

## Part 3: Peacemaking

# The Motives Of The Two Parties For Making Peace

No wonder Mu'awiya was the first to ask al-Hasan for making peace.<sup>1</sup> So he accepted al-Hasan's conditions to take one thing from him, that was government.

Mu'awiya made this plan of his when the two parties were getting ready to wage war against each other. He paid attention to carry out this plan. more than he paid attention to organizing his armies and managing war affairs. He thought that it was better for him to be the first to ask al-Hasan for making peace with him. If al-Hasan accepted his request, it would be okay; other wise he would force him to do that without meeting him at a battle.

First of all, to pave the way for his purpose, Mu'awiya did his best to create an appropriate atmosphere through drawing the attention of his opponents to recall peace making.

From here Mu'awiya sent his men to pass false rumors through the camps of al-Hasan, peace be on him. He bribed some military commanders. For example, he bribed one of them with one million dirhams, as we have already mentioned when we talked about `Ubayd Allah b. `Abbas. Moreover, he tempted some leaders through making promises such as supreme command, authority over a certain country, and arranging marriages between them and the Umayyad princesses.

Mu'awiya used all his abilities, all his talents, and all his experiences to fulfill this idea. Many of those who sold their consciences, and who showed apparent friendship towards al-Hasan responded to him. So they became Mu'awiya's secret spies, his working fingers, and his hirelings who spared no effort to carry out his aims.

Besides, Mu'awiya used other ways to urge al-Hasan to make peace with him such as sending armies

and weapons to the camps, logistic movements, and the like. However, he did not want to be the first to attack Iraq with these armies and weapons. In other words he did not want to meet al-Hasan, peace be on him, at a battle except when all his ways went in vain. Worth mentioning, Mu'awiya's ways were quite different from that of the people and the religion.

It is an act of truthfulness to say: Indeed, in this field, Mu'awiya's ways were well-woven. He was very successful in preparing special atmospheres to make his enemy accept reconciliation.

The commander of the Iraqi front and his close associates sold their consciences to Mu'awiya for false promises.

The two camps in al-Mada'in and Maskan were full of false rumors that filled the soldiers with fear.

Al-Hasan himself was unable to impose his orders on his army because of the false rumors -that passed through them.

He was unable to appear before many of his soldiers because they would kill him. Accordingly, was there a way other than reconciliation?

It was difficult to reform the condition because the people were corrupt during it. So no one is able to blame al-Hasan when the people became corrupt during that time. That is because they were deviated from the truth by nature. Thus even Islam was unable to reform them.

Al-Hasan lost his first battle because of the treason of his soldiers or because of the skillful discords his enemy used. So he had to face his second battle which the treason of the soldiers did not affect, the deviation of their natures did not harm, and the tricks of the enemy and his skillful discords did not increase but steadfastness, influence, and victory in the course of days.

This was the way which al-Hasan used in an excellent manner to exploit Mu'awiya though the latter was very careful of the former.

Al-Hasan responded to Mu'awiya's request for making peace. However, he made him bind himself by conditions which he would break one by one. So if Mu'awiya did that, the people would declare their wrath and protest against him. Thus peacemaking was the beginning of the wrath that has lasted for generations. Also this wrath was the beginning of the revolutions that happened successively to remove that usurping regime from history.

This was the political plan through which al-Hasan accepted making peace with Mu'awiya. Also this was the way through which he exploited Mu'awiya. Accordingly, this plan and this way were among the meanings of the oppressed genius of the oppressed Imam.

Therefore, no one is able to blame al-Hasan, peace be on him, for making peace with Mu'awiya. That is because al-Hasan made peace with him according to a drawn plan.

The critical situation at the camps and the expected results encouraged al-Hasan to make peace with Mu'awiya. For example, this act would reform the community, prevent bloodshed, preserve the holy places, achieve the Islamic viewpoint, and so on.

Those months were not as equal as the ten forgers, but they were full of disasters and hardships as many as the stars. They were a period of time that filled the heart with love and admiration. The manners of the Prophet and the qualities of the truthful Imams appeared during them. They (the months) showed many facts about the people in both sides. During them the best reformatory acts were concluded. On their virtuous end, the interest of the world was connected with the interest of the sky.

Suddenly, al-Hasan b. 'Ali became a great reformer. He embodied the good news his grandfather the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, gave in the tradition which we have mentioned before: "Indeed this (grand) son of mine is a lord, and Allah will make peace between two great groups from the Muslims through him."

Allah, the Exalted, has preserved the high honor of the members of this House in all fields: victory, holy martyrdom in the way of Allah and history, and peacemaking.

Enough for honor is peacemaking. Enough for victory is immortal honor. Immortal honor guarantees the lasting fame. The fame is a continuous motive that develops life and sovereignty.

Now, it is easy for us to understand the motives that urged al-Hasan, peace be on him, to make peace with Mu'awiya.

As for the motives that urged Mu'awiya to ask al-Hasan to make peace with him, they were quite different from those of al-Hasan. They do not indicate that Mu'awiya was unable to fight against al-Hasan, nor do they indicate that he had a religious viewpoint concerning reconciliation and preventing bloodshed. So neither peace nor preventing bloodshed were the motives of Mu'awiya. He was indifferent to them. He wanted to achieve his ambitions through conquering the Muslim countries. The proofs for that are his attacks against Medina, Mecca, and the Yemen. Besides he adopted impudent attitudes at the Battle of Siffin. Therefore the pure opportunist ambitions urged him to make his fable-like history through making peace with al-Hasan.

Al-Hasan abdicated his right to authority before the public opinion. Thus Mu'awiya thought that he would abdicate his right to the succession. According to this idea he thought that he would be the legal successor over the Muslims!<sup>2</sup>

Government was the sweet dream for which Mu'awiya sacrificed every dear thing. He did not know that Islam refused unlawful ways and did not hand over government to the freed prisoners and their children.

Moreover, we think that Mu'awiya had other motives. Thus he stretched out his hand for reconciliation. Then he took an oath, and underlined the covenants. However, when we consider carefully his other

motives, we will understand that the sweet dream (i.e., supreme authority) is the greatest of them all.

The following occasions indicate some of the motives that urged Mu'awiya to make peace with al-Hasan, peace be on him:

1. Mu'awiya thought that al-Hasan, peace be on him, had the right to assume power. So the former had no way to take the reins of government but through making al-Hasan keep silent even if apparently, and he had no way to make him keep silent but through reconciliation.

As for Mu'awiya's idea concerning al-Hasan's right to authority, it is clear in the letter which the former sent to the latter before their movement to fight each other at Maskan. In his letter, he said: "You are worthier of authority than me." Also it is clear in what Mu'awiya said to his son Yazid when he mentioned the members of the House (Ahl al-Bayt), peace be on them: "My son, indeed authority is their right."<sup>3</sup> Also it is clear in what Mu'awiya wrote to Ziyad b. Abih when he mentioned al-Hasan, peace be on him: "As for that al-Hasan has gained power over you, he has the right to do that."<sup>4</sup>

Also we have seen that Mu'awiya asked the religious opinion of al-Hasan when he faced difficulties. It is as if that he recognized his Imamate.<sup>5</sup>

Also Mu'awiya recognized that al-Hasan was "the Lord of Muslims."<sup>6</sup> Wouldn't the Lord of Muslims be their Imam?

2. Mu'awiya, in spite of his many obedient men, was very afraid of the results of his fighting against al-Hasan. This can be clearly understood from the words which he said concerning his Iraqi opponents: "By Allah, when I remember their eyes under the armors (al-maghafir) at the Battle of Siffin, my reason become confused."<sup>7</sup> Also concerning them, he said: "May Allah make them angry with evil. Their hearts are like the heart of one man."<sup>8</sup> So he thought that making peace with al-Hasan would be better than fighting those whose eyes were under the armors (al-maghafir).

3. Mu'awiya was afraid of the social position of al-Hasan, the (grand) son of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family. Also he was afraid of his unique spiritual position in the Islamic faith so that he wanted to avoid these two positions through making peace with him.

Mu'awiya thought that it was possible for Allah to send someone to the Syrian Camp to draw the attention of the people to the true authority of al-Hasan and to their ugly attitude towards him so that they would revolt against him (i.e., Mu'awiya).

While Mu'awiya was advancing against al-Hasan, he remembered the words which al-Nu'man b. Jibllah al-Tanwakhi said to him at the Battle of Siffin. It's worth mentioning that al-Nu'man was among the commanders of the fighting soldiers of Mu'awiya. The former talked openly to the latter in the manner which no Syrian had done before or after him, and mocked at him to the extent that no subject mocked at him. For this reason Mu'awiya thought that the people would someday have the same feelings which

the helpless al-Tanwakhi had.

Among the words al-Tanwakhi said to Mu'awiya at the Battle of Siffin are: "By Allah, I was sincere to you. I preferred your authority to my religion. I left right guidance for your desire, while I knew that. I deviated from the truth, while I understood that. I have not been granted success since I fought against the cousin of the Apostle of Allah (i.e., Imam 'Ali), may Allah bless him and his family, who was the first to believe in him, and then emigrated (to Mecca to join) him (there). If we had given him what we have given you, he would have been more kinder (than you) to the people and given (them) more than (you do). However, we have given you the authority, and it is necessary to complete it whether it is right or wrong. Far be it to be right! We will fight for the fig of al-Ghouta and its olives if we are deprived of the fruit of the garden and its rivers."<sup>9</sup>

Among the political acts of Mu'awiya was that he prevented the Syrians from knowing the Muslim great figures outside Sham (Syria) lest they should refuse him or mutiny against him. For this reason we do not know how this Syrian man (i.e., al-Nu'man b. Jibllah al Tanwakhi) was able to have knowledge of the cousin of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, his priority to believe in him, his kindness to the people, his generosity in giving, and his right to authority.

Mu'awiya went on making the Syrians ignorant of the great Muslim figures till the end of his lifetime. This policy of his was the means which he used to gather large groups of people and dispatch them to fight against Imam 'Ali at Siffin, and then to fight against al Hasan at Maskan.

You can easily understand the policy of ignorance when you read the following words which Mu'awiya said, though they indicate his weak character, to `Amr b. al-`As: "By Allah, you want nothing but to disgrace me, for the Syrians thought that there was no one like me till they heard from al-Hasan what they have heard."<sup>10</sup>

4. Among the political acts which Mu'awiya used to achieve his selfish ambitions was that he summoned al-Hasan, peace be on him, to make peace with him. In the meantime he summoned many people from Iraq and Sham (Syria) and other Muslim countries to bear witness for that. From this summons he wanted nothing but to pave the way to achieve his future objectives through the war between him and al-Hasan.

There were two possible facets: either Sham (Syria) would be ruled by Kufa or the war would destroy al-Hasan, al Husayn, their family, and their Shi'a (followers). Then Mu'awiya would place the responsibility on al-Hasan himself and said to the people: "Indeed I had summoned al-Hasan to peacemaking. However, al-Hasan refused (everything) except the war. I wanted life for him. However, he wanted death for me. I wanted to prevent blood from shedding. However, he wanted to destroy the people between me and him."

Through this excellent act, Mu'awiya would fulfill his aims. In other words he would destroy the family of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and his family. Meanwhile, he would pretend justice. Moreover, the

people whom he summoned to attend peacemaking would confirm his justice.

As for al-Hasan, peace be on him, he was aware of this political plan. Thus he was cleverer and more skillful than his enemy in making use of the conditions and seizing the opportunities to please Allah and to achieve the interests of the Muslims. Accordingly, the critical situations and the evil intentions of Mu'awiya forced him, peace be on him, to accept the idea of making peace with the former.

Al-Hasan intended to destroy Mu'awiya's plans and to prevent him from putting them into effect. Rather he made a wise plan to destroy his opponents in the name of reconciliation. In the chapters that follow, we will mention some explanations appropriate for this subject.

In history there are many stories that indicate that the Syrians had no knowledge of the great figures of Islam. Some of them are: A Syrian asked one of this leaders: "Who is Abu Turab (i.e., Imam 'Ali) whom the Imam (i.e., Mu'awiya) curse on the pulpit?" "I think he is among the thieves of the discords," replied the leader" Also a Syrian asked a friend of his when he heard him mentioning Muhammad: "What do you think of this Muhammad? Is he our Lord?"

When `Abd Allah b. 'Ali conquered Sham (Syria), he sent some Syrian old men from the rich leading people to Abu al-`Abbas al-Saffah. The old men swore by Allah before al-Saffah to denote that they did not know that the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, had relatives nor members of a House to inherit him except the banu (sons) of Umayya till you have taken the reins of government." See al-Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab*, pp. 107-9.

I (i.e., the author) say: This indicates that all the Umayyad kings followed this policy to make the people ignorant of their great figures, especially the members of the House (Ahl al-Bayt), peace be on them, and to prevent their names from entering Sham. Also this indicates that the Syrians took care of their Islam very much. We think that Sham (Syria) during the Umayyad dynasty was still full of the non-Muslim majority that belonged to Rome and Armenia.

1. This is the right idea which al-Hasan's speech indicates when he asked the advice of his companions in al-Mada'in: "Indeed Mu'awiya has summoned us to an affair in which there is neither dignity nor justice." Other references indicate that, too.

2. In this connection, al-Hasan al-Basri said good words. You will read them in chapter 17, 'Mu'awiya and the Succession'. Ahmad (in his book called 'al-Musnad'), Abu Ya'la, al-Tirmidhi, Ibn Hayyan, Abu Dawwwd, and al-Hakim have narrated the following tradition on the authority of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, who said: "The succession (Khilafa) after me will last for thirty (years), then a king (will come) after that."

Abu Nu'aym (in his book called 'al-Fitan'), and al-Bayhaqi (in his book called 'al-Dala'il) have narrated this tradition in this way: "Then a biting king (will come) after that." The Sunni traditionists have regarded the tradition authentic according to their condition. One of them commented on the tradition: "The thirty years after the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, ended when al-Hasan b. 'Ali, peace be on them, became a successor."

Abu Said reported on the authority of `Abd al-Rahman b. Abzi on the authority of `Umar, who said: "This matter is concerning the people (who took part at the Battle of) Badr. No one of them has remained (alive). Then it concerns the people (who took part at the Battle of) Uhud. No one of them has remained (alive). Then it concerns so and so. It (the

tradition) does not concern the freed prisoner, nor the son of the freed prisoner, nor those who became Muslim after the Conquest (of Mecca)."

I (i.e., the author) say: As for the pledge of allegiance which Mu'awiya imposed on the people with his known ways, it made the unlawful lawful.

[3.](#) Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 4, pp., 4 and 5 and 13 and 74.

[4.](#) Ibid.

[5.](#) Al-Ya'qubi, Ta'rikh, vol. 2, pp. 201- 2. Ibn Kathir, al-Bidaya wa al Nahaya, vol. 8, p. 40. Al-Majlisi, Biharal-Anwar, vol. 10, p. 98.

[6.](#) Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, pp. 159- 60.

[7.](#) Al-Mas'udi, Hamish b. al-Athir, vol. 6, p. 67.

[8.](#) Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 3.

[9.](#) Al-Mas'udi, Hashim b. al-Athir, vol. 5, p. 216.

[10.](#) Al-Bayhaqi, al-Mahasin wa al-Masawi', vol. 1, p. 64.

## Peace Treaty

A group of the historians such as al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir has narrated the following: "Indeed Mu'awiya had sent al-Hasan a blank page. In the bottom of the page, there were his stamps." Then Mu'awiya wrote al-Hasan the following: "In this page, whose bottom I have stamped, stipulate whatever you want, for that will be for you."[1](#)

Then the historians have not mentioned the tradition thoroughly, for they have not mentioned what al-Hasan, peace be on him, had written on Mu'awiya's page. We have studied the available reference books but we have not found the complete stipulations of al-Hasan, peace be on him, except separated bits. The narrators have admitted that these bits are part of a complete subject. Only one writer has mentioned a text with a beginning and an end. He has said that the text is the complete Peace Treaty. However, other reports have refuted many items of this text. Worth mentioning is that, these reports are better in Asnad (chain of narrators) and more in number than this reference.

