishes to separate from the Commander of the Faithful, I will separate from him and oppose him, and I shall be the most strenuous of the people against him. Later I shall talk to him privately and counsel him to obey the Commander of the Faithful.

694. Mudrik seems to be known only from this account by 'Abdallâh b. Fuqayym (for his death in the fighting, see p. 185, below). It seems that kâna min rijâl al-'arab refers specifically to the bedouins.
to be his sincere advisor, and to remain with him. In that lies his good fortune and right guidance."

Then I left him, intending to go back to the Commander of the Faithful and inform him of the way things were, but I trusted in what my companion had said and so returned to my dwelling, where I spent the night. The next day I arose and when it was mid-morning I went to the Commander of the Faithful and sat in his presence for a while, wanting to tell him in private what I had heard from the cousin, but I sat there for a long while and the number of those present continued to increase. I therefore drew near to him and sat behind him, and he leaned toward me to listen to what I had to say.

I told him what I had heard from al-Khirrit b. Rashid, what I had said to him, and what he had replied to me. And I told him what I had said to his cousin and how he had answered me. 'Ali said, "Let al-Khirrit be. If he recognizes the truth and approaches it, we will recognize that and accept it from him. If he refuses to come, we will seek him." I said, "Commander of the Faithful, why do you not seize him now, put him in irons, and imprison him?" He answered, "If we did that with everyone whom we have suspicions about, we would fill our prisons with them. I think that should be done—he meant moving against people, imprisoning them, and punishing them—only when they manifest opposition against us."

I finished speaking to him and moved away and rejoined the others. After a short while 'Ali said, "Come here to me!" I did so, and he said to me secretly, "Go to the man's house and find out for me what he has done, for he has always previously come to me earlier than this."

I went to his house and found nobody there. I called out at the gates of other houses where there had been a group of his companions, and nobody replied or answered. So I returned to 'Ali, who said when he saw me, "Have they stayed and remained in security, or have they moved away and departed?" I replied, "Indeed, they have gone away and declared their position." He said, "They have done it! May there be 'a sweeping away' for them 'as Thamud were swept away.'"

695 Indeed, if the tips of lances had been trained upon

695. See Qur'an 11:95. Thamud are one of the peoples mentioned in the Qur'an as having been destroyed by God for their refusal to accept His message.
them and swords been brought down upon their heads, they would have repented. Satan today has seduced them and misled them, and tomorrow he will 'rid himself of them' and leave them in the lurch."

Ziyād b. Khaṣafah stood up before him and said, "Commander of the Faithful, if the only harm was their separation from us, their loss would be no such great matter that we would grieve for them, for they added little to our numbers if they stayed, and their departure from us has decreased us but little. But we are afraid lest they alienate from us a large number of those they go to and who have previously been obedient to you. So allow me to go after them so that I can bring them back to you, God willing." ‘Ali answered him, "Do you know where they are headed?" "No," he answered, "but I will go out and ask and follow after them." ‘Ali said to him, "Go as far as Dayr Abī Mūsā may God have mercy on you, but do not go any farther until you receive my orders. If they have gone off as a group openly, then my officials will write telling me; but if they have split up and kept under cover, then that will keep them better hidden and I will write to my officials about them."

‘Ali wrote one text and sent copies of it to his officials: "Some men have fled from us, and we suspect that they have headed toward the territory of al-Baṣra. Make enquiries about them of the people of your region and set agents to keep a lookout for them in each district of your area. Write to me about anything that you hear concerning them. Salutations."

Ziyād b. Khaṣafah went as far as his house and gathered his men together. He praised God and extolled Him and then said, "Now, band of Bakr b. Wāʿil, the Commander of the Faithful has assigned me to a matter of great importance for him and has commanded me to see to it quickly. You are his party (shīʿah) and his helpers (ansār) and of all the clans you are the most trustworthy respecting his own self. So join with me in this right now, and make haste."

By God in no time at all 120 or 130 of them joined him and he said, "We are enough—we do not want more than this." They left

696. See Qurʾān 8:48.
697. See n. 73, above.
698. Also mentioned in Ṭabari, II, 644, in an account concerning al-Mukhtār, it is evidently outside al-Kūfah (not to be confused with Dār Abī Mūsā in the town).
and crossed the bridge and came to Dayr Abī Mūsā, where he stopped. He remained there for the rest of the day, awaiting the orders of the Commander of the Faithful.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Šalt al-A’war al-Taymi—Abū Sa‘īd al-‘Uqayli—‘Abdallāh b. Wa‘l al-Taymi: By God, I was with the Commander of the Faithful when a messenger came to him with a letter from Qaraẓah b. Ka‘b al-Anṣārī in his hands:

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. I inform the Commander of the Faithful that horsemen have passed us coming from al-Kūfah and heading toward Nīffār and that one of the dīhqāns from the Lower Euphrates called Zādhān Farrūkh, one who has allied himself with our religion and community, was coming from his maternal relatives in the district of Nīffār. They arraigned him and said, “Are you a Muslim or an infidel?” He answered, “Indeed, I am a Muslim.” Then they asked him, “What do you say about ‘Alī?” and he replied, “Good things—I say that he is the Commander of the Faithful and the lord of mankind.” They said to him, “You have committed unbelief, enemy of God!” A band of them then attacked him and cut him to bits. And they discovered one of the protected people (ahl al-dhimmah) with him, whom they asked, “What are you?” He replied, “One of the protected people;” and they said, “Regarding this one, we have no right to arraign him.” Then that protected man came and told us what had happened. I had been asking questions

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699. Of the Banū Taym of Bakr b. Wa‘il, he was subsequently active in the movement of the Tawwābūn [see vol. XX of this translation, pp. 80ff.]. ‘Alī’s reference to him below as “my nephew” is not to be taken literally.

700. Fayj, from Persian payk, possibly indicating a foot messenger or courier [Lane, Lexicon, s.v.].

701. A Companion of the Prophet who had been made governor of Al-Kūfah by ‘Alī before the Camel [see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.].

702. Midway between al-Kūfah and (the later) al-Wasīt near the southern end of the Nars canal [see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, map II and 73–74].

703. Literally, “he has made the salāt.”

704. ‘Aradī lahu, i.e., they subjected him to inquisition in the manner of the Khārījī isti’rād [see n. 489, above]. The similarity between the following account and the previous stories that contrast the cruel Khārījī treatment of the Muslim with their strict observance of the rights of the dhimmī is obvious.
about them, but no one could tell me anything. Now let the Commander of the Faithful write to me telling me his views so that I will know them. Salutations.

‘Ali wrote back to him: “I have taken note of what you have said about the band that passed by you and slaughtered the pious Muslim while the transgressing infidel had security with them. They are a people whom Satan has seduced. They have gone astray and are like those who ‘reckoned that there would be no fitnah, and they became blind and deaf’705 ‘Make them hear and make them watch for a day’706 on which their deeds will be known. Remain at your post and occupy yourself in collecting your taxes707 and you will remain, as you have said, obedient and a sincere advisor. Salutations.”

According to Abet Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-‘Awar al-Taymī—Abū Sa‘īd al-‘Uqaylī—‘Abdallāh b. Wa‘l: ‘Ali, peace be upon him, sent me with a letter to Ziyād b. Khāṣafah. At that time I was just a young man: “I ordered you to wait at Dayr Abī Mūsā until you received my orders. That was because I did not know the direction in which those people were headed. Now I have heard that they have gone in the direction of a settlement called Niffār. Follow them and enquire about them. They have killed a man of the Sawād708 who had taken part in our prayer ritual. When you overtake them, send them back to me; but if they refuse, fight them and ask God for help against them. They have departed from the truth, shed inviolate blood, and spread fear on the roads. Salutations.”

I took the letter from him but had not gone very far with it before I turned back and said, “Commander of the Faithful, should I not continue with Ziyād b. Khāṣafah against the enemy after I have given him your letter?” He answered, “My nephew, do so and I hope, by God, that you will be one of my helpers in the cause of the truth and one of my supporters against those evil ones.” I said to him, “By God, Commander of the Faithful, I am indeed one of those, and I am at your service.”

707. Aqīl ‘alā kharājika.
708. That is, the fertile (“black”) land of Iraq.
Ibn Wa’l said: By God, I would not want to exchange those words of ‘Ali for anything. Then I went to Ziyād b. Khāṣafah with ‘Ali’s letter, riding a splendid and noble horse and bearing arms. Ziyād said to me, “Oh my nephew, I cannot do without you and indeed I want you to be with me in my task.” I said to him, “I asked the permission of the Commander of the Faithful for that, and he gave it to me.” Ziyād was delighted about that.

We left and came to Niffar, where we asked about them and were told that they had gone up toward Jarjarā.710 We pursued them and were told that they had taken the road to al-Madhar,711 and that is where they had camped when we caught up with them, having been there a day and a night. They had rested and foddered their mounts, and they were relaxing. We, however, came to them tired and exhausted, fatigued and worn out. When they saw us, they rushed for their horses and mounted them while we advanced and came up to them and confronted them. Their leader, al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid, called out to us, “You who are blind of heart and of understanding, are you with God, His Book, and the precedent (sunnah) of His Prophet, or are you with the evildoers?” Ziyād b. Khāṣafah answered him, “Indeed we are with God and with him to whom God and His Book and His Prophet are preferable as a reward to the things of this world from the time it was created until the day when it ends, you who are blind of understanding and deaf of heart and hearing.”

Al-Khirrīt said to us, “Tell me what you want,” and Ziyād, who was experienced and temperate in manner, said, “You see how exhausted and hungry we are, and the thing we have come for is not helped by open argument in the hearing of my men and yours. Let us both dismount, and then we will meet together in private and discuss this business of ours together. We will consider, and if you think the thing we have come for is of benefit for you, you will accept it. If I think that in what I hear from you there is something of advantage for us and for you, I will not reject it.” Al-Khirrīt said, “Let us dismount, then.”

709. Humr al-na'am, literally, “the choicest camels” (see Lane, Lexicon, sv. ahmar).
710. On the Tigris to the north of Niffar (see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, map II and 37).
711. Exact site unknown, but to the east of the Tigris in the Jūkhā region and in the vicinity of Nahrawān (see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, 42–43).
Ziyād came back to us and said, "Let us dismount by this water." When we had reached the water, we began to dismount and before long we had dismounted and split up into groups and formed circles of ten, nine, eight, and seven, each placing their food in front of them and eating and then going to the water to drink. Ziyād said to us, "Put the nosebags on your horses," and we did so, while Ziyād remained between us and the enemy, who moved aside and then dismounted.

Ziyād turned to us, and when he saw that we had split up and formed circles he said, "Glory be to God! Are you men of war! By God, if these should come against you now while you are in this state, they could not ask of anyone anything better for them than the state you are in. Be quick and go to your horses!" We made haste and scurried about. Among us there were those who had relieved themselves and were making their ablutions, those who were drinking, and those who were giving water to their horses.

When we had finished that, Ziyād came to us with a root in his hand that he was tearing at with his teeth. He tore two or three bites from it and then was brought a vessel containing water, from which he drank. He cast down the root from his hand and said, "Men, we have met our enemy and, by God, you are equal in number to them. I have made a rough estimate, and I do not think that either of the two sides has five men more than the other. And, by God, I think that the issue between you is bound to end in fighting. If things do bring you and them to that, do not be the weaker of the two." Then he said to us, "Let each one of you take hold of the reins of his horse (and wait) until I approach the enemy, summon their leader to me, and argue with him. If he gives me the oath of allegiance on the conditions that I have laid down, well and good; but if I call to you, mount your horses and then come to me altogether, not dispersed."

He went on before us (and I was with him) and I heard one of the enemy saying, "When they came against you they were weary and fatigued while you were relaxed and rested. But you have allowed them to dismount, eat, drink, and rest. That was a bad
decision for, by God, the matter that is between us will inevitably result in fighting."

They fell silent and we went up to them. Ziyād b. Khāṣafah summoned their leader and said, "Let us go aside and examine this matter of ours." By God, he came to Ziyād in a party of five, so I said to Ziyād, "Call up three more of our men so that we meet them on equal terms," and he answered, "Call up whomever you wish." So I called up three of our men and we were five strong each.

Ziyād asked him, "What did you hold against the Commander of the Faithful and us, and why did you separate from us?" He replied, "I did not approve of your leader as an imam and I did not approve of your conduct. Therefore I decided that I would go apart and join those who call for consultation (al-shūrā). Then, when a man acceptable to the whole of the community was agreed upon, I would be with the people (as a whole)." Ziyād said to him, "Woe to you! Can the people agree on a man from among them who even approximates, in his knowledge of God, His precepts (sunan), and His Book, and also in his close relationship to the Prophet and precedence in accepting Islam, to your lord from whom you have separated?" The opponent answered him, "I have told you my views." Ziyād then asked him, "Why did you kill that Muslim man?" He replied, "It was not I who killed him, but a band of my men." Ziyād said, "Hand them over to us," but he replied, "There are no grounds for that." Ziyād responded, "Is that your final decision?" and he insisted, "It is as you hear."

We called up our men and he called up his, and then we advanced and, by God, such fighting was never seen since my Lord created me. We thrust at each other with lances until none remained in our hands, and we exchanged blows with swords until they were twisted out of shape. Most of the horses, ours and theirs, were hamstrung, and the injured men on both sides were numerous. Two of our men were killed, the mawla of Ziyād, called Suwayd, who carried Ziyād's banner, and one of the abnā'ī called Wāfid b. Bakr. We felled five of them, and then night fell and drew a veil between us. By God, neither we nor they had any desire to continue fighting, and both Ziyād and I were wounded.

713. Perhaps indicating Persian ancestry (see EI² and Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, both s.v. abnā'), but the name is purely Arab.
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The enemy then withdrew and we spent the night apart. After a time, during the night, they moved off, and we followed them as far as al-Baṣrah, where we heard that they had gone to al-Ahwāz and had camped on its border. There about 200 of their supporters who had been with them in al-Kūfah joined them. These had not been strong enough to rise up together with the others, but had risen up (subsequently) and followed them and joined them in the territory of al-Ahwāz, where they remained with them.

Ziyād b. Khaṣafah wrote to 'Ali:

We overtook the enemy of God from the Banū al-Nājiyah at al-Madhār and we summoned them to the right path and the truth and to what we have in common.714 But they did not abide in the truth "and pride in sin seized them"715 "and Satan made their deeds seem beautiful to them and turned them from the path."716 They attacked us, but we fought back at them and we struggled fiercely from noon to sunset. Two of our righteous men fell as martyrs and five of the enemy were killed. They abandoned the field to us, and injuries were widespread on both sides. Then, when night fell, they departed under cover of it, turning aside to the territory of al-Ahwāz. We have heard that they are camped there in a part of it while we are in al-Baṣrah, healing our wounds and awaiting your command. May God have mercy upon you and peace be upon you.

