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Chapter One: Allegiance of Light

1.1 The Date of Allegiance to the Imam

The historians and hagiographers differ in determining the accurate date of people's allegiance to Imam Ali (a.s.). Some said the same day that 'Uthman was killed people swore allegiance to the Imam (a.s.). 1 Others believe that allegiance to the Imam took place several days after the murder of 'Uthman. This interval, varying from one to five days, is matter of disagreement among the historians.2

It is reported in some historical sources that the allegiance to Ali (a.s.) was sworn on Friday 25th of Dhil Hajja, which is supposed to be the same day that 'Uthamn was killed.3

And finally, according to what Tabari quoted from Abu Malih, and Ibn Abi al-Hadid quoted from Abu Ja'far Iskafi4, and also according to what is reported in Tarikh-i Damishq, and Tadhkira al-Khawass5, people swore allegiance to the Imam on Friday Dhil Hajja 18, 35AH/ June 12, 656CE.

In my opinion, the latter view is closer to reality; since besides being asserted by the above-mentioned sources, it is compatible with the view of those who identify the date of allegiance to the Imam with the date of the murder of 'Uthman; as 'Uthman, according to the soundest traditions, was murdered on the 18th of Dhil Hajja.6

On the other hand, given the political circumstances of the then Islamic community and Imam Ali (a.s.)'s exclusive situation, the several days interval between 'Uthman's murder and appointment of the new leader is far from reality.

1.2 People's Freedom in Electing the Imam

- 1. Imam Ali (a.s.), in a letter to the Kufans at the time of departure from Madina for Basra: "People swore allegiance to me, not by force or compulsion, but obediently and out of free will".7
- 2. Imam Ali (a.s.): The Messenger of God deceased, while I considered myself the most merited [to be

chosen] as a ruler. But people agreed upon Abu Bakr for ruling. I surrendered too and obeyed.

Then, the time for Abu Bakr's death arrived. I presumed that the hukuma would be handed over to no one other than me; but he installed 'Umar as ruler. I surrendered too and obeyed. Then 'Umar fell sick. I supposed the hukuma would not pass me by [this time]; but 'Umar turned it over to six persons, of whom I was one. Consequently, the hukuma was left to 'Uthman. Again, I surrendered and obeyed. When 'Uthman was killed, people came to me and swore allegiance to me obediently rather than by compulsion.8

- 3. Imam Ali (a.s.), in a letter to Talha and Zubayr: "Now, both of you know, although you conceal it, that I did not approach the people till they approached me, and I did not ask them to swear allegiance to me till they themselves swore allegiance to me, and both of you were among those who approached me and swore me allegiance. Certainly, the common people did not swear me allegiance under any force put on them or for any money given to them.9
- 4. Al-Futuh: Ammar al-Yasir came to Ali b. Abi Talib (a.s.) and said: "O Commander of the faithful! Now that people swore allegiance to you obediently and not by displeasure, send [an envoy] to Usama b. Zayd, 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr, Muhammad b. Muslima, Hssan b. Thabit, and Ka'b b. Malik and call them to what the Muhajirun and Ansar have taken part in. Ali (a.s.) said: 'We have no need for the ones who are reluctant and unwilling toward us.'10

1.3 The Imam's Reluctance to Rulership

- 5. Imam Ali (a.s.) in his speech after allegiance: "All praise belong to Allah; verily I was not interested in ruling over the community of Muhammad (S) God knows this in the Heavens and over the Throne until you (people) agreed upon this (my ruling). Then I accepted.11
- 6. Tarikh- al-Tabari related from Abu Bashir 'Abidi: "I was in Madina when Uthman was killed. The Muhajirun and Ansar including Talha and Zubayr gathered and went to Imam Ali (a.s.) saying: 'O Abul Hasan! Let us swear allegiance to you'. The Imam said: 'I have no need of ruling over you. I will be with you; whomever you select, I will consent to that'. By God, they selected him and said they would not accept anyone but him."

[Abu Bashir went on to say:] "After 'Uthman was killed, they frequently went to see the Imam, the last time of which they said: people's affairs will not be settled except under your hukuma, and it is high time you accepted it.

Then he said to them: 'Verily, you came to me many times. [Now] I tell you something that if you accept, I will accept the hukuma, otherwise I do not need to rule.'

They said: 'whatever you say, we will accept if God wills.'

The Imam came up and ascended the minbar (pulpit). The people gathered around him. Then he said: 'Verily I was unwilling to rule over you; but you did not consent to any other rule than mine. You should know that nothing would be permissible to me without your approval. You should know that the key to your wealth is with me. You should know that I have no right to take a single dirham of that without your consent. Do you agree with this?' They said they did.

He said: 'O God! You bear witness to them.' After that, he accepted their allegiance accordingly."

7. Tarikh al-Tabari, related from Muhammad and Talha: "People gathered around Ali (a.s.) and said to him: 'We swear allegiance to you. You yourself are witnessing what has befallen Islam and what calamities have been inflicted upon us by our kin.'

Then Ali (a.s.) said: Leave me and seek out someone else. We are facing a matter which has several faces and colors, which neither the hearts can stand nor the intelligence can accept.'

The people said: 'We swear you by God. Do you not see what we see? Do you not see the [problems of] Islam? Do you not see the disturbances and crises? Do you not fear God?'

He said, then: 'I replied to you on the basis of what I think. You should know that if I accept the hukuma, I will practice according to what I know; and if you leave me, I will be one like you, except that I will be the most submissive and obedient of you toward the one to whom you surrender as your ruler.'12

- 8. Imam Ali (a.s.) Stated when, after 'Uthman was killed, people wanted to swear allegiance to him: "Leave me and seek someone else. We are facing a matter which has (several) faces and colors, which neither hearts can stand nor intelligence can accept. Clouds are hovering over the sky, faces are not discernable. You should know that if I respond to you I would lead you I know and would not care about whatever one may say or abuse. If you leave me then I will be one like you. It is possible I would listen to and obey whomever you make in charge of your affairs. I am better for you as a counselor than a chief. 13
- 9. Tarikh al-Tabari related from Muhammad b. Hanifa: "I was with my father when 'Uthman was killed. He stood up and went home. Companions of God's Messenger came to him and said: 'This man is killed and the people have no choice but to have a leader. Today, we do not know anyone more rightful, more qualified [in Islam], and closer to the Messenger of God than you for this affair.

My father said: 'Do not do this; I am better for you as a counselor (vizier) than a chief.'

The people said: 'No, No by God, we won't do anything; unless we swear allegiance to you.'

He said: 'So let it be in the mosque, as my allegiance with you is not secrecy and would not take place except by Muslim's consent'."14

10. Imam Ali (a.s.) – stated in response to Talha and Zubayr: "By Allah, I had no liking for the caliphate

nor any interest in government, but you yourselves invited me to it and prepared me for it. Then, when caliphate came to me, I kept the Book of Allah in my view and all that Allah had put therein for us, and all that according to which he has commanded us to take decisions; and I followed it, and also acted on whatever the Prophet (S) had laid down as his sunna. 15

11. Imam Ali (a.s.) – stated when leaving for Dhi Qar: "You swore allegiance to me, while I was not happy [about it]. Allah the Glorious knew that I did not have any liking for ruling over the Umma of Muhammad (S); as I heard the messenger of Allah say: 'There is no ruler who would undertake an affair of my Umma, unless he would on the Resurrection Day be brought into the presence of people with his hands tied to his neck. Then his case would be brought up. If he had practiced justice, he would be delivered; if he had been a tyrant, would fall'."16

An Analysis of the Reasons for Imam Ali (a.s.)'s Discontent in Accepting the Rulership

Uprising against 'Uthman had been rendered public due to his way of ruling. The spread of revolt against 'Uthman and people's attention towards an eminent figure had practically taken caliphate out of the clutches of political trends. Thereby, it was the people who were deciding on their political leader. In that wondrous occasion, almost all hearts were directed toward Imam Ali (a.s.) without the slightest doubt, as he was the most deserved successor to the Holy Prophet (S), who after 25 years of seclusion was now the talk of the town.

People's general tendency was so strong that nobody dared to oppose this public trend. Therefore, claimants who had assumed themselves as Ali (a.s.)'s counterparts and had been beside him in 'Umar's electoral council were feeling that diplomatic insight necessitated their swearing allegiance to the Imam.

People from every corner thronged the way toward Ali (a.s.)'s house for allegiance, which the Imam firmly resisted and refused to accept, enjoining them outright to go to someone else: "I am better for you as a councilor than a chief."

Surprisingly, the one who regarded himself as the immediate successor to the Messenger of Allah and in his long period of seclusion on every occasion and in any appropriate situation spoke of his oppressed state, talked about his merit and rightfulness for Caliphate, and poignantly and passionately cried out the usurpation of his right, is now pronouncing his unwillingness to accept the responsibility of caliphate and hukuma which was so strongly and whole–heartedly demanded and approved of by such great multitudes of followers in a direct and free choice.

Why was that so?! Did the Imam not like to accept the hukuma and tended toward another kind of rulership?! Or was he plying a diplomatic maneuver by taking such a stance in order to attract more popular support?! Or did these divergent approaches in his life have one or more other reasons?

Even a slight familiarity with Ali (a.s.)'s manners and character leaves no doubt that he was aloof from

diplomatic maneuver and had an aversion to the very hukuma itself. Ali (a.s.) was neither seeking hukuma nor intending to domineer people. He considers hukuma as an instrument for establishing rightfulness, spreading justice, and implementing equity. Were the political, social, and cultural circumstances of those days prepared for achieving such goals of hukuma? Now after 25 years of political, social, and intellectual transformations and other spiritual and mental changes, the companions (Sahaba) and other comrades have also undergone changes with alternative ideas, and other criteria for their lives, etc.