To be acquainted with the contents of the Peace Treaty, we have the right to be satisfied, if we wanted satisfaction, with the narration of the Blank Page (al-Sahifa al-Bayda), as the previous narrators did. That is because they have narrated it briefly. Thus they were satisfied with the summing up instead of the details. That is because carrying out reconciliation was according to this rule: "Stipulate whatever you want, for that will be for you." This means that al-Hasan, peace be on him, filled the page, which was stamped in the bottom, with various stipulations which he wanted, namely with the conditions that were useful for him or his family or his Shi'a (followers) or his objectives. So the page had nothing other than these conditions.

If it is impossible, today, for us to know those conditions in details, at least, we know that they were in

the interest of al-Hasan. That was a certain result, for al-Hasan, peace be on him, was free to make conditions.

Unfortunately, we have not found what al-Hasan had written on the Blank Page. So it is necessary for us to collect the separated items from various books to give the most correct and most important form of all reports concerning this Treaty. We have divided the form into items and added each phrase to the appropriate item to be nearer to the reality.

The form of the Peace Treaty the two parties signed is as follows:

Item One:

Handing over authority to Mu'awiya provided that he should act according to the Book of Allah, the Sunna (practices) of His Apostle, may Allah bless him and his family,<sup>2</sup> and the Sire (behavior) of the righteous Caliphs.<sup>3</sup>

Item Two:

Authority should be for al-Hasan after him.<sup>4</sup> If an accident happened to him, authority should be for his brother al-Husayn.<sup>5</sup> Mu'awiya has no right to entrust anybody to it.<sup>6</sup>

Item Three:

He (Mu'awiya) should abandon cursing the Commander of the faithful and the practice of using the personal prayer (qunut) in the ritual formal prayer (salat) (as prayer) against him,<sup>7</sup> and that he should not mention 'Ali except in a good manner.<sup>8</sup>

Item Four:

He (Mu'awiya) should exclude what is in the treasury of Kufa, that is five million (dirhams). So handing over authority does not include it (i.e., this sum of money). Mu'awiya should send al-Husayn one million dirhams a year, he should prefer the banu (children) of Hashim in giving and gifts to the banu 'Abd Shams, and should divide one million (dirhams) among the sons of those who were killed with the Commander of the faithful at the Battle of the Camel and the Battle of Siffin, and should spend that from the taxes of Dar Abjard.<sup>9</sup>

Item Five:

"The people should be safe wherever they are in the earth of Allah; in Sham (Syria), Iraq, Hijaz, the Yemen, etc. He should give security to the black and the red (ones). He (Mu'awiya) should bear their slips, should not follow some of them for the bygone nor should he punish the Iraqis for their hostility."<sup>10</sup>

"The companions of 'Ali should be given security wherever they are, that he (Mu'awiya) should not expose the Shi'a of 'Ali to any evil, that the companions and the Shi'a of 'Ali should be given security over

their lives, their properties, their women, and their children, nor should he pursue them for a certain thing, nor should he expose them to any evil, and that he should give them their rights.[11](#)

"He (i.e., Mu'awiya) should not seek a calamity secretly or openly for al-Hasan b. 'Ali, nor for his brother al-Husayn, nor for anyone from the family of the Apostle of Allah, nor should he frighten them in any country of the countries."[12](#)

The End

Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari said: "Then `Abd Allah b. `Amir (i.e., Mu'awiya's messenger to al-Hasan, peace be on him) wrote to Mu'awiya all the conditions which al-Hasan dictated to him. So Mu'awiya wrote all that with his own writing and stamped them with his own stamp, confirmed them with certain covenants and strong oath, and made all the leaders of the Syrians bear witness for that. Then he handed them (i.e., the conditions) to `Abd Allah b. `Amir to send them to al-Hasan."[13](#)

Historians other than b. Qutayba al-Dinawari have mentioned the form of the text which Mu`awiya wrote at the end of the Peace Treaty. In the meantime Mu`awiya made a covenant with Allah to fulfill al Hasan's conditions.

This form is as follows: "Concerning that, Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan is obliged to fulfill the covenant of Allah and His promise, what Allah obligated His creatures to fulfill, and what Allah has given of Himself."[14](#)

That was in the middle of the month of Jamadi al-Ula, in the year 41 A.H. according to the most authentic reports.

[1.](#) Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 93. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 162.

[2.](#) Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 4, p. 6.

[3.](#) Ibn `Aqil, al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya, p. 156. Al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 10, p. 115.

[4.](#) Al-Sayuf, Ta'rikh al-Khulafa', p. 194. Ibn Kathir, al-Bidaya wa al-Nahaya, vol. 8, p. 41. Ahmad Shahab al-Din al-`Asqalani, al-Isaba fi Tamiiz al-Sahaba, vol. 2, pp. 12- 13. Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, p. 150. Farid Wajdi, Da'irat al-Ma'arif al-Islamiya, vol. 3, p. 443.

[5.](#) Ibn al-Muhanna, `Umdat al-Talib, p. 52.

[6.](#) Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 4, p. 8

Al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 10, p. 115. Ibn al-Sabbagh, al-FusW al Muhimma.

[7.](#) Muhsin al-Amin al-`Amili, A'yan al-Shi'a, vol. 4, p. 43.

[8.](#) Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 26. Ibn Abu al Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 4, p. 15.

Other than these two authors said: "Indeed, al-Hasan asked Mu'awiya not to curse 'Ali. However, Mu'awiya disagreed with him on refraining from cursing him, and agreed with him on that 'Ali should not be cursed while he (i.e., Mu'awiya) hears that." Ibn al-Athir said: "Then Mu'awiya broke that, too."

[9.](#) Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, p. 200. Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 92. Ibn Babawayh, `Ilal al-Sharaiya`, p. 81. Ibn Kathir, al-Bidaya wa al-Nihaya, vol. 8, p. 14.

Dar Abjard is a town on the borders of Ahwaz in Persia (Iran).

[10.](#) Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, Maqata al-Talibiyyin, p. 26. Ibn Abu al Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 4, p. 15. Al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 10, pp. 101 and 115. Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al Siyasa, p. 200. We have quoted each

paragraph letter by letter from its source.

[11.](#) Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 97. Ibn al-Aft, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 166. Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 26. Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 4, p. 15. Al-Majlisi, Bihar alAnwir, vol. 10, p. 115.

Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Babawayh, 'Ilal al-Sharaiya', p. 81. Muhammad b. 'Aqil, al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya, p. 115.

[12.](#) Al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 10, p. 115. Muhammad b. 'Aqil, al-Nasa'ih al-Kufiya, p. 156.

[13.](#) Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, p. 200.

[14.](#) Al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar, VOL 10, p. 115.

## Prominent Texts In The Peace Treaty

The form of the Peace Treaty, whose objective elements are religiously and politically important, is a new proof for the success which al-Hasan achieved. In the meantime it indicates that he had a high politico- religious viewpoint.

In the light of what has been narrated on the authority of al-Hasan such as arrangements and laws that were the best of the political acts during his time, it is an act of truthfulness to admit that al-Hasan had excellent political abilities. If he had been allowed to put his outstanding political abilities into effect, he would have been the most brilliant Muslim politician. Moreover, deprivation of authority and failure in a certain field due to certain conditions are not proofs for showing weakness or criticism. For there are many undoubtful and unquestionable proofs that indicate that al-Hasan had careful consideration, strong arrangements, and high opinions.

Personal abilities play an important role in the practical field even though they are exposed to deprivation and failure. This great man (i.e., al-Hasan) was full of these abilities. Thus he was able to preserve the life of all the community in present and future times. That is because these abilities helped him, peace be on him, to make a plan with conditions in an excellent manner to face his opponents.

From the eloquence of the Peace Treaty and its five items, you understand that al-Hasan did not treat his matter at random, nor did he deal with it part-by-part or section-by-section. Rather he put an idea with coherent parts and regular dimensions. Also you understand that al-Hasan did his best to find the most practical conditions as precautionary steps to maintain his legal right to authority and to preserve his position and the position of his brother, and to facilitate the affairs of his family.

In the Peace Treaty, al-Hasan asked Mu'awiya to give security to his Shi'a (followers) and the Shi'a of his father. Also he asked him to spend one million dirhams on the orphans who belonged to his Shi'a. With this sum of money, al-Hasan wanted to reward them for their steadfastness with him and their loyalty to his father. He wanted to keep them as trustees for his doctrine and as loyal supporters to strengthen his position and the position of his brother on the day when the situation would return to normal.

Through the Peace Treaty, al-Hasan handed authority to Mu'awiya provided that the latter should act according to the Book of Allah, the Sunna (practices) of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family, and the Sira (practices) of the Orthodox Caliphs. In this way, al-Hasan was able to reduce the authority of his enemy. In other words he reduced the violations of his enemy through the foregoing conditions. That is because the violations of Mu'awiya cannot be counted and were severe in punishment. This indicates that al-Hasan was the most knowledgeable of all people in Mu'awiya and his moral abilities towards these conditions.

Moreover, the Peace Treaty was the document which the two parties (i.e., al-Hasan and Mu'awiya) signed to conform to the conditions where in. Accordingly, the Peace Treaty was at most the matter of limited material things which one of the two parties (i.e., Mu'awiya) wanted to get. In the meantime it was the matter of limitless spiritual things which the second party (i.e., al-Hasan) obtained.

Through his reconciliation with al-Hasan, peace be on him, Mu'awiya did not intend to get anything but to take the reins of government. However, when al-Hasan handed over authority to Mu'awiya, he intended to safeguard his doctrine from distortion and his Shi'a from destruction, and to underline that the usurped right (to authority) should be returned on the day when Mu'awiya would die.

It is an act of correctness that we do not understand the meaning of the Peace Treaty but through this facet.

To understand clearly the aims of the two parties, we have to analyze their words on the day when they made peace with each other.

### 1. The Declarations of the two Parties

It is enough for us to mention the words which Mu'awiya said concerning the Peace Treaty with al-Hasan, peace be on him. Many historians have narrated these words on his authority. Among them is b. Kathir, who has reported these words of Mu'awiya: "We are satisfied with it (i.e., the Peace Treaty) (to take the reins of) government."<sup>1</sup>

When Mu'awiya exchanged letters with al-Hasan to pave the way to the Peace Treaty, he said: "It is for you that you are not ruled with wrong, the affairs are not executed without you, and you are not disobeyed in any affair."<sup>2</sup>

It is enough for us to mention the declarations which al-Hasan said to make his Shi'a understand the backgrounds of his reconciliation with Mu'awiya: "You do not know what I have done. By Allah, what I have done for my Shi'a is better than what the sun rises over." Also what he said one day to Bashir al-Hamadani who was among the chiefs of his Shi'a in Kufa: "With my reconciliation I wanted nothing but to drive killing away from you."<sup>3</sup> Also what he said in his speech after peacemaking: "Men, Allah has guided you (to belief) with the foremost one of us, and prevented your blood from shedding with the last one of us. I have made peace with Mu'awiya while I know that it may be a tribulation and a provision till a

time." 4

These declarations and the many ones similar to them, whether they belonged to a1- Hasan, peace be on him, or to Mu'awiya help us understand the document signed by the two parties. The two parties intended to achieve the aims which we have already mentioned: Mu'awiya intended to achieve his ambition through assuming power, while al-Hasan made a plan to save his Shi'a from killing, to preserve his religious doctrines that were better than what the sun rose over, and to make peace with Mu'awiya for a fixed time.

Now, there is no wonder when we mention the truth as it is and refer to the deviation (from the truth) of many historians who distorted the aims of the two parties and misunderstood their words. You may find that the Peace Treaty itself and the declarations of the two parties have never mentioned a pledge of allegiance, nor Imamate, nor caliphate (succession). So why have some historians claimed that? For example, b. Qutayba al-Dinawari said that al-Hasan pledged allegiance to Mu'awiya for the Imamate.

Before we discuss this matter or those who believe in it, it is better for us to shed light upon the Islamic caliphate which was attributed to Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan and the Islamic Law that prevented the people from pledging allegiance to those who were like him. In this connection, we say:

## **Mu'awiya and the Succession**

We have already mentioned that the succession in Islam after the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, should be for those who were similar to him in all his outstanding qualities and that neither the freed prisoner, nor his son, nor those who became Muslims after the Conquest of Mecca had the right to succeed the Prophet as `Umar b. al-Khattab said. Also we have previously said that the caliphate (succession) after the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family, would last for thirty years, and then a biting king would take it. (The Sunnis have a corrected tradition).

We have also said that the Imamate was concluded through the textual nomination (as the Shi'a and the Mu'tazilites believe) and that the victory and force made the unlawful thing lawful. Therefore it is not correct to take the Caliphate by force. Also it is not correct to impose it on the Muslims by force.

Besides the person who succeeded the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family, had no right to oppose his (the Prophet's) rules openly and secretly, while Mu'awiya had violated them openly and secretly when he committed ugly deeds such as adding the adulterer to his lineage, performing Friday prayer on Wednesday, and breaking the pledge he made with Allah.

Moreover, from the time of Mu'awiya till this time, the learned people in the Islamic community have not regarded Mu'awiya's authority over the Muslims as succession, in the full sense of the word. They have not regarded him as successor after the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family.

Noteworthy the Umayyad nominal successors and their followers volunteered to propagate that for one

thousand months. That was the period of their dynasty in Islam. During this period of time, they spent bribes generously, and fabricated traditions and stories according to their plans and desires. Still Mu'awiya was a mere worldly king and nominal caliph.

After Mu'awiya had taken the reins of government, Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas came to him and said: "oh King, as- salamu `alayka!" Mu'awiya smiled at him and said: "Abu Ishaq, what prevent you from saying: `Commander of the faithful'?" Sa'd said: "Do you say this cheerfully? By Allah, I dislike to call you the Commander of the faithful as I called him (i.e., 'Ali) with it."[5](#)

In a long speech, b. `Abbas said to Abu Musa al Ash'ari: "Mu'awiya has no quality to be a successor."[6](#)

To oppose Mu'awiya's succession, Abu Hurayra has narrated the following on the authority of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, "The successor (Khilafa) is in Medina and the king is in Syria (Sham)."[7](#)

Ibn Abu Shayba has narrated: "Sufayna, the servant of the Apostle of Allah (may Allah bless him and his family), was asked about the worthiness of the banu (sons) of `Umayya of the succession (Khilafa), so he said: `The banu of al-Zarqa' (i.e., the Umayyads) have told lies.

Rather they are kings from the evil kings. Mu'awiya is the first of them."[8](#)

`A'isha was astonished to hear that Mu'awiya claimed that he was the successor (Khalifa). He heard of that, so he said: "How wonderful! `A'isha claims that I am inappropriate for the Caliphate. May Allah forgive her. Why does she oppose that?"[9](#)

Abu Bakra (Ziyad's half brother, on his mother's side) attended the meeting of Mu'awiya. The latter said to him: "Abu Bakra, tell us." Abu Bakra (as b. Sa'd narrated) said: "I heard the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family saying: `The succession (Khilafa) will (last for) thirty (years), then the king (will come).'" `Abd al-Rahman b. Abu Bakra said: "I was with my father, so Mu'awiya ordered us to be pushed in the back till we were taken out."[10](#)

Mu'awiya asked Sa'sa'a b. Sawhan al-`Abdi: "Which of the caliphs do you regard me?"