When I delivered his letter, 'Ali read it out loud to the men and Ma'qil b. Qays arose before him and said, "Commander of the Faithful, God keep you. There should have been ten of the Muslims in the place of each one of those who have gone after those men. When they overtook them, they would have rooted them out and suppressed them completely. But, if an equal number confront them, by my life, they hold fast against them. They are Arabs and one number holds fast against the same and obtains its rights from it."

'Ali said, "Ma'qil b. Qays, get ready to go against them," and he detailed 2,000 of the men of al-Kūfah to go with him, including

714. Ilā...kalimat al-sawā'; see Qur‘ān 3:64.
Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal al-Azdi. He wrote to Ibn ‘Abbas: “Send a firm and brave man who is known for his righteousness together with 2,000 men to follow after Ma’qil. As he goes through the territory of al-Baṣrah he will be the commander of his men until he reaches Ma’qil. But, once he has come to Ma’qil, the latter will be the commander of both forces and your man must listen to what he says and obey him and not oppose him. And tell Ziyād b. Khaṣafah to come to me. What an excellent man he is and how excellent those of his men who have fallen!”


Now, I have received your letter and taken note of what you say about the man of the Banū Nājiyyah and his brethren “on whose hearts God has set a seal” “and Satan has made their deeds seem beautiful to them and they go astray” “while they think that they are performing good deeds.” And you have described what happened to you and to them. As for you and your men, may God bless your effort and from God is due your reward. Rejoice in the reward of God for it is better than this world over which the ignorant ones destroy their souls. “What is with you passes while what is with God persists. We shall surely give those who were steadfast their reward according to the best of what they have done.” As for your enemy whom you met, sufficient for them is their having left the right guidance for error and their perpetration of it, their having rejected the truth and being obstinate in fitnāh. “So leave them and the falsehood they fabricate” and leave them “in their insolence wandering astray” and you yourselves hear and understand. I can see you among them shortly, some of them captive, others slain. Come, you and your men, to us well rewarded.

717. Leiden vocalizes as Mughfil, Cairo as Mughaffal (Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, has several instances of Mughaffal but none of Mughfil).
You have heard and obeyed, and done well in the test.
Salutations.

The man of the Banū Nājiyah remained encamped in a part of al-Ahwāz, where many of the local non-Arabs (ʿulāj) joined him, desiring to avoid the kharāj, as well as many bandits and another group of bedouin who adopted his position against 'Ali.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madāʾini]—'Alī b. Mujahid—al-Shaʾbī: After 'Ali had slain the people at al-Nahrawān, many came out in opposition to him. His outlying provinces rebelled against him and the Banū Nājiyah opposed him. Ibn al-Hadrāmī came to al-Baṣrah, the people of al-Ahwāz rebelled, and those subject to the kharāj were eager to avoid it, Then Sahl b. Ḥunayf was expelled from Fārs, where he had been 'Ali's governor. Ibn 'Abbās proposed to 'Ali, "I will take care of Fārs for you by means of Ziyād," and 'Ali told Ibn 'Abbās to send Ziyād there. Ibn 'Abbās went to al-Baṣrah and sent Ziyād to Fārs with a strong army, which he used to suppress the people of Fārs, who then fulfilled their duty to pay kharāj.

According to Abū Mikhnaf, whose account is now resumed—al-Ḥarīth b. Kaʾb—'Abdallah b. Fuqaym al-Azdā: I and my brother Kaʾb were in that army under Maʾqil b. Qays. When he intended to depart, he went to 'Ali, who bade him farewell and said, "Maʾqil, fear God to your utmost. It is God's instruction (waṣṭiyāḥ) to the Believers that you should not act unjustly to those of your religion and community, should not commit evil against the protected people, and should not wax proud, for God does not love those who wax proud." Maʾqil said, "God's help is to be sought," and 'Ali responded, "(He is) the best of those whose help is to be sought."

Maʾqil set out, and we with him, and we came to al-Ahwāz. We remained there, awaiting the men from al-Baṣrah, for they had delayed in joining us. Maʾqil b. Qays stood among us and said, "Men, we have waited for the men of al-Baṣrah but they have kept us

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724. That is, al-Khirīt b. Rāshīd.
725. Literally, "to break (kasara) it."
726. Literally, "those who share your direction of prayer" (ahl al-qiblah).
728. The name of the province, and its capital, at the head of the Persian Gulf to the east of Iraq. It is also called Khūzistān. (See Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, map II and 232ff.)
waiting and we are not, praise be to God, few or lacking support. Let us go, therefore, against this paltry and lowly enemy, and I hope that God will aid you and destroy them."

My brother Ka'b b. Fuqaym addressed him and said, "You are right, may God guide you, in your views. By God, I hope that God will help us against them but, if it is otherwise, then in death while following the truth is a consolation for the loss of this world." Ma'qil said, "Go on with the blessing of God." We went on and, by God, Ma'qil did not cease to display honor and affection for me, above that which he showed to anyone else in the army. He kept repeating, "How did you say it?—In death while following the truth there is consolation for the loss of this world? You spoke the truth, by God, and said a good thing, and have been truly guided."[3431]

We had gone on for less than a day when a messenger overtook us, rushing with a letter (sahifah) in his hand from 'Abdallah b. 'Abbas: "If my messenger reaches you in the place where you were waiting or he reaches you when you have left it, do not leave the place where my messenger gets to you. Stay there until the expedition that we have sent to you arrives. For I have sent Khalid b. Ma'dan al-'A'ti, one of the men of righteousness, religion, bravery, and courage. Give ear to him and acknowledge those qualities.

Salutations." Ma'qil read the letter out loud to the men and praised God, for that plan (of marching on without the Basrans) had frightened them. We waited, therefore, until the 'A'ti reached us. He came and went in unto our leader, greeting him as the holder of authority, and they joined together to form one army.

Then we departed and moved against the enemy, who began to go up toward the hills of Rāmhummuz, aiming for a fortified castle there. But the people of the region came to us and informed us about that, and we went after them in pursuit. We caught up with them as they had drawn near to the hill. We formed ourselves into a line against them and proceeded toward them. Ma'qil placed Yazid b. al-Mughaffal over his right wing, and Minjab b. Rāshid al-Ḍabbī,

[3431] The narrator seems to have switched from 'Abdallah b. Fuqaym to his brother Ka'b. See the following explicit reference to Ka'b as the narrator.

[3432] See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; and Elz, s.v. Kahtaba b. Shabib (Khalid was the grandfather of the 'Abbāsid's general Qahtabah).

[3433] Rāmhummuz is a town three days' march east of the town of Ahwāz (see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, 243-44).
one of the men of al-Baṣrah, over his left.  

Al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nāfīf formed a line out of those bedouin who were with him, and they made up his right wing. And he put the local people, the non-Arabs, those who wanted to avoid the ḵarāj and their followers from among the Kurds as a left wing.

Maʿqīl b. Qays went around among us, encouraging us and saying, “Servants of God, do not look the enemy directly in the eye but lower your gaze and speak little. Prepare yourselves for thrusting and striking and rejoice in the expectation of the great reward for fighting them. You will be fighting only renegades (māriqah) who have reneged on the religion, non-Arabs who have refused the ḵarāj, and Kurds. Wait until I attack and then charge as one man.”

He passed along the whole of the line, saying that to them until, when he had passed by all of the men, he went forward and took his place in the center of the line in the ‘heart.’

We looked to see what he would do, and he waved his banner twice and, by God, they withstood us only for a short while before turning in flight, and we slaughtered 70 bedouins of the Banū Nājiyah and their bedouin followers, and we killed about 300 of the non-Arabs and Kurds.

Kaʿb b. Fuqaym continued: I looked among the bedouin who were killed and found my friend Mudrik b. al-Rayyān, slain.

Al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid fled until he came to the shores of the sea, where there was a significant number of his tribe. He continued going around among them and summoning them to oppose ‘Alī, explaining to them (the reasons for) his separation from him, and telling them that the right path lay in fighting him, until many of them followed him.

Maʿqīl b. Qays remained in the territory of al-Ahwāz and sent me with a letter to ‘Alī, telling of his success. It was I who went to ‘Alī, and Maʿqīl wrote to him: “In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, to the servant of God, ‘Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, from Maʿqīl b. Qays. Peace be upon you and I praise God other than Whom there is no god. We met the renegades, who

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732. For Minjāb, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Mingāb.
733. On the Kurds in the early Islamic period, and reference to their involvement with al-Khirrīt, see EP, s.vv. Kurds, Kurdistan.
734. It al-qalb, i.e., qalb al-jaysh, the main body of the army.
had sought help against us from the polytheists (mushrikīn). We killed them as ‘Ad and Iram were killed; save only that we did not abandon your manner of acting (ṣīraḥ) regarding them: we did not kill any of the renegades who had turned away (in flight) or any prisoner, and we did not dispatch any wounded man of them. God has given you and the Muslims victory, and ‘Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds.’

I came to him with this letter, and he read it out loud to his men and asked for the benefit of their opinions. They were unanimous in their view and said to him, “We think that you should write to Ma'qil b. Qays and that he should go after the evil one (fāsiq) and keep pursuing him until either he kills him or drives him out of your territories, for we fear that he will cause mischief for you among the people.”

‘Ali sent me back to Ma'qil with a letter in reply: “Praise be to God for supporting His friends and disappointing His enemies. May God give you and the Muslims a goodly reward, for you have performed well and fulfilled your duty. Ask about the man of the Banū Nājiyyah and, if you hear that he has taken up residence anywhere, go after him to kill him or expel him for he will continue to be an enemy to the Muslims and a friend of the evildoers (qāsītīn) as long as he lives. Peace be upon you.”

Ma'qil asked about where al-Khirrrīt had established himself and where he had come to and was told that he was by the seashore and that he had persuaded his people to renounce their obedience to ‘Alī and corrupted those of the Banū ‘Abd al-Qays in his vicinity and their allies among the rest of the Arabs. In the year of Ṣiffin his tribe had refused to pay the ṣadaqah; and they had also refused

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735. Presumably, here referring to the Christians.
736. According to the Qur’ān, pre-Islamic peoples who were destroyed by God for refusing to accept His messengers.
738. That is, he had won them over.
739. The ṣadaqah (sometimes used synonymously with zakāt) is in Muslim law an alms tax incumbent upon Muslims; the ruling authorities regarded its collection as their prerogative. Sometimes the word is used more loosely to mean alms or charity of a voluntary sort. In the early Islamic period it frequently appears as the name of a tax demanded by the rulers from the Arab tribes—see an example on p. 200, below. (See EP, s.vv. Ṣadaka, Zakāt).
it in the current year, so that a payment of two years'740 was now
due from them.

Ma'qil went against them with that army made up of men of al-
Kūfah and al-Baṣrāh, and followed the road to Fārs741 until he
reached the seashore. When al-Khirrit b. Rāshid heard that he was
coming, he approached those of his men who were with him who
held the views of the Khawārij and confided to them, "I share your
views, and 'Ali should not give authority to men (yuḥakkim al-
rijal) in the affairs of God." But he said to the others, making his
criticisms more public before them, "'Ali granted authority to an
arbitrator (ḥakkama hakaman) and was satisfied with (the choice
of) him. That arbitrator, whom he had approved for himself,
declared 'Ali removed from office. I accepted what ('Ali) approved
for himself of his decision and his judgment (min qadā'ihī
wa-ḥukmihī)." [This was the view according to which he departed
from al-Kūfah.]742 To those who sympathized with 'Uthmān, he
said secretly, "By God, I share your views. By God, 'Uthmān was
killed unjustly;" Thus he gave satisfaction to each category of them
and led them to think that he was with them. He said to those
who had refused to pay thesadāqah,"Keep a firm grip on your
sadāqāt, bestow them on your relatives, and if you wish, give them
up to those among you who are destitute."743

Among them were many Christians who had accepted Islam, but
when dissension had developed in Islam had said, "By God, our
religion (din) from which we have departed is better and more
correct than that which these people follow. Their religion does
not stop them from shedding blood, terrifying the roads, and seizing
properties." And they returned to their former religion. Al-Khirrit
met them and said to them, "Woe unto you! Do you know the
precept (ḥukm) of 'Ali regarding any Christian who accepts Islam
and then reverts to Christianity? By God he will not hear anything

740. 'Iqālān.
741. The province east and south of Ahwāz [see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate,
map VI] evidently al-Khirrit had gone south from Rāmhurmuz and was on the
extreme northeast shore of the Gulf.
742. Because it seems that this sentence should be read as a comment by the
narrator rather than as a part of al-Khirrit's words, the subject of kharaja min al-
Kūfah must be al-Khirrit himself. Al-Khirrit is here presenting his opposition to
'Ali as stemming from the latter's failure to accept the verdict of the arbitration.
743. That is, "the decision whether to give sadāqah, and if so to whom, is yours."
they say, he will not consider any excuse, he will not accept any repentance, and he will not summon them to it. His precept regarding them is immediate cutting off of the head when he gets hold of them." Al-Khirrit continued thus until he had united them and duped them (into following him). Those of the Banū Nājiyyah and others who were in that district came to him, and many men joined him.

According to 'Ali b. al-Hasan al-Azdi—'Abd al-Rahmān b. Sulaymān—'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'id—Abū Janāb—al-Ḥurr—'Ammār al-Duhni—Abū al-Tufayl: I was in the army that 'Ali b. Abī Ṭalib sent against the Banū Nājiyyah. We came to them and found them split into three groups. Our commander said to one of these groups, "What are you?" and they replied, "We are a Christian people who do not consider any religion to be better than ours, and we hold fast to it." Our commander said to them, "Be off with you!" He said to another band, "What are you?" and they said, "We were Christians, but we accepted Islam and we hold fast to our Islam." He said to them, "Be off with you!" Then he said to the third group, "What are you?" and they said, "We are a people who were Christians. We accepted Islam but we do not think, that any religion is better than our previous one." He said to them, "Accept Islam!" but they refused. He said to his men, "When I rub my head three times, attack them and kill the fighting men and make captive the dependents."

The dependents were brought to 'Ali, and Masqalah b. Hubayrah came and bought them for 200,000 dirhams. He delivered 100,000 (dirhams) but 'Ali would not accept it (requiring the whole of the agreed sum to be paid), and Masqalah went off with the money, came to the captives, and set them free, and himself absconded to

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744. For differing views as to whether the apostate should be given the opportunity to repent and return to Islam, see EI', s.v. murtadd.

745. The isnād is problematic. This is Tabari's only citation from an 'Ali b. al-Hasan who is specifically designated as al-Azdi, although he has three others from an unspecified 'Ali b. al-Hasan. The name following 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'id is obscure in the ms. The Leiden editor, comparing with an isnād from Abū Mikhnaf on p. 3297, i. 9, suggests that 'Abd al-Malik has transmitted from Abū Janāb al-Kalbī from al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyār al-Nakha'i. The Cairo editor reads 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'id b. Ḥab (this would be Tabari's only mention of him), transmitting from al-Ḥurr.