The present generation that is leading the political arena and engaged in the current challenges is also in a situation that is not familiar with the religion's firm criteria and standards, nor with the conditions of the revelation era, nor with the sira of the Prophet (S); and not even rightly aware of Ali (a.s.), his lofty status in religion, and his great dignity. What befell the religion in a quarter of a century is the interpretation and ta'wil of religious texts and the distortions made in the ordinances.

All this had created an image of religion in minds and tongues that made it extremely difficult to act according to the Book and the sunna (free from lip services and flattery). Imam Ali (a.s.) knew that trying to reverse the situation would be tantamount to prompting disturbances and implementing truthfulness would urge the falsehood–oriented truth–antagonists to rise up! Therefore, he persistently refused to submit so as it would be an argument in future against the rebellions. That was why he said in a sermon:

Leave me and seek someone else. We are facing a matter which has (several) faces and colors, which neither hearts can stand nor intelligence can accept. Clouds are hovering over the sky, and faces are not discernable. You should know that if I respond to you I would lead you as I know and would not care about whatever one may say or abuse. If you leave me then I am the same as you are. It is possible I would listen to and obey whomever you make in charge of your affairs. I am better for you as a councilor than as a chief. 17

Mawla Ali (a.s.)'s words are so clear-cut, illuminating and profound, "What we are facing has several aspects and layers: the torrents ahead of us; storms that will begin; the justice that I will insist on; the shouts that will ensue." etc.

The Imam wanted the ground prepared for sharing with people the criteria and standards of interaction; for restating the principal lines of hukuma and clarifying the future, so that the people would make conscious decisions and take wisely stances.

The Imam's words, after all the refusals and rejections made in the above-mentioned sermon and in other cases, included:

1. Asserting that he is not enamored or fascinated by leadership. If he has talked of himself, if he has complained of deviations after the demise of the Messenger of God, if he has stressed on his Imamate and leadership, it has all been for the sake of clarifying the realities and emphasizing the expedients.

Now that he is taking the helm and accepting the caliphate, it is for implementing truthfulness and laying the foundation for a government such as he approves and cares for, so that no one would in future lay any claims or intend to impose his demands on him.

- 2. Asserting that certain transformations have taken place in religious doctrines. After the demise of the Prophet (S), Divine Doctrine underwent transformations. Now, if he takes over the government, he will fight against the distortions and will make attempts toward revealing the genuine aspects of the religion from under the dust of distortions; and this will inevitably lead to much political and social tension.
- 3. An indication of the Imam (a.s.)'s scrupulous sociology, psychology, and timelines, bearing witness to the fact that he was not enamored by people's welcoming his allegiance in that particular political ambience. He clearly saw the future of his hukuma, and knew that the ground was not prepared for 'Alawi reforms and bringing the Umma of Islam back to the sira and sunna of the Messenger of Allah. Also, he was well–aware that people's uprising against 'Uthman was not due to the return of the community to Islamic values. Rather, some exploiting challengers like 'Aisha, Talha, and Zubayr engaged in this uprising with specific political and economical motivations.

Thus, their motivation for allegiance was not compatible with the Imam (a.s.)'s governmental goals and whenever they came to the conclusion that Ali (a.s.) would not accompany them and would refuse to grant them unlawful and unfair privileges, they would stand up against his reforms and lead the community to disunity and confusion.

4. Allegiance to him is indeed allegiance to 'Alawi causes. Now, the one who joins hands with Ali (a.s.) and swears allegiance to him has to be ready to keep his company in removal of distortions, spiritual reconstruction of the society, reinforcement of real jurisdiction of religion, retrieval of what has left people's memories, and clarification of facts that have suffered transformation, etc.

This way, the Imam (a.s.) gave the ultimatum to the massive multitudes who clamorously enjoined him to take over the caliphate that by accepting caliphate he intended to spread justice; to implement rightfulness; and to restore Divine Doctrine, and that there was no other way than this.

1.4 The Imam's Motives in Accepting the Rulership

- 12. Imam Ali (a.s.): Behold, by Him who split the grain (to grow) and created living beings, if people had not come to me and supporters had not exhausted the argument and if there had been no pledge of Allah with the learned to the effect that they should not acquiesce in the gluttony of the oppressor and the hunger of the oppressed, I would have cast the rope of caliphate on its own shoulders, and would have given the last one the same treatment as to the first one. Then you would have seen that in my view this world of yours is no better than the sneezing of a goat.18
- 14. Imam Ali (a.s.) stating causes of his acceptance of hukuma: O (people) of differing minds and

divided hearts, whose bodies are present but wits are absent. I am leading you (amicably) towards truthfulness, but you run away from it like goats and sheep running away from the howling of a lion. How hard it is for me to uncover for you the secrets of justice, or to straighten the curve of truthfulness.

O my Allah! You know that what we did was neither to seek power nor to acquire anything from the vanities of the world. We rather wanted to restore the signs of Your religion and to usher prosperity into Your cities so that the oppressed among Your creatures might be safe and Your forsaken commands might be established. 19

- 14. Imam Ali (a.s.) an aphorism attributed to him: O my Allah! You know that I was not seeking rulership and superiority and chairmanship; rather I was just seeking to establish Divine sanctions; to implement the Shari'a (Divine law); to put things in their right order; to restore rights to the rightful; to move on the path off Your Prophet; and to guide the misled toward the light of guidance.20
- 15. Imam Ali (a.s.): Your allegiance to me was not without thinking, nor is my and your position the same. I seek you for Allah's sake but you seek me for your own benefits. O' People! Support me despite your heart's desires. By Allah, I will take revenge for the oppressed from the oppressor and will put a string in the nose of the oppressor and drag him to the spring of truthfulness even though he may grudge it.21
- 16. Imam Ali (a.s.): People revolted against 'Uthman and murdered him while I was in seclusion. Then, despite my reluctance, they selected me for the hukuma. If it were not for the fear for religion, I would not consent to them.22
- 17. Imam Ali (a.s.) in a letter to the Kufans: Allah knows that I had no choice but to accept the hukuma, and if I could find someone more deserving that myself, I would not step forward in this affair.23
- 18. Imam Ali (a.s.): By Allah, I did not take over the caliphate, unless for fearing that a he-goat24 from the Umayyad would seize it and toy with the Book of Allah.

1.5 The First Person to Swear Allegiance

19. Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh: When 'Uthman was murdered, the companions of the Messenger of Allah from among the Muhajirun and Ansar including Talha and Zubayr got together and went to Ali (a.s.) and said to him: "People are compelled to have a leader." Ali (a.s.) said: "I do not need ruling over you. Whomever you choose, I will consent to". They said: "We will not choose anyone but you."

They frequently went to him, the last time of which they said: "Actually we do not know anyone more deserving of hukuma than you, one who is more pioneering [in Islam] and closer to the Prophet than you."

Then the Imam said: "Do not seek that! I had better be a councilor than a commander."

"By God, we would do nothing unless swearing allegiance to you." They replied.

The Imam said: "So, [it should be] in the mosque, as my allegiance would not be in secret, and would not be accomplished except in the mosque."

At this time, the Imam was at home and is said to have been in Bani 'Amr b. Mabdhul's garden.

Then his holiness set out to go toward the mosque, while he was wearing a robe over a long shirt, a fur turban on his head, holding his shoes in his hand, and leaning on a bow. The people, then, swore allegiance to him.

The first person who swore allegiance was Talha b. 'Abid Allah. Habib b. Dhu'ayb looked at him and said: "Good Heavens! The first hand held out for allegiance was an infirm and feeble one. This will not settle down!" Then Zubayr swore allegiance.

Ali (a.s.) said to these two: "If you like, swear allegiance to me, or if you wish, I would swear allegiance to you?"

They said: "We swear allegiance to you."25

20. Al-Jamal – quoted from Zayd b. Aslam: Talha and Zubayr, came to Ali (a.s.) who had retreated to the gardens [on the outskirts] of Madina. They approached him and said: "Give us your hand to swear allegiance to you, since people consent only to you [as a caliph]." The Imam said to them: "I have no need for this. I had better be your counselor than your commander. Whoever of you, who wishes, hold out his hand to me to swear allegiance to him.

The two said: "The people will not choose other than you, nor will they turn away from you. Hold out your hand to us to swear allegiance to you as the first persons."

The Imam said: "My allegiance would not be in secret. Give me a respite to come to the mosque."

They said: "We will swear allegiance to you here and then we will swear allegiance to you again in the mosque." Then they swore allegiance to him as the first person to do so. After that, the people swore allegiance to him on the minbar, the first of whom was Talha b. 'Ubayd Allah who had an infirm hand. He went up the minbar and shook hands with Ali (a.s.).

A man of Bani Asad who would take everything as bad omens was standing and watching. When he noticed that the first person to swear allegiance was an infirm person, he said: (*Indeed we belong to Allah, and to Him do we indeed return*)26! The first hand swearing allegiance to the Commander of the faithful was infirm. This is not likely to settle down."

Then, Talha and Zubayr came down [from the minbar and the other people swore allegiance to him.