Sa'sa'a said: "What do you think of the caliph who have ruled the people by force, subjugated them with haughtiness, and assumed power through false ways (such as) telling lies and cunning? Indeed, by Allah, you had neither a sword nor a spear at (the Battle of) Badr. You and your father were in the war and the trade. You were from those who provoked (the people) against the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family. Indeed, you are a freed prisoner and the son of a freed prisoner. The Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, released you. So is the succession to authority appropriate for the freed prisoner?"[11](#)

Al-Mughira b. Shu'ba came to Mu'awiya, then he left him and said to his son: "I have come from the most evil of all people."[12](#)

Mu'awiya's governor Samra cursed him on the day when he removed him from the authority of Basrah. He (Samra) said: "My Allah curse Mu'awiya, by Allah, if I had obeyed Allah as I obeyed him (Mu'awiya), He (Allah) would have never tortured me." [13](#)

Al-Hasan al-Basri said: "Mu'awiya had four qualities. If he had only one of them, it would have been a grave sin: he controlled this community with the foolish, so he assumed power without asking its advise, while among it was the rest of the Companions (of the Prophet) and the virtuous. He appointed his son as successor, while he was drunkard, wore silk, played on the mandolins. He claimed that Ziyad was (his brother), while the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, said: "The child is for bed and the prostitute is stoned." [14](#) Moreover, he killed Hujr, woe unto him from Hujr and the Companions of Hujr!"

After the Peace Treaty, the Mu'tazilites refused to pledge allegiance to Mu'awiya. They isolated themselves from both al-Hasan and Mu'awiya. For this reason they called themselves the Mu'tazilites. [15](#)

Then the days of Mu'awiya passed, so the jurists of the Four Schools have regarded him as an example of the oppressive ruler. [16](#)

Also he became the aggressor against whom fighting was obligatory according to the idea of Abu Hanifa al-Nu'man b. Thabit. [17](#)

So I (i.e., the author) wonder: where is the succession (Khilafa)?

Al-Mu'tazid al-'Abbasi came (to power). He propagated again the deeds of Mu'awiya, his great disasters, what was said concerning him, and what was narrated regarding him. He summoned the Muslims to curse him through the royal decree which was announced to the people in the year 284 A.H. [18](#)

Having mentioned the succession of al-Hasan b. 'Ali, peace be on them, al-Ghazali said: "The Caliphate reached the people who assumed it without worthiness. [19](#)

The most wonderful words said concerning Mu'awiya in the sixth century A.H., were those of the chief of Basrah: "Mu'awiya was like the false dirham." [20](#)

Ibn Kathir declared that Mu'awiya was not the successor according to the previous tradition (of the Prophet): "We have already mentioned that the succession after him (i.e., the Prophets peace be on him, would (last) for thirty years, then a king (would come). Surely, the thirty years were over in (the beginning) of the succession of al Hasan b. 'Ali, so the days of Mu'awiya were the beginning (of the authority) of the king." [21](#)

After al-Dimyari (died 808 A.H.) had mentioned the period of the succession of al-Hasan, peace be on him, he said: "It (i.e., the period of the succession of al-Hasan) was the end of what the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, said concerning the period of the succession, then it (the Caliphate)

would be (assumed by) a biting king, then it would be tyranny and corruption in the earth, that occurred as the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, said." [22](#)

At last, Muhammad b. `Aqil wrote his valuable book `al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya liman yatawalld Mu'awiya.' Indeed, the book is the decisive idea concerning the matter of Mu'awiya. The book was printed twice. Please, see the book.

The Islamic Law refuses such a kind of succession. Mu'awiya clearly disobeyed the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family. The learned people blamed him for that. Therefore we think that there is no need to go on discussing the subject: Mu'awiya and the Succession.

Like the other Muslim leaders, al-Hasan himself, after he had handed over the authority to Mu'awiya, was clear in denying Mu'awiya's succession. In his speech on the day when he held a meeting in Kufa, al-Hasan said: "Mu'awiya has claimed that I have seen him worthy of the succession, and I have not seen myself worthy of it. Mu'awiya has told lies. We are the worthiest of all people of the Book of Allah, the Great and Almighty, as His Apostle said." (We will mention his speech in chapter 18.)

In another speech, after the Peace Treaty, al-Hasan said in the presence of Mu'awiya: "The caliph is not he who believes in oppression, stops the laws, and regards the life in this world as father and mother. However, that is a king who obtains supreme authority to enjoy it, hastens towards its pleasure, and pays no attention to its final consequence. So he is as Allah, the Great and Almighty, said: `And I do not know of this may be a trial for you and a provision till a time.'" [23](#)

## 2. Ideas on the Pledge of Allegiance

In his book `Usul al-Kafi, p. 61', Muhammad b. Ya'qub al Kulayni, may Allah have mercy on him, has narrated: "Indeed al Hasan stipulated that he should not call Mu'awiya Commander of the faithful (Amir al-mu'minin)."

In his book `Ilal al-Shard' p. 81', Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Babawayh said: "Indeed al-Hasan stipulated that he should not testify that he called Mu'awiya the Commander of the faithful."

These two reports are cautious of recognizing the correctness of the succession of Mu'awiya and of the pledge of allegiance to him. Therefore al-Hasan handed over government to Mu'awiya, not the succession to authority.

As for the words of al-Dinawari in his book `al-Imama wa al Siyasa' that al-Hasan pledged allegiance to Mu'awiya for the Imamate, they oppose, first of all, Mu'awiya's abilities which we have already mentioned to show the relationship between him and the succession and the competence of the pledge of allegiance over the Muslims. Also these words oppose the declarations of al-Hasan who refused the succession of Mu'awiya, whether in his previous sermons or in his clear reservations in these two reports.

Concerning the matters of al-Hasan and Mu'awiya, al-Dinawari indicates plain partiality that was inappropriate for such a historian who lived in the third century when there was neither Mu'awiya nor his bribes nor his claims. However, these words resulted from the emotional motives that urged most of our historians. So al-Dinawari said again: "Neither al-Hasan nor al-Husayn saw evil or misfortune throughout Mu'awiya's lifetime." I (i.e., the author) say: Which evil is more horrible than usurping the throne unjustly? Again I wonder: are these the criteria of al-Dinawari?

If we want to look for an excuse for those who hastened to mention the pledge of allegiance (to Mu'awiya), we will say that they were affected by the propagation which was still heard. In the history of Islam there is no matter more prominent than transferring authority from the grandson of the Prophet to a freed prisoner from the freed prisoners who were known for their near history. For this reason, love controlled those who denied the Peace Treaty to the extent that they elaborated its annotations and footnotes. So they distorted what happened and forged that which did not happen. They used their imagination to give ideas of the pledge of allegiance to Mu'awiya.

Through these fabricated ideas, the Umayyads were able to take the reins of government after the event of peacemaking.

That is because the Peace Treaty was the pillar on which their claims for the worthiness of the claimed succession was based. For this reason the Muslims thought that Umayyads were not worthy of the succession nor was the succession appropriate for them.

Concerning that the Muslims depend on the words of Sufayna the servant of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family: "The banu (sons) of al-Zarqa' have told lies. Rather they are kings. Mu'awiya is the first of them."

Then the superficial knowledge of our Muslim historians of the history of Islam played an important role in this respect. So they regarded this made-up story as an actual fact. Very few of them refrained from curiosity in speech. Moreover, some of them exceeded the fact, so they mixed the ideas to the extent that they said that al Hasan recognized openly the pledge of allegiance to Mu'awiya. These mixed ideas made some of them go into fabrication and loss that are inappropriate for the manhood of the Muslim person who writes about a grandson of his great Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family. Besides these mixed ideas endangered historical honesty. Accordingly, some of such kinds of historians have claimed that al Hasan sold the succession to authority for money.

Now, we are in no need to answer the claims of the liars.

If we want to understand the reconciliation which the two parties (i.e., al-Hasan and Mu'awiya) accepted, first we must depend on the meaning of the pledge of allegiance and the meaning of the Imamate as they are, and then we must depend on the reports of the event and the declarations of those who are specialists in the matter.

There are many proofs for this fact, so it leaves no room for doubt.

In the past the people resorted to the sayings of the old historians to understand the past events, namely they resorted to the historians who were contemporary with those events or came after them in a short period of time. This way led the later generations to different ideas and various parties. That happened in Muslim society and religion.

That is because the authorities of this history were under the influence of the ideas and the parties which they were unable to avoid during their times. At that time it was difficult for a certain author to avoid, in what he wrote, the emotional effects that took part in forming his literary works and in managing his social acts and interests. From here the sorrowful sensible worry appeared in many matters of Islamic history.

It is an act of truthfulness to say that the story of the pledge of allegiance with which the matter of al-Hasan was defamed was the result of that influence under which the historians had written their ideas. So they were either partial in writing down this story as a real truth to gain an immediate interest or they were ignorant of the reality.

Thus they thought that the declaration of handing over the authority in the text of the Peace of Treaty would permit them or help them enlarge the claim of the yielding to the pledge of allegiance. However, the historians did not know that the succession, as a Divine office, was not liable to any bargaining or handing over. Also the times could not change it through peacemaking or arbitration.

To understand clearly 'handing over the authority' which has been mentioned in the first item in the Peace Treaty, we must depend on our method to conclude seriousness from the joking of the historians. So we must study this brief explanation through the two parties themselves.

### 3. Handing over the Authority

From what we have already mentioned, we have understood that Mu'awiya said to his son Yazid concerning the members of the House (Ahl al-Bayt), peace be on them: "Indeed the right is their right."

Also we have known that Mu'awiya wrote to al-Hasan to pave the way to peacemaking: "The matters are not settled without you, and you are not disobeyed in a certain matter."

Also we have understood that Mu'awiya said after the Peace Treaty: "We have accepted it for authority."

Also we have known that Mu'awiya addressed the people from the pulpit of Kufa on the day when he arrived in it: "I have not fought against you to make you pray, nor to fast, nor to make the pilgrimage, nor to pay Zakat (alms). Rather I have fought against you so that I might have power over you."

Also we have understood that al-Hasan b. 'Ali denied the succession to authority before Mu'awiya, so the latter kept silent and did not answer the former.

Therefore we must know that when Mu'awiya accepted the Peace Treaty for authority, he denied it to be succession for himself. That was when he said: "I have not fought against you to make you pray, nor to pay Zakat (alms)." Here Mu'awiya indicated that he was not the successor of religion. However, he was a king in the life in this world. He was indifferent to performing prayers and paying Zakat.

Rather he intended to plot against the people. Mu'awiya said to al-Hasan "The matters are not settled without you." Also he said to his son Yazid: "The right is their right." Thus he recognized the high position of al-Hasan and his authority which was not disobeyed in a certain matter. That was the position of the succession to authority. At that time it was necessary for Mu'awiya to keep silent when al-Hasan denied his succession clearly and accused him of lying when he claimed it for himself without worthiness.

Accordingly, where is the handing over of the succession to authority which the historians claimed?

There is another thing that indicates clearly that Mu'awiya was not the successor. That was when he smiled at Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas on the day when the latter came to the former and said to him: "King, Assalamu `alayka!," and did not say: "Commander of the faithful." The deep meaning of this phrase indicates clearly that Mu'awiya wanted to admit his error when he wanted to take the authority as war booty, not as means between the Muslims and their Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family.

For this reason Mu'awiya was worthy of the words of Sa'd, whom Mu'awiya was unable to trick, when he said to him: "By Allah, I dislike to call Mu'awiya the Commander of the faithful as I called him (i.e., 'Ali) with that." He meant that Mu'awiya was inappropriate for this title that grew on the prohibited blood, the black discords, and the corrupt times.

In accordance with this explanation, Sa'd understood that al-Hasan handed government to Mu'awiya and nothing else. This should be understood according to the language of the Qur'an (i.e., the Arabic language) on the succession or the language of the two contracting parties (i.e., al-Hasan and Mu'awiya) in the Peace Treaty. When the great Muslim researcher, Sayyid Amir 'Ali al-Hindi, may Allah have mercy on him, studied the Peace Treaty, he called it `the abdication from authority.'[24](#)

Some of what al-Hasan, peace be on him, said to those who blamed him for making peace with Mu'awiya is: "Abu `Amir, don't say that I have humiliated the believers. Rather I had hated to kill them for the authority."[25](#)

Also al-Hasan said to another companion of his: "I have made these (the Umayyads) quarrel with each other over the authority of the world, of which I am in no need."[26](#)

In this way we see that the two parties (i.e., al-Hasan and Mu'awiya) agreed on that the battle for which they advanced against each other with their two armies was for the authority. This means that the peace which they concluded in their treaty was for the authority. For they made peace today with each other for what they differed over yesterday. In the viewpoint that was standing between the two parties, through these declarations or on the day when they made peace with each other, there is no mentioning of the

succession to authority whether concerning handing it over or receiving it.

Then, in these declarations, we find them (i.e., al-Hasan and Mu'awiya) agreed on preferring one of them to the other for the position without which the matters would not be decided. It was the position that permitted al-Hasan to say the following words concerning Mu'awiya, namely, it was as if that al-Hasan appointed Mu'awiya to an office while the latter was at that time present at the meeting of the former: "He (i.e., Mu'awiya) is more knowledgeable in his affair and more thankful (to us) for appointing him to this matter."<sup>27</sup> He meant the matter of the authority.

I (i.e., the author) wonder: Do you see the great difference between this position of al-Hasan and what the pedantic ones imagined when they explained handing over the authority as handing over the succession to authority (Khilafa)?

We think that this idea was a mistake which an author made with intention. Then the authors learned it from him without intention. In such a way many mistakes have been made in history. These mistakes have distorted the facts of history, changed some of its splendor, and doubled the efforts of the researchers. Then if you take care of your subject through checking its references, you will find that it belongs to one origin, and then if you check the origin, you will find it belongs to one origin.

As for the nominal succession, we don't oppose it even it was taken by Mu'awiya and those who claimed it for themselves or took it by weapon or inherited it from those who claimed and took it.

If it is true that the community permitted Mu'awiya to derive the succession to authority from the claim and the power of the weapon, then there will be no doubt in the term.

According to this idea, no wonder when Mu'awiya was the successor of the influence and authority, and al-Hasan b. 'Ali was the successor of the Prophet and the partner of the Qur'an.

No wonder when what has been mentioned in some texts, if we suppose that the narration is correct and safe from distortion, is the practical usage of the word (al-Khilafa) in its new meaning!

#### 4. The Fate of the Succession to Authority after Mu'awiya

Mu'awiya sent letters to al-Hasan to pave the way to make peace with him. In these letters the fate of the Succession to authority was clearly limited. For example, Mu'awiya asked al-Hasan to hand over the authority for his lifetime. Thus he said: "The authority will be for you after me."<sup>28</sup> "You are the worthiest of all people of it."

In this way the text has been mentioned in the Peace Treaty.

In such a way the people understood the reconciliation, namely, they understood it as taking the authority by force throughout the lifetime of Mu'awiya who was about thirty years older than al-Hasan. It was expected that Mu'awiya would die before al-Hasan. In this way the truth would return to its proper

place. It is noteworthy that al-Hasan was still at the beginning of his middle age or at the end of his youth.

However, the evil plans had certain considerations that did not depend on the criteria. The plain item concerning the worthiness of al-Hasan of the succession to authority after Mu'awiya was the most prominent of all items of the Peace Treaty. The people knew that for ten years. However, the hostile propagation covered it. Besides the historians distorted it. Thus some of them said: "Mu'awiya had no right to appoint anyone (to the succession to authority)." The others were so kind that they formed it according to their own ideas when they said: "The succession to authority after Mu'awiya would be a Muslim consultative committee."