746. Of the Banū Shaybān/Bakr b. Wā'il (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Maṣqala, SNB, III, 127).
Mu'āwiyyah. 'Alī was asked, "Will you not recapture those dependents?" but he refused and did not concern himself with them.747

According to Abū Mikhā'laf, whose account is now resumed—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b: When Ma'qil b. Qays returned, he read out loud to us a letter from 'Alī:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, from the servant of God, 'Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, to those Believers, Muslims, Christians, and Apostates (murtadd) to whom this letter of mine is read. Peace be upon you and upon whoever follows the right path and believes in God, His Messenger, His Book, and Resurrection after death, fulfills the covenant of God and is not one of the faithless ones. I summon you to the Book of God, the precedent (sunnah) of His Prophet, and acting according to the truth. For that is what God commanded in the Book. Whoever of you returns to his family, restrains his hand, and withdraws from this warmongering killer who has started to fight against God and His Messenger and the Muslims, and has spread evil upon the earth, he has security for his property and his blood. But whoever supports him in making war against us and forsaking our obedience, we have asked God for help against him and made God the judge between us, and "God is a sufficient helper."749

Ma'qil broke out a flag of security, raised it, and said, "Whoever comes to it has security, except for al-Khirrit and his men, who have waged war against us and attacked us on the first occasion." Most of those with him who were not of his tribe separated from al-Khirrit, and Ma'qil b. Qays prepared his men to fight. He placed Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal al-Azdi over his right wing and al-Minjāb b. Rāshid al-Dabbī over his left, and then he advanced with them against al-Khirrit. With al-Khirrit were the Muslims and Christians from his tribe, and those who refused to pay the ṣadaqah.

747. The story becomes clearer in the fuller version given later (p. 192, below).
748. Wa-bihi amara Allāhu fi al-kitāb. Cairo has wa-bima (... acting according to the truth, and what God commanded...), which is more expected.
749. Qur'ān 4:45.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b—Abū al-Ṣiddiq al-Nāfī: At that time al-Khirrit said to his men, "Defend what your honor requires you to defend (ḥarīmaka) and fight for your women and children. By God, if they are triumphant over you, they will slay you and take you prisoner." One of his men said to him, "By God, this is what your hands and your tongue have inflicted upon us." Al-Khirrit said, "Fight, all of you, God bless you! The sword has anticipated the censure." Be silent! By God, a calamity has befallen my people."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b—'Abdallāh b. Fuqaym: Ma'qil went among us, urging on the men, moving between the right and left wings and saying, "You Muslims (ayyūhā al-nās al-muslimūn), you will not obtain any greater reward than that which has been handed to you in this place. God has led you to a people who have refused to pay the sadaqah, apostasized from Islam, and violated the oath of allegiance out of evil and enmity. I bear witness that paradise is for whomever of you is killed, and God will delight the eyes of whomever lives with victory and booty (al-ghanīmāh)!" He kept on like that until he had passed by all of the men, and then he came and stood in the center with his banner.

Then he sent to Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal, who was with the right wing, "Attack them!" Yazīd did so, but they held firm and fought fiercely, and Yazīd withdrew and resumed the position he had occupied on the right wing. Ma'qil then sent to Mīnāb b. Rāshid al-Dabbī on the left, and he attacked, but the enemy held firm and fought fiercely for a long time and Mīnāb, too, withdrew and resumed his previous position.

Ma'qil sent orders to both the right and the left wings, "When I attack, follow me all together!" He waved his banner and brandished it aloft and then attacked, his men joining him all together. Al-Khirrit's men held fast for a while, but then al-Nu'mān b. Ṣuḥbān al-Rāsībi of the Banū Jarm751 spied al-Khirrit b. Rāshid, attacked him, stabbed him, and brought him down from his mount. He himself then dismounted, having wounded al-Khirrit and weakened him.

750. See Freytag, Arabum proverbia, I, 599; Lane, Lexicon, s.v. shā'in. A saying used when one has been criticized for something but it is too late to go back on it.

751. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. For his role in al-Baṣrah in the second civil war, see Tabarī, II, 444–47 [= tr. XX, 20–23]; there he is described as a man of Muḍar, although his tribe of Jarm is counted to Qudā'ah.
They exchanged two blows and al-Nu'mān b. Șuhbān killed al-Khirrīt.

Of his men, 170 were killed with him in the battle, and the remainder fled in all directions. Ma'qīl b. Qays sent the cavalry after them to the baggage camp and took prisoner those he caught up with. He captured a large number of men, women, and children and examined them. The Muslims he let go after taking the oath of allegiance from them, and he allowed them to keep their families. To the apostates he offered (reacceptance of) Islam, and they came back to it and he let them go together with their families. But there was an old man among them, a Christian called al-Rumāḥis b. Mansūr, who said, “By God, the only error I have made since attaining reason was abandoning my religion, the religion of truth, for yours, the religion of wickedness. No by God, I will not leave my religion and I will not accept yours so long as I live.” Ma'qīl brought him forward and cut off his head.

Ma'qīl gathered the (defeated) people together and told them, “Bring what sadaqah you owe for these years,” and he took two years' payment (‘iqalayn) from the Muslims (among them). He turned to the Christians and their dependents and immediately dragged them away. The Muslims (among those who had supported al-Khirrīt) came with them, to accompany them, but Ma'qīl ordered that the Muslims should be sent back. When they turned away, they clasped hands and wept, and the men and the women wept with each other.

(‘Abdallah b. Fuqaym said:) I bear witness that I never felt such compassion for anyone before or after.

Ma'qīl b. Qays wrote to 'Ali:

I inform the Commander of the Faithful about his army and his enemies. We pushed on to our enemy on the seashore and found there tribes strong in number, violent and earnest. They had been gathered against us and made common cause against us. We summoned them to obedience and community, to the authority (hukm) of the Book and of the precedent (sunnah); we read out loud to them the letter of the Commander of the Faithful, and we raised aloft

752. The name al-Rumāḥis does not seem to be specifically Christian.
to them a flag of safe-conduct. A group of them inclined toward us, while another group remained hostile. We accepted those who came forward and we fought against those who turned away. God put them to flight and gave us victory over them. We were gracious to any Muslim, took his oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful, and took possession of the ᵃᵈᵃḏᵃｑʰᵃ that was due from them. For anyone who had apostatized, we offered return to Islam or else death. They all returned apart from one man, whom we killed. As for the Christians, we made them captive and led them off so that they might be a warning for those of the protected peoples who come after them not to refuse the ᵈⁱʳʸᵃḥ and not to make bold against our religion and community, for the protected people are of little account and lowly in status. May God have mercy upon you, Commander of the Faithful, and award to you gardens of delight. Peace be upon you.

He then brought along the prisoners and passed with them by Maṣqalāh b. Huṣayn al-Shaybānī, who was ‘Alī’s governor over Ardashīrkhorrah.⁷⁵⁷ There were ⁵⁰⁰ of them, and the women and children were weeping while the men cried out, “Abū al-Faḍl [i.e., Maṣqalāh], protector of the men and liberator of the captives, be good to us—buy us and free us.” Masqalah said, “I swear by God that I will give ᵃᵈᵃḏᵃｑʰᵃ for them [i.e., to buy their release] for ‘God repays those who give ᵃᵈᵃḏᵃｑʰᵃ:’”⁷⁵⁸

Ma’qil was told about that and said, “By God, if I knew that he had said that out of compassion for them and contempt for you,
I would cut off his head, even if that meant the mutual destruction of Tamim and and Bakr b. Wa’il.\footnote{The tribe of Ma’qil, the Banū Riyāḥ, was counted as part of Tamim/Mudar, while Maṣqalah’s tribe, the Banū Shaybān, was attached to Bakr/Rabi’ah.}

Then Maṣqalah sent Dhuḥl b. al-Ḥarīth al-Dhuḥlī\footnote{The context implies the Banū Dhuhl of Shaybān/Bakr b. Wa’il, but see vol. XXII, 69, n. 282, of this translation where, in the account of the killing of Dhuḥl b. al-Ḥarīth at the hands of Kharijites in A.H. 76, the suggestion is made that they are Dhuhl b. Mu’āwiyah of Kindah.} to Ma’qil b. Qays, asking, “Sell me the Banū Naḥiyah,” and Ma’qil replied, “Alright, I will sell them you for a million dirhams,” and he sent them to Maṣqalah, telling him, “Send the money quickly to the Commander of the Faithful.” Maṣqalah said, “I am sending a first installment immediately, and then I will send another similar and keep on until all is paid, please God.” Ma’qil b. Qays went to the Commander of the Faithful and told him what he had done regarding that, and ‘Ali told him, “You have done well and acted right.” ‘Alī waited for Maṣqalah to send him the money, and he heard that Maṣqalah had set free the captives without asking them to help him in any way in liberating themselves\footnote{That is, without asking them to make a contribution to their own ransom.} ‘Alī said: “I suspect that Maṣqalah must have borne the burden of expenditure. I think that you will soon see him cleaving to the ground.”

Then ‘Alī wrote to Maṣqalah: “One of the worst types of falseness is falseness regarding the community, and one of the worst forms of deception against the men of the garrison is deception of the imam. You owe the Muslims 500,000 dirhams. Send them to me as soon as my messenger reaches you. Otherwise, come (yourself) as soon as you have looked at this letter, for I have told my messenger to you not to allow you to wait for one hour after he has come to you unless you send the money. Peace be upon you.” The messenger was Abū Jurrah al-Ḥanafi,\footnote{Mulbidan: Lane has “a man cleaving to the ground, and making himself inconspicuous”, “a man cleaving to the ground by reason of poverty”; Ann., A.H. 38 §199: “fra poco di certo lo vedrete qua.”} and Abū Jurrah said to Maṣqalah, “Send the money now or set out for the Commander of the Faithful.”

After he had read the letter, Maṣqalah went and lodged in Başrāh, where he remained for some days, and then Ibn ‘Abbās asked him

\footnote{759. The tribe of Ma’qil, the Banū Riyāḥ, was counted as part of Tamim/Mudar, while Maṣqalah’s tribe, the Banū Shaybān, was attached to Bakr/Rabi’ah.}

\footnote{760. The context implies the Banū Dhuhl of Shaybān/Bakr b. Wa’il, but see vol. XXII, 69, n. 282, of this translation where, in the account of the killing of Dhuḥl b. al-Ḥarīth at the hands of Kharijites in A.H. 76, the suggestion is made that they are Dhuhl b. Mu’āwiyah of Kindah.}

\footnote{761. That is, without asking them to make a contribution to their own ransom.}

\footnote{762. Mulbidan: Lane has “a man cleaving to the ground, and making himself inconspicuous”, “a man cleaving to the ground by reason of poverty”; Ann., A.H. 38 §199: “fra poco di certo lo vedrete qua.”}

\footnote{763. This seems to be Ṭabarī’s only reference to Abū Jurrah.}
for the money, for the governors dependent on al-Baṣrah would bring the tribute from those districts764 that were subordinate to it to Ibn 'Abbās, and it was he who would send it to 'Ali. Maṣqalah replied, "All right, but give me a few days." Then he went to 'Ali, who granted him some days but then asked him for the money. He brought him 200,000 but was powerless (to get the rest) and could do nothing about it.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Aʿwar—Dhuhl b. al-Ḥārith: Maṣqalah called me to his place of abode. His evening meal was set before him and we shared it, and then he said, "By God, the Commander of the Faithful is asking me for this money and I cannot give it to him." I answered, "By God, if you wanted, you could get it all in less than a week;" but he said, "By God, I am not going to impose it upon my fellow tribesmen and I will not seek it from anyone else." Then he said, "Indeed, by God, if Ibn Hind [Muʿāwiyyah] were seeking it from me, or Ibn 'Affān, they would cancel the debt. Did you not see Ibn'Affān give al-Ash'ath 100,000 dirhams annually from the kharāj of Adharbayjān?" I answered Maṣqalah, "This man ['Ali] will not see things that way. No, by God, he is not one who generously gives away something that you have taken." He was quiet for a while and I too remained silent, and indeed, by God, just one night after this talk he absconded to Muʿāwiyyah.

'Ali heard about that and said, "What is the matter with him, God confound him! He acted like a noble Arab [in ransoming the captives] but fled like a slave and was treacherous like an evildoer (fājir). By God, if he had stayed here and could not pay, we would not have done any more than put him under detention and then, if we had found that he had anything of value we would have taken it, but if we could not get any money we would have left him alone." 'Ali then went to Maṣqalah's house and destroyed and demolished it.

Maṣqalah's brother Nuʿaym b. Hubayrah was a partisan [shīʿ] and sincere adviser of 'Ali. Maṣqalah sent one of the Christians of the Banū Taghlib,765 whose name was Ḥulwān, to Nuʿaym from Syria

764. Kuwar, plural of kūrah, is a loan word in Arabic, perhaps from Greek chōra. The Arabs had taken over from the Sassamids the subdivision of the provinces into administrative areas call kuwar.

765. The Banū Taghlib, whose area was the Syrian desert south of Palmyra, had been significantly christianized in the period before Islam.
with a letter: "I have spoken to Mu'awiyah about you and he has promised a position (al-imdrah) for you and given grounds to hope for some honor (al-karâmah). Come to us immediately when my messenger reaches you, God willing." But Malik b. Ka'b al-Arhabi seized the messenger and brought him to 'Ali, who took his letter and read it. He then cut off the hand of the Christian, who died.

Nu'aym wrote to his brother Maşqalâh:

Do not cast against me, may God guide you, an imputation of your suspicions. I had nothing to do with Ḥulwân.

That one who coveted what he could obtain by greed is dead, and do not let his death grieve you. What did you want in sending him, stupidly, hoping to trip up a man who is not found sleeping?

You exposed him to 'Ali, who is a lion, walking with a proud gait, one of the lions of Khaffân. You benefited from a good position under him, defending Iraq and being called the best of Shaybân, until you rushed into something for which, secretly and openly, you had expressed a dislike for those who took part.

If you had brought that which was due to the people, persevering for the truth, you would have revived our quick and our dead. But you have joined the people of Syria, seeking the favor of Ibn Hind (Mu'awiyah). That is a position that grieves us.

Today you regret your debt, repenting, but what can you say? What has happened has happened. All the clans together have come to hate you, and God has never exalted any man in hatred.

When this reached Maşqalâh, he knew that his messenger was dead, and soon the men of Taghlib also learned of the death of their fellow tribesman, Ḥulwân. They went to Maşqalâh and said, "You sent our fellow and you caused his death. Either restore him to life, or pay blood money for him." He answered, "To restore him to life I cannot, but I will pay blood money for him," and he did so.

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766. See n. 345, above.
767. Read hânâ for khânâ (see Add, et emend.; SNB, III, 146, reads ihzânā).  
768. Yaqtî, Mu'jam al-Buldân, s.v. (II, 456), says that this is a place close to al-Kufah and a place of lions (ma'sadah).
According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abd al-Rahmān b. Jundab—his father: When 'Ali learned of what had befallen the Banū Najiyah and the killing of their leader, he said,

Perish his mother! How defective was his understanding and how bold he was against his Lord! Someone came to me once and said, "There are men among your companions whom I fear will separate from you. What do you think about them?" I replied, "I am not one to seize somebody merely on suspicion or punish merely on supposition. I will only fight him who opposes me, declares war on me, and manifests hostility toward me. And then I will not fight him until I have called on him to repent and offered him forgiveness. If he repents and returns to us, we accept that from him and he will be our brother. But if he insists on warring against us, we ask God's aid against him and struggle against him."