21. Al-Imama wa al-Siyasa – in an account on Imam Ali (a.s.)'s allegiance: The first one to climb up the

minbar was Talha. He swore allegiance to the Imam, shaking his hand by his infirm hand. Ali (a.s.) took it as bad omen and said: "How befitting it is for this allegiance to be broken!" Then Zubayr, Sa'd, and all other companions of the Prophet (S) swore allegiance.27

22. Al-'Aqd al-Farid: When 'Uthman b. Affan was killed, the people rushed toward Ali b. Ali Talib (a.s.) and they gathered around him in crowds to swear allegiance. Then Ali (a.s.) said: "This is not in your hand; rather, it is the right of the fighters of Badr to swear allegiance." Then he asked: "Where are Talha and Zubayr and Sa'd?" Then they came and gave allegiance, and then the Muhajirun and Ansar and others swore allegiance. This took place on Friday, Dhil Hajja 13, 35 AH / June 12, 656 CE.

The first person who swore allegiance was Talha. His fingers were infirm. Ali (a.s.) took it as a bad omen and said: "How befitting is for this allegiance to be broken!" 28

23. Al-Manaqib – quoted from Sa'id b. Musayyib: Ali (a.s.) left for home. People rushed toward him, and the companions of the Prophet were chanting the motto: "Ali is the Commander of the faithful", until they entered his house and said: "We swear allegiance to you. Hold out your hand. There is no option but to have a ruler."

At this moment Ali (a.s.) said: "This is not up to you. It is the right of the fighters of Badr. Whomever the companions of Badr agree upon, will be appointed as the caliph." All and everyone of the people of Badr turned to Ali (a.s.) and said: "We do not know anyone better-deserved for hukuma. Hold out your hand to us to swear allegiance to you.

Then Ali (a.s.) said: "Where are Talha and Zubayr?" The first one who swore allegiance was Talha who did so through hand shaking. Talha's fingers were infirm. Ali (a.s.) took it as a bad omen, saying: "How befitting is for this allegiance to be broken!" After that, Zubayr, Sa'd, and the companions of the Prophet (S) swore their allegiance to him.29

Attributing "Auguring Evil" to the Imam

As mentioned before, Talha was the first to give his pledge of allegiance to Ali (a.s.). Talha's hand was infirm. Thus it was taken as a bad omen that the allegiance would not last long. There is no unanimity in the sources as to who gave utterance to the evil augury. Some have attributed it to someone called Habib b. Dhu'ayb and some have stated that a man from among the Bani Asad made an evil augury, saying:

The first person who initiated the allegiance was a defective hand. [So] This will not settle down.

However, some traditions have attributed this evil augury to Imam Ali (a.s.) and reported that at the time of allegiance that noble Imam had said:

How befitting it is [that this allegiance] to be broken!

But such attribution sounds to be baseless, as it can be refuted by intellect and tradition.

Undoubtedly, no intellect would allow any evil augury in such an occasion that people have gathered in multitudes to pledge an allegiance, and thus no man of wisdom would attempt to do so. How would Ali (a.s.), that matchless wise man, proclaim the breaking of allegiance of one of the most eminent political figures in public and on the first day of allegiance, and that doing it by resorting to augury and considering something as a bad omen?!

Such utterances, on one hand, would fuel to the rumors weakening the foundations of religion, and on he other, would encourage the breaking of allegiance, hence undoubtedly a calumny upon the Imam.

Moreover, evil augury (tatayyur) has been regarded in many traditions as indecent and people have been prohibited from it; and it is asserted that the Ahl al-Bayt (a.s.) do not augur evil, etc.30

Therefore, it is extremely unlikely that the Imam might have uttered such words or acted in such indecent way.

1.6 People Welcoming Allegiance

- 24. Imam Ali (a.s.) describing his allegiance: You advanced toward me shouting "allegiance, allegiance" like she–camels having delivered newly born young ones leaping towards their young. I held back my hand but you pulled it towards you. I drew back my hand but you dragged it.31
- 25. Imam Ali (a.s.) describing people at the time of allegiance: Nothing took me by surprise, but the crowd of people rushing to me. It advanced towards me from every side like the mane of the hyena so much so that Hasan and Husayn were getting crushed and both the ends of my shoulder garment were torn. They gathered around me like the herd of sheep and goats.32
- 26. Imam Ali (a.s.) on the swear of allegiance: They leapt upon me as the camels leap upon each other on their arrival for drinking water, having been let loose after unfastening of their four legs till I thought they would either kill me or kill one another in front of me.33
- 27. Imam Ali (a.s.) on breaking allegiance by Talha and Zubayr: You came to me and told me to pledge allegiance to you; I said I won't. You said: Yes [you will]. I said no, and held back my hand, but you pulled it towards you. I drew back my hand but you dragged it. You leapt upon me as the camels leap upon each other on their arrival for drinking water till I thought you would either kill me or kill one another. Then I held out my hand and you swore allegiance to me willingly, and at the beginning, Talha and Zubayr swore allegiance to me obediently rather than by compulsion.34
- 28. Imam Ali (a.s.) on his swearing of allegiance: You drew out my hand towards you for allegiance but I held it back and you stretched it but I contracted it. Then you crowded over me as the thirsty camels crowd on the watering cisterns on their being taken there, so much so that shoes were torn, shoulder–

cloths fell away and the weak got trampled, and the happiness of people on their allegiance to me was so manifested that small children felt Joyful, the old staggered (up to me) for it, the sick also reached for it helter skelter and young girls ran for it without veils.35

29. The Event of Siffin – quoted from Khafaf b. 'Abd Allah: People gathered around Ali (a.s.) like moths for the swear of allegiance, to the extent that shoes got lost, shoulder cloths fell away, and the old men got trampled.36

1.7 Allegiance of General Public

- 30. Sharh Nahj al-Balagha related by Ibn Abbas: When Ali (a.s.) entered the mosque and the people came forward to swear allegiance to him, I had the fear that some of Ali's enemies whose father or brother or relatives had been killed by him in the time of the Prophet (S) might say something that would cause Ali to turn his face away from hukuma and abandon it. I was constantly watching for this to happen and apprehensive in this respect; [however] nobody said anything until all people swore allegiance obediently rather than by compulsion.37
- 31. Al-Futuh: Ansar said to people: "You are aware of Ali b. Abi Talib's superiority, achievements, kinship and his status with the Prophet (S), and [you know] his knowledge about halal and haram, and you are aware of your need for him from among the companions; and he is the one who has never failed his benevolence toward you. If we ever found someone superior and more deserving than him for hukuma, we wouldn't hesitate to call you to him.

The people said unanimously: "We consent to him obediently rather than by compulsion."

Then Ali (a.s.) told them: "Tell me whether your saying 'We swore allegiance to him obediently rather than by compulsion', is a right incumbent upon you by God or it is your own opinion."

They replied: "This is God's right incumbent upon us."38

32. Al-Jamal – quoted from 'Abd al-Hamid b. 'Abd al-Rahman on the authority of Ibn Abzay: Shall I describe to you want I saw by my own eyes and heard by my own ears? When people gathered near public treasury, Ali (a.s.) said to Talha: "Hold out your hand to swear allegiance to you." Then Talha said: You are more deserving in that than me, as people's vote is more in your favor than in mine.

Ali (a.s.) said: "We are not afraid of other than you."

Talha said: "Have no fear. By God, there will be no harm to you from my side."

After that, Ammar Yasir, Abu al-Haytham b. Tayyahan, Rifa'a b. Rafi', and Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd stood up and addressed Ali (a.s.): "The [Islamic] state is corrupted, and you yourself saw 'Uthman's actions and what he did contrary to the Book and the sunna. Hold out your hand so that we pledge

allegiance to you so as you improve what has been ruined of the affairs of the Umma."

Ali (a.s.) turned it down and said: "You saw how I was treated and noticed people's vote. I have no need of them."

They [the above group] went to the Ansar and said: O Group of Ansar! You are the companions of Allah and His Messenger. Allah graced you because of His Messenger. Truly, you know the superiority of Ali (a.s.) and his achievements and [are informed of] his relation to and status with the Prophet (S). If he takes charge of the hukuma, he will bring happiness and well-being to you.

Then the Ansar said: "We are more inclined toward him than all other people and do not seek any alternative for him."

After that they gathered around him, staying with him until they all swore allegiance to him.39

- 33. Imam Ali (a.s.) in a letter to Mu'awiya: Verily, those who swore allegiance to Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman have sworn allegiance to me on the same basis on which they swore allegiance to them. On this basis, he who was present has no choice to consider, and he who was absent has no right to reject; and consultation is confined to the Muhajirun and the Ansar. If they agree on an individual and take him to be caliph it will be deemed to mean Allah's pleasure. If any one keeps away by way of objection or innovation they will return him to the position from where he kept away. If he refuses they will fight him for following a course other than that of the believers, and Allah will put him back from where he had run away.40
- 34. Imam Ali (a.s.) in response to Mu'awiya's letter: As for your separation from Talha and Zubayr, and separating the Shamis from Basrans; by my life, all are equal in the matter of hukuma, since there was widespread allegiance in which the elite were not excluded and the there is no room for revision in it.41
- 35. Al-Futuh: All the Kufans swore allegiance to Ali (a.s.)... Then, people of Hijaz and the Iraqis swore allegiance to Ali b. Abi Talib (a.s.).42
- 36. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: When 'Uthman was killed on Dhil Hajja 18, 35 AH / June 17, 656 CE, and the following day allegiance was sworn to Ali (a.s.) in Median, Talha, Zubayr, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, Sa'id b. Zayd, 'Ammar Yasir, 'Usama bin Zayd, Sahl b. Hanif, Abu Ansari, Muhammad b. Muslima, Zayd b. Thabit, Khuzayma b. Thabit, and anyone else in Madina from among the companions of the Prophet and non-companions swore allegiance.43

1.8 Words of a Group of Imam Ali's Companions after Swearing Allegiance

37. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi – after people's allegiance to Ali (a.s.): A group of the Ansar stood up and spoke. The first one to speak was Thabit b. Qays Ansari. A speaker and orator to the Ansar, he said: "By God,

O Amir al-Mu'minin, it they preceded you in hukuma (and wilaya), they were far behind you in faith. If they took precedence over you yesterday, you did catch up with them today and your status is not unknown to anyone and your standing is well-known to all. They needed you in what they knew not; but you did not need anyone in your knowledge."