As for the truthful historians, they have narrated it (the Peace Treaty) as it is. The professional historians have forgotten that distorting the fact in the text does not avail them in changing the reality during the practical stage. That is because it was impossible for the Muslims, whether through the consultative committee or the like, to ignore the grandson of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family. Of course, that would have happened if al-Hasan had remained alive on the day when Mu'awiya died and the Muslims had been free to elect the successor or to exchange views freely. Accordingly, the authentic narration and the distorted one, rather the three claimed forms of the one narration would have been practically limited if al-Hasan had remained alive.

Therefore to evade the historical honesty was for nothing but for the cooperation with the ruling authority to pave the way to pledge allegiance to Yazid.

The skillful historian has abolished the textual nomination of al Hasan and changed it into the consultative committee. He had adopted the best way of fabrication and distortion. However, he forgot that he added nothing to the aims which he wished for his friend (i.e., Mu'awiya) who abolished them both. That is because the consultative committee which the historian meant does not concern the election of the successor to authority, rather it concerns the affairs which the caliph or the head of the Muslims manages. Such was the first legislation of the consultative committee on the day when Allah, the Glorified, said: "And take counsel with them in the affair." For this reason Allah praised the Muslims when He said: "And their rule is to take counsel among themselves."

The verse is clear in negating leadership which the people made or rather it does not impose it on the people.

This historian and the other historians used their imagination when they thought that the matter of election depended on the Book (i.e., the Qur'an). For this reason `A'isha, the Prophet's wife, summoned the people to the consultative committee she did not attribute it to Allah, the Great and Almighty. Rather she attributed it to `Umar b. al Khattab. Besides if she had found a way to ascribe it to Allah, she would have followed it, for that would have supported her proof very much. So when she entered Basrah, she said: "I think that you should look for those who had killed `Uthman to kill them as they had killed him."[29](#)

At last many definite contexts do not accept this text (i.e., the subject of the study) but the authentic narration which we have mentioned in the second item in the form of the Peace Treaty. That is because:

1. The letters of Mu'awiya to al-Hasan, peace be on him, have indicated that as we have said before.
2. It is appropriate for the conditions which al-Hasan himself had made as we have mentioned in the Blank Page.
3. It is the most famous report, for it has been narrated many times.
4. The second item with the clear text was very famous throughout the lifetime of al-Hasan, peace be on him, to the extent that it became the proof in many sermons and speeches.

For example, Sulayman b. Sirt referred to it in what he had mentioned to al-Hasan after the Peace Treaty. Jariya b. Qaddama had mentioned it to Mu'awiya to denote that it was a well-known decree concerning the right of al-Hasan to the authority after him. Al-Ahnaf b. Qays had mentioned it as an axiomatic thing when he delivered a speech to refute the pledge of allegiance to Yazid. At that time, through this speech, he addressed Mu'awiya himself before a large gathering.

He (i.e., al-Ahnaf b. Qays) said: "You have known that you had not conquered Iraq by force, nor had you overcome it. However, you have made pledges with al-Hasan b. 'Ali before Allah to hand over the authority to him after you. So if you fulfill (your pledges), then you are appropriate for fulfillment. If you break (your pledges), then you will do wrong to (al-Hasan). By Allah, behind al-Hasan there are quick horses, strong arms, and sharp swords. Indeed if you approach him in a single span of perfidy, you will find behind him a span of the outstretched arms of victory. You know that the Iraqis have not loved you since they hated you."<sup>30</sup> There are many examples similar to this one.

#### 5. The Rest of the Items

You may see, till now, that our study on the prominent points in the items of the Peace Treaty have not exceed two items, namely the first and the second items.

As for the third item, in chapter 14, we discussed with Mu'awiya about its subject. So see that chapter. Also we have discussed the Blank Page which Mu'awiya had sent to al-Hasan, peace be on him to write on it whatever he wanted of conditions. In chapter 16, the speech about this Page is the context that indicates that the reports of the Peace Treaty are in the interest of al-Hasan more than they are in the interest of his opponents.

In accordance with this, the third item means nothing but that it prevents Mu'awiya absolutely from cursing the Commander of the faithful (i.e., Imam 'Ali), peace be on him, whether al-Hasan is present or absent. What some historians added to it, such as that the Commander of the faithful should not be cursed when al Hasan was present or heard that,<sup>31</sup> is not taken into consideration, nor is it appropriate for the essence of the Peace Treaty. That is because the two parties (i.e., al-Hasan and Mu'awiya) were

making real peace and permanent mutual understanding.

As for the fourth item, it was, in fact, a connected exception of the material things which should be handed to Mu'awiya according to the Peace Treaty. This means that the Peace Treaty gave Mu'awiya whatever he wanted of property with the exception of the sums of money which have been mentioned in this item. Al-Hasan chose to take these sums of money for himself, his brother, and his Shi'a (followers). These sums of money were from his rights. He disposed them according to the authorization of Allah, the Most High. He chose these sums of money from the legal land taxes, namely from the land taxes of Dar Abjard.<sup>32</sup> For he did not want to subject himself to suspicions.

I (i.e., the author) say: This explanation is different from that of those who unjustly treated the position of al-Hasan b. 'Ali, peace be on them, when they misunderstood the reality of these sums of money. So they regarded them as a cost of the succession to authority, al Hasan as a seller, and Mu'awiya as a buyer. It is better for such narrow-minded people not to discuss the matters that show the reader their narrow-mindedness, so they wrong themselves before they wrong their subjects.

We have already mentioned the meaning of the succession to authority and Mu'awiya's abilities. Thus it is enough for us to say that this prattle is impossible. So there is no need to repeat it again.

As for the fifth item, it will be explained in the chapters that follow.

1. Ibn Kathir, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 220.
2. Ibn Abd al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 4, p. 13.
3. Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, p. 203.
4. Al-Ya'qubi, Ta'rikh, vol. 2, p. 192.
5. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 163. Muhammad b. 'Aqil, al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya, p. 158.
6. Al-Mas'udi, Hamish b. al-Athir, vol. 6, p. 7.
7. Ibn Kathir, al-Bidaya wa al-Nihaya, vol. 6, p. 321.
8. Muhammad b. 'Aqil, al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya (Iran), p. 153.
9. Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 4, p. 5.
10. Muhammad b. 'Aqil, al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya, p. 159.
11. Al-Mas'udi, Hamish b. al-Athir, vol. 6, p. 7.
12. Al-Mas'udi, Muruj al-Dhahab, vol. 2, p. 342. Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 2, p. 357.
13. Muhammad b. 'Aqil, al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya, p. 9.
14. Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. b, p. 157.
15. Muhammad b. Ahmad (died 377 A.H.), al-Tanbih wa al-Radd 'ala Ahl al-Ahwa' wa al-Buda', p. 28.
16. That is because they have agreed on that it is permitted for the oppressive ruler to assume judgeship according to the act of the Companions who permitted Mu'awiya assume judgeship.
17. Abu Hanifa said: "Do you know why the Syrians hate us?" "No," they answered. He said: "That is because we think that if we had joined the Camp of 'Ali b. Abu Talib may Allah honor him, we would have help him against Mu'awiya and fought the latter for the former. For this reason they hate us." See, Muhammad b. 'Aqil, al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya, p. 36, in what he has narrated on the authority of Abu Shaker in his book 'al-Tamhid fi Bayan al Tawhid.
18. Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 11, p. 355.
19. Farid Wajdi, Da'irat Ma'arif al-Qarn al-'Ishrin, vol. 3, p. 231.
20. Dr. Mustafa Jawad, Abu Ja'far al-Naqib (Baghdad), p. 41.
21. Ibn Kathir, al-Bidaya wa al-Nihaya, vol. 8, p. 19.

- [22.](#) Al-Dimyari, Hayht al-Hayawan al-Kubra, vol. 1, p. 58.
- [23.](#) Al-Bayhaqi, al-Mahasin wa al-Masawi', vol. 2, p. 63. Other authors have mentioned this speech.
- [24.](#) Amir 'Ali al-Hindi, Mukhtasar Ta'rikh al-'Arab wa al-Tamaddin al-Islami, p. 61.
- [25.](#) Ibn Kathir, al-Bidaya wa al-Nihaya, vol. 8, p. 19. ' Sayyid Muhsin al-Amin al-'Amili, A'yan al-Shi'a, vol. 4, p. 52. Al Hakim, al-Mustadrak.
- [26.](#) Ahmad Shahab al-Din al-'Asqalani, al-Isaba fi Tamyiz al-Shahaba, vol. 2, p. 12.
- [27.](#) Al-Bayhaqi, al-Mahasin wa al-Masawi', vol. 1, p. 64.
- [28.](#) Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 4, p. 13.
- [29.](#) Farid Wajdi, Da'irat Ma'arif al-Qarn al-'Ishrin, vol.4, p.535.
- [30.](#) You find all this sermon and the references concerning it in chapter 20 when we will mention the way that facilitated the pledge of allegiance to Yazid.
- [31.](#) Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 162. After that he said: "Then he (i.e., Mu'awiya) did not fulfill it, either."
- [32.](#) In his book (al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 162), Ibn al-Athir said: "As for the land taxes of Dar Abjard, the people of Basrah stopped them." They said: "These land taxes are ours. We do not give them to anyone." Also he said: "They stopped them according to Mu'awiya's order."

## Meeting In Kufa

The two Parties (i.e., al-Hasan and Mu'awiya) had adopted the idea of peacemaking. Thus it was natural for them to appoint a certain place to declare the Peace Treaty. In other words the two sides wanted to hold their meeting at one place to be a practical way of the peacemaking which history witnessed, and to admit before the people the conditions which they had to fulfill. So they had chosen Kufa and went there. Large groups of people went with them. So the great capital (i.e., Kufa) was full of them. They were- at most- the soldiers of the two parties, who left their camps and hurried to witness that historical day when Kufa was expected to witness willingly or unwillingly.

For the first time, the Iraqi capital was full of thousands of red Syrian soldiers, who were Muslims and Christians. These two camps (i.e., Kufa and Syria) suffered from a series of historical enmities and bloody battles beginning from the events of Salman al Bahili and Habib b. Muslima al-Fahri, during the lifetime of `Uthman b. `Affan, to this day of peacemaking. Then what do you think about the loyal Kufan soldier who was expected to lay down his arms during the great wave of noise which the Syrian soldiers made in al-Masjid al-Jami` which was founded on piety from Allah?

The deadly disaster hit the loyal group from the supporters of the members of the House (Ahl al-Bayt), peace be on them. Also it hit those supporters who ignored the aims of al-Hasan through making peace with Mu'awiya or ignored the real motives that forced the former to make peace with the latter. As for the traitorous majority. They clearly showed their treason. Groups of the Kufans were seen among the masses of the Syrians. They wanted to take part in the cheated happiness of the Syrians during their cold festivals and to take part in their overcome victory.

The people were summoned to al-Masjid al-Jami' to listen to the two orators (i.e., al-Hasan and Mu'awiya) who had signed the Peace Treaty.

It was necessary for Mu'awiya to compete with al-Hasan for the pulpit, so the former got ahead of the latter and went up on it.<sup>1</sup> Then Mu'awiya addressed the people with his long speech which the references have not narrated except some prominent paragraphs.

Among them, as al-Ya'qubi has narrated, is: "Now then, indeed, if a community differs in opinion after its prophet, its falsehood will overcome its truth." He (i.e., al-Ya'qubi) said: "Then Mu'awiya paid attention to what he had said, so he said: `Except what this community has done.<sup>2</sup>

Also among them is what al-Mada'ni has narrated: "Kufans, do you think that I have fought against you to make you pray and fast and pay zakat and perform the pilgrimage? Indeed I know that you pray, pay zakat, and perform the pilgrimage. However, I have fought against you to have power over you and to twist your necks and Allah has given that to me while you are reluctant (to that).

Indeed every blood which has been shed in this discord is postponed and every condition I have given to al-Hasan is under these two feet of mine. Nothing reforms the people but three (things): taking out the giving at its proper time, returning the soldiers at their suitable time, and attacking the enemy in his homeland. Indeed if you do not attack them, they will attack you."

On the authority of Habib b. Abu Thabit, Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani has narrated that Mu'awiya mentioned 'Ali in this oration and defamed him, then he defamed al-Hasan.<sup>3</sup>

Abu Ishaq al-Subay'i<sup>4</sup> has added the following words to what he has narrated of Mu'awiya's oration: "Indeed everything which I have given to al-Hasan b. 'Ali is under these two feet of mine. I will not fulfill it."

Abu Ishaq said: "By Allah, he (i.e., Mu'awiya) was traitorous."

Then the people looked forward to al-Hasan. Suddenly, they saw the grandson of the Apostle of Allah, who was the most similar of them all to him in form, manners, dignity, and correctness, coming from the direction of the mihrab (prayer niche) of his father in the great mosque to go up on his pulpit. The mobs were fond of curiosity. They were eager to conclude the obscure things from the affairs of the great figures. So they remembered the stammering Mu'awiya made in his speech. They understood the plentiful self-possession of al-Hasan when he went up on the pulpit and began looking at the large gatherings of people who crowded in the wide mosque. They were eager to hear al-Hasan's answer to Mu'awiya who refused the conditions of the Peace Treaty, broke the covenants, shed blood, and attacked the innocent. Al-Hasan b. 'Ali, peace be on them, was a clever orator. He made a speech during that critical situation. His long eloquent speech was a wonderful document.

Through this speech, al-Hasan was able to explain the situation standing between the people and the

members of the House (Ahl al-Bayt), peace be on them, after the death of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family. At the beginning of the speech, al-Hasan preached and advised the Muslims. Then he summoned them to conform to love, satisfaction, and unity. In the middle of the speech, he reminded them of the attitudes of his family, rather the attitudes of prophets. At the end of the speech, he answered Mu'awiya without any abusing or cursing. However, through his eloquent style, he was the most painful curser and abuser.

In his speech, al-Hasan said: "Praise belongs to Allah whenever a man praises Him. I testify that there is no god but Allah whenever a man testifies Him. I testify that Muhammad is His servant and His apostle whom He sent with the truth and whom He entrusted with revelation, may Allah bless him and his family.

Now then, by Allah, I hope that I shall always be with Allah's praise and kindness. I am the sincerest of Allah's creatures in giving advice to them. I do not bear malice to any Muslim, nor do I wish evil misfortune for him. Indeed unity (jama`a) is better than division. I take care of you more than you take care of yourselves. Therefore do not oppose my commands and do not reject my judgment. My Allah forgive both me and you. May He guide me and you to that in which there is love and satisfaction. [5](#)

"Men, indeed, Allah has guided you through the foremost one of us and spared your blood through the last one of us. Indeed there is a period of time for this authority, and the world changes. Allah, the Great and Almighty, said to his Apostle: `I do not know whether what you are threatened with is near or far. Surely He knows what is spoken openly and He knows what you hide. And I do not know if this may be a trial for you and a provision till a time.'[6](#)

"Indeed Mu'awiya has told you that I see him appropriate for the succession to authority, and I do not see myself appropriate for it. So Mu'awiya has told you lie. We are worthier of the succession to authority than the people in the Book of Allah, the Great and Almighty, and on the tongue of His prophet. We, the members of the House (Ahl al-Bayt), have been oppressed since Allah made His prophet to die.

So Allah is between him and us, who oppressed us, controlled us, provoked the people against us, deprived us of our share of booty, and deprived our mother of what the Apostle of Allah had allotted to her. I swear by Allah, if the people had pledged allegiance to my father when the Apostle of Allah left them, the sky would have given them its rain and the earth its boon, and you, Mu'awiya, would have not wished for it (the authority). When it (i.e., the authority) came out of its origin, Quraysh differed over it. So the freed prisoners and their sons, you and your friends, wished for it. Indeed the Apostle of Allah said: `If a community appoints a man over its authority and among it there is the one who is more knowledgeable than him (i.e., the man), their authority will come to nothing till they return to him whom they have left.' Indeed the children of Israel had left Harun (Aaron) while they knew that he was the successor of Musa (Moses) and they followed al-Samiri (Samaritan). This community had left my father while it certainly heard the Apostle of Allah say: `You are in the same position with respect to me as Harun (Aaron) to Musa (Moses) except prophethood.'