The man who had addressed me kept away for some time, and then he came to me again and said, "I fear that 'Abdallah b. Wahib al-Rasibī and Zayd b. Hu^ayn are stirring up dissension against you, for I heard them talking about you in such a way that, if you had heard it, you would not have left them alive or at liberty. Keep them in prison for ever." I said, "I ask your advice about them—what should I do?" He said, "I advise you to summon them and cut off their heads!" But then I knew that he was neither pious nor wise and I said, "By God, I do not think you are pious or wise and useful in your advice. By God, if I had intended to kill them, you should have said, 'Fear God. Why do you think that killing them is lawful when they have not killed anybody, have not declared opposition to you, and have not departed from your obedience?'"

In this year Qutham b. al-'Abbās led the annual pilgrimage (hajj) on behalf of 'Ali (God have mercy on him). Ahmād b. Thābit told me that from Ishaq b. 'Isa—Abū Ma'shar. At that time Qutham was 'Ali's governor over Mecca. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās was over

769. For Abū Ma'shar, whose Ta'rikh al-khulafā' is probably being cited here, see EI2, s.v.; GAS, I, 291-92; for Ahmād b. Thābit al-Rāzī, see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Jarh, l/1, 44.
the Yemen and 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās over al-Baṣrah. There is a
difference of opinion about who was 'Alī's governor in Khūrāsān.
Some say that it was Khulayd b. Qurrah al-Yarbū'I and some that
it was Ibn Abzā.770 Syria and Egypt were under Mu'āwiyah and his
governors.

770. For Khulayd, see p. 99 n. 404, above, the index to the Leiden edition identifies
Ibn Abzā as 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abzā the ṭawf.
The Events of the Year

39
(MAY 29, 659–MAY 16, 660)

Mu‘āwiya Sends His Forces into ‘Alī’s Territories

He sent al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr771 (according to the report of ‘Alī b. Muhammad [al-Madā‘īnī]—‘Awānah) with 2,000 men to ‘Ayn al-Tamr,772 where Mālik b. Ka‘b was on garrison duty773 for ‘Alī with 1,000 men. Mālik, however, had allowed his men to go to al-Kūfah, and when al-Nu‘mān came against him he had only 100 left with him. Mālik, therefore, wrote to ‘Alī telling him of the matter of al-Nu‘mān and his party. ‘Alī addressed the men and ordered them to set out for ‘Ayn al-Tamr, but they were reluctant to do so and Mālik had to give battle to al-Nu‘mān, who had 2,000 men, with only 100 of his own. Mālik ordered his men to fight with their backs

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771. Son of a Medinese Companion of the Prophet, his father is said to have been killed at the conquest of ‘Ayn al-Tamr (see El, s.v.; Crone, Slaves on Horses, 155).
772. In the desert west of the Euphrates, south of Hīt (see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, 65).
773. Maslahatan. Literally, “a place of arms,” such as a thaghīr (frontier), but also used to refer to individuals bearing weapons or occupying the maslahā (see Gloss., s.v. s-l-h; Lane, Lexicon, s.v.).
to the wall of the settlement, and he wrote to Mikhnafo Sulaym,774 who was nearby, asking him to send reinforcements. Malik b. Ka'b fought against al-Nu'man's force with the band of men who were with him as fiercely as anyone could. Mikhnafo sent his son 'Abd al-Rahman to him with fifty men and, when they reached them, Malik and his companions had broken the scabbards of their swords775 and were on the verge of death. When the Syrians saw the new arrivals—it was evening—they thought that they were (significant) reinforcements for Malik's men and took flight. Malik pursued them and killed three of them, and the Syrians fled.

According to 'Abdallah b. A'hdad b. Shabbawayh al-Marwazi—his father—Sulayman [b. Šalih]—'Abdallah—'Abdallah b. Abi Mu'awiya—'Amr b. Hassâna—a shaykh of the Banu Fazarah: Mu'awiya dispatched al-Nu'man b. Bashir with 2,000 men. They came to 'Ayn al-Tamr and attacked it. There was a governor of 'Ali there called the son of so-and-so al-Rahabi, who had 300 men. He wrote to 'Ali asking for help, and 'Ali ordered the men to get ready to go to that governor. They were reluctant to do so, and 'Ali therefore ascended the minbar. I (the shaykh of the Banu Fazarah) went to him, but when I got there he had already made the declaration of faith and was saying, "Oh people of al-Kufah, every time you hear about a troop776 of Syrian horsemen coming against you, each man of you hides in his house and locks the door, like a lizard in his hole and a hyena in his lair. Whoever trusts in you is duped777 and whoever draws you draws a useless lot.778 You are not real men (ahdrâr) when the summons (to appear in arms) is made nor trustworthy brothers with secrets. 'We belong to God and to Him we are returning.'779 How I have been tested through you! You are blind ones who do not see, dumb ones who do not speak, and deaf ones who do not hear.780 'We belong to God and to Him we are returning.'"

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774. See p. 13, above for the presence at Šiffin of this prominent Azd forebear of Abû Mikhnafo.
775. That is, they had determined to fight to the death.
776. Mansir, literally, "beak (of a bird);" used to refer to an advance force of an army (Lane, Lexicon, s.v.).
777. Literally, "the one who is duped is he whom you have duped!"
778. Al-sahm al-akhyab, an allusion to the game of chance called maysir (see Lane, Lexicon, s.v. akhyab).
779. Qur'ân 2:156.
780. See Qur'ân 2:18, which says that the deaf, dumb, and blind (spiritually) "do not return."
And in this year Mu'awiyah sent Sufyân b. 'Awf with 6,000 men, telling him to go to Hit, pass through (qatā'ād) and raid it, and then move on to al-Anbār and al-Mada'in, where he should fall on the forces there. He went to Hit but found no one there, and then to al-Anbār where there was a garrison (maslahah) of 'Ali. There had been 500 men, but they had dispersed and only 100 remained. Sufyân fought them but 'Ali's men held firm in spite of their small number. Then Sufyân's cavalry and infantry charged them together, and killed the commander of the garrison, Ashras b. Ḥassān al-Bakrī, with thirty men. They carried off what they found in al-Anbār and the property of its people and returned to Mu'awiyah.

'Ali heard about that and went out to Nukhaylah. The men said to him, "You can rely on us," but he said, "You are not adequate for me or for yourselves." He dispatched Sa'id b. Qays after Sufyân's men, and he went off in pursuit until he passed Hit without catching up with them and then turned back.

In this year, too, Mu'awiyah sent 'Abdallah b. Mas'adah al-Fazārī with 1,700 men to Taymā', ordering him to extract the ṣadaqah from the bedouins whom he passed by and to kill any of them who refused to deliver the ṣadaqah of his wealth to him. Then he should go to Mecca, Medina, and the Hijāz to do the same. Many of his fellow tribesmen joined him.

When 'Ali heard about that, he sent al-Musayyab b. Najabah al-Fazārī, who caught up with Ibn Mas'adah at Taymā'. They fought fiercely for the whole day until sunset. Al-Musayyab charged against Ibn Mas'adah and struck him three times, but without intending

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781. An Azdī prominent in the campaigns against the Byzantines (Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).
782. The itinerary would have involved moving down the Euphrates and then crossing to al-Mada'in on the Tigris at the point where the two rivers come closest to each other. The reports are intended to indicate that the Syrians could raid 'Ali's heartlands with impunity.
783. This seems to be his only appearance in Tabarī's work.
784. See n. 66, above.
785. Captured by a raiding party sent by the Prophet against the Banū Fazārah, he subsequently was prominent in Mu'awiyah's campaigns against the Byzantines (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).
786. In northwest Arabia (now in Saudi Arabia).
to kill him and saying to him, “Flee, flee!” Ibn Mas’adah and most of those with him entered the castle while the remainder fled toward Syria.

The bedouins plundered the *sadaqah* camels\(^{788}\) that were with Ibn Mas’adah, and al-Musayyab besieged him and his men for three days. Then he piled firewood against the gate and hurled fire upon it until it caught alight. When those inside sensed that they would be destroyed, they went aloft and appealed to al-Musayyab, “It is your own tribesmen!” and he had pity on them and was reluctant that they should perish. He gave orders for the fire to be extinguished. He said to his men, “Spies have come to me and told me that an army is approaching from Syria. Gather together in one place!” and Ibn Mas’adah and his men departed by night and escaped to Syria. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Shabib\(^{789}\) said to al-Musayyab, “Come and let us pursue them!” but he forbade that he should do that. Ibn Shabib said to him, “You have cheated the Commander of the Faithful and played a trick regarding them.”

In this year, too, Mu’āwiyah dispatched al-Ḍahḥāk b. Qays,\(^{790}\) telling him to traverse the region below Wāqiṣah\(^{791}\) and attack every bedouin whom he came upon who recognized the authority of ‘Ālī. With him he sent 3,000 men. As he proceeded, he seized the property of the people and killed those bedouins whom he met. He passed by al-Tha’labiyyah\(^{792}\) and attacked the garrisons (*maṣālib*) of ‘Ālī and seized their goods. When he had got as far as al-Qutqatānah,\(^{793}\) ‘Amr b. ‘Umays b. Mas‘ūd\(^{794}\) came with some horsemen of ‘Ālī, and his family going in front, intending to make the annual pilgrimage. Al-Ḍahḥāk attacked those who were with him and prevented him from going on. When ‘Ālī heard that, he dispatched Ḥuṣr b. ‘Adī al-Kindi with 4,000 men, giving them fifty

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\(^{788}\) That is, those camels that had been taken from the bedouin in payment of the *sadaqah*.

\(^{789}\) Of the Banū Fazārah ([see p. 163, above]).

\(^{790}\) See n. 130, above.

\(^{791}\) See Yaqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, s.v. (IV, 892). Al-Wāqiṣah and the two places mentioned subsequently are in Najd, on or near the road from Mecca to al-Ḳūfah. Al-Ḍahḥāk’s route took him in the direction of al-Ḳūfah.

\(^{792}\) Ibid., I, 925.

\(^{793}\) Ibid., IV, 137.

\(^{794}\) Of the Banū Hudhayl ([see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.]), this seems to be his only appearance in Tabari’s work.
dirhams each. He caught up with al-Dahhak at Tadmur and killed nineteen of his men. Two of his own men were killed. Night prevented any further fighting and al-Dahhak and his men fled, while Hujr and his went back.

In this year, too, Mu'awiyah himself set off toward the Tigris, but when he was in sight of it he withdrew and went back. Ibn Sa'd reported that from Muḥammad b. Umar—Ibn Jurayj—Ibn Abi Mulaykah: In the year 39 (659–660) Mu'awiyah was within sight of it. And there is a report to the same effect from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Ishāq b. 'īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

There are differences of opinion about who led the pilgrimage (hajj) ceremonies in this year. Some say that it was 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās on behalf of 'Alī, while some say that it was 'Abbās b. 'Abbās. According to Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah, it is said that 'Alī sent 'Abbās b. 'Abbās to be present at the pilgrimage festival (mawsim) and lead the prayers in 39, while Mu'awiyah sent Yazīd b. Shajarah al-Rahwī. But (said Ibn Shabbah) Abū al-Ḥasan (al-Madī'īn) claimed that that was wrong and that 'Abbās was not present at the mawsim in any official position before the killing of 'Alī (peace be upon him). The one with whom Yazīd b. Shajarah contested the office was Qutham b. al-'Abbās. Eventually they settled their dispute by agreeing that Shaybah b. Uthmān would lead the rituals, and consequently it was Shaybah who led the prayers in 39.

And similar to what I have been told on the authority of Abū Zayd (Ibn Shabbah) from Abū al-Ḥasan (al-Madī'īn), is the report of Abū Ma'shar. I have that from Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—his informant—Ishāq b. 'īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

According to al-Wāqidi, in the year 39 'Alī sent 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās to be in charge of the mawsim, while Mu'awiyah sent Yazīd

795. That is, Palmyra.
796. His nisba refers to the Banū Ruḥā' of Madhhiy (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II index, s. v. Yazīd b. Saḡara). He was subsequently active in the warfare against Byzantium, especially at sea, and is reported to have been killed in 58/677–78. In 116/734–35, however, there is a strange reference to him [or to someone of the same name], described as sayyid att al-Shā'm, as if he were still alive (see Ṭabarī, II, 1564 [= XXV, 103, of this translation]).
797. Shaybah is said to have acquired the office of control of the key of the Ka'bah in the time of the Prophet. For some comment on the traditions about him and his office, see Hawting, "Sacred Offices," 62–84, esp. 65, n. 5.
The Events of the Year 39

b. Shajarah al-Rahāwī to hold (aqāma) the hajj for the people. When the two of them met in Mecca they contested the issue, each one refusing to surrender to the other. Finally they compromised on Shaybah b. Uthmān b. Abī Taḥḥah.

‘Alī's governors over the garrison towns in this year were those whom we have reported in 38, except that Ibn 'Abbās had left his position in al- Başrah in this year and had appointed Ziyād, called Ziyād the son of his father, over the finances (kharāj), and Abū al-Aswad al-Du‘allī over the judicial matters (qadā’).798

And in this year Ibn 'Abbās sent Ziyād, on the orders of ‘Alī, to Fārs and Kirmān when he returned to al- Başrah from visiting ‘Alī in al-Kūfah.

The Sending of Ziyād to Fārs

According to ‘Umar (Ibn Shabbah)—‘Alī (al-Madā’inī): After Ibn al-Haḍramī was killed799 and opposition against ‘Alī grew, the people of Fārs and Kirmān800 wished to avoid paying the kharāj801 and in every district the inhabitants seized power and expelled their governors.

According to ‘Umar (Ibn Shabbah)—Abū al-Qāsim—Salamah b. Uthmān—‘Alī b. Kathir: ‘Alī asked advice about whom he could appoint over Fārs when they refused to fulfill the duty of the kharāj. Jariyah b. Qudamah said to him, “Indeed I will point out to you, Commander of the Faithful, a man who is firm in opinion, knowledgeable in authority, and capable for what he has to do.” ‘Alī asked who that was and received the answer, “Ziyād.” “Alright,” said ‘Alī, “It is his.” He appointed him over Fārs and Kirmān and sent him with 4,000 men. He subjugated those lands and put them in order.

798. See nn. 666, 488, above.
799. See pp. 165ff., above.
800. The province east of Fārs, bordered on the north by the desert and on the south by the Gulf (see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, map VI and 299ff.).
801. According to the classical works of Muslim law this is a tax raised from land, but in this early period it, like other fiscal terms, seems to be used rather generally (see EI, s.v.).
According to 'Umar (Ibn Shabbah)—Abū al-Ḥasan (al-Madā'īnī)—'Ali b. Mujahid—al-Sha'bī: When the people of the Jībāl\textsuperscript{802} had rebelled, and those subject to the kharāj wished to avoid paying it and expelled Sahl b. Ḥunayf, 'Ali's governor, from Fārs, Ibn 'Abbās said to 'Ali, "Leave Fārs to me." He came to al- Başrah and sent Ziyād to Fārs with a large force that he used to suppress the people of the region and make them fulfill their duty of kharāj.