Then Khuzayma b. Thabit Ansari – also known as Dhu'l Shahadatayn44 – stood up and said: "O Amir al-Mu'minin! We did not find anyone but you for hukuma, and the state of affairs would not settle except by you; if we are truthful among ourselves [we would realize that] you are the highest in faith, the most knowledgeable about God, and the closest to the Messenger of Allah of all other believers. What they possess, you possess too, but what you are endowed with they lack."

After him, Sa'sa'a b. Suhan rose up and said: "By God, O Amir al-Mu'minin! You ornamented the caliphate, and the caliphate did not ornament you. You sublimated the hukuma, and the hukuma did not sublimate you. Truly, hukuma and caliphate do need you more than you need them."

Then Malik b. al-Harith al-Ashtar stood up and said: "O People! This is the successor to the successors of the prophets and the inheritor of their knowledge; one who suffered afflictions, and underwent immense forbearance, to whose faith the Book of Allah and to whose [belongingness to the] Garden of Divine pleasure the Prophet testified. He is the one who perfected virtues, and no one of the past and the future would doubt his achievements, knowledge, and superiority."

Finally, 'Aqaba b. 'Amr rose and said: "Who is the one that has the [honor of] 'Aqaba and Ridwan pledges; who is a guiding leader with no fear of his tyranny; and a learned one with no apprehension of his ignorance?" 45 See The Encyclopedia of Amir al–Mu'minin, VIII, 309 (Khuzayma b. Thabit Ansari); 313 (Hudhayfa b. Yaman); and 412 (Ahmad b. Hanbal).

1.9 Turning away from Swearing Allegiance to the Imam

Allegiance to Ali (a.s.) was widespread. In this magnificent pledge all the muhajirun and Ansar<u>46</u> and all those who were in Madinah participated and swore allegiance voluntarily and freely. After that, people of Makka, Kufa, and Hijaz swore allegiance, too47.

The Imam (a.s.) has explicitly considered his allegiance as public and widespread48, as many of the historical sources have asserted the gathering of the Muhajirun and Ansar for pledging allegiance to the Imam49. In some historical sources, there are accounts that show such persons as 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, Muhammad b. Muslima, Usama b. Zayd, Hassan b. Thabit, Ka'b b. Malik, 'Abd Allah b. Sallam, Marwan b. Hakam, sa'id b. 'As, and Walid b. 'Aqaba refused to swear allegiance to Ali (a.s.)50.

There are two views concerning their refusal of allegiance to the Imam: the first view is that they really opposed to the allegiance to the Imam and did not pledge. The second is that they did not disagree with

the allegiance per se, and what is brought up in historical text regarding their refusal of allegiance to the Imam is interpreted as their deserting Ali (a.s.) in civil wars.

After giving an account of people's allegiance to the Imam, the governor of Neyshabur says:

The words of those who suspect that 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar, Abu Mas'ud Ansari, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, Abu Musa Ash'ari, Muhammad b. Muslima, and Usama b. Zayd refused to swear allegiance to the Imam are in fact words of those who turn a blind eye to reality.

He goes on to explain that they did pledge allegiance to the Imam, but for some reasons they refused to keep his company in war, and their refusal to participate in war led some people to presume that they have disagreed with this allegiance51.

The Mu'tazilite Ibn Abi al-Hadid accepts the same view and has attributed it to the Mu'tazilites, in his Sharh Nahj al-Balagha52.

Deliberation on this issue would clarify that the majority of those who are allegedly known as opponents to allegiance to the Imam had indeed sworn allegiance. However, the allegiance of some of them, like Abd Allah b. 'Umar and Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, does not mean that they were faithful to the Imam's leadership; since they openly announced that they would not accompany him in wars. The allegiance of another group, such as Marwan, Sa'id b. 'As, and Walid was politically motivated53.

In a sense, this group may thus be considered as deviators from allegiance to the Imam, since their allegiance was not a real and perfect, and they can be ranked among those who pledged allegiance to the Imam, as they performed the formal rite of pledging allegiance, hence the possibility of combining the two views.

Another contingency is that they refused to participate in the widespread allegiance which was being sworn in the mosque, and made excuses for justifying their refusal; however, after the rite of allegiance was over and the caliphate of Ali (a.s.) was established, they expressed their willingness to the allegiance.

This claim is confirmed by the account given about the visit of Marwan, Walid, and Sa'id b. 'As with the Imam at the end of the public allegiance, who swore allegiance to the Imam after some discussions, as well as another account which denotes the confessions made by Abd Allah b. 'Umar, Usama and Sa'd of their allegiance to Ali (a.s.).

38. Al-Imam Ali (a.s.)—part of his speech when 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar, Sa'd b. Abi Waqas, Muhammad b. Muslima, Hassan b. Thabit, and Usama refused to pledge allegiance: O people! You swore allegiance to me as rulers before me have been sworn to. Verily, people have authority over their option before they swear allegiance; but after swearing allegiance they have no option. In truth, the Imam is to practice steadfastness and righteousness, and the people are to be obedient and compatible.

This is a public allegiance. Whoever turns away from it is turning away from Islam and is following a path other than that of the Muslims'. Your allegiance to me was not without thinking, nor is my and your position the same. I seek you for Allah's sake but you seek me for your own benefits. By Allah, I will be benevolent to the adversaries and equitable to the oppressed.

I have received words about Sa'd, Ibn Muslima, Usama, 'Abd Allah, and Hassan b. Thabit that I do not like. Allah is [the judge] between them and me.54

39. Muruj al-Dhahab: Sa'd, Usama b. Zayd, Abd Allah b. 'Umar, and Muhammad b. Muslima were among those who refused to swear allegiance to Ali b. Abi Talib (a.s.). These and another group were among the rejecters [of allegiance], who argued that this [allegiance] was disturbance.

Another group told Ali (a.s.): give us swords to accompany you in the battles that if we strike them upon believers they would not hurt them but if we strike them upon unbelievers, they pierce their bodies!

Ali (a.s.) turned his face away from them and vacated the verse: (*Had Allah known any good in them?* Surely He would have made them hear, and wear He to make them hear, surely would turn away, being disregardful.)55

40. Tarikh al-Yaʻqubi: People, except for three from the Qurayshis, swore allegiance: Marwan b. Hakam, Saʻid b. 'As, and Walid b. 'Aqaba who was the spokesman. The latter said: O man! You killed our near of kin. As for me, you killed my father as a captive in the battle of Badr; as for Saʻid, you killed his father in the battle of Badr, whereas he was one of the eminent figures of the Quraysh; and as for Marwan, you reproached his father and criticized 'Uthman when he drew his father near himself... [Thereby] We pledged ourselves that [we swear allegiance to you on the condition that] you forgive us [the punishment] for what we have done, grant us what is in our possession, and kill the murderers of our friend ('Uthman).

Ali (a.s.) got infuriated and said: "Concerning your saying that I killed your near of kin, [you should know that] Allah (Haqq) killed them. As for forgiving what you have done, I do not have the right to abandon Allah's right. In respect to granting you what is in your possession, justice will take hold of you for what belongs to Allah and the Muslims."

"As for killing the murderers of 'Uthman, If it is mandatory on me today to kill them, it will also be mandatory on me to fight against them. But it is to your benefit that I force you to accept the Book of Allah and Sunna of his Messenger. The one, on whom rightfulness is annoying, falsehood will be more annoying; and if you wish you may join your pioneers."

Then Marwan said: 'We swear allegiance to you and stay with you until you see and we see [what will happen]."56

41. Tarikh al-Tabari - related by 'Abd Allah b. Hasan: When 'Uthman was killed, the Ansar swore

allegiance to Ali (a.s.), except for a few such as: Hassan b. Thabit, Ka'b b. Malik, Muslima b. Mukhallad, Abu Sa'id Khudri, Muhammad b. Muslima, Nu'man b. Bashir, Zayd b. Thabit, Rafi' b. Khadij, Fadala b. 'Ubayd, and Ka'b b. 'Ujra. These were 'Uthmani (i.e., followers of 'Uthman).

Then a man said to 'Abd Allah b. Hasan: Why did they refuse to swear allegiance to Ali (a.s.), whereas they wear 'Uthmani?

He replied: As far as Hassan is concerned, he is a poet and indifferent to what he does; as for Zayd b. Thabit, 'Uthman had appointed him as the head of the state council and public treasury. When 'Uthman was besieged, he said: O group of Ansar! Be helpers to Allah. He repeated this two times. Abu Ayyub said in his response: You would not help him unless for the reason that he left countless palm trees at your disposal. And as for Ka'b b. Malik, 'Uthman had him gather the alms tax (zakat) of Muzayna region and granted to him as gift what he had collected from people of that region.57

42. Waqʻatu Siffin – related by ʻAmr b. Saʻd: ʻAbd Allah b. ʻUmar, Saʻd b. Abi Waqqas, and Mughayra b. Shuʻba, with a group accompanying them who had all turned away from Ali (a.s.), went to him and asked him for their share (these were the ones who had refused to take park in the battles of Siffin and Jamal). Ali (a.s.) said to them: "What made you withdraw from me?"