Indeed they (the community) saw the Apostle of Allah appointing my father on the day of Ghadir Khum and ordered the present to convey his order to the absent. The Apostle of Allah left his people while he was summoning them to (believe) in Allah so that he entered the Cave. If he had found supporters, he would have not left them. My father sufficed him (the Prophet) when he summoned and called them for help, but he was not helped. So Allah made Aaron at ease when they considered him weak and were about to kill him. Allah made the Prophet at ease when he entered the Cave and found no helpers. Also my father (was) and I am at ease from Allah when this community has deserted us. Indeed the (Divine) laws and the examples follow each other.<sup>7</sup>

"By Him Who sent Muhammad with the truth, if someone decreases our right, we the members of the House (Ahl al-Bayt), Allah will decrease his act. When oppression befalls us, the final result will be for us, surely you will know its news after a time."<sup>8</sup>

Then al-Hasan turned to Mu'awiya again to refute the defamation which Mu'awiya ascribed to his father. So he said wonderful words: "O you who mention 'Ali, I am al-Hasan and 'Ali was my father. You are Mu'awiya and your father was Sakhr (Abu Sufyan).

My mother was Fatima and your mother was Hind. My grandfather was the Apostle of Allah and your grandfather was Harb. My grandmother was Khadija and your grandmother was Futayla. May Allah curse him who tries to reduce our reputation and to diminish our nobility, who does evil against our antiquity and yet who has been ahead of us in unbelief and hypocrisy."

The narrator said: "Groups of the people in the mosque shouted out: `Amen, Amen!' "Al-Fadl b. al-Hasan said: Yahya b. Main said: "I say: Amen!" Abu al-Faraj said: Abu `Ubayd said: Al-Fadl said: "I say: Amen!" 'Ali b. al-Husayn al-Isfahani (i.e., Abu alFaraj) said: Ibn Abu al-Hadid said: "Amen!" I said: `Abd al-Hamid b. Abu al-Hadid, the author of this book, (i.e., Sharh Nahj al Balagha) said: "Amen!"<sup>9</sup>

I (i.e., the author) say: Also we say: "Amen!"

In the history of world speeches, this is the only speech that finds favor with generations throughout history.

Such is the true speech. It ascends and nothing ascends over it!

After that, al-Hasan got ready to go to Medina.

The leaders of the Shi'a came to al-Hasan to see him off. Among them were al-Musayyab b. Nujayya al-Fazari and Zabyan b. `Ammara al Tamimi. So al-Hasan said: "Praise belongs to Allah Who overcomes His affair. If all creatures came together to prevent something from occurring, they would be unable to do that." Then al-Musayyab talked and showed his loyalty to the members of the House (Ahl al-Bayt), peace be on them. So al-Hasan, peace be on him, said to him: "Musayyab, we know that you love us."

Also al-Hasan, peace be on him, said: "I have heard my father say: I have heard the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, say: Whoever loves ( a group of) people is with them." Then al-Musayyab and Zabyan asked him to return with them. So he said: "There is no way for that." Early in the morning, he left Kufa. The people saw him off while they were weeping. After the Peace Treaty, he stayed in Kufa for some days.

When al-Hasan arrived at Dir Hind<sup>10</sup> (al-Hira), he looked at Kufa and said:

I have left the house of my folks not because of hate

It is they who defended my possessions and my family.<sup>11</sup>

I (i.e., the author) say: How wonderful this angelic self is! Though al-Hasan suffered from the disobedience and disasters of this city (i.e., Kufa), he left it reciting this line of poetry. He remembered nothing of the long history of Kufa but the loyalty of the loyal who defended his possessions and his family, who protected him from those who attacked him at al-Mada'in, and who obeyed him when he faced hardships at Maskan. So they were sincere companions and good supporters though they were few in number.

Then the great caravan moved carrying the rest of the servants of Allah in the earth and the heritage of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, in Islam. They were unable to bear the situation in Kufa so that they headed for their homeland to seek protection in the grave of their grandfather against the adversities of the traitorous time.

After Muhammad's household had left Kufa, Allah punished the Kufans with plague. It was their immediate punishment because of their attitude towards these righteous ones. Al-Mughira b. Shu'ba, the Umayyad governor of Kufa, fled Kufa because he was afraid of plague. Then he returned to it, but was infected with plague and died.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1.</sup> Jabir b. Sammra said: "I have not seen the Apostle of Allah delivering a speech but he was standing. So whoever tells you that he delivered a speech and he was sitting, then accuses him of lying." Al-Jaza'iri has narrated this tradition in his book 'Ayat al-Ahkam', p. 75.

<sup>2.</sup> Al-Ya'qubi, Ta'rikh, vol. 2, p. 192.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 4, p. 16.

<sup>4.</sup> He was `Amr b. `Abd Allah al-Hamadani al-Tabi'i. Concerning him, it is said that he performed the noon prayer with the darkness ablution (Wudu' al-`Atama) for forty years. He ended the Qur'an in every night. No one worshipped Allah more than he did, and no one was more reliable than him in the tradition.

<sup>5.</sup> Shaykh al-Mufid, al-Irshad (Iran), p. 169.

<sup>6.</sup> Al-Mas'udi, Ilamish b. al-Athir, vol. 6, p. 61- 2. Ibn Kathir, al-Bidaya wa al-Nihaya, vol. 8, p. 18. Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 93.

<sup>7.</sup> Al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 10, p. 114.

<sup>8.</sup> Al-Mas'udi, Hamish b. al-Athir, vol. b, pp. 61- 2.

<sup>9.</sup> Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 4, p. 6.

<sup>10.</sup> Hind was the daughter of al-Nu'man b. al-Mundhir. She was a nun in this abbey of her in al-Hira

<sup>11.</sup> Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 4, p. 6.

## New Field

I hope you will agree with me that there are accurate criteria to evaluate the character of men when they are worried during their attempts. These criteria are their attitudes towards their stipulations. Rather they bind themselves to fulfill their stipulations willingly and voluntarily. Every man who takes care of his humanity should fulfill his stipulations of his own accord. For if he breaks them, he will defame his character, his reputation, and his right. It is easy for us to imagine the person who makes desperate efforts to keep his words and his promises. That is because such a person dies for an ideal manner through which he loses the limited life to win the limitless life. Also he adds a new value to ideal humanitarian society.

As for the person who breaks his promise, violates his oath, does not keep his words, smiles at his friend and deceives him during certain conditions, then he frowns at his friend, turns away from him, and repents of what he has given him, he is not regarded as a human being. Rather he is the enemy of humanity. That is because he destroys the rules of humanity and paralyzes its decisions.

Moreover, such a person is the enemy of his character, for he subjects it to wrath, scorn, bad reputation, and deprivation of the trust of the society. After that, it does not avail him when he says or when the people say concerning him: "The end justifies the means." That is because this excuse itself is a perfect crime which the forgiving heart cannot bear. The ends, though different, must have the moral value on which the people have agreed. Therefore every end should have moral means. Besides the end is never moral unless it depends on moral means.

It is an act of kindness that all people, since the beginning of society, have agreed on the morality of the oath and of the promise to guarantee mutual interests. Apart from this all Divine religions have agreed on fulfilling the covenant.

It may be better for us to read, here, what the Commander of the faithful, peace be on him, wrote to Malik al-Ashtar al-Nakha'i concerning this matter. He said: "Do not reject the peace to which your enemy may call you and wherein there is pleasure of Allah, because peace brings rest to your army and relief of your worries and safety for your country. However, after peace there is great apprehension from the enemy because often the enemy offers peace to benefit by your negligence. Therefore be cautious and do not act by wistfulness in this matter. If you conclude an agreement between yourself and your enemy or enter into a pledge with him, then fulfill your agreement and discharge your pledge faithfully.

Place yourself as a shield against whatever you have pledged because among the obligations of Allah

there is nothing on which people are more strongly united despite the difference of their ideas and variation of their views than respect for fulfilling the pledges. Besides Muslims even unbelievers have abided by the agreements because they realized the dangers to come in the wake of violation (there of). Therefore do not deceive your enemy, because no one can offend against Allah save the ignorant and the wicked. Allah made agreement and pledge the sign of security which He has spread over his creatures through His mercy and an asylum in which they stay in His protection and seek benefit of His neighborhood. Therefore there should be no deceit, cunning or duplicity in it.

Do not enter into an agreement that may admit different interpretations and do not change the interpretation of vague words after the conclusion and confirmation (of the agreement). If an agreement of Allah involves you in hardship do not seek its repudiation without justification, because bearing of hardships through which you expect relief and handsome result is better than violation whose consequence you fear, and you apprehend that you will be called upon by Allah to account for it and you will be unable to seek forgiveness for it in this world or the next."

I (i.e., the author) say: If we return to our subject, we will see that the stipulations which al-Hasan b. 'Ali, peace be on him, imposed on Mu'awiya in the Peace Treaty were certain pledges and strong oaths which history had never witnessed before. Moreover, Mu'awiya himself had written their final copy with his pen and stamped them with his stamp.

Therefore no wonder when the Islamic public opinion at that time looked forward to fulfilling these conditions because they were obligatory according to these pledges and oaths, and because their fulfillment would be appropriate for two figures of such kind in Islam.

As for that strange surprise which Mu'awiya started within a week after concluding the Peace Treaty, it shook the Muslim society. As we have already mentioned, Mu'awiya (according to al-Mada'ini's narration) said: "The conditions which I have made with al-Hasan are under these two feet of mine." Also he (according to the narration of Abu Ishaq al-Subay'i) said: "Indeed everything which I have given to al-Hasan b. 'Ali is under these two feet of mine. From now on I will not fulfill anything." Then al-Husayn b. al-Mundhir al-Raqqash bore witness against Mu'awiya when he said: "Mu'awiya did not fulfill what he had given to al-Hasan. He killed Hujr and his companions, pledged allegiance to his son, and poisoned al-Hasan."<sup>1</sup>

In this way, this man (i.e., Mu'awiya) with large possessions and narrow talents became the worst of all people in trust, and the least of them in importance according to the moral criteria on which the people had agreed. That is because he broke openly his oath and his pledge. That was a suitable punishment. For most of those who were deceived by him denied him as he denied his pledges and covenants. They put him at the place where he had put his conditions.

We do not know. We may be at the crossroads between the overcome past and the victorious future through which the historical struggle between al-Hasan and Mu'awiya will appear. Now, we are about to

understand the great plan through which al-Hasan b. 'Ali, peace be on him, made peace with Mu'awiya and imposed his will on him, though the latter was known for his cleverness in avoiding the failure in the plans he made to achieve his interests.

As we know, al-Hasan was the most knowledgeable of people in the truthfulness and loyalty of Mu'awiya. For this reason al-Hasan made Mu'awiya give strong forms of oath and pledges to be sure of his truthfulness and honesty and to show the stupid his abilities in his religion, his covenant, and his honor.

Al-Hasan took the initiative to start his movement towards his second field. From here he was able to add a new value to the matter of the members of the House (Ahl al-Bayt), peace be on them. Then the time passed. So the successful steps appeared one by one.

The most prominent steps which al-Hasan, peace be on him, accomplished through his plan to defame Mu'awiya, whether dead or alive, and the Umayyads are as follows:

1. He incited a large number of the great figures in the Islamic countries against Mu'awiya at the beginning of his independent period. So some of them cursed him openly; some of them regarded him as a wicked person; some of them blamed him face to face; some of them abandoned him; some of them said concerning him: "By Allah, he (i.e., Mu'awiya) was traitorous"; and some of them said concerning him: "Mu'awiya had four qualities. If he had only one of them, it would have been a grave sin."<sup>2</sup> Besides many men and women treated him in such a way. Now we do not intend to mention their number and their words.

2. He made some classes oppose Mu'awiya. That is because the items of the Peace Treaty included them whether concerning the security imposed in the items or the textual financial rights. So a great group of people regarded him as a mortal enemy, for he broke the conditions regarding their lives and belongings.

3. Through breaking al-Hasan's Peace Treaty, Mu'awiya thought that he would be able to create a formal situation for the pledge of allegiance to his son Yazid. In other words, with this situation, he wanted to destroy the Islamic laws which the Muslims adopted for the pledge of allegiance and the powers of the successor.

Immediately, the accomplished fact prevented Mu'awiya from achieving his aims. For this new pledge of allegiance to his son Yazid incited all Muslims against the objectives of the Umayyads towards Islam. That was from the day when Mu'awiya nominated Yazid as a successor after him.

4. Mu'awiya killed good Muslims from the early companions and the later companions (of the Prophet) without any guilt. So these bloody disasters, which he committed openly after he had broken the Peace Treaty, were other factors to defame him and to destroy his claimed spirits. That took place according to the firm plan which Imam al-Hasan, peace be on him, wanted from the day when he decided to make

peace with Mu'awiya.

5. The matter of al-Husayn in Karbala' in the year 61 A.H. was the greatest of al-Hasan's matters, for the latter paved the way to the former to fight against their mutual enemy who was the enemy of their father before.

We must not forget that al-Hasan said to al-Husayn on the day when he was about to die: "Abu `Abd Allah, there is no day (battle) like your day."

Though these words are short, they were the only symbol which was heard from al-Hasan, peace be on him, when he referred to the secret plan whose six dimensions obscurity covered from the day when he made peace with Mu'awiya to the day when he said these words. From these words you understand the language of the supreme commander who distributed the leaders according to the battles, and the days according to the occasions, then he distinguished his brother and the day of his brother when he said: "Abu Abd Allah, there is no day like your day."

Surely, the time occasions showed the steps of the plan one by one. It was necessary for one step to wake the other, the latter step to hire the former one, the first step to burn the firebrand of the second one, and so on. Also al-Hasan considered these steps carefully from the day when he intended to make peace with Mu'awiya. Apart from this, he studied the psychological features of his opponents who were displeased with him, his brother, his Shi'a (followers), and all his objectives. These wide scale studies were the base on which al Hasan built his future steps that were necessary for both himself and his enemy. Certainly, al-Husayn would have adopted these steps if al Hasan himself had been unable to achieve them. This is what we wanted at the beginning of this chapter.

In this manner the immortal uprising of al-Husayn was the greatest step in the plan of his great genius brother.

The tragedy of Karbala', which all the languages in the earth have contained, is still the black stain that dyed the history of the Umayyads with shame as long as there is a mark for Karbala' and a name for the Umayyads.

6. In the historical periods after the tragedy of al-Husayn, peace be on him, in Karbala', the plan with strategic goals was still denoting a series of bloody events resulted from the core of the Umayyad situation with similar features to the period between the time of Mu'awiya and the time of his cousin called al-Himar (the donkey).[3](#)

Those who were interested in their Islam regarded the Umayyads as an unjust government. Also they regarded them as the ones who overcame the people with oppression, extravagance, and deviation from the religious laws. In the course of time, the people were very indignant with the Umayyads and were read to sacrifice their lives to fight against them.

Therefore the Peace Treaty was concluded in the interest of Islam, the interest of the members of the House (Ahl al-Bayt), peace be on them, and the interest of the Islamic mission. Moreover, less than one century, al-Hasan b. 'Ali, peace be on them, became the victorious winner over his opponents who were defeated in history.