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Ayyūb b. Mūsā—a shaykh of the people of Iṣṭakhr\textsuperscript{803}—his father: I remember being in Fārs while Ziyād was governor there and revolt had flared up. He ceaselessly used inducement and artifice so that they returned to the obedience that was due from them and to good order and there was no hostile attitude. And the people of Fārs used to say "We have not seen any conduct more like that of Kisrā Anūshirwān\textsuperscript{804} than the conduct of this Arab for gentleness, ways of inducement, and understanding of what it is fitting."

When Ziyād came to Fārs, he sent to its leaders and made promises and gave cause to hope to those who helped him, but some he terrified and threatened. Thus he used some to fight others and suggested to some the weak spot of others. Some fled and some remained, and some of them killed others, and consequently Fārs came completely under his control, with no force or fighting against him there. He acted similarly in Kīrmān and then went back to Fārs, where he went around the districts (kuwar) raising their expectations so that the people became peaceful and the region calm. He went to Iṣṭakhr, where he took up residence and fortified a castle there between Bayḍā' Iṣṭakhr and Iṣṭakhr\textsuperscript{805} which became known as Qal'at Ziyād. He brought the wealth (of the province)

\textsuperscript{802} Strictly al-Jībāl is the province east of Iraq and north of Khuzistān and Fārs (see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, map V, and 185ff.). The term may be used loosely here.

\textsuperscript{803} Just north of ancient Persepolis, it was probably the most important town in Fārs at this time (see EI\textsuperscript{2}, s.v.).

\textsuperscript{804} Khusraw I Anūshirwān (Immortal Soul), ruled 530–579 C.E., was a Sasanid shah legendary for both his justice and his efficiency.

\textsuperscript{805} For the town called Bayḍā' (Bayzā in Persian), southwest of Iṣṭakhr, see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, map VI, and 180.
there. Subsequently, Mansur al-Yashkuri fortified himself in it so that today it is known as Qal'at Mansur.⁸⁰⁶

⁸⁰⁶. Ann., A.H. 39 §4, identifies him as Mansur b. Jumhur al-Yashkuri. But the famous Mansur b. Jumhur, who was involved in politics at the end of the Umayyad period [and who was in Fars at one point, involved in the movement of 'Abdallah b. Mu'awiyyah], is always referred to as Mansur b. Jumhur al-Kalbi (he was of the Banu 'Amir of Kalb). According to the indexes of the Leiden and Cairo editions, this is Tabari's only reference to Mansur al-Yashkuri (Yashkur are a subtribe of the Bakr). It is possible that al-Kalbi has been deformed in the ms.
The Events of the Year

40

(MAY 17, 660–MAY 6, 661)

Mu’āwiyyah Sends Busr b. Abī Arṭāt with 3,000 Fighting Men to the Hijāz


Busr ascended the minbar of Medina, without having met any opposition and cried out, “Dīnār, Najjār, and Zurayq!810 My shaykh, my shaykh, with whom I was only yesterday—where is he now?”

807. Al-Bakka’tī (d. 183/799–800) is best known as the transmitter of Ibn Ishāq’s Sīrah to Ibn Hishām, presumably al-Madā’inī is still al-Ṭabarī’s source for the following report.

808. Busr [see EI2, s.v.] was a Companion of the Prophet; ‘Āmir b. Lu’ayy were a branch of Qumysh.

809. See n. 523, above.

810. These are all subtribes of Khazraj of the Anṣār [see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.vv. Dīnār b. Ta’īmāllāh, Naggār b. Tha’laba, and zurayq b. ‘Āmir].
The Events of the Year 40

[He was referring to 'Uthman.] Then he said, "People of Medina! By God, if it were not for my charge from Mu'awiyah, I would not leave any mature man alive [among you]," and then he extracted the oath of allegiance (to Mu'awiyah) from them. He sent to the Banū Salimah, saying, "By God, you shall have no safe conduct with me, and I shall not accept your oath of allegiance, until you bring me Jābir b. 'Abdallāh."811

Jābir hurried to Umm Salimah,812 the widow of the Prophet, and said to her, "What do you think? I am afraid that I shall be killed, but this oath of allegiance is not right." She said, "I think that you should give the oath of allegiance. I have told my son 'Umar b. Abī Salamah that he should give it, and also my son-in-law 'Abdallāh b. Zam'ah."813 (Her daughter Zaynab, the daughter of Abū Salamah, was at that time married to 'Abdallāh b. Zam'ah.) So Jābir went to Busr and gave him the oath of allegiance.

Busr demolished some houses in Medina and then went on to Mecca. Abū Mūsā814 was afraid that he would kill him, but Busr said to him, "I would not do that to a Companion of the Prophet," and let him go. Previously Abū Mūsā had written to the Yemen saying that horsemen sent from Mu'awiyah would slay the people, would slay those who refused to accept the arbitration process (ḥukūmah).

Busr continued on to the Yemen, where 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbas was governor on behalf of 'Ali. When 'Ubaydallāh heard of his approach, he fled to al-Kūfah, where he joined 'Ali, leaving behind as his deputy over the Yemen 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Madān al-Ḥārithi.815 Busr came and killed him together with his son. He also came across the baggage train of 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbas, with which were two small sons of the latter. He slaughtered them both. Some

811. For the Banū Salimah b. Sa'd of Khazraj, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; for the Companion Jābir b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr of the Banū Salimah, see ibid., s.v. Gābir.
812. For Umm Salimah, Hind bint Abī Umayyah of Makhzūm/Quraysh, see Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 60.
813. 'Omar was Umm Salimah's son from her first husband, Abū Salamah of Makhzūm; 'Abdallāh b. Zam'ah, of the Banū Asad of Quraysh, is described as a šarīf of Quraysh who transmitted from the Prophet and married Zaynab the daughter of Abū Salamah and Umm Salimah (see Zubayrī, Kitāb nasab Quraysh, 222).
814. That is, the "arbitrator" who had declared 'Ali deposed (see p. 82ff., above).
815. A leader of Bal-Ḥārith of Madīḥij (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr).
say that he found the two sons of 'Ubaydallah b. 'Abbas with a bedouin of Banū Kinānah. When he wished to slay them, the Kinānī asked, "Why are you going to kill these two when they have done no wrong? If you are going to kill them, then kill me!" Busr replied, "I will!" and he began by killing the Kinānī and then he killed them. Then he went back to Syria. It is also reported that the Kinānī fought to protect the two children until he was himself killed. One of the children whom Busr killed was called 'Abd al-Rahmān and the other Quthamel.816

In the course of that expedition Busr killed a large number of the partisans (ṣīḥah) of 'Alī in the Yemen. 'Alī heard the news of what he was doing and sent 2,000 men under Jāriyah b. Qudāmah and another 2,000 under Wahb b. Mas'ūd.817 Jāriyah came to Najrān,818 where he set fire to some properties and took some of the partisans of 'Uthmān and killed them. Busr and his men fled from him and Jāriyah followed them as far as Mecca, where he told the Meccans to give him the oath of allegiance (for 'Alī), but they replied, "The Commander of the Faithful is dead819 so on whose behalf should we give the oath of allegiance?" He said, "On behalf of him to whom the companions of 'Alī have given it." They were reluctant, but eventually they did give it.820

Jāriyah then went to Medina, where Abu Hurayrah821 was leading the people in the prayers. Abu Hurayrah fled from him and Jāriyah said, "By God, if I had taken Abu Sinnawr,822 I would have cut off his head." He then told the Medinans, "Give the oath of allegiance

816. There are variant accounts that provide different names for the boys (Zubayrī, Kitāb nasab Quraysh, 264).
817. For Jāriyah, see n. 499, above; this appears to be Ṭabarī's only reference to Wahb b. Mas'ūd, who is called al-Khath'amī in Ya'qūbī, Ta'rikh II, 232–33.
818. A town in northern Yemen (now in Saudi Arabia), famous as a center of Christianity before Islam.
819. That is, 'Alī had been killed while Jāriyah was engaged in the expedition.
820. It is not clear whether Jāriyah demanded that they gave him the oath on behalf of an unnamed individual, or whether they all knew the one to whom 'Alī's companions had given allegiance. In the next paragraph, referring to Medina, 'Alī's successor is named.
821. A Companion of the Prophet, famous as a transmitter of hadith. He appears to have been friendly with the Umayyads, for it is reported that both Marwān and Mu'āwiyah used him as a deputy governor of Medina. [See EP, s.v.].
822. A derogatory reference to Abu Hurayrah: sinnawr means "cat," as does hirr, of which hurayrah is a diminutive.
to al-Hasan b. 'Ali,” and they did so. He remained there for a day, then departed, returning to al-Kufah, while Abu Hurayrah returned and again led the Medinans in the prayers.

In this year (40/660–61), according to reports, there was the truce between 'Ali and Mu'awiyah after correspondence had passed between them (it would prolong our work unduly to give the texts) about the cessation of hostilities; it was specified that 'Ali should have Iraq and Mu'awiyah Syria, neither of them encroaching on the area under the authority of the other with an army, an attack, or a raid.

According to Ziyad b. Abdallah [al-Bakkar']—Abu Ishaq: When neither of the two parties would acknowledge obedience to the other, Mu'awiyah wrote to 'Ali, "If you wish, you may have Iraq while I have Syria. Thus the sword shall be averted from this community and the blood of the Muslims shall not be shed." 'Ali consented, and the two of them agreed on it. Consequently Mu'awiyah remained in Syria with his forces, levying taxes from it and its surrounding area, while 'Ali levied taxes from Iraq and distributed the income among his forces.

In this year 'Abdallah b. al-'Abbas left al-Basrah and went to Mecca, according to most of the specialists in historical traditions (ahl al-siyar). Some of them, however, denied that and claimed that he continued at Basrah, as governor on behalf of the Commander of the Faithful 'Ali [peace be upon him], until 'Ali was killed and al-Hasan had made peace with Mu'awiyah—it was then that he departed for Mecca.

The Circumstances of Ibn 'Abbas' Going to Mecca and Leaving Iraq

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—a group of narrators—Abu Mikhnaflat-Sulayman b. [Abi] Rashid—'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Ubayd Abu al-Kunud: 'Abdallah b. 'Abbas encountered Abu al-Aswad al-Du'all, who said, "If you were an animal, you would be a camel; if you were a herdsman, you would not be able to control [your flock

823. That is, 'Ali's elder son from Fatiimah.
824. Comparison with other sources indicates that Abi should be inserted.
Abū al-Aswad consequently wrote to 'Ali: "God has made you a ruler trusted by his subjects and a pastor who takes responsibility for his flock. We have tried you and found you full of integrity and a sincere adviser to your flock. You give them their booty (fay') in abundance, you abstain from (seizing) their worldly goods (dunyā), you do not devour their wealth, and you do not take bribes in their government (ahkām). Your cousin, however, has devoured what is under his authority without your knowledge, and I cannot allow that to be kept from you. So look into what is going on here, may God have mercy on you, and write to me telling me about what you want me to do for you. Salutations.'

'Ali wrote back in reply: "To act like you have done is to advise the imam and the community sincerely, to render trustworthy service, and to guide to the truth. I have written to your companion concerning the behavior about which you have written to me, but I have not told him that it was you who wrote to me. You must continue to inform me of what happens in your presence if it is beneficial to the community to look into it, for you are competent to do that and you have an obligatory duty to do so. Peace be with you."

'Ali then wrote about that to Ibn 'Abbās, who replied, "What you have heard is false. What I have under my authority I control in an orderly and careful way. Do not believe these suspicions. Salutations." 'Ali wrote back, "Tell me what jizyah you have taken, whence you have taken it, and where you have deposited it." Ibn 'Abbās answered, "I understand your concern at the seizures that you have heard I have made of the wealth of men this territory,

825. Grammatically, it is not clear who said the words to whom, but they seem to be intended as a criticism of the governorship of Ibn 'Abbās, and Abū al-Aswad must then be the speaker. In view of the following details and Abū al-Aswad's complaint about Ibn 'Abbās to 'Ali, it may be the ability of the camel to consume large amounts of food and water that prompts the comparison. Ann., A.H. 38 §224, suggests emending the text in accordance with the parallel in al-Balādhurt, Ansāb [= Ann., A.H. 38 §224]. The Arabic is not given, but the last phrase is translated "nè sapresti governale bene durante l'inverno." The parallel passage in Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, 'Iqd, IV, 334, omits the last phrase entirely.

826. Jizyah here seems to have the more general meaning of "tax"; see n. 755, above.
so send anyone whom you wish to your province and I will make way for him. Salutations."

Ibn 'Abbās then summoned his maternal uncles of the Banū Hilāl b. 'Āmir,827 and al-Dāhḥāk b. 'Abdallāh al-Hilālī and 'Abdallāh b. Razīn b. Abī 'Amr al-Hilālī came to him. Then all of Qays joined with him, and he carried away a considerable amount of property.

According to Abū Zayd (Ibn Shabbah)—Abū 'Ubaydah:828 These were monies and provisions that had been collected for the maintenance (arzāq) of the fighting men, and Ibn 'Abbās took away with him as much as he had collected.829

All of the "fifths"830 sent after him and caught him up at al-Ṭaff,831 where they confronted him, intending to get the wealth. But Qays832 (opposed them) and said, "By God, you will not get it so long as any of us remains alive."833 Șabrah b. Shaymān al-Huddān834 said, "Band of Azd, by God, Qays are our brothers in Islam, our neighbors in dwelling place, and our helpers against the enemy. If your share of this money that has been taken from you were given back to you, it would not amount to much, and tomorrow Qays (and their support) will be better for you than money." Azd responded, "So what do you think?" and Șabrah said, "Turn away from them and let them go!" They did that and turned away, and the Banū Bakr and ʿAbd al-Qays said, "What an excellent opinion was that ex-

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827. That is, the Banū Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Saʿsaʿah of Qays, the tribe of Lubabah Umm al-Fadl, the mother of 'Abdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās (see Ibn Ḥazm, Jamhatat ansāb al-ʿarab, 263). This is the only appearance of al-Dāhḥāk b. 'Abdallāh al-Hilālī and 'Abdallāh b. Razīn al-Hilālī in Tabari's work.

828. For Abū 'Ubaydah Maʿmar b. al-Muthanna, a Bașran scholar and traditionist who died 209/824–25, see EP, s.v.

829. Fa-hamala maʿahu migdarā maʾ ijtamaʿa lahu; Ann., 38 A.H. §224, has "quello che spettava a lui" ("that which was his due"). Arzāq is the plural of rizq (a loan word from Persian), which usually indicates the food and provisions allocated to the fighting men along with their pay (ʿattāʾ—see n. 653, above). Presumably, when this was in government hands, before it was allocated to the soldiers, some of it must have been in the form of cash. This interpolation by Ibn Shabbah from Abū 'Ubaydah is a comment on Abū Mikhnaḍ's account, which now resumes.