They said: 'Uthman was killed and we do not know whether his blood was shed rightfully or not. He gave rise to some events and you had him repent and he did so. Then at the time of his killing, you contributed to it. We do not know whether you acted rightfully or went wrong, despite that, O Amir al–Mu'minin, we are aware of your superiority, achievements [in Islam], and hijra (migration).

Then Ali (a.s.) said: "Do you not know that Allah (S.W.T) commanded you to enjoin the good and to prohibit the evil and said: (If two groups of the faithful fight one another, make peace between them. But if one party of them aggresses against the other, fight the one which aggresses until it returns to Allah's ordinance)?58

Sa'd said: O Ali! Give me a sword that distinguishes the unbeliever from the believer. I fear that I may kill a believer and fall into the fire [of Hell].

Ali (a.s.) told them: "Do you not know that 'Uthman was a leader to whom you swore allegiance obediently? If he were righteous, why did you not help him? And if he were evildoer, why did you not fight against him? If he were righteous, you did wrong since you did not help your leader, and if he were an evildoer, still you did wrong, as you did not help the one who asked people to do good acts and refrained them from bad acts; and you did wrong in that you did not rise up against our enemy who was standing between you and us as you were commanded by Allah who enjoined you to: (*fight the one* [party] which aggresses until it returns to Allah ordinances). 59

43. Al-Mustadrik 'Ala al-Sahihin – after pointing out some narratives concerning the allegiance of people to Amir al-Mu'minin (a.s.): As for the words of those who suspected that Abd Allah b. 'Umar, Abu

Mas'ud al-Ansari, Sa'd b. Abi waqqas, Abu Musa al-Ash'ari, Muhammad b. Muslima al-Ansari, and Usama b. Zayd withdrew from allegiance. In fact these are the words of those who cover the reality of the events.... [He went on with this report to explain the reasons for their withdrawal, and then said:] It was for these and other reasons that some refused to fight along Ali (a.s.) against his enemies.60

44. Al-Jamal – quoting from Abu Mikhnaf: Amir al-Mu'minin was informed at the time of his departure toward Basra that Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, Ibn Muslima, Usama b. Zayd, and Ibn 'Umar have stopped moving on. He sent [a courier] for them and when they returned to him, he said: "I have heard unpleasant news about you that I do not like. I do not force you to go to Basra; but are you not holding on to your allegiance to me?"

They replied: Yes.

He said: "So why do you refuse to accompany me?"

Sa'd said: I do not like going to this war, lest a believer may be killed. If you give me a sword that distinguishes a believer from an unbeliever, I will fight alongside you!

Usama said: You are the noblest of Allah's servants to me; but I have pledged Allah not to fight against the faithful....

And 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar said: I do not know anything about this war and I want you not to force me to do something I have no knowledge about.

Then Amir al–Mu'minin said to them: "Never would the one who is entangled in sedition be reproached. Are you holding on to your allegiance to me?

They said: Yes.

He said: "Go back. Hopefully, Allah will make you free from needing me."61

45. Tarikh al-Tabari – quoting from Abu Malih reporting some of the events that took place at the time of allegiance to the Imam: Ali (a.s.) went to the mosque and ascended the minbar, while wearing a long robe and garment, a turban made of fur and bolding his shoes in his hand. People swore allegiance to him while he was leaning on a bow. Sa'd was brought in.

Ali (a.s.) said to him: "Swear allegiance."

He said: I would not swear allegiance until the people swear their allegiance. By Allah, there will be no harm to you from me.

Ali (a.s.) said: "Let him go."

Ibn 'Umar was brought in. He said: "Swear allegiance!"

Ibn 'Umar replied: I would not swear allegiance until the people swear their allegiance.

He said: "Bring a guarantor."

He replied: "I do not see a guarantor."

[Malik] Ashtar said: Let me cut off his head.

Ali (a.s.) said: "Let him go. I will be his guarantor myself. As far as I know, you were indeed badtempered in your childhood and adulthood.62

46. Sharh Nahj al-Balagha: Abu Mikhnaf says in his Al-Jamal that the Muhajirun and the Ansar gathered in the mosque of the Messenger of Allah to decide whom to choose as a leader. The mosque was packed with the people.

'Ammar, Abu Haytham, Rafa'a b. Rafi', Malik b. Ajlan, and Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd agreed to persuade Amir al-Mu'minin to accept caliphate, among whom 'Ammar insisted more than other. He addressed the people saying: "O group of Ansar! You saw how 'Uthman treated you yesterday, and now you are about to see it repeated if you do not assist yourselves. In truth, Ali (a.s.) is the most deserving for leadership because of his superiority and achievements."

The people said: "Now we consent to him."

Then they [The confederate] faced other people, both Muhajirun and Ansar, and said: "O people! By our souls, we spare no efforts in doing good to you. Verily, Ali is the one whom you know and we do not know anyone more capable and competent for caliphate than him."

Then all the people said: "We consent. He is to us as you described him, even better than that."

They all stood up, went to Ali (a.s.)'s house, called him out, and asked him to hold out his hand for pledge of allegiance. Ali (a.s.) held his hand back. Then the people crowded around him like thirsty camels flocking around a watering cistern, to the extent that some were about to kill some others. When he saw this, he asked the allegiance to be pledged among the people in the mosque, and said: "Even if a single person does not consent, I wouldn't get involved in this matter."

People accompanied him into the mosque. The first person who swore allegiance was Talha. Qabisa b. Dhu'ayb Asadi said: "I fear that his work may not settle down, since the first hand that pledged allegiance to him was infirm."

After Talha, Zubayr swore allegiance and so did all the Muslims of Madinah except Muhammad b. Muslima, 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar, Usama b. Zayd, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, Ka'b b. Malik, Hassan b. Thabit and 'Abd Allah b. Sallam.

Ali (a.s.) commanded 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar to be brought to him. He told him to swear allegiance. He said:

"I won't unless all people swear allegiance." Then Ali (a.s.) said: "Bring a guarantor [to secure] that you won't disobey. He said: "I won't bring a guarantor."

[Malik] Ashtar said: "O Amir al-Mu'minin! He sees himself secure of your whip and sword. Let me cut off his head."

Ali (a.s.) said: "I do not want his reluctant allegiance. Let him go."

When 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar went away, the Commander of the faithful said: "When he was a child he was bad-tempered, and now he is worse.

The Sa'd b. Abi waggas was brought in. He told him to swear allegiance.

He said: "O Abu'l Hasan! Let me free! When there was no one left but me, I will swear allegiance. By Allah, there will come no harm to you from my side."

Ali (a.s.) said: "He is telling the truth. Let him go."

Then he sent for Muhammad b. Muslima. When they brought him in, the Imam said: "Swear allegiance!"

He replied: "Indeed, Messenger of Allah commanded me that whenever people disagree and turn like this (entangling his fingers suggesting whenever they fall into conflict with each other), I should leave [the town] with my sword and strike it across the mount Uhud until it breaks into pieces, then go back home and do not leave until a wrong-doing hand or death would come to [get] me.

Ali (a.s.) said to him: "So, go back and do as you were commanded."

Then he sent for Usama b. Zayd. When he arrived, he told him to swear allegiance.

He said: "I am your servant and there will be no opposition from me to you. Once the people calm down, I will swear allegiance to you."

He commanded him to go back and sent for no one any longer.

They asked him: "Would you not sent for Hassan b. Thabit, ka'b b. Malik, and 'Abd Allah b. Sallam?

He said: "We do not need the ones who do not need us."

[Ibn Abi al-Hadid says:] Our co-religionists (Mu'tazilites) have pointed out in their books that this group gave excuses when they were called for battle against the Jamal troopers in the company of that holy Imam. They did not refuse to swear allegiance; rather, they refused to war.

Our master Abu'l Husayn has narrated in his Al-Ghurar that when this group expressed their excuses, Ali (a.s.) told them: "No one who is entangled in sedition would be reproached. Are you suspicious of [your] allegiance to me?

They said: "No"

He said: "If you have sworn allegiance, [it is as if] you are present in war". And he exempted him from war. 63

1.10 The Biography of a Group of those who Rejected Allegiance

a) 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar b. Khattab

'Abd Allah was born tow years after Bi'tha64. He converted to Islam together with his father in Makka in his childhood65, and emigrated to Madina prior to his father66 or along with him67. He did not participate in the battles of Badr and Uhud68 due to minority69, but from the battle of Khandaq onward ha accompanied the troops of Islam70. Many hadiths have been related by him in the Sunni books of traditions71.

When 'Umar was on his deathbed, he was consulted with for the membership of his son in the electoral council. 'Umar objected to the proposal saying: "He does not deserve caliphate. He is not even able to divorce his wife72."

It is pointed out in some accounts that by the order of 'Umar, 'Abd Allah became a member of the council on the condition that he would not have the right to be elected [as a caliph]73.

During the hukuma of 'Uthman, he kept away from political issues and did not partake in political events. Also, in the caliphate of Al-Imam Ali (a.s.), he isolated himself and withdrew from political and social issues.

In the battles during the hukuma of Ali (a.s.), 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar based his social diplomacy on withdrawal, too.