Al-Hasan's steps were successful. His policy was above all policies. He had done all that with silence, humbleness, and patience. Therefore he achieved righteousness, peace, and sparing the blood of the Muslims.

Accordingly, I (i.e., the author) wonder: Is greatness a thing other than this?

[1.](#) Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 4, pp. 6, 7, and 16.

[2.](#) His friend Samra cursed him. His friend al-Mughira described him as the most evil of all people. `A'isha and others blamed him face to face. Malik b. Hubayra al-Sikuni abandoned him. Al-Rabi` b. Ziyad al-Harithi died of sadness because of his (Mu'awiya's) acts. Abu Ishaq al-Subay'i said concerning him (By Allah, he was traitorous), and al-Hasan al-Basri said: "Mu'awiya had four qualities ...." Concerning these words see these books: Nahj al-Balagha, al-Kamil fi Ta'rikh, and Muruj al-Dhahab.

[3.](#) His name was Marwan. He belonged to the Umayyads. The Umayyad dynasty ended during his lifetime. He was called al-Himar (i.e., the donkey) and al-Ju'di, for he was attributed to his teacher al-Ju'di b. Dirham. Ibn Dirham was an atheist, so he taught Marwan his doctrine. The people dispraised Marwan, for he belonged to al-Ju'di b. Dirham. The `Abbasid conquerors defeated Marwan and followed him, but he sought protection in the church at Bousir. I (i.e., the author) wonder: Why did Marwan not seek protection in the Mosques? See Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 5, pp. 159- 60.

## Fulfilling The Stipulations

From the previous chapters, we have known the objectives that urged the two sides (i.e., al-Hasan and Mu'awiya) to make peace with each other and the conditions which both sides regarded as guarantees for their objectives.

After that, we have known that the two sides inclined practically to make peace with each other so that they held a meeting in Kufa. At that historical meeting, they were about to conclude an agreement, while they were unable to conclude such an agreement through their written documents and official letters when they intended to make peace with each other. However, it was Mu'awiya who made all those efforts go in vain though he was facing the most critical situation in his policy and his character as a king who wanted to rule the people who had not loved him since they hated him, as al-Ahnaf b. Qays said. So Mu'awiya met al-Hasan, but it was as b. Abu Sufyan met the son of the conqueror of Mecca, not as two fighters who laid their arms and exchanged the documents of peace. This was the firm manner of Mu'awiya though he sometimes affected much patience. Al-Hasan took advantage of this manner of Mu'awiya during the organized campaign which he launched against him in his second field as we have mentioned at the end of the previous chapter.

We have known all that in the near previous chapters so that we must understand whether both sides fulfilled their stipulations or broke them. Now, in this stage, we are facing the most sensitive point which has been studied very much in history.

We do not want to study this subject in detail, for such details will move memories. Some of these memories are painful; some of them are obvious scandals; and some of them disagree with the glories in history. In this book I have taken upon myself that I must depend on a clear analytical study about the matter of al-Hasan and Mu'awiya. So I must not ignore the elements of the subject. For they had the most wonderful effect on the results which al-Hasan b. 'Ali wanted to achieve through his Peace Treaty with Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan. As these details are very important for my subject, it is necessary for me to follow this subject step by step till I conclude clear results from the axiomatic premises, for these results will indicate the glory of the oppressed one (who was victorious) and the disgrace of the oppressive one (who was defeated). In this connection we say:

## 1. Fulfilling the first Stipulation

This was the only stipulation with which al-Hasan bound himself to fulfill for Mu'awiya.

This was the only condition which found fulfillment, while the other conditions were never fulfilled.

It was impossible for al-Hasan, after he had signed the Peace Treaty, to attempt to break this condition of his, not to talk about that, nor to accept any talk concerning that.

After Mu'awiya had declared that he would not fulfill his conditions, the leaders of the Shi'a went to al-Hasan, when he had returned to Medina, and told him that they and their followers were ready to wage holy war (jihad) under his leadership against Mu'awiya. In the meantime the Kufans promised that they would dismiss the Umayyad governor from Kufa, and that they would provide al-Hasan with men and weapons to attack Sham (Syria) again. However, all these suggestions of the zealous supporters did not shake al-Hasan.

For example, Sulayman b. Sirt, who was the lord and chief of the Iraqis (as b. Qutayba said concerning him), said to al-Hasan: "He (i.e., Mu'awiya) said openly to the people what you have heard: 'I have made conditions for the people, made promises to them, and made them desire (for that). Indeed all that is under these two feet of mine.' By Allah, with that, he meant nothing but that he has violated what is between you and him, so turn the war into a trick, and permit me to go to Kufa to dismiss its governor, and to declare his dismissal in it. Indeed Allah does not guide the cunning of traitors.

"Then b. Sirt kept silent, so all those who attended al-Hasan's meeting spoke as he did. All of them said: 'Send Sulayman b. Sirt and send us with him. Then follow us when you know that we have dismissed his (Mu'awiya's) governor and declared his dismissal.'" [1](#)

Also Hujr b. 'Adi al-Kindi whose strong position was in Iraq went to al-Hasan, as you will know very

soon.

Al-Musayyab b. Nujayya went to him, too. Worth mentioning, al Musayyab was the only hero at Mudar, the red (al-Hamra'). If ten of its noble men were counted, he would be among them, as Zafr b. al Harith al-Kilabi said concerning him.

Others like these great figures went to him. All of them found nothing with al-Hasan except a good answer and asking to wait till Mu'awiya's death. That is because al-Hasan was unable to break the promise which he made with Mu'awiya. Moreover, he made use of the Kufans attitude towards him so that he was in no need of any other experience.

Al-Hasan's final answer to his companions was: "Every man of you should sit in his house as long as Mu'awiya is living. If Mu'awiya perished and you and I were alive, we would ask Allah for a decision to guide us, to help us in our matter, and not to leave us alone. Indeed Allah is with those who fear (Him) and who do good deeds."<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Fulfilling the second Stipulation

The neutral and the partial historians have unanimously agreed on that the condition which Mu'awiya gave to al-Hasan within the conditions of the Peace Treaty was that the former should not hand over the authority to anyone after him. This means that he had to hand it over to its legal owner, namely al-Hasan b. 'Ali. If al-Hasan died, the authority had to be handed over to his brother al-Husayn according to the condition that said that handing over the authority to Mu'awiya was limited to his lifetime, and that he had no right to hand it over to anyone after him.

Also the historians have unanimously agreed on that Mu'awiya violated this condition openly and appointed his son Yazid as a successor after him.

Now, we do not intend to discuss with Mu'awiya about the stipulation which he made, and then violated. However, he added this error to his errors which the Peace Treaty indicated whether he knew that or not. We have discussed the attitude of Mu'awiya towards his promises several times, so there is no need to discuss the most dangerous error which Mu'awiya made when he appointed his son Yazid as a successor after him.

In this connection we say: Through this ugly act, Mu'awiya committed the gravest sin in his religion, and the most horrible crime towards the public interest. Because of this impudent improvised act of Mu'awiya, the leadership of Islam deviated from its righteous way, the subjects lost their practical example, selfishness prevailed that society, the individuals and the groups mistreated each other, and the relationship between the leaders and their followers ended.

Accordingly, the people's inclinations became various and their aims became different. Besides the Umayyad authority was leading them to corruption so that they got ready to declare their bloody revolts

and their internal uprising that were necessary to correct the errors and to warn the others against the dangers. Apart from this, the person must know what has been said about Yazid, and about his personal and moral abilities with which history is abound from his day to this day of ours, and which had obvious results during his authority. We do not want to write in detail about Yazid. However, we want to draw the attention of the gentle reader to the great error which Mu'awiya made, and through which he took the reins of the Islamic authority and violated all Islamic rules freely. Mu'awiya used strange ways to appoint his son as a successor over the Muslims. The friends and the enemies of Mu'awiya have narrated all these ways that are enough for us to be sure of his behavior as a Muslim and caliph.

These ways were the worst of all ways in history, and the farthest of them from the essence of Islam and its meaning and objectives. The results of these ways indicate the character of Mu'awiya and of the people who lived during his lifetime. If they were not among the sources of our wide research through which we want to explain the reason why al-Hasan made peace with Mu'awiya, we would not mention them. Rather we would cover them though they have been exposed for thirteen centuries.

Now, we will mention some texts of the historians without any explanation or comment, for these texts themselves are in no need of explanation and comment.

### **In this Manner Mu'awiya pledged Allegiance to Yazid**

Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani said: "Mu'awiya wanted the pledge of allegiance to his son Yazid. Nothing was heavier with him than the matter of al-Hasan and Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas. So he gave them poison (to drink). Then they died of it."<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari said: "In a short time after the death of al Hasan, Mu'awiya pledged allegiance to Yazid in Sham (Syria), and wrote to the cities concerning the pledge of allegiance to him."<sup>4</sup>

Ibn al-Athir said: "He (i.e., Mu'awiya) started that (i.e., the pledge of allegiance to his son). Al-Mughira b. Shu'ba was the first (to suggest) that. That is because Mu'awiya wanted to remove him from Kufa and to appoint Said b. al-'As instead of him. So he (i.e., al Mughira) heard of that and said: 'I think that I had better go to Mu'awiya and tender my resignation to show the people that I hate the authority.' So he went to him and said to his companion when he reached him: 'Now, if I do not make you win an authority or an emirate, I will never do that.' Then he went till he came to Yazid and said to him: 'Indeed the notables from the companions of the Apostle

of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, and the chiefs and the old men of Quraysh died.<sup>5</sup>No one but their children has remained (alive). You are the best of them! You are the best of them in opinion, and the most knowledgeable of them in Sunna and policy! I do not know what prevents the Commander of the faithful (i.e., Mu'awiya) from pledging allegiance to you.' He (i.e., Yazid) said: 'Do you think that (this suggestion) will happen?' 'Yes', replied al-Mughira. So Yazid went to his father and told him about what al-Mughira had said. So Mu'awiya summoned al-Mughira and said to him: 'What has Yazid said?'

So al-Mughira said: 'Commander of the faithful, you have seen the bloodshed and the differences after `Uthman. Yazid should be a successor. Pledge allegiance to him. If a certain accident happens to you, Yazid will be a shelter for the people and your successor. So do not shed blood. Do not create discord.'

Mu'awiya said: 'Who will help me with that?' Al-Mughira said: 'I will help you against the people of Kufa, and Ziyad will help you against the people of Basrah. After these two cities, no one shall oppose you.'

Mu'awiya said: "Return to your work, talk with him whom you have confidence in about that. You will see and we will see."

"Then al-Mughira saw off Mu'awiya and returned to his companions. His companions asked him: "What?" al-Mughira replied: 'I have put Mu'awiya's leg in a stitch that is far from the objective of the community of Muhammad, and I have made a tear for them, which will never be mended.'<sup>6</sup>

"Mu'awiya acted in collusion with the heads of the delegations who advised him (to appoint his son a successor) to deliver speeches and mention the qualities of Yazid. When the delegations, among them was al Ahnaf b. Qays, met Mu'awiya, the latter summoned al Dahhak b. Qays al-Fihri and said to him: 'When I sit on the pulpit and end some of my sermon and speech, then you ask permission to stand up.

When they permit you, then you praise Allah, the Most High, and mention Yazid, praise him, then ask me to appoint him as a successor.'

Then Mu'awiya summoned `Abd al-Rahman b. `Uthman al-Thaqafi, `Ubayd Allah b. Mis'ida al-Fazari, Thour b. Ma'an al Salami, and `Abd Allah b. `Isam al-Ash'ari. He ordered them to stand up when al Dahhak ended (his speech) and to confirm his words. These persons stood up and delivered speeches to praise Yazid. Then al-Ahnaf b. Qays, who was not among the actors, whom Mu`awiya prepared this scenario, and said: 'May Allah reform the Emir, indeed, the people lived in the abominable past time and they have lived in the kind present time.

You have tried the times and experienced the affairs. So know him to whom you entrust the authority after you. Then you disobey him who orders you. He who advises you and does not look at you should not tempt you, though the Syrians and the Iraqis do not accept this and do not pledge allegiance to Yazid as long as al-Hasan is living."

Al-Ahnaf added: "Mu`awiya, you know that you have not conquered Iraq by force, nor had you influence on it. However, you have given al-Hasan b. 'Ali some promises which you know. <sup>7</sup> Indeed if you fulfill (your) promises, then you are appropriate for fulfillment. If you break (your conditions), then you will wrong (al-Hasan). By Allah, behind al-Hasan there are quick horses, strong arms, and sharp swords.

If you approach him through a span of treason, you will find a span of the outstretched arms of victory behind him. You know that the Iraqis have not loved you since they hated you, nor have they hated 'Ali and al-Hasan since they loved them. Nothing other than that has come down from the sky to them. The swords which they drew against you when they were with 'Ali at (the Battle of) Siffin are on their shoulders, and the hearts with which they hate you are among their ribs."<sup>8</sup>

I (i.e., the author) say: This speech of al-Ahnaf indicates clearly that Mu'awiya tried to take the pledge of

allegiance to his son Yazid during al-Hasan's lifetime, while other authors have declared that the pledge of allegiance to Yazid occurred after the death of al-Hasan. Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani has denoted that when he said: "Indeed Mu'awiya poisoned al-Hasan and Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas to pave the way to the pledge of allegiance to his son Yazid."

We have already mentioned that. Therefore Mu'awiya had two attempts to carry out this plan: one of them was during al-Hasan's lifetime in spite of the promises, the oath, and the covenants. This attempt failed, for al Hasan was still alive. The other attempt was after the death of al Hasan, peace be on him. This attempt was achieved through the unjust ways, which most historians have mentioned.

"Mu'awiya removed Marwan from Medina when the latter was unable to take the pledge of allegiance to Yazid from the Medinans. Then Mu'awiya appointed Said b. al-`As as a governor over Medina. So Sa'd showed rudeness, treated them with resolution and violence, and attacked all those who were slow in pledging allegiance to Yazid. Nevertheless the people were slow in paying homage (to Yazid), except very few (of them), especially the banu of Hashim. Indeed no one of them answered him."

"As for Marwan, he went to Sham (Syria) angrily. He met Mu'awiya through a long speech in which he said: `Ibn Abu Sufyan, reform the authority, and refrain from appointing the boys as rulers. Know that you have peers in your people. They help each other to show enmity towards you."

However, Marwan kept silent, for Mu'awiya gave him one thousand dinars a month.

"Mu'awiya wrote to `Abd Allah b. `Abbas, `Abd Allah b. al Zubayr, `Abd Allah b. Ja'far, and al-Husayn b. `Ali. He summoned them to pledge allegiance to Yazid."

Mu'awiya's letter to al-Hasan, peace be on him, is as follows: "Now then, affairs from you have come to my knowledge. I had not thought that they (the affairs) would issue from you, for you dislike them. Indeed the worthiest of all people in faithfulness is he who is like you in your importance, your honor, and your position in which Allah has installed you. Therefore do not dispute (with me) for your abandonment, and fear Allah. Do not lead this community to a discord. Think of yourself, your religion, and the community of Muhammad. Do not let those who are not sure (of Allah) disdain you."

In answer to Mu'awiya's letter, al-Husayn wrote the following: "Now then, your letter has come to me, in which you have mentioned that affairs (issued) from me have come to your knowledge, and that you had thought that they would not (issue) from me, for I dislike them, and that no one except Allah, the Most High, guides (people) to good deeds. As for what you have mentioned that (affairs issued) from me have come to your knowledge, they have been informed by the cajolers who inform against (the people) and sow dissension among the community.