830. That is, the five divisions into which the various tribal fragments settled in al-Baṣra were grouped (see Pellat, Milieu Baṣriens, 23–24).

831. Al-Ṭaff is here probably used in a general sense and does not refer to the specific place, often also called by the same name, where al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was killed (see Yaqtū, Muṣjam al-baladān, s.v. [III, 539]).

832. That is, the tribal group to which Ibn 'Abbās' maternal relatives belonged.

833. Literally, "while there remains among us a blinking eye."

834. See n. 671, above.
pressed by Šabrah to his tribesmen,” and they too withdrew. The Banū Tamīm, however said, “By God, we will not separate from them. We will fight them for it,” but al-Aḥnaf [b. Qays] said to them, “They who are further than you in kinship from them have refrained from fighting them.”\footnote{Tamīm and Qays were both counted to Muḍar.} Still they insisted, “By God, we will fight them,” and al-Aḥnaf said, “In that case I will not aid you against them,” and he withdrew from them.

They made Ibn al-Mujjā'ah\footnote{This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to this Ibn al-Mujjā'ah.} of Banū Tamīm their chief, therefore, and fought with Qays. Al-Ḍahhāk [b. ‘Abdallāh al-Hilālī] attacked Ibn al-Mujjā'ah and stabbed him, and ‘Abdallāh b. Razīn grabbed him around the neck and they both fell to the ground struggling. There were many wounded, but nobody was killed in the fighting. The “fifths” then said, “We have achieved nothing. We have [merely] withdrawn from them and left them fighting each other.” And they separated the two parties.\footnote{Ḍarabū wujūḥ ba’dihim ‘an ba’din.} They said to the Banū Tamīm, “We are more generous in spirit than you because we have left this money to your cousins while you are fighting them for it. Your men have attacked and been successfully resisted, so let your opponents go and, if you wish, go back yourselves.” And Ibn ‘Abbās went on with about twenty men and reached Mecca.

According to Abū Zayd [Ibn Shabbah]: Abū ’Ubaydah claimed (although I did not hear it from him) that Ibn ‘Abbās did not leave al- Баṣrah until ‘Alī had been killed. (Then) he left and joined al-Ḥasan and witnessed the peace agreement between him and Muʿāwiyyah. He returned to al- Баṣrah where his things were and carried them away together with a small amount of property from the treasury, saying, “These are my arzāq.”

Abū Zayd said that he reported that to Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Mada’ini], who denied it and claimed that Ibn ‘Abbās was in Mecca when ‘Alī was killed and that it was ’Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abbās who witnessed the peace treaty between al-Ḥasan and Muʿāwiyyah.

In this year ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb [peace be upon him] was killed, but there are different opinions about the date of his death. According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—[anonymous]—Iṣḥāq b. ‘Īsā—Abū Ma’shar:
'Ali was killed in the month of Ramadan, on a Friday when seventeen days of it had elapsed, in the year 40. Al-Waqidi reported similarly, as Al-Harith (b. Muhammad) told me from Ibn Sa'd from al-Waqidi. But Abū Zayd (Ibn Shabbah) told me that according to 'Ali b. Muhammed (al-Madâ'inî), 'Ali b. Abî Ṭâlib was killed in al-Kufah on a Friday when eleven (it is also said thirteen) days remained of Ramadan in the year 40. (It has also been said that it was in Rabi' II of the year 40.)\textsuperscript{838}

\textit{The Circumstances of the Murder and Death of 'Ali}

According to Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Masrûqī—'Abd al-Rahmân al-Harrâni Abū 'Abd al-Rahmân—Isma'îl b. Râshîd:\textsuperscript{839} In the story about Ibn Muljam and his companions it is told that Ibn Muljam, al-Burak b. 'Abdallah, and 'Amr b. Bakr al-Tarmîr\textsuperscript{840} met and discussed the way things were. They decried their governors and talked about the people killed at the canal, asking for God's mercy upon them. They said, "We have achieved nothing by surviving them, our brethren who were summoners of the people to the worship of their Lord and who did not fear, for the cause of God, the reproach of anyone."\textsuperscript{841} What if we 'sell our souls\textsuperscript{842} and go to the imâms of error, seek to kill them, deliver the land from them, and thus achieve vengeance for our brethren?"

\textsuperscript{838} The days of the weeks and the dates given do not tally. In the year A.H. 40, the 15th of Ramadan should have been a Friday. 17 Ramadan 40 = Sunday 24 January 661. Rabi' II 40 = August–September 660. For the following section, see EP, s.v. Ibn Muljam, where extensive references to further sources are provided.


\textsuperscript{840} For variants in the \textit{ism} and \textit{nîsba} of Ibn Muljam, see Ibn al-Kalbî, II, index, s.v. 'Abdarrâhîm b. Mulgham, for the Banû Murâd b. Malik of Madhîjî, see ibid., s.v.; al-Burak is said to have belonged to the Banû Šurâyym of Tamîm, 'Amr to the Banû Sa'd of Tamîm.

\textsuperscript{841} See Qur'ân 5:54.

\textsuperscript{842} \textast{Fa-law shanâyra\ anfurârâ}. It is said that the early Khawârij called themselves \textit{shurâr} because of their willingness to "sell" their souls for the cause of God. See Qur'ân 9:11: "God has bought [\textit{ishttard}] from the Believers their souls and their wealth."
Ibn Muljam, who was one of the men of Egypt, said, "I will take care of 'Ali b. Abi Talib for you!" Al-Burak b. Abdallah said, "I will take care of Mu‘awiyah b. Abi Sufyan." And 'Amr b. Bakr said, "I will take care of 'Amr b. al-‘Aṣ." They made a joint covenant and agreement by God, "No man of us shall turn away from the one against whom he has been sent until he kills him or himself dies first." They took their swords and put poison on them and agreed that when seventeen days had elapsed of Ramaḍān, each of them would make an attempt on the man against whom he had been sent.

Each of them went to the town in which was the one whom he sought. Ibn Muljam al-Murādī, who was counted to Kindah,843 joined his clansmen in al-Kūfah, but kept his business from them, being wary lest they reveal anything of it. One day he saw several men of Taym al-Ribāb,844 ten of whom ‘Ali had killed at the canal, and they were remembering their slain. On the same day he met a woman of Taym al-Ribāb called Qatāmi bint al-Shijnah, whose father and brother ‘Ali had killed at the canal. She was of surpassing beauty and when he saw her she confused his mind and he forgot what he was about. He asked to marry her but she said, "I will not marry you until you give me what I want."845 He asked, "What will satisfy you?" and she answered, "Three thousand dirhams, a slave, a singing girl, and the killing of ‘Ali b. Abi Talib."

He said, "That is a fitting dowry for you, but as for the killing of ‘Ali, I would not have thought that you would mention it to me, while wanting me."846 She said, "Indeed yes. Look out for when he is off his guard and if you get him you will have satisfied yourself and myself, and life with me will be good for you. If you are killed, then what is with God is better than this world and its adornments and those of its people."847 He replied, "By God, it was the very

843. Ibn Sa‘d III/1, 23, says that he was a halif of the Banū Jabalāh of Kindah (for Jabalāh b. ‘Adī of Kindah, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, sv.).
844. Ribāb was a confederation that included the Banū Taym b. ‘Abd Manāt (hence known as Taym al-Ribāb) and various others, allied with the Banū Sa‘d of Tamīm (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ribāb).
845. Ḥattā ṭāshfīya ʾiṣrā; for ṣhaṭiḥ in the sense of "to satisfy" see Gloss., sv.
846. Lā arākī (ṭārkīl) dhaḵartīḥi ʾi wa-antī turīdīnī; see Wright, Grammar, II, 32b, for wa with following subjunctive.
847. See Qur’ān 28:60.
killing of ‘Ali that brought me to this town. What you ask for is yours." She said, "I will seek out for you someone who will aid you and support you in your task." She sent to a man of her tribe of Taym al-Ribāb who was called Wardān and spoke with him, and he agreed.

Ibn Muljam went to a man of the Banū Ashja'īb b. Bajarah and asked him, "Would you like honor in this world and the next?" He replied, "How?" and Ibn Muljam said, "The killing of ‘Ali b. Abi Ṭalib." "May your mother be bereaved of you!" he answered, "Then you would have done something grave." How will you be able to get to him?" Ibn Muljam said, "I shall lay in wait for him in the mosque and when he comes out for the morning prayer we shall attack him and kill him. If we escape, we shall have satisfied ourselves and attained our revenge. If we are killed, then what is with God is better than this world and what is in it!!" Shabīb said, "Woe to you! If it were anyone other than ‘Ali, it would be a matter of less importance to me. But you know how much he has been tested in Islam and his precedence in following the Prophet. I do not think I could find it in me to be happy at his killing." Ibn Muljam said, "Do you not know that he killed the people of the canal, the righteous servants of God!" "Indeed yes," he replied. "Then let us kill him for those of our brethren whom he killed!" And Shabīb assented.

They went to Qatāmī who was in the great mosque practising "withdrawal." They said to her, "We have agreed to kill ‘Ali," and she said, "When you want to do that, come to me." Then Ibn Muljam went back to her on the night before the Friday in the morning of which ‘Ali was killed in the year 40, and he said to her, "This is the night when I promised my two companions that each one of us would kill his man." She called for silk to be brought to

849. Thakīlatka ummuka; the expression is understood not as an insult, but as an expression of surprise or concern (see Lane, Lexicon, s.v. umm).
850. See Qur’an 19:89.
851. See Qur’an 28:60.
852. Mu’takifah, a term that would usually indicate the religious practice of i’tikāf, a sort of retreat (usually in a mosque) associated especially with Ramaḍān (see EI3, s.v. I’tikāf).
them and bound it around them and they took their swords and sat before the door out of which 'Ali would come. When he appeared, Shabib struck at him with his sword but it hit the door post or the arch; Ibn Muljam struck him on the top of his head with his sword.

Wardan fled and went into his house, where one of his half-brothers came in upon him. Wardan was unwinding the silk from his breast and the visitor asked about it and the sword. Wardan told him what had happened. The visitor went away, and then came back with his sword and set about Wardan and killed him.

Shabib set off toward the gates of Kindah while it was still dark just before dawn, but the cry went up and a man of Hadramawt called 'Uwaymir came upon him. Shabib had his sword in his hand but 'Uwaymir seized it from him and attacked him. When he saw that the people had come seeking Shabib whose sword he had in his own hand, however, 'Uwaymir was afraid for his own life and let Shabib go. He escaped in the confusion.

They fell on Ibn Muljam and seized him, but not before a man of the Banu Hamdan with the kunyah of Abū Adma' had taken his sword, struck at his leg, and felled him.

'Ali remained where he had fallen and had Ja'dah b. Hubayrah b. Abi Wahb stand up behind him and lead the morning prayer. Then 'Ali said, "Bring him to me," and Ibn Muljam was brought in. 'Ali said, "Enemy of God, did I not do good to you?" "Yes, indeed," he answered. "Then what led you to do this?" "I sharpened my sword for forty mornings and I asked God to kill the worst of His creatures".

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853. The significance of this ritual is not evident.
854. Referred to in the singular (babb Kindah) in a report about the entry of the Qaramitah into al-Kufah [see Tabart, III, 2261 (= vol. XXXVIII, 163, of this translation)].
855. Hadramawt here indicates tribal rather than geographical origin. According to the Muslim genealogical system, Ḥadramawt (possibly to be identified with the Hazarmaveth of Genesis, 10:26), after whom the region of southwest Arabia is named, was one of the earliest ancestors of the southern descent group. Ḥadramawt are related to, but distinct from, Himyar and Kindah (Ibn al-Kalbi has no entry for Ḥadramawt).
856. Ta'akkhara.
857. See p. 99 and n. 401, above.
with it," he said. "Ali replied, "But I think that you must be slain with it, for you must be one of the worst of His creatures."

They say that, before he struck 'Ali, while he was sitting among Bakr b. Wa'Il, Ibn Muljam saw the bier of Abjar b. Jâbir al-'Ijîr, father of Hajjâr, passing.\[858\] Abjar was a Christian and there were a number of Christians round about it and some Muslims\[859\] walking at one side with Hajjâr because of his status among them. Among them was Shaqîq b. Thawr.\[860\] Ibn Muljam asked who they were and was told, and he began to compose:

If Hajjâr b. Abjar is (really) a Muslim,
the bier of Abjar would have been kept away from him;
But if Hajjâr b. Abjar is an infidel,
then this sort of infidelity is not inappropriate.\[861\]
Do you accept this—that a priest\[862\] and a Muslim are together before a bier? Shameful spectacle!
If it were not for what I intend to do, I would scatter their company with a sword polished, burnished, shining, and drawn from its scabbard.
But my intention with that (sword) is as an instrument of access to God or this man ('Ali). Take that or leave it.

\[858\] See Ibn al-Kalbî, s.vv. Abîgar b. Câbir and Hağgar b. Abîgar for these two leaders of the Banû 'Ijî of Bakr b. Wa'Il. The Christian father was active in pre-Islamic times and the son, in events in al-Kâfâh down to the fall of Muš'âb b. al-Zubayr. The following verses seem to imply that the son has accepted Islam by this time, for Ibn Muljam's objection is to the presence of a Muslim at the funeral of (i.e., in the presence of the corpse of) a non-Muslim. The reasons for this objection are not made clear. In general and in practice Muslims are respectful toward, and may participate in, the funerals of non-Muslims [see EI, s.v. Djanâza, T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. Burial]. In hadîth, however, it may be possible to see traces of a difference of opinion on this issue. It is usually held that, in contrast with Judaism, Islam does not regard the presence of a corpse as polluting [Wensinck, "Die Entstehung," 63], but there seems to be uneasiness about the performance of prayer at tombs or in graveyards. It may be significant that the hadîth usually cited to justify the view that the human corpse is not destructive of ritual purity in Islam in fact says that the Muslim [sometimes Mu'min] does not pollute, whether alive or dead [see Wensinck, *Concordances*, s.v. najîsa].

\[859\] *Unûs*, here indicating Muslims rather than simply "people."

\[860\] See p. 59 and n. 247, above.

\[861\] Leiden has *kufâr* [infidelity], Cairo *kafir* [infidel].

\[862\] Following Ann., A.H. 40 §32, in reading *qass* for *qays*. 
It is reported that Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyyah said: By God, I was performing the prayer ritual in the great mosque on that night when 'Ali was stabbed. I was among a large number of men of the garrison town who were praying near the door. They were continuously standing, bowing, and prostrating without wearying, from the beginning of the night until the end when 'Ali came out for the morning prayer. He began to call out, "People! Prayer, prayer!" but I do not know whether he had come through the door and said these words, or not. I noticed something glitter and I heard, "Authority (al-hukm) belongs to God, 'Ali, not to you or your accomplices!" and I saw a sword and then a second. I heard 'Ali say, "Do not let him escape," and the people rushed on the attacker from every side. I remained there until Ibn Muljam was taken and led in to 'Ali. I, too, went in among those who did, and I heard 'Ali saying, "A life for a life. If I die, kill him as he killed me. If I live, I will consider what to do."