Obviously, such attitude of 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar's was not out of deliberation and constant tendency throughout his life. He did not act this way in the time of the previous caliphs, nor did he do so in the time of rulers after Ali (a.s.). He swore allegiance to Mu'awiya74 and Yazid75 (whom a great number of eminent figures among the umma and Sahaba, including Husayn b. Ali (a.s.) refused to pledge allegiance to). He swore allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik, too.76

When Muhammad b. Hanifa refused to swear allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik saying that he would swear allegiance only on condition that all people do the same 77, 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar pledged allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik and encouraged Muhammad to do so, too. Surprisingly, 'Abd Allah went to Hajjaj b. Yusuf at night-time to lay his hand in his for allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik lest he might not remain without allegiance even for a single night, since he had heard the Messenger of Allah has been quoted as saying: "If one dies while having no Imam, he dies as in jahiliya". Hajjaj, the despotic, arrogant and tyrannical ruler who knew this was all out of his fear, meanness, and helplessness, humiliated him by

stretching his foot out of the bed [on which he was sleeping] for 'Abd Allah to swear his allegiance to!78

In the time of Ali (a.s.)'s hukuma, he did not accompany him in the battles 79. Of course, he did not join the enemy forces, either; and as the Imam said, he was one of those who:

Abandoned right but did not support wrong.80

Some historical documents indicate that toward the end of his life, 'Abd Allah deeply regretted his negligence and failing to help Ali (a.s.), saying:

I do not regret anything except that I did not fight along with Ali (a.s.) against the group of rebels.81

Of course, some sources have interpreted الفئه الباقييه (the group of rebels) as the Kharijis<u>82</u> or Hajjaj<u>83</u> or Ibn Zubayr<u>84</u> which, given the phrase مع علي (along with Ali) as mentioned in the above text, leaves no room for other possibilities.

He would say: whoever calls me to prayer, I would follow him whosoever he might be, and I do not follow the one who calls me to war.85

Similarly, in sovereignty and obeying the ruler, he believed in "the law of dominance" and would say: hukuma is the right of the person who dominates over people.86 That was why when Ali (a.s.) stressed on people's free will for pledge of allegiance, saying, "I do not compel anyone to obey me", 'Abd Allah refused to obey him; but did not do so in his swearing allegiance to Yazid b. Mu'awiya.

He called the uprising of Madinans after the exposure of Yazid's sins and iniquities and debauchery (following murder of Imam Husayn - a.s.) as perfidy (ghadr) and prevented his family from it.87

Although many narration's have been related by 'Abd Allah and, more importantly, he is considered as among great Sunni traditionalists, he was indeed a weak-willed, miserly, and sanctimonious person, who was unable of a sound analysis of the political and social events, and his weak-willed materialistic nature contributed to his vile and anomalous position. 'Abd Allah died in 74 AH/ 703 CE at the age of 84.88

47. Tarikh al-Tabari: Ali (a.s.) sent Kumayl al-Nakha'i after 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar to bring him to him. [When he was brought in,] Ali (a.s.) said to him: "rise up with me". 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar said: "I am with the people of Madina, as I am one of them". When they pledged allegiance to you, I did so too; and I will not separate from them. If they rise up for battle, I will rise up too, and if they sit, I will sit too.

Ali (a.s.) said: "present someone to vouch for you not to rise [against me]". He said: "I would not present anyone to vouch for me".

Ali (a.s.) said: "if I did not know of your ill temper in your childhood and adulthood, I would not accept [it from you]. Let him go. I myself vouch for him".89

- 48. Tarikh al-Tabari related by Muhammad and Talha: Zubayr and Talha went out to visit 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar, and discouraged him [in accompanying Ali (a.s.). 'Abd Allah said: I am one of the people of Madina. If you rise up, I will rise up too, and if you sit, I will also sit. They left him alone and returned. 90
- 49. Al Tabaqat al-kubra related by Abu Hasin–: Mu 'awiya said: who is more deserving than us for hukuma? 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar says: I wanted to say that more deserving than you is the one who fought you and your father over hukuma. Then I remembered what I was concealing. So, I feared sedition might have ensued [from my reply].91
- 50. Al-Isti'ab: Nafi' was told: "Why did 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar swear allegiance to Mu'awiya but not to Ali (a.s.)?"

Nafi 'replied: "Ibn 'Umar would not stretch a hand for separation, nor he restrained it from the community, either. He refrained from swearing allegiance to Mu'awiya, except when others pledged allegiance to him."92

- 51. Musnad of Ibn Hanbal related by Nafi'—: When people of Madina rose up with Ibn Zubayr and dethroned Mu'awiya, Ibn 'Umar called his children and said: We swore allegiance to this man on the basis of allegiance to Allah and His Messenger. Truly, I heard the Messenger of Allah say, "For the perfidious there will rise a banner on the Resurrection Day and it will be declared that 'this is the perfidy of so–and–so', and the greatest trick (second to polytheism) is that one may pledge allegiance on the basis of allegiance to Allah and His Messenger and then abandon it." Thus, let it not be that any one of you dethrone Yazid and go beyond due bounds in the issue of hukuma, or else a sword will lie between me and you!93
- 52. Fath al-Bari: During the hukuma of 'Abd Allah b. Zubayr, 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar refused to swear allegiance to him or to 'Abd al-Malik, as he did in relation to Ali (a.s.) or Mu'awiya. But later on, he swore allegiance to Mu'awiya, when the latter made peace with Hasan b. Ali (a.s.), and so the people agreed on him ['Abd Allah b. 'Umar]. Similarly, after the death of Mu'awiya, he swore allegiance to his son, Yazid, since people had agreed on him. After that, during the time of disagreements, he did not swear allegiance to anyone until Ibn Zubayr was killed and the hukuma was entirely handed over to 'Abd al-Malik. Then he swore allegiance to him. 94
- 53. Sahih al-Bukhari related by 'Abd Allah b. Dinar: When people swore allegiance to Abd al-Malik, 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar wrote a letter as follows to him:
- "To the servant of Allah, 'Abd al-Malik the commander of the faithful: Truly, I admit my obedience and heedfulness of the servant of Allah, 'Abd al-Malik, according to the traditions of Allah and His Messenger as far as possible, and so do my children." 95
- 54. Sharh Nahj al-Balagha: 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar refused to swear allegiance to Ali (a.s.) but knocked the door of Hajjaj's house at night-time to swear allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik, lest he would be left without an

Imam till the next morning. This idea came to him as he had quoted the Messenger of Allah as saying: "If one dies while having no Imam, he dies as in Jahiliay". The situation got so humiliating as Hajjaj took his foot out of his bed and disdainfully told him to touch it with his hand [for allegiance].96

- 55. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra related by Nafi': In the time of Ibn Zubayr, the Khawarij and Khashabiya<u>97</u> told Ibn 'Umar: You perform prayers with all these (people), although some of them kill the others? Ibn 'Umar answered, "Whoever utters 'make haste to the prayer' (Hayya 'ala' s– salah), I would obey him, and whoever says 'make haste to the killing of your Muslim brother and seizing his property!' I would say "no".98
- 56. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra related by Sayf al-Mazini-: Ibn 'Umar would say: "I would not fight in sedition but would say prayer behind whoever is victorious."99
- 57. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihin related by 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar-: "I do not regret for anything except that I did not fight alongside Ali (a.s.) against the rebels." 100
- 58. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra related by Habib b. Abi Thabit: I heard Ibn 'Umar tell me on his deathbed, "I do not regret over anything in the world, except that I did not fight against the group of rebels." 101 See The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin, V, 332 ('Abd Allah b. 'Umar).

b) Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas

He converted to Islam at nineteen 102 and fought in battles alongside the prophet (S).103 The Sunnis count him as one of "the ten annunciated to paradise" ('ushratun mubashshira).104 He was chosen as the commander of the Qadisiya Troops in the Caliphate of 'Umar105, thereby enjoying high reputation in the history of Islam. Then he became the governor of Kufa106 and when the Kufans complained about him, 'Umar discharged him. 107

Sa'd was a member of the electoral council 108 who left the council in favor of 'Abd al– Rahman b. 'Awf. 109 In the caliphate of 'Uthman he once again took office as the governor of Kufa for a while. 110 After some time, 'Uthman dismissed him and designated Walid b. 'Agaba in his place. 111

After the caliphate of mam Ali (a.s.), Sa'd did not swear allegiance to him<u>112</u> and in the battles led by Ali (a.s.) secluded himself and did not help him.113

He admired Al-Imam Ali (a.s.) and enumerated his excellence in the reign of Mu'awiya and in his presence. 114 Mu'awiya took umbrage at this; he cursed him and told him, "If you admit to all this, why didn't you help him? 115 [Later on] He admitted his own failure to swear allegiance to Ali (a.s.) and to accompany him. 116

Sa'd died in 55 AH/ 674 CE. 117 His son, 'Umar b. Sa'd, was the commander of the 'Umayyad troops in the tragedy of Karbala. 118

59. Al-Mustadrak Ala al-Sahihin – related by Khaythama b. Abd al-Rahman: I heard someone say to Sa'd b. Malik: Truly, Ali (a.s.) reprimands you. Why did you shun allegiance to him? Sa'd replied: By Allah, that was what I concluded and [I admit that] I made a mistake. Truly, Ali (a.s.) possesses three features that if one of them belonged to me, it was more favorable to me than the whole world and what it contains. 119

60. Muruj al-Dhahab – related by 'A'isha et al: After Sa'd admired Ali (a.s.), reminded some of his features, wishing for possessing one of them, Mu'awiya told him, "Be seated and listen to the reply to your words. You have never been more reproachable to me than now. [if you mean what you say] Why didn't you help him? Why did you refuse swearing allegiance to him? In truth, if what I heard from you about Ali (a.s.) I had heard from the Prophet (S), I would have been a servant to him as long as I lived."