The seducers and the apostates have told lies. I have wanted neither war nor disagreement. I fear Allah in leaving that because of you and your unjust party, the party of oppression and the helper of the cursed Satan. Aren't you who killed Hujr and his companions who were humble worshippers, and who

regarded heresies as ugly (acts), enjoined (the people) to do good and prevented (them) from doing evil? You killed them because of oppression and enmity after you had given them strong covenants and certain promises showing impudence towards Allah and disdain His covenant. Aren't you who killed `Amr b. al-Hamaq whose face of worship wore out? You killed him after you had given him pledges which if the white footed antelopes understood, they would come down from the tops of the mountains. Aren't you he who claims that Ziyad is the son of Abu Sufyan, (while) the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, has decided that the baby is to the bed (i.e., the baby is attributed to his father) and the prostitute is stoned?

Then you have empowered Ziyad over the Muslims to kill them, to cut off their hands and their legs on opposite sides, and to hang them on the trunks of the date-palms. Mu'awiya, glory be to Allah, it is as if that you do not belong to this community, nor does it belong to you. Aren't you who killed al-Hadrami about whom Ziyad wrote to you that he followed the religion of 'Ali?

The religion of 'Ali is the religion of his paternal cousin, may Allah bless him and his family, who has installed you in the position in which you are. Were it not for that, your best honor and the honor of your grandfathers would suffer from the two journeys: the winter and the summer journey. However, Allah has relieved you of them through us as a favor for you.

"You have said: `Do not lead this community to a discord.' Indeed I do not know that there is a discord greater than your authority over it."

"You have said: `Think of yourself, your religion, and the community of Muhammad.' Indeed, by Allah, I do not know that there is a thing better than waging holy war against you. Indeed if I did (that), it would be (an act) to please my Lord. If I did not do (that), I would ask Allah to forgive me my sin, and I ask Him (to grant me) success to what He loves and accepts."

"You have said: `When you plot against me, I will plot against you.' Therefore, Mu'awiya, plot against me through what has appeared to you. By my life, in the past (the people) plotted against the righteous ones. Indeed I hope that you will harm (no one) but yourself, and destroy (no act) except yours. Therefore plot against me through what has seemed to you!"

"Mu'awiya, fear Allah! Know that Allah has a book that counts every small and big (act)! Know that Allah has not forgotten (the persons whom) you killed due to doubt, (whom) you punished because of accusation, and the boy (i.e., Yazid) whom you have appointed as emir, who drinks wine and plays with the dogs! I do not see but that you have degraded yourself, destroyed your religion, and ruined the subjects, greetings!"<sup>9</sup>

After that, Mu'awiya went to Medina. Many Syrian people were with him. Ibn al-Athir estimated them at one thousand horsemen. He (i.e., Ibn al-Athir) said: "Then Mu'awiya went to `A'isha, who had heard that the former mentioned al-Husayn and his companions, and said: `If they do not pledge allegiance (to Yazid), I will kill them.' So she (i.e., `A'isha) said: Treat them with kindness. They will achieve what you

like, Allah willing."<sup>10</sup>

Having mentioned Mu'awiya's going to Medina, b. Qutayba al Dinawari said: "Then Mu'awiya sat down in the morning of the second day. He ordered his clerks to sit where they were able to here his orders. Also he ordered his chamberlain not to permit anyone of the people even if he was a close relative. Then he sent for al-Husayn b. 'Ali and `Abd Allah b. `Abbas. Ibn `Abbas preceded (al-Husayn in coming). So Mu'awiya seated him on his left hand and made him busy with talking till al-Hasan came and entered. So Mu'awiya seated him on his right hand and asked him about the banu (sons) of al-Hasan and their old ones. So al-Husayn told him about them."

Then Mu'awiya delivered a sermon in which he praised Allah and His Apostle, and he mentioned the two Shaykhs (i.e., `Umar and Abu Bakr) and `Uthman. Then he mentioned the matter of Yazid. He mentioned his knowledge in the Qur'an and the Sunna (the Prophet's practices), and his clemency.

(Then he mentioned) that Yazid was the best of them in policy and debate though they were older than him and better (than him) in relationship (to the Prophet). <sup>11</sup> Then he mentioned that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family, appointed `Amr b. al-`As as commander over Abu Bakr, `Umar, and the elder Companions at the Campaign of Dhat al-Salasil. Then he asked them about what he had mentioned.

"So b. `Abbas got ready to speak. However, al-Husayn said to him: `Slowly! He means me, <sup>12</sup> and my share in the accusation is more."

Al-Husayn rose. He thanked Allah, the Most High, and asked Him to bless the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family, and said:

"Mu'awiya, though the sayer elaborates on the outstanding merits of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family, he cannot mention them all. I have understood what you have coated the successors after the Apostle of Allah, such as the brief quality and turning away from mentioning the pledge of allegiance. <sup>13</sup> Mu'awiya, how far! How far! The morning has exposed the darkness of night, and the sun has dazzled the lights of the lamps.

You have preferred (some people to others) till you went too far. You have appropriated (the authority) to the extent that you have become unjust. You have prevented (the people from taking their rights) to the extent that you have become miserly. You have wronged (the people) to the extent that you have exceeded (the proper limits). You have not given the people their shares of their rights so that the Satan has taken his perfect share. <sup>14</sup>

"I have understood what you have mentioned concerning Yazid, (namely concerning) his perfect (qualities) and his policy for the community of Muhammad. You want to deceive the people in Yazid. It is as if that you are describing a hidden one or qualifying an absent one or telling (us) about certain knowledge which you have contained, while Yazid himself has indicated his real idea. Then take to

Yazid what he has taken for himself (such as) following the quarreling dogs, the pigeons that precede their mates of the same age, the songsters with stringed instruments, and the various amusement centers. (In these things) you will find him a helper.

"Put aside what you attempt. That you will meet Allah with sin of these creatures does not suffice you more than what you will meet Him with. By Allah, you are still strike falsehood with oppression, and rage with injustice to the extent that you have filled the (water) skins. There is (nothing) between you and death except a wink. So you will see your act kept on the Day of Resurrection, then it will be too late to escape.

"You have reminded the people of the leadership of the man (i.e., `Umru b. al-`As) during the time of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family. When `Amr had assumed that at that time, the people disdained his leadership, hated his priority (over them), and counted his acts against him.

So the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, said: `Group of Emigrants (muhajirin), without a doubt, he (i.e., `Umru b. al-`As) shall not be a commander over you from today.' Therefore how do you advance the certain abrogated practice of the Prophet as a plea? Or how do you match through a later companion (while) there are, around you, (people) who are honest in their companionship and reliable in their religion and kinship? You (want) to abandon them (and depend on) a wasteful, fascinated one. You want to coat the people with a suspicion with which the living one is happy, and with which you will be unhappy in your next life. Indeed this is the obvious loss. I ask Allah's forgiveness for both me and you."

"So Mu'awiya looked at b. `Abbas and said: `Ibn `Abbas, what is this? Indeed what you have is stronger and more disastrous.' Then b. `Abbas said: `By Allah, he (al-Husayn) is among the progeny of the Prophet, among the people whom the Prophet covered with his cloak (ashab al-kisa), and among the purified House. So ask him about what you want, for you are satisfied with the people till Allah judges with His order and He is the best of all judges.'" [15](#)

Then Mu'awiya went to Mecca as Ibn al-Athir and other historians tell us. He (i.e., Ibn al-Athir) said: "Al-Husayn b. 'Ali, `Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, `Abd al-Rahman b. Abu Bakr, and b. `Umar preceded Mu'awiya to Mecca. As it was his last days in Mecca, he summoned these (persons) and said to them: `I wished to come to you. He who warns is excused. When I addressed you, some of you rose and accused me of lying openly. I bore that and forgave (you). I am going to make a speech. I swear by Allah, if any one of you opposes me with a word during this speech of mine, the sword shall hit his head before he says his second word. Therefore, the man should keep (no self) except his own self."

Then Mu'awiya summoned the commander of his guards and said to him: "Behind each of these (persons), make two men with two swords stand. If any one of them opposes me with a true or false word, then they (i.e., the swordsmen) should hit him with their own swords."

Then Mu'awiya went out and they went out with him till he went up on the pulpit. He praised Allah and

lauded Him, and then he said: "Those persons are the lords of the Muslims and the good ones from them. Every matter shall be decided according to their own advice. Moreover, they have agreed to pledge allegiance to Yazid. Therefore pledge allegiance (to him) in the Name of Allah. Accordingly, the people pledged allegiance (to Yazid)."

After many hardships, this abominable pledge of allegiance was born. It was born while the swords were drawn over the heads of the men. In other words, it was the rest of plots, maneuvers, and terrorism!

If this was the succession to authority in Islam, then peace be on Islam.

In his book `al-Sahih', al-Bukhari has narrated the following tradition on the authority of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family: "Every ruler who has power over subjects from the Muslims and dies (while) he has deceived them, Allah shall deprive him of Paradise."

### 3. Fulfilling the third Stipulation

Ibn al-Athir said: "Indeed when Mu'awiya performed the special prayers (qunut), he cursed 'Ali, b. 'Abbas, al-Hasan, al-Husayn, and (Malik) al-Ashtar."<sup>16</sup> In his book `al-Radd `ala al-Imamiya', Abu 'Uthman al-Jahiz has narrated: "Indeed Mu'awiya said at the end of his sermon: `O Allah, indeed, Abu Turab (i.e., 'Ali) disbelieved in your religion, and prevented (the people) from Your way. Therefore curse him very much, and torture him painfully.' Concerning that, he wrote to the cities. So these words were mentioned from on pulpits."<sup>17</sup>

It was said to Marwan: "Why do you curse him ('Ali) on the pulpits? He said: `The authority will not continue for us but through that.'"

History and the biographies are full of Mu'awiya's efforts concerning cursing 'Ali. According to this, Mu'awiya was the first to curse openly the Companions of the Prophet, and the first to open the door widely to those who came after him. We think that there was no person before Mu'awiya had cursed the Companions of the Prophet except 'A'isha when she said: "Kill Na'thal (i.e., 'Uthman), for he has disbelieved (in Allah)."

Also we think that no one of the Muslim scholars has called A'isha an unbeliever and Mu'awiya an apostate from the religion, for they deemed it lawful to curse the Companions of the Prophet or for they cursed them to the extent that they intended to accuse them of unbelief. Without a doubt the rule of the similar things is one that does not change due to the time. For this reason we find no justification to judge those who defame Mu'awiya or any other Companion of the Prophet but through the justification with which the Muslim scholars have judged Mu'awiya and A'isha when they defamed 'Ali and 'Uthman.

As for the claimed tradition that says: "If you follow anyone of them (the Muslims), you are guided," it has been limited to a certain group of the Companions, so its generality cannot be used as a proof. Otherwise those who cursed the Companions of the Prophet would be more appropriate than the others in putting it

into effect. Mu'awiya would prevent his tongue from cursing the brilliant figures from the family of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and his family, while it was incumbent on him (Mu'awiya) to follow them to be guided. The people would prevent their tongue from cursing Mu'awiya and those oppressive ones who were like him. Religious fanaticism would die, and peace would occur through reforming the Muslims.

However, it was the evil seed that the man (i.e., Mu'awiya) planted intentionally. Then he and his kinship watered it. So it has become the tree of the boxthorn in the history of Islam. With it the Umayyads made the simple people heedless and confused the minds of the ignorant. The Umayyads made cursing 'Ali a sunna (practice) in history. So the Muslims followed it, celebrated it, and protested against those who left it.

Mu'awiya had no hoped excuse in what he had rendered to himself from these remaining acts, nor had he glory for which he was envied or flattered in what he had delayed for his history. Moreover, if cleverness is the failure of the man in what he had advanced and delayed, then Mu'awiya was the cleverest of all the clever!

Among the most wonderful aspects of the cleverness of Mu'awiya was his attitude towards peace, which he made with al-Hasan, peace be on him. That is because this Peace Treaty brought upon him spiritual and historical disasters during his lifetime and after his death.

In the opinion of the people, the meaning of peacemaking (I mean the peace on which Mu'awiya insisted) was that he had to break his spearhead, to muzzle his mouth, and to leave al-Hasan alone, according to the items which the two sides decided when they signed the Peace Treaty. So the third item of their agreement was clear in refraining from cursing. Accordingly, Mu'awiya had to refrain from that if he had wanted real peace or if he had wanted to fulfill the stipulations that were obligatory due to the protection, the covenant, and the oath.

However, Mu'awiya insisted on making peace with al-Hasan to disband his soldiers and to be safe from the disaster of his war against al-Hasan, the grandson of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, as we have already mentioned. He did not want to conform to the decisions of the Peace Treaty, nor did he pay attention to the agreements. He signed the Peace Treaty, but it was mere ink on paper.

He took an oath and made covenants, but they were in vain. He went to Kufa, went up on the pulpit, mentioned 'Ali and al-Hasan and defamed them. Al-Husayn rose to refute him, so al-Hasan took him by the hand and made him sit. Then al-Hasan got up, and said wise words to summon Mu'awiya to the straight path, as we have said in chapter 18.

Mu'awiya was dissatisfied when the people hailed the speech which al-Hasan made before him. At that time Mu'awiya was pleased with his imaginary victory. So he thought that it was better for him to resort to cursing and defaming the people. Noteworthy, the Islamic ideal manners oppose such kind of behavior,

prevent the people from adopting it, and order them to have mercy on each other, to love each other, and to associate as brothers in the religion. For example, some of the Islamic ideal manners are: "The believer does not abuse, does not say obscene words, does not defame, and does not curse."

"In his book *al-Ahdath*, Abu al-Hasan 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Abu Yousif al-Mada'ini said: After the Year of al-Jama'a (a unified group of people), Mu'awiya wrote a letter. In the letter he said: I am innocent of him who narrates something concerning the outstanding qualities of Abu Turab (i.e., 'Ali, peace be on him and his family). So in every district and on every pulpit, the orators cursed 'Ali, renounced him, and defamed him and his household. At that time, the tribulation of Kufa was more difficult than that of the other (cities), for it had many Shi'a of 'Ali, peace be on him." [18](#)

After the Peace Treaty, Mu'awiya decided to appoint al-Mu'ghira b. Shu'ba as a governor over Kufa. So he summoned him and said to him: "Now then, before this day, the stick had not been beat for the clement one. The clement one does not replace you without teaching. I had wanted to recommend to you many things. I will leave them to depend on your idea. However, I will not leave recommending you one quality. Do not leave cursing and dispraising 'Ali." [19](#)

Then Ziyad became the governor over Kufa after al Mughira: "Ziyad gathered the people at the gate of his palace and provoked them to curse 'Ali. Whoever refused (to do that), he (i.e., Ziyad) exposed him to the sword." [20](#)

As for Basrah, Mu'awiya appointed Bistr b. Artat over it. So he made speeches on its pulpit and cursed 'Ali, saying: "I will make every man swear by Allah to believe me when I am truthful and to accuse me of lying when I am a liar." In his book *Ta'rikh*, al-Tabari said: "So Abu Bakra said to Ziyad: 'By Allah, we do not know you but a liar.' He (i.e., al-Tabari) said: Zyydd ordered him to be brought, so he strangled him, then they (i.e., the people) saved Abu Bakra from him." [21](#)

As for Medina, Mu'awiya appointed Marwan b. al-Hakam as a governor over it. So the latter cursed 'Ali on the pulpit every Friday. Ibn Hajar al-Maliki said: "Al-Hasan knew of that. So he did not enter the mosque except during the establishment of the regular prayers (iqama). Marwan refused to accept that. For this reason, he sent (some men) to al-Hasan's house to curse his father and him strongly."