It is reported that the men rushed in fear to al-Hasan on account of what had happened regarding 'Ali. While they were with him [and Ibn Muljam was shackled before him], Umm Kulthūm the daughter of 'Ali, weeping, called to Ibn Muljam, "Enemy of God, there is no harm to my father, may God dishonor you!" He replied, "Then for whom do you weep? By God, I bought my sword for a thousand dirhams and I have spent another thousand on poisoning it. If this blow had fallen upon all the people of this town, not one of them would have survived it."

It is reported that Jundab b. 'Abdallāh went in to 'Ali and asked him, "Commander of the Faithful, if we have lost you—and may we not—we will give the oath of allegiance to al-Hasan!" 'Ali said, "I do not order you to do so, and neither do I forbid it. You people are best fitted to see." Jundab repeated to him what he had said.

863. One of the themes of the following is the relative authority of the three sons of 'Ali—al-Hasan and al-Ḥusayn (his sons by Fāṭimah) and Muḥammad (his son from the Hanafī woman).
864. Of Azd [see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Gūndab b. 'Abdallāh], for his presence at Ṣīfīn and reports from him about events there, see pp. 11, 89, above.
865. This report would be relevant for disputes about the imamate between Sunnis and Shi'is and between different Shi' groups. According to the Shi' doctrine of naṣṣ, an imam was legitimate only if he had been nominated by his predecessor during his lifetime, and each imam made known who his successor should be. See further Moojen Momen, An Introduction to Shi'I Islam, index, s.v. (The EP article s.v. Naṣṣ is concerned mainly with a different doctrine.)
'Ali called Häsan and Husayn and said, "I commend to you both fear of God and that you do not seek this world even if it seeks you. Do not weep for anything that is taken away from you, speak the truth, show compassion for the orphan, succor those who are anxious, act on behalf of the foolish, be enemies to the wrongdoer and helpers to the wronged, act according to the Book, and let no man's censure affect you while you work for God." Then he turned to Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyyah and said, "Have you committed to heart what I have commended to your brothers?" "Yes," he replied. 'Ali said, "And I commend the same to you and also reverence for your two brothers to whom you owe a great duty. Follow their commands and do not decide any matter without them." Then he said to Hasan and Husayn, "And I commend him to you two for he is your brother and your father's son, and you know that your father loved him."

He said to al-Hasan,

I commend to you, my son, fear of God, the holding of prayer at its appointed times, the payment of the zakât on its due date, and a scrupulousness in performing ritual ablation, for there is no prayer without purification and the prayer of one who holds back the zakât is not accepted. And I commend to you the pardoning of sin, the suppression of anger, observance of the ties of relationship, maturity in the face of coarseness (al-hilm 'inda al-jahl), acquiring knowledge of religion (al-tafaqquh fi al-din), firmness in authority, frequent mindfulness of the Qur'ân, fulfilment of the duties of hospitality (jiwar), commanding the good and forbidding the evil and keeping clear of immorality (al-fawâdhish).

When death came to 'Ali he made his testament as follows:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, this is the testament of 'Ali b. Abi Ţalib. He testifies that

866. Wa'sna'â li al-akhraq, Cairo has lil-akhirah.
867. Iqâm al-šalât li-waqithâ wa-tâ al-zakât 'inda mahillihâ; see Qur'ân 21:73, 24:37. For the zakât, see El', s.v.; and n. 739, above.
868. In the traditions about the wars of the Riddah, apostasy from Islam is signaled by the refusal to perform the salât and pay the zakât.
869. See n. 400.
there is no god but God alone "without partner" and that Muhammad is His servant and messenger "whom He sent with right guidance and the religion of truth to make it triumphant over every other even though the polytheists abhor it." My prayer and my ritual (nusuk), my life and my death, belong to God, the Lord of the worlds, Who has no partner. Thus I was commanded and I am one of those who submit (al-muslimin). I commend to you, Hasan, and all of my offspring and family, the fear of God your Lord. "Die only as Muslims and hold fast together to the rope of God, not separating." I heard Abū al-Qāsim saying, "The restoration of unity is better than all your prayer and fasting."

Look to your relatives and unite them, that God may make easy for you the reckoning. Fear God, fear God with regard to the orphans, and neither restrain their entreaties nor let them be lost while in your care. Fear God, fear God with regard to those who have a right to your protection and hospitality (jirānukum), for they are the commen-

871. See Qur’ān 9:33; 619.
872. Qur’ān, 6:162-63, but note that min al-muslimin replaces the Qur’ānic awwalu al-muslimin.
874. That is, the Prophet Muhammad.
875. See al-Tirmidhi, Sahih, K. al-Qiyāmah, bāb 56.
876. Allāha Allāha fī al-a'yām fa-lā tu'annū afwāhahum wa-lā yaḍ'unna bi-hadratikum; literally, "do not restrain their mouths and do not cause them to be lost/neglect them in your presence." For tu'annū only the first dammah is indicated in the text—there are no other vowels and no shaddah. See, however, Gloss., s.v. ‘-n-y, which indicates the shaddah and suggests “ne cohibeatis vocem eorum flagitantium.” Presumably the suggested reading is the jussive of ‘-n-w, form II, although a similar sense could be obtained with ‘-n-n, form IV, jussive. Gloss. refers to Lane, Lexicon, s.v. ‘-n-w, form II, which cites TA for a saying of ‘Ali at Siffin including the expression ‘annū bi al-āsūt, which Lane interprets as a prohibition of raising a confused and unintelligible clamor. (Cf. the reading at Tabari, I, 382-83: wa-ghudda al-abṣār wa-akhfiṭa al-āsūt.) SNB, XVII, 5, reads lā tughibbū (but notes a variant lā tughayyiru) and lā tudayyītu, interpreting the former as an injunction not to cause them to starve and the latter as an injunction not to abandon them. Afwāh, literally, "mouths," might be a metonym for eating or for speaking. Ann., A.H. 40 §33, uncharacteristically avoids the problem by resorting to the briefest paraphrase of the whole passage.
dation of your Prophet, who never ceased to commend them so that we thought he would include them as heirs.877

Fear God, fear God with regard to the Qur’ān and do not allow anyone to do more than you in acting in accordance with it. Fear God, fear God with regard to the prayer, for it is the pillar of your religion. Fear God, fear God with regard to the house of your Lord878 and do not leave it as long as you live for, if it is abandoned, there will never be another to be compared with it.879 Fear God, fear God with regard to jihad in the path of God with your property and your lives. Fear God, fear God with regard to the zakāt, for it quenches the anger of the Lord. Fear God, fear God with regard to the protection (dhimmah) granted by your Prophet and do not allow the dhimmī880 to be oppressed among you. Fear God, fear God with regard to the Companions of your Prophet, for the Messenger of God commended them to us. Fear God, fear God with regard to the poor and the destitute and give them a share in your livelihood. Fear God, fear God with regard to what your right hands possess.881 Observe the prayer always!

Do not fear before God the blame of any man882—He is sufficient protector for you against anyone who has designs upon you and oppresses you. “Speak good to the people”883 as God has commanded you and do not abandon the commanding of the good and the forbidding of the evil, so that the worst ones among you obtain power: then you will call but no answer will be given to you. You must pursue mutual harmony and generosity, avoiding mutual opposition, sep-

877. That is, the Prophet emphasized the duty of a man to his jirān (see Qur’ān 4:36 for the command of kindness to the jād) so strongly that it was thought he would entitle them to a share in the part of the inheritance that is apportioned among the relatives of the dead man. On the rules of inheritance in Islam, see EP, s.v. Mirâth, and EI, s.v. Wāṣiyya.
878. That is, the sanctuary at Mecca.
879. See Gloss., s.v. n-27, form III, which suggests that bihi ghayruhu is to be understood after lam yundār.
880. For the ahl al-dhimma, the tolerated and protected non-Muslims, see EI, s.v. Dhimma.
881. That is, your slaves, the phrase is of frequent Quranic occurrence.
882. See Qur’ān 5:54.
oration, and fragmentation. "Help one another in piety and fear of God but not in sin and enmity to Him. Fear God for His retribution is mighty."

May God preserve you as members of a family and your Prophet as one of you. I entrust you to God and I bid you farewell, and the mercy of God be upon you.

He (may God be pleased with him) spoke no more before he died except to say that there is no god but God. He died in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 40. His two sons al-Hasan and al-Ḥusayn washed his body, together with 'Abdal-lāh b. Ja'far. He was dressed for burial in three robes without a qamīṣ, and al-Ḥasan made nine takbīrah s over him.

Then al-Ḥasan assumed authority for six months. 'Ali had forbidden him to inflict mutilation for his murder. He had said, "Oh Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, let me not find you plunging into the blood of the Muslims saying, 'The Commander of the Faithful has been killed! The Commander of the Faithful has been killed!' No one shall be killed except my killer. Wait and see, Ḥasan. If I die from this blow of his, then inflict on him blow for blow. But do not inflict mutilation on the man, for I heard the Messenger of God say, 'Avoid mutilation, even on a vicious dog.'"

When 'Ali (peace be upon him) died, al-Ḥasan sent to Ibn Muljam, who said to him: "Will you let me put something to you? By God, I never made a promise to God that I did not fulfill. I made God a promise by the lapm that I would kill 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah or die. If you wish, release me so that I may get at Mu'āwiyah and, 891 that I would kill 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah or die. If you wish, release me so that I may get at Mu'āwiyah and,

885. The son of 'Ali's brother.
886. For the qamīṣ, a shirt or shift with sleeves that is worn beneath other clothes, see Dozy, Vêtements, s.v. Possibly laysa fiḥā indicates “not counting” rather than “without.”
887. Repetition of the formula Allāhu akbar, “God is most great.”
889. That is, the descendants of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, the grandfather of both 'Ali and the Prophet.
890. For ḥadīths prohibiting al-muthlah, see Wensinck, Concordances, s.v., and see too s.v. 'aqrūr.
891. The name is used variously with reference to features of the sanctuary at Mecca. It seems that its most common application is to the semicircular wall that encloses the area of the Ḥijr immediately adjoining the Ka'bah on the northwest, but see Hawting, “Muslim Sanctuary,” esp. 34–36.
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as God is my witness, if I do not kill him, or if I kill him and survive, I will come to you and place my hand in yours.” Al-Hasan replied, “By God, not until you see Hell!” and he had him brought forward and killed him. Then the people took him, wrapped him in some straw mats, and set fire to him.

As for al-Burak b. Abdallāh, on the night when ‘Alī was stabbed, he waited for Mu‘awiyah. When he came out to make the morning prayer, al-Burak rushed at him with his sword, but it only landed on Mu‘awiyah’s buttock and the assailant was seized. He said to Mu‘awiyah, “I have something good to tell you secretly but, if I do, then will you let me have something in exchange for it?” Mu‘awiyah said, “Yes,” and he continued, “One of my brethren has killed ‘Alī on this same night.” Mu‘awiyah said, “Perhaps he was not able to carry it out.” “Indeed yes,” said al-Burak, “‘Alī comes out without any guard to protect him.”

Mu‘awiyah ordered that al-Burak be killed, and then he sent to al-Sa‘īdī,892 who was a doctor. He examined Mu‘awiyah and said, “Choose one of two things that I shall put before you: either I heat up an iron and put it on the wound, or else I will give you a potion that will make you infertile but you will recover from your wound. Your wound is poisoned.” Mu‘awiyah said, “As for the fire, I cannot stand it. As for infertility, in Yazid and ‘Abdallāh I have already that which delights my eye.” So he gave him that potion, and he recovered but had no children subsequently.

It was then that Mu‘awiyah instituted the maqṣūrah in the mosques, the night guard, and the stationing of men (shuraṭ) at his head when he prostrated in prayer893

As for ‘Amr b. Bakr, on that night he sat waiting for ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ but he did not appear, for he was suffering from stomach pains. Instead he ordered the commander of his guard, Khārijah b. Ḥudhafah of the Banū ‘Amir b. Lu‘ayy,894 to lead the prayer. Khārijah went out to do so and ‘Amr b. Bakr fell upon him, stabbing and killing him, thinking that it was ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. The men seized the assailant and fastened with him to ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, whom they

892. This is his only appearance.
893. For the maqṣūrah, the “reserved area” in a mosque, see EI, s.v. Masjīd; for the shuraṭ, s.v. Shurā.
894. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ḥārīga; he was a Qurashī and sub anno 27/647-48 is described as being in charge of the qadā’ of Egypt.
greeted as amīr. Ibn Bakr asked, "Who is this?" and they told him, "'Amr." "Then who is it that I have killed?" Told that it was Khārijah b. Ḥudhāfah, Ibn Bakr said, "By God, you wicked man (fāsiq)! I was sure it was you!" 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ replied, "You wanted me, but God wanted Khārijah!" Then he had 'Amr b. Bakr brought forward and killed him.

When Mu'āwiyah heard about that, he wrote to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ:

The fate of a shaykh of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib was murder, and many are the causes of death. Oh 'Amr, take it easy. You were his paternal uncle and his companion, above his male relatives. You escaped, but the Murādī has moistened his sword (with blood) from the son of Abī Ṭālib, the shaykh of al-Abtah.

Another like him (i.e., like Ibn Muljam) struck me with a sword, and this was a blow that continues to afflict us, while you, every day and night, in that Egypt of yours, speak honeyed words to fair-skinned ladies, like gazelles going to pasture.

When news of 'Alī's death reached 'Ā'ishah, she said:

And she threw down her staff and settled upon her place of abode, like the traveler happy to return home.

She asked who had killed him and, when told that it was a man of Murād, she said:

Even though he was far away, there has announced his death a young man (ghulām) in whose mouth there was no dust.

Zaynab, the daughter of Abū Salamah said, "Are you saying this about 'Alī?" and 'Ā'ishah replied, "I am forgetful, and, if I forget,
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remind me." He who brought tidings of 'Ali's death was Sufyân b. 'Abd Shams b. Abî Waqqâs al-Zuhrî. Ibn Abî Mayyâs al-Murâdî said about the killing of 'Ali:

You upon whom be blessings, we have struck Haydar Abû Hasan with a blow to the head and he was split apart. We have removed kingship from his concerns, with the blow of a sword, since he waxed high and mighty. We are noble and powerful in the dawn, when death puts on and wraps itself in death.

He also said:

I never saw a dowry provided by any generous man, whether Arab or other, like that of Qaṭāmi: Three thousand dirhams, a slave, and a singing girl, and the stabbing of 'Ali with the piercing blade. There is no dowry, however costly, more costly than 'Ali, and no killing above that performed by Ibn Muljam.

Abû al-Aswad al-Du'âlî said:

Indeed, say to Mu‘âwiya b. Harb, and may those who gloat not rejoice: "Do you afflict us in the month of fasting with the loss of the best of all men? You have killed the best of those who ride mounts and put the saddle upon them, the best of those who sail the seas; The best of those who wear sandals and make them, the best of those who recite the mathâni and the mubîn. If you looked at the face of Abû al-Husayn, you saw the full moon that delighted those who looked.