Sa'd said, "By Allah, I deserve this position [serving Ali (a.s.)] more than you." Then Mu'awiya went on to say, "The offspring of Bani 'Udhra tribe would not accept this from you (Sa'd is said to belong to Bani 'Udhra tribe). 120 See The Encyclopedia of Amir al–Mu'minin, VIII, 313 (Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas).

c) Muhammad b. Muslima

He was one the companions of the Messenger of Allah who was present in all his battles 121 except in the Battle of Tabuk. 122 After [the demise of] the Prophet (S), he accompanied 'Umar-when they entered hadrat Fatima (a.s.)' house-and he is the one who is said to have broken Zubayr's sword 123 and was an accomplice in killing Sa'd b. 'Ubada. 124

He was in charge of inspecting state administrators during the hukuma of 'Umar. Whenever a complaint was brought against one of the administrators, 'Umar would dispatch him to see into the matter. 125

Muhammad refused to swear allegiance to Ali (a.s.) after 'Uthman was murdered and regarded it as "sedition". Therefore he secluded himself and took up a wooden sword. 126

He was killed by a man from Jordan due to his not obeying Ali (a.s.) and Mu'awiya. 127

d) Usama b. Zayd

Usama was an ally of the Prophet (S) 128. His mother, Umm Ayman was one of the Prophet's wet nurses. 129

In the last days of his life, the Holy Prophet (S) appointed him as the commander of Islamic Army 130, while he was only 18 years old and people like Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and Abu 'Ubayda were also present [in the army].

In the time of caliphs he was highly respected and honored. 'Umar allocated a salary of five thousand dinars, for him, whereas his own son received only two thousand dinars. 131

He refused to swear allegiance to Ali (a.s.) and gave excuses 132; in some historical accounts it is pointed out that Ali (a.s.) accepted his excuse. 133

Imam Baqir (a.s.) is quoted as saying that, "He had repented his way of acting, so talk but good about him." 134

When Usama died, Imam Hasan (a.s.) shrouded him in red striped cloth of Yaman. 135

e) Hassan b. Thabit

Hassan was a companion and a poet 136 of the Holy Prophet who said about him: "O Hassan! May you always be assisted by the Holy Ghost as long as you give assistance to us by your tongue". He was a poet from among the Ansars who satirized the Qurayshi polytheists and the one who versified the event of Qadir al– Khum. 137

Hassan was such a timid person who did not attend in any of the battles of the Holy Prophet (S). 138 He was an advocate of 'Uthman and disinclined toward Al-Imam Ali (a.s.). 139 He did not participate in pledge of allegiance to Ali (a.s.) and did not attend any of the battles fought by that Holy Imam. Nor did he write any poems in honor of Al-Imam Ali (a.s.) after his caliphate.

Hassan lived for sixty years in jahiliya and sixty years after the advent of Islam. 140

61. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihin – related by 'Urwa on the authority of Safiya, daughter of 'Abd al-Muttalib, "I was the first woman who killed a man. I was in the shelter of Hassan b. Thabit. He was staying with children and women while the Prophet (S) was digging the ditch."

Safiya said, "A Jewish man passed nearby and lingered around our shelter. I said to Hassan, 'This Jewish man is approaching the shelter and I wonder if he would find out our secret. The Prophet (S) and his companions are unaware of us. Go and kill him."

Hassan said, "May Allah bless you daughter of 'Abd al-Muttalib! I swear by Allah that you know I am not for this."

Safiya said, "When Hassan said so and I found that he was not doing anything, I fastened a belt around my waist, and beat the Jewish man up until he was killed. Then I returned to the shelter and said, 'O Hassan! Get out and take his clothes off; I would have done it myself were I not a woman."

Hassan said, "I do not need his clothes." 141

- 1. Al-Isti'ab: III/ 217/ 1875, Muruj al-Zahab: II/ 358, Tarikh al-Tabari: IV/ 436, Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh: II/ 305. It is narrated in the above volumes that, "people presumed that allegiance to the Imam took place the day 'Uthman was killed." Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihayn: III/ 123/ 4594. It is reported in this volume that, "Allegedly, the allegiance to Imam took place after 'Uthman was killed".
- 2. It is reported in some sources that the allegiance took place one day after 'Uthman was killed. Cf., Ansab al-Ashraf: 713.

Other sources state that the allegiance was sworn three days later. Cf. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihayn: III/ 123/ 4594, Al-Akhbar al-Tiwal: 140. Some sources report that the allegiance took place four of five days later. Cf., Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihayn: III/123/4594.

- 3. Tarikh al-Tabari: IV/ 436, Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh: II/ 305.
- 4. Sharh Nahj al-Balagha: VII/36.
- 5. Tarakh al-Damishq: 42/437, Tadhkira al-khawas: 56.
- 6. Nahj al-Balagha: Letter 1, Al-Jamal: 244, Al-Amali, al-Tusi: 718/1518.
- 7. Nahj al-Balagha: Letter 1, Al-Jamal: 244, Al-Amali, al-Tusi: 718/1518.
- 8. Tarikh Damishq: 42/439, Usd al-Ghaba: 4/106/3789.
- 9. Nahj al-Balagha: letter 54, Kash al-Ghumma: 1/239, al-Futuh: 2/465, Al-Imama wa'l-Siyasa: 1/90.
- 10. Al-Futuh: 2/441.
- 11. Al-Amali, Tusi: 728/ 1530, Bihar al-Anwar: 32/ 26/ 9.
- 12. Tarikh al-Tabari: 4/ 427, Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh: 2/ 304, Al-Kafi'a: 12/7.
- 13. Nahj al-Balagha: Sermon 92, Manaqib Al al-Abi Talib: 2/110.
- 14. Tarikh al-T abari: 4/427, Ansab la-Ashraf: 3/11.
- 15. Nahj al-Balagha: Sermon 205.
- 16. Al-Jamal: 267, Bihar al-Anwar: 32/63, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha: 1/09.
- 17. Nahj al-Balagha: sermon 92, Managib al-Al al-Abi Talib: II, 110.
- 18. Nahj al-Balagha: Sermon 3, 'llal al-Shara'i: 12/ 151, Ma'ani al-Akhbar: 1/ 362, Al-Irshad: 1/ 289.
- 19. Nahj al-Balagha: Sermon 131, Tuhaf al-'Uqul: 239, Al-Mi'yar wa al-Muwazina: 277.
- 20. Shah Nahj al-Balagha: 20/299/414, Al-Darajat al-Rafi'a: 38.
- 21. Nahj al-Balagha: Sermon 136, Al-Irshad: 1/243.
- 22. Tarikh al-Tabari: 4/491, Fath al-Bari: 13/57.
- 23. Al-Jamal: 259.
- 24. A parable illustrating the fact that a goat leads the flock here and there.
- 25. Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh: 2/302, Tarikh al-Tabari: 4/428, Nihaya al-Arab: 20/10.
- 26. Al-Qur'an, 2: 156.
- 27. Al-Imama wa al-Siyisa: 1/66.
- 28. Al 'Aqd al-Farid: 3/311.
- 29. Al-Manaqib: 49/11, Usd al-Ghaba: 4/107/3789, Kashf al-Ghumma: 1/78.
- 30. See Bihar al-Anwar: 58/312, Kanz al-Ummal: 10/111.
- 31. Nahj al-Balagha: Sermon 137, Bihar al-Anwar: 32/78/51.
- 32. Nahj al-Balahga: Sermon 3, Ma'ani al-Akhbar: 361/1, 'llal al-Shara'i": 151/12, Al-Irshad: 1/289.
- 33. Nahj al-Balahga: Sermon 54.
- 34. Al-Irshad: 1/244, Al-Ihtijaj: 1/375/68, Al-jamal: 267, Al-'Aqd al-Farid: 3/123.
- 35. Nahj al-Balahga: Sermon 229, Bihar al-Anwar: 32/51/35.
- 36. Waqa'atu Siffin: 65, Sharh Nahj al-Balahga: 3/ 111, Al-Imama wa al- Siyasa: 1/ 105.
- <u>37.</u> Sharh Nahj al-Balahga: 4/ 10. This report is unreliable as 'Abd Allah b. Abbas was 'Uthman's administrator in Hajj and when he arrived Medina, the allegiance to Ali had been accomplished. See Tarikh al-Tabari: 4/439. The reporter may have been 'Abd Allah or Qutham sons of Abbas.
- 38. Al-Futuh: 2/435.
- 39. Al-Jamal: 128. cf. Al-Kafi'a: 12/8, Al-Futuh: 2/434-435.
- 40. Nahj al-Balahga: letter 6, Waq'atu Sffin: 29, Al-Imama wa al-Siyasa: 1/113, Al-'Aqd al-Farid: 3/329.
- 41. Al-Kamil: 1/428, Waq'atu Siffin: 58. cf. Nahj al-Balahga: Letter 7.
- 42. Al-Futuh: 2/439.
- 43. Al-Tabaqat al-Kuba: 3/31.
- 44. This name was given to him by the Prophet (S) when he took side with the Messenger of Allah in a conflict with a Bedouin Arab, reasoning that, "We confirm you in your revelation of Divine Message, why shouldn't we confirm you against

- a Bedouin? (Mu'jam al-Rijal al-hadith: 8/52)
- 45. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi: 2/179.
- 46. Tarikh al-Damishq: 42/437.
- 47. Al-Futuh: 2/439.
- 48. Al-Kamil: 1/428, Waq'atu Siffin: 58, Al-Irshad: 1/243.
- 49. Al-'Aql al-Farid: 3/311, Tarikh al-Tabari: 4/527, Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh: 2/302.
- 50. Al-Irshad: 1/243, Tarikh al-Damishq: 42/437, Sharh al-Nhaj al-Balagha: 4/9.
- 51. Al-Mustadrik 'Ala al-Sahihin: 3/124/127.
- 52. Sharh Nahj al-Balagha: 4/9-10.
- 53. After being defeated in the battle of Jamal, Marwan proposed to swear allegiance to Al-Imam Ali (a.s.). The Imam said upon rejecting his allegiance: "Did he not swear allegiance after the killing of 'Uthman? I do not need his allegiance, because his is the hand of a Jew." Nahg al-Balagha, Sermon 73, Al-khara'ij wa'l jara'ih: 1/197/35.
- 54. Al-Irshad: 1/243, Al-Mi'yar wa'l Muwazina: 105, Al-Akhbar al-Tawal, 140. Also cf. Nahj al-Balagha: Sermon 136.
- 55. Al-Qur'an, 8:23 (Muruj al- Dhahab: 3/24).
- 56. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi: 2/178, Al-Futuh: 2/442-443.
- 57. Tarikh al-Tabari: 4/429, Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh: 2/303.
- 58. Al-Qur'an, 49:9.
- 59. Wagʻatu Siffin: 551.
- 60. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihin: 3/124/4596, Ibid, 127/4605.
- 61. Al-Jamal: 95.
- 62. Tarikh al-Tabari: 4:428.
- 63. Sharh Nahj al-Balagha: 4/8.
- 64. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 4/143, Tahdhib al-Kamal: 15/340/3441, Tarikh al-Baghdad: 1/172/130.
- 65. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 4/142, Tahdhib al-Kamal: 15/333/3441, Tarikh Baghdad: 1/171/13.
- 66. Al-Isti'ab: 3/81/1630, Usd al-Ghaba: 3/337/3082.
- 67. Al-Tabagat al-Kubra: 4/142. Tahdhib al-Kamal: 15/340/3441, Tarikh al-Baghdad: 1/172/130.
- 68. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihin: 3/644/6362, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 4/142.
- 69. Al-Tabagat al-Kubra: 4/143, Tahdhib al-Kamal: 15/333/3441, Tarikh Baghdad: 1/171/13.
- 70. Tahdhib al-Kamal: 15/340/3441, Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihin: 3/644/6362.
- 71. Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 3/204/45, Tarikh al-Islam:5/455/199.
- 72. Tarikh al-Yaqubi: 2/160, Tarikh al-Tabari:4/228, Al-Kamil Fial-Tarikh: 2/219.
- 73. Tarikh al-Yaqubi: 4/229, Al-Kamil Fial-Tarikh: 2/220, Tarikh Damishq: 31/179.
- 74. Al-Isti'ab: 3/472/2464.
- 75. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 4/182, Muruj al-Dhahab: 2/361.
- 76. Sahih al-Bukhari: 6/2634/6777 & 6779, Al-Muwatta: 2/983/3.
- 77. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 5/111, Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 4/128/36.
- 78. Sharh Nahj al-Balagha: 13/242, Al-Fusul al-Mukhtara: 245, Al-IIah: 73.
- 79. Al-Isti'ab: 3/83/1630, Usd al-Ghaba: 3/339/3082.
- 80. Nahj al-Balagha: Aphorism 17, Al-Isti'ab: 2/173/968.
- 81. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihin: 3/644/6362, Al-Tabagat al-Kubra: 4/143.
- 82. Fath al-Bari: 12/286.
- 83. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 4/185 & 187, Tarikh Damishq: 31/197, Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 3/232/45.
- 84. Al-Sunan al-Kubra: 8/298/16706, Tarikh Damishq: 31/193, Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 3/229/45.
- 85. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 4/169, Tarikh Damishq: 31/193, Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 31/191.
- 86. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 4/149, Al-Isti'ab: 3/472/2464.
- 87. Musnad of Ibn Hanbal: 2/412/5713, Ibid. 304/5088, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 4/183.
- 88. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihin: 3/642/6355 & 6358, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 4/187.
- 89. Tarikh al-Tabari: 4/446, Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh: 2/312.

- 90. Tarikh al-Tabari: 4/460, Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh: 2/314.
- 91. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 4/182, Tarikh Damishq: 31/183, Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 3/225/45.
- 92. Al-Isti'ab: 3/472/2464.
- 93. Musnad of Ibn Hanbal: 2/412/5713 & 304/5088, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 4/183.
- 94. Fath al-Bari: 13/195.
- 95. Sahih al-Bukhari: 6/2634/6779 & 6777 & pp. 2654,6844, A-Muwatta: 2/983/3.
- 96. In al-Fusul al- Mukhtara, this hadith goes on as follows: Hajjaj told him, "Yesterday you refused to swear allegiance to Ali (a.s.) although you yourself narrated this hadith [of being left without Imam] and now you have come to me to accept your allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik? My hand is busy; here is my foot swear your allegiance to it!" (Sharh Nahj al-Balagha: 13/242. Also cf. Al-Fusul al-Mukhtara: 245.
- 97. A branch of Jahmaiya, that believed in predestination and viewed man as inanimate.
- 98. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 4/169, Hiliya al-Awliya: 1/309, Tarikh Damishq: 31/191.
- 99. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 4/149.
- 100. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihin: 3/643/6360, Ansab al-Ashraf: 2/404.
- 101. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 4/187, Usd al-Ghaba: 3/339/3082.
- 102. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihin: 3/567/6103, Tahdhib al-Kamal: 10/311/2229.
- 103. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihin: 3/569/6111, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 3/142.
- 104. Tarikh Baghdad: 1/144/4, Tahdhib al-Kamal: 10/310/2229. Tarikh Damishq: 20/280.
- 105. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 12/6, Tarikh Baghdad: 1/144/4, Ibn Qutayba, Al-Ma'arif: 241.
- 106. Al-Isti'ab: 2/172/968, Al-Tarikh al-Saghir: 1/134, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 3/12.
- 107. Ibn Qutayba, Al-Ma'arif: 242, Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 1/117/5, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib: 2/288/2654.
- 108. Tarikh Baghdad: 1/144/4, Hiliya al-Awliya: 1/94, Ibn Qutayba, Al-Ma'arif: 241.
- 109. Al-Sahih al-Bukhari: 3/1356/3497.
- 110. Al-Tarikh al-Saghir: 1/134, Al-Tabagat al-Kubra: 6/12, Ibn Qutayba, Al-Ma'arif: 242.
- 111. Al-Tarikh al-Saghir: 1/134, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 6/12, Ibn Qutayba, Al-Ma'arif: 242.
- 112. Ansab al-Ashraf: 3/9, Tarikh al-Tabari, 4/431, Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh: 2/303.
- 113. Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 1/122/5.
- 114. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihin: 3/117/4575, Muruj al-Dhahab: 3/23.
- 115. Muruj al-Dhahab: 3/24.
- 116. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihin: 3/126/4601, Manaqib Al al-Amir al-Mu'minin: 2/401/878.
- 117. Al-Tarikh al-Saghir: 1/126, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 3/149, Al-Mu'jam al-Kabir: 1/1239/301.
- 118. Al-Ma'arif, Ibn Qutayba: 243.
- 119. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihin: 3/126/4601, Manaqib Al al-Amir al-Mu'minin: 2/401/878.
- 120. Muruj al-Dhahab: 3/24.
- 121. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 3/443, Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 2/369/77, Usd al-Ghaba: 5/107/4768.
- 122. Usd al-Ghaba: 5/107/4768, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 3/443, Al-Isaba: 6/28/7822.
- 123. Sharh Nahj al-Balagha: 6/48, Al-Sunan al-Kubra: 8/263/16587, Qamus al-Rijal: 8/388.
- 124. Al-Ihtijaj: 1/180/36.
- 125. Usd al-Ghaba: 5/107/4768, Al-Isaba: 6/29/7822.
- 126. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 3/445, Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 2/369/77, Usd al-Ghaba: 5/107/4768.
- 127. Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 2/373/77, Al-Isaba: 6/29/7822.
- 128. Rijal al-Tusi: 21/1, Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 2/497/10 Usd al-Ghaba: 1/195/84.
- 129. Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 2/497/10 Usd al-Ghaba: 1/195/84.
- 130. Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 2/500/104, Usd al-Ghaba: 1/195/84, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra: 2/190.
- 131. Usd al-Ghaba: 1/195 & 196/84.
- 132. Usd al-Ghaba: 1/196/84.
- 133. Rijal al-Kashshi: 1/197/82.
- 134. Ibid., 195/81.

- 135. Al-Kafi: 3/149/9, Tahdhib al-Ahkam: 1/296/868, Rijal al-Kashshi: 1/193/80.
- 136. Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 2/512/106.
- 137. Al-Irshad: 1/177, Khasa'is al-A'imma: 42, I'lam al-Wara: 1/262 & 263.
- 138. Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 2/513-521/106, Usd al-Ghaba: 2/6-9/1153.
- 139. Muruj al-Dhahab: 2/356, Ansab al-Ashraf: 3/164, Al-Gharat: 1/221.
- 140. Siayru A'alam al-Nubala: 2/512/106, Usd al-Ghaba: 2/9/1153.
- 141. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihin: 4/56/6867, Al-Sunan al-Kubra: 6/502/12772.

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