902. The words of A’ishah are obscure in meaning, possibly ironic.
903. That is, the nephew of Sa’d b. Abî Waqqâs (see n. 422, above).
904. This is Tabârî’s only citation of this poet of Ibn Muljam’s tribe.
905. Literally, “the Lion,” a name frequently given to ‘Ali.
906. The implication may be that Mu‘âwiya was behind the murder of ‘Ali.
907. The two Arabic nouns are both Quranic and associated with the idea of scripture: some interpreters apply them to the Qur’ân itself. On the former, see Rubin, “Seven Mathâni.”
Quraysh knew, wherever they were,
that you ('Ali) were the best of them in status and in religion.”

There are different opinions about 'Ali's age on the day he was killed. Some said that he was fifty-nine but, according to Mu'ab b. 'Abdallah,908 'Ali's son al-Hasan used to say, "When my father was killed he was fifty-eight." According to some, he was sixty-five when he was killed, but according to Abū Zayd (‘Umar b. Shabbah)—Abū al-Hasan (al-Madā‘īnī)—Ayyūb b. ‘Umar b. Abī 'Amr—Ja'far b. Muḥammad,909 'Ali was sixty-three when he was killed. This last report is the best option.

According to 'Umar (b. Shabbah)—Iḥyā b. 'Abd al-Hamīd al-Ḥimmānī—Sharīk—Abū Ishāq:910 When 'Ali was killed he was sixty-three. According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī): When 'Ali assumed authority he was fifty-eight and some months. His caliphate lasted for five years, all but three months, and then Ibn Muljam, whose name was 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Amr, killed him in Ramadān, seventeen days of it having elapsed. His rule lasted for four years and nine months and he was killed in the year 40 at the age of sixty-three.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa’d—Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidi): 'Ali was killed aged sixty-three early on the Friday morning, seventeen nights of Ramadān having passed in the year 40. He was buried by the congregational mosque in the governor's residence (Qaṣr al-Imarah).

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: 'Ali was stabbed early on the Friday morning. He survived for the Friday and the Friday night, and died on the Saturday night when eleven nights were left of Ramadān in the year 40. He was sixty-three years old.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Ali b. 'Umar and Abū Bakr al-Sabrī—'Abdallah b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl:911 I heard Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanāfiyyah saying in "the year of the deluge" (al-juḥāf), "This year of 81 has begun and I am sixty-

908. That is, Muṣ‘ab al-Zubayr, the compiler of Kitāb nasab Quraysh.
909. That is, Ja'far al-Sādiq, the sixth imam of the Imamis and Isma'īlīs; for the form of Ayyūb's name, see Add. et emend.
910. That is, 'Amr b. 'Abdallah Abī Ishāq al-Hamdānī al-Sabīl (?!).
911. That is, the grandson of 'Ali's brother 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭalib.
five years old. He has passed the age of my father." He was asked how old his father had been at his death and he said, "He was sixty-three when he was killed."

According to al-Ḥarīth— Ibn Sa’d—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: Similarly. And that is our firm opinion.

The Length of His Caliphate

According to Ahmad b. Thābit [al-Rāzī]—Iṣḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Ma'shar: ʿAlī's caliphate was five years, all but three months. According to al-Ḥārīth— Ibn Sa’d— Muḥammad b. 'Umar: ʿAlī's caliphate was five years, all but three months.

According to Abū Zayd—Abū al-Ḥasan: ʿAlī's rule was four years, nine months and a day—or several days.

His Physical Appearance

According to al-Ḥārīth— Ibn Sa’d—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd Sabrah—Iṣḥāq b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Farwah: I asked Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī ʿA. "What did 'Alī look like?" and he said, "A tawny man, markedly so, with heavy and large eyes, corpulent, bald, tending to shortness."

His Ancestry

He was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalib. Abī Ṭalib's personal name was ʿAbd Manāf b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf. ʿAlī's mother was Fāṭimah the daughter of Asad b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf.

His Wives and Children

The first wife he married was Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God, and he took no other wife while she lived. Fāṭimah bore him al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (it is reported that she also bore

912. In fact, at Ṭabarī, II, 1039–40 [= vol. XXII, 187, of this translation], 80 A.H. is called the 'Ām al-Juhaf, it was so called because of a flash flood at Mecca.
913. See n. 88, above.
914. That is, Muḥammad al-Baqir, the great-grandson of 'Alī.
him another son called Muḥassin,\textsuperscript{915} who died while still a baby), Zaynab the elder, and Umm Kulthūm the elder.

Then subsequently he married Umm al-Banīn bint Ḥāzim [Ḥāzim was Abū al-Majīl b. Khalīd b. Rabī‘ah b. al-Wāḥid b. Ka‘b b. ‘Āmir b. Kilāb]. She bore him al-‘Abbās, Ja‘far, ‘Abdallāh, and ‘Uthmān, who were killed with al-Ḥusayn at Karbala’—only al-‘Abbās had progeny.

He also married Laylā, daughter of Mas‘ūd b. Khalīd b. Mālik b. Rib‘ī b. Sulmā\textsuperscript{916} b. Jandal b. Nahshāl b. Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓalāh b. Mālik b. Zayd Mānāt b. Tamīm, who bore him ‘Ubaydallāh and Abū Bakr. Ḥishām b. Mūhammad claimed that these last two were killed with al-Ḥusayn at al-Ṭaff\textsuperscript{917} However, Mūhammad b. ‘Umar claimed that it was al-Mukhtar b. Abī ‘Ubayd who killed ‘Ubaydallāh at al-Madhār,\textsuperscript{918} and that neither ‘Ubaydallāh nor Abū Bakr had any descendants.

‘Alī also married Asmā‘, daughter of ‘Umayy, al-Khath‘amiyyah. She bore him—according to Ḥishām b. Mūhammad—Yaḥyā and Mūhammad, the youngest (of the three with that name). Ḥishām said that neither of them had progeny. Al-Wāqīdī, however, said (according to the report of al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa‘d—al-Wāqīdī) that Asmā‘ bore ‘Alī his two sons Yaḥyā and ‘Awn. Some say that the youngest Mūhammad was born of a concubine (umm walad)—that was what al-Wāqīdī said, and he said that the youngest Mūhammad was killed with al-Ḥusayn.

From the woman called al-Ṣahba‘ (who was Umm Ḥābīb bint Rabī‘ah b. Bujayr b. al-‘Abd b. ‘Alqamah b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Utba b. Sa‘d b. Zuhayr b. Jusham b. Bakr b. Ḥubayb b. ‘Amr b. Ghanam b. Taghlīb b. Wa‘il; she was a concubine from among the captives taken by Khalīd b. al-Walīd when he raided the Banū Taghlīb at ‘Ayn al-Tamr) ‘Alī was father of ‘Umar and Ruqayyah. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī was granted eighty-five years of life, having a half share of ‘Alī’s inheritance and dying at Yanbu‘.\textsuperscript{919}

\textsuperscript{915} Cairo: Muḥsin.
\textsuperscript{916} Cairo: Salmā.
\textsuperscript{917} That is, at Karbala’ (see n. 831, above, for al-Ṭaff).
\textsuperscript{918} Slightly north of al-Baṣrah [Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, 42–43], this was the site, in 67/687, of a significant defeat inflicted on al-Mukhtar by the army of Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr, the governor of al-Baṣrah.
\textsuperscript{919} The port of Medina on the Red Sea.
'Ali also married Ummāmah bint Abī al-‘Āṣī b. al-Rabī‘ b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzza b. ‘Abd Shams b. ‘Abd Manāf. Her mother was Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God, and she bore him the second of his sons who were called Muḥammad.


'Ali also married Umm Sa‘īd bint ‘Urwah b. Mas‘ūd b. Mu‘attib b. Malik al-Thaqāfī. She bore him Umm al-Ḥasan and Ramlah the elder.

'Ali had daughters also by various mothers whose names have not been given to us. Among these daughters were Umm Hāni‘, Maymūnā, Zaynab the younger, Ramlah the younger, Umm Kulthūm the younger, Fātimah, Ummāmah, Khadijah, Umm al-Kirām, Umm Salamah, Umm Ja‘far, Jumānah, and Nafisah. Their mothers were various concubines.

He also married Mahyāt, the daughter of Imru‘ al-Qays b. ‘Abī b. Aws b. Jābir b. Ka‘b b. ‘Ulaym of Kalb. She bore him a girl who died while still little. Al-Waqīdī said that this little girl used to go out to the mosque while she was a child, and they would ask her, "Who are your mother’s people?" and she would answer, "Woof woof!" meaning Kalb.

The total number of ‘Ali’s progeny was fourteen males and nineteen females.


**His Governors**

In al-Baṣrah his governor in this year was ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās—and we have already mentioned the difference of opinion about that.

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920. In the Hijāz to the southeast of Mecca.
921. Wah wah, the name of her mother’s tribe, Kalb, means “dog.”
922. Text has “seventeen.”
Under his control were the sadaqāt, the army, and the ma‘āwin\textsuperscript{923} for the whole of his period of office. When he departed he left a deputy in place, as I have confirmed previously. Over the judiciary there ‘Alī had appointed Abū al-Aswad al-Du‘ālī. And I have reported what happened regarding the appointment of Ziyād and then ‘Alī’s sending him to Fārs in charge of its warfare and kharāj. ‘Alī was killed while Ziyād was in Fārs and doing that.

‘Alī’s governor over al-Bahrain and its environs and al-Yaman and its makhālif was ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-‘Abbās until there occurred what we have reported about the events concerning him and Busr b. Abī Arṭāt.

His governor over al-Ṭā’īf and Makkah and their dependencies was Qutham b. al-‘Abbās, and over al-Madinah Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (but it is also said Sahl b. Ḥunayf) until what happened to him when Busr came, as we have previously reported.

### Aspects of His Conduct

According to Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-‘Ala’—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Abī Dhī’b—‘Abbās b. al-‘Aamul, the mawīl of the Banū Ḥashim—his father—his grandfather, Ibn Abī Rāfi’, who was ‘Alī’s treasurer: One day ‘Alī came in and found his daughter had been dressed up in finery and saw her wearing a pearl from the treasury. He recognized it and said: “Where did she get this? It is my duty to God to cut off her hand!” When I saw that he was serious about that, I said: “By God, Commander of the Faithful, I adorned my brother’s daughter\textsuperscript{924} with it. Where would she have got it if I had not given it to her?” And he was silent.

According to Ismā‘īl b. Mūsā al-Fazārī—‘Abd al-Salām b. Ḥarb—Nājiyyah al-Qurashi—his paternal uncle, Yazīd b. ‘Adī b. Uthmān: I saw ‘Alī leaving the Banū Hamdān\textsuperscript{925} and he saw two parties

\textsuperscript{923} Al-ma‘āwin is the plural of al-ma‘ūnah, on which see n. 653, above. The three areas of responsibility specified for Ibn ‘Abbās perhaps cover taxation in general (or perhaps only taxation of property other than land), financial matters concerning the regular troops, and financial matters concerning the irregulars.

\textsuperscript{924} The expression is to be understood honorifically rather than literally. Ibn Abī Rāfi’ (‘Ubaydallāh) was the son of a mawīl (freed slave) of the Prophet. For the father, and reference to the son as a scribe of ‘Alī, see Taabarī, I, 1778–79.

\textsuperscript{925} Presumably referring to their quarter in al-Kūfah.
fighting with one another. He separated them and then continued on his way. He heard a voice crying, "Oh, help me for God's sake!" He set off toward it hurriedly and I heard the tread of his sandal and he was saying, "Help is at hand." He saw a man grasping another and the man said, "Commander of the Faithful, I sold this robe to him for nine dirhams, but imposed a condition on him that he would not give me in exchange any suspect or clipped coins (that was the usual contract at that time). (He paid me with bad coins so) I brought him these dirhams to exchange for me but he has refused. I persisted with him and he hit me." 'Ali said, "Change them for him." And he said, "You must show proof of the hitting." The plaintiff showed him the proof and 'Ali made the assailant sit down, and said to the plaintiff, "Here you are! Take retaliation." But he said, "I pardon him, Commander of the Faithful." 'Ali said, "I merely wanted to protect your rights." Then he gave the assailant nine lashes and said, "This is the right of the governing authority" (sultan).

According to Muhammad b. 'Umārah al-Asadī—'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Iṣbahānī—al-Mas'ūdī—Nājiyyah—his father: We were standing at the gate of the governor's residence (qasr) when 'Ali came out to us. When we saw him, we moved aside from in front of him out of respect for him. And when he had passed we formed up behind him. At that point, someone shouted out, "Oh help, for God's sake!" There were two men fighting together. 'Ali smote each one of them in the chest and then said, "Move aside!" One of them said, "Commander of the Faithful, this one bought a sheep from me and I stipulated that he should not give me any suspect or clipped coins, but he gave me a suspect dirham. I gave it back to him and he struck me." 'Ali said to the other, "What do you say?" "He has spoken the truth, Commander of the Faithful," he replied. 'Ali said to him, "Give him what he stipulated," and then, "Sit down!" To the one who was struck he said, "Take retaliation," but the latter replied, "May I pardon him, Commander of the Faithful?" 'Ali said, "Yes, you may."

When the plaintiff had gone away, 'Ali said, "Band of Muslims, seize this one!" They did so and he was carried on someone's back just like the pupils of the school are carried, and then he gave him fifteen lashes and said, "This is an exemplary punishment (nakal) for your profanation of his inviolacy (hurmah)."
According to Ibn Sinān al-Qazzāz—Abū 'Āṣim—Sukayn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz—Hafṣ b. Khalīd—his father, Khalīd b. Jābir: When 'Alī was killed I heard al-Ḥasan, who had arisen to give a khutbah, say, "Tonight you have killed a man on a night in which the Qur'ān came down,\textsuperscript{926} a night in which Jesus the son of Mary was taken up, and a night in which Joshua the son of Nun, the champion of Moses, was killed.\textsuperscript{927} By God, none of those who were before him are ahead of him and none of those who will come after him will overtake him. By God, if the Prophet sent him on a raid, Gabriel was at his right hand and Michael at his left. By God, he did not leave (at his death) gold or silver except for 800 or 700 dirhams, which he set aside for a servant woman.\textsuperscript{928}

\textsuperscript{926} Traditionally, the Prophet is said to have received his first revelation in the month of Ramadān [see Qur'ān 2:181].

\textsuperscript{927} See the article on Ramadān in EI\textsuperscript{1} for various other events associated with the month; the death of Joshua is not mentioned there.

\textsuperscript{928} Cairo: "for his servant."


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This index includes all proper names of persons, places, and tribal and other groups, together with technical terms.

The definite article al, the abbreviation b. (ibn "son of") and the designation bint ("daughter of"), and everything in parentheses are disregarded for the purposes of alphabetization. Where a name occurs in both the text and the footnotes on the same page, only the page number is given.

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