After the Peace Treaty, Mu'awiya went to Mecca to perform the hajj. He circumambulated the Kaaba. Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas was with him. When he ended that, he went to the House of the Council (dar alnadwa). Mu'awiya seated Sa'd beside him on his bed and began to curse and defame 'Ali. So Sa'd moved aside, and then he said: 'You have seated me by you on your bed and began cursing 'Ali! By Allah, if I had a quality of 'Ali's qualities, it would be better for me than what the sun rises over! By Allah, if I was the son-in-law of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family, and had sons as 'Ali had, it would be better for me than what the sun rises over! By Allah, if the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, had said to me what he said at the campaign against Khaybar: "Indeed, tomorrow, I will give the standard to a man whom Allah and His Apostle love, and who loves Allah and His Apostle."

He does not escape. Allah will make a conquest through him," it would have been better for me than what the sun rises over! By Allah, if the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, had said to me what he said at the Campaign of Tabuk: "You are in the same position with respect to me as Aaron (Harun) was to Moses (Musa) except that there is no prophet after me," it would have been better for me than what the sun rises over. By Allah, I will not enter a house belongs to you as long as you are living."<sup>22</sup>

Al-Mas'udi has narrated Mu'awiya's answer to Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas. However, we think that it is not appropriate for us to mention his answer, for it is ugly. Still it is a new proof for Mu'awiya's lowliness in morals, decencies, and compliments.

#### **4. Fulfilling the forth Stipulation**

In his book `Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 95.' al-Tabari said: "The people of Basrah prevented him (i.e., al-Hasan) from receiving the land tax of Dar Abjard, and they said: 'It is our booty (fayy)'."

In his book `al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 162.' Ibn al-Athir said: "Their prevention (i.e., the prevention of the people of Basrah) was according to Mu'awiya's order, too."

#### **5. Fulfilling the fifth Stipulation**

As you have known, this condition was concerning the covenant of security for people in general, and the Shi'a of 'Ali in particular, and concerning that Mu'awiya had to avoid doing any disaster secretly and openly towards al-Hasan, al-Husayn, and their household.

The historians have many texts concerning the matter of this condition: some of these texts concern the evil disasters which the Umayyad rulers committed against the Shi'a during the time of Mu'awiya; some of them concern the disasters which Mu'awiya himself committed against the excellent figures from the Companions of the Commander of the faithful; some of them concern Mu'awiya's treason towards al-Hasan and al-Husayn in particular. For this reason, we will present these texts according to this order, too.

<sup>1</sup>. Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, vol. 1, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup>. Ibid, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup>. Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup>. Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, vol. 1, p. 160.

<sup>5</sup>. In his book (al-Mahasin wa al-Masawi', vol. 1, p. 108) al-Bayhaqi has mention the opinion of al-Mughira b. Shu'ba. However, he has narrated that al-Mughira offered his opinion to Mu'awiya first, and that when the latter was sure of the former, he returned him to his work and said to him: "Go to your work and strengthen the matter for the son of your friend."

<sup>6</sup>. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 198- 201.

In this text is what makes you feel the spirit of al-Mughira b. Shu'ba and the extent of this companion who made a tear for the community of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and his family.

<sup>7</sup>. Many writers have misunderstood this period of time. For example, (in his book al-Dawla al-Amawiya, p. 70) Hasan

Murad said: "From here we see that it was unexpected change when Mu'awiya pledged allegiance to his son Yazid." From the words of al-Ahnaf and from our foregoing studies you have known that it was unexpected change.

[8.](#) Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, vol. 1, pp. 156– 8. Al-Mas'udi, Hamish b. al Athir, vol. 6, pp. 100– 102.

[9.](#) Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, vol. 1, pp. 63– 5.

[10.](#) I (i.e., the author) say: From these words we must understand that the mother of the believers (i.e., `A'isha) achieved what Mu'awiya wanted when she pledged allegiance to Yazid.

[11.](#) We have already mentioned that Mu'awiya claimed that he was more appropriate for the succession to authority than al Hasan, for he was older than him.

[12.](#) That is because he was the successor to authority after al-Hasan: first, his grandfather the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, nominated him. Second, the Peace Treaty nominated him, too.

[13.](#) Al-Husayn refers to Mu'awiya's turning away from mentioning the Commander of the faithful, peace be on him, when he mention those who succeeded the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family.

[14.](#) He means that this intentional inequity is the wish of Satan in setting people against each other.

[15.](#) Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, vol. 1, pp. 168172.

[16.](#) Muhammad b. `Aqil, al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya, pp. 19– 20.

[17.](#) Ibid.

[18.](#) Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 3, p. 15.

[19.](#) Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 187. Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 141.

[20.](#) Al-Mas'udi, Hamish b. al-Athir, vol. 6, p. 99.

[21.](#) Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 96. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 105.

[22.](#) Al-Mas'udi, Hamish b. al-Athir, vol. 6, pp. 81– 2.

## Mu'awiya And The Shi`a Of 'Ali, Peace Be On Him

Mu'awiya designed an Umayyad policy. The Umayyad rules after him followed that policy. They (i.e., the Umayyads) wanted to make themselves lords. They wanted to show the people that they had all laudable qualities. So generosity, clemency, cleverness, bravery, and eloquence belonged to them, not to the people. In other words the Umayyads wanted to denote that these qualities were some of their special talents. The Umayyads did their best to fix this intentional policy. Thus they made a false history that was full of a series of fabricated traditions, made-up stories, various lies, and baseless claims.

Moreover, they ordered the hireling preachers and the teachers of the schools in all Muslim countries to study the Umayyad hopes including false praise or fake slander. The Umayyads did their best to make the Syrian youth love and obey them absolutely. So the Syrian youth were ready to sacrifice their innocent lives to serve the aims of Umayyads. Also they were ready to dye the areas of the earth with their own blood to be servants and hirelings in the land of the victorious lords.

The Umayyads had no aim other than government, wealth, and worldly cheap desires. This disturbed those who took care of their religion, namely those who were from the progeny of Muhammad, may Allah

bless him and his family, and from the Muslims who were loyal to Islam to please Allah. From here the continuous disagreement between the Umayyad Muslims and those who were loyal to Islam started.

In his book (Ta'rikh, vol. 7, p. 104), al-Tabari has mentioned the following brief tradition on the authority of Zayd b. Anas concerning the general condition when the Shi'ite groups lived during Mu'awiya's lifetime. A Shi'ite addressed the Shi'ites: "You were killed. Your hands and your legs were cut off. Your eyes were knocked out. You were raised on the trunks of the date-palms. (You suffered from all these persecutions) for the love of the household of your Prophet. Nevertheless you were staying in your houses and obeying your enemy!"

Though this tradition is brief, it contains strange details and terrible presentation. However, al-Mas'udi has not mentioned it in detail.

As for al-Mada'ini (died 225 A.H.) and Sulaym b. Qays (died 70 A.H.), they have displayed a full picture about these terrible and sorrowful tragedies. Sulaym b. Qays was among those who witnessed these tragedies and suffered from them, for he lived during Mu'awiya's lifetime and died ten years after him. No witness is like the eyewitness. For this reason we have chosen his words that are similar to al-Mada'ini's. Sulaym b. Qays said: "Mu'awiya came (to perform) the hajj during his Caliphate.

That was after the killing of the Commander of the faithful (i.e., Imam 'Ali), and (after) the Peace Treaty with al-Hasan. The Medinans received him. Among them was Qays b. Sa'd, who was the chief of the Ansar (helpers) and the son of their chief. So a talk took place between them (i.e., Qays b. Sa'd and Mu'awiya). So Qays said: "By my life, no one of the Ansar, of Quraysh, of the Arabs, and of non-Arabs has the right to the succession to authority (Khilafa) except 'Ali and his sons after him (i.e., 'Ali). Mu'awiya became angry.

Thus he wrote one copy (letter) concerning that to all his governors: "Indeed I will not give security to him who narrates a tradition concerning the laudable deeds of 'Ali and his household." At every town and place, the orators cursed 'Ali b. Abu Talib, renounced him, and backbit his household. Then Mu'awiya passed by a group from Quraysh. When they saw him they stood for him except b. 'Abbas. So Mu'awiya said: 'Bin 'Abbas, nothing has prevented you from standing for me but that I fought against you at the Battle of Siffin. Bin 'Abbas, my cousin 'Uthman was unjustly killed.' Ibn 'Abbas said: 'Also 'Umar b. al-Khattab was unjustly killed, but he handed over the authority to his son, and this is his son.' 'Indeed a polytheist killed 'Umar,' said Mu'awiya. 'Who killed 'Uthman?' asked b. 'Abbas. 'The Muslims killed him', replied Mu'awiya.

'Then that refutes your proof. If the Muslims killed and abandoned him, then they killed him justly,' answered b. 'Abbas.. Mu'awiya said: 'Surely we have written to the distant regions to prevent the people from mentioning the laudable deeds of 'Ali and of his household. Then stop your tongue, b. 'Abbas.' 'Do you prevent us from reading the Qur'an?' asked b. 'Abbas. 'No,' Mu'awiya replied. 'Do you prevent us from explaining it?' asked b. 'Abbas. 'Yes,' answered Mu'awiya. 'Do we read it and do not ask about

what Allah has meant in it?' asked b. `Abbas. `Yes,' replied Mu'awiya. `Which is incumbent on us, to read it or to act according to it?' asked b. `Abbas. `To act according to it,' answered Mu'awiya. `How do we act according to it while we do not know what Allah has meant in what He has sent down to us?' asked b. `Abbas. `About that, ask him who explains it other than what you and your household explain,' replied Mu'awiya. `Indeed the Qur'an was sent down to my household shall we ask the family of Abu Sufyan or the family of Abu Mi'yat about it?' asked b. `Abbas.

`Read the Qur'an and do not narrate what Allah has revealed and what the Apostle of Allah said concerning you,' answered Mu'awiya, `and narrate other than that.' Ibn `Abbas said: Allah, the Exalted, said: They desire to put out the light of Allah with their mouths, and Allah will not consent save to perfect His light, though the unbelievers are averse.' Mu'awiya said: `Bin `Abbas, that is enough! Hold back your tongue! If it is necessary for you to do that, then that should be secret. Do not make anyone hear it openly.'

Then Mu'awiya came back home. In all cities the tribulation became intense against 'Ali's Shi'a and his household. Kufa was liable to intense persecutions, for it had many Shi'a. He appointed Ziyad as a governor over it. He (Mu'awiya) gathered the Iraqis for him (Ziyad). He (Ziyad) followed the Shi'a. He was acquainted with their condition, for he was among them. So he killed them everywhere. He whipped and frightened them, cut off their hands and legs, hanged them on the trunks of the date palms, knocked out their eyes, dismissed them, and made them homeless. Mu'awiya wrote to his judges and his governors in the cities to prevent them from accepting the witness of those Shi'a who narrated his ('Ali's) outstanding merits and spread his laudable deeds. He (i.e., Mu'awiya) wrote to his governors: Look for the Shi'a of `Uthman, who narrate his qualities and talk about his laudable deeds, so honor them.

Write to me the full name of the person who narrates about `Uthman. Then he sent them gifts and clothes. He gave the Arabs and the non-Arab supporters many country estates. So they became many and competed with each other for the houses and the country estates. For this reason they became rich. Then he (i.e., Mu'awiya) wrote to his governors: Indeed the traditions concerning `Uthman have become numerous. So when this letter of mine comes to you, then summon them (i.e., the Arabs and non-Arab supporters) to report traditions about Abu Bakr and `Umar. So every judge or emir read Mu'awiya's letter to the people.

"Then he (i.e., Mu'awiya) wrote a letter in which he collected all what was reported concerning Abu Bakr and `Uthman. Then he sent the letter to his governors and ordered them to read it on the pulpits, in every city, and at every mosque. Also he ordered them to send the letter to the teachers of the schools to teach it to their boys to narrate it and learn it as they learned the Qur'an. Moreover, they taught the letter to their daughters, their wives, and their servants. Then Mu'awiya wrote one copy (i.e., a letter) (to his governors): `When you prove that someone loves 'Ali and his household, then omit him from the register.' Then he wrote another letter: `Whomever you accuse and do not prove (his innocence), then kill him.' So they killed the Shi'a of 'Ali everywhere because of accusation, doubt, and suspicion to the

extent that the man (of them) was beheaded because of a certain word. Mu'awiya made the situation very dangerous.

The followers of the Umayyads increased in number. They fabricated many traditions. So the people followed them and learned traditions from them only. The most dangerous of all people in that were the hypocrite readers (of the Qur'an) who affected sadness, piety, and asceticism while they told lies to find (an important position) with their rulers and to obtain, through that, money, country estates, and houses. Some people thought that their traditions were true, so they learned them, narrated them, and taught them (to the people). Also the religious persons who thought that falsehood was illegal learned (their traditions). They accepted the traditions and thought that they were true. If they had known that the traditions were false, they would have not narrated them, nor would have they adopted them. When al-Hasan b. 'Ali, peace be on him, died, the discord and the tribulation became greater and more intense."

I (i.e., the author) say: Abu al-Hasan al-Mada'ini has narrated a full text similar to the above-mentioned one. Ibn Abu al-Hadid has reported the account on his authority in his book called (*`Sharh Nahj al-Balagha*, vol. 3, pp. 15- 16). He (i.e., Abu al-Hasan al-Mada'ini) has said at the end of the account: "The situation went on that manner till al-Hasan b. 'Ali, peace be on him, died. So the tribulation and the discord increased so that everybody of this kind (i.e., of 'Ali's Shi'a and his household) were afraid of killing or homelessness in the earth."

The comparison between the conditions of the two sides (i.e., al Hasan and Mu'awiya) accepts this method of the events, and the historical coordination in the succession of the events confirms it. The things the other historians omitted do not harm this method, for they, and we forgive them, wrote for the standing policy or at least for what did not harm it.

We have already mentioned that al-Tabari and al-Mas'udi have briefly referred to that. According to this, the sources of this matter are: Sulaym b. Qays, al-Mada'ini, b. Abu al-Hadid, al-Tabari, and al Mas'udi.

In the way of Allah, there were bloody remaining bodily parts, scattered families, and the ruins of the houses whose dwellers were driven to the ice lands as the cattle were driven. So some of them died; some of them waited (for their death), but they never changed (their doctrine).

This was the mobilization of Mu'awiya who wanted to take the succession to authority in Islam for his own self and for his own children!

This was his early method in fulfilling the pledges of Allah and His covenants!

After that, Sulaym b. Qays added: "One year before the death of Mu'awiya, al-Husayn b. 'Ali, `Abd Allah b. `Abbas, and `Abd Allah b. Ja'far performed the hajj. Then al-Husayn gathered the banu (sons) of Hashim, their men folk, their womenfolk, and their supporters. Besides he gathered the Ansar whom he, peace be on him and his family, knew. Then he summoned messengers (and said to them): `Gather to me the righteous Companions of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family.' So more than

seven hundred men met him at Mina. Most of them were later (Companions of the Prophet). About two hundred men from the Companions of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family, (met him there, too.). Then al-Husayn addressed them.

"He praised Allah and lauded Him, and then he said: `Now then, indeed, this tyrant (i.e., Mu'awiya) has done towards us and towards our Shi'a what you have seen, known, and borne witness for. Indeed I want to ask you about a thing. So indeed, if I say the truth, then believe me. If I tell lies, then accuse me of lying. Hear my words and write down my speech. Then you return to your homelands and your tribes. Summon those from the people whom you trust to what you know of our right. That is because I am afraid that this matter will be obliterated, and the truth will be removed and overcome. (Still) Allah shall complete His Light even if the unbelievers hate (that).'

"He left nothing of what Allah has revealed in the Qur'an concerning them but he read it and explained it, nor did he leave a thing of what the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, said concerning his father, his brother, his mother, himself, and his household but he narrated it. Moreover, his companions said: `O Allah, yes. Indeed we have heard and seen (that).' The later Companion said `O Allah, he whom I believe and trust from the Companions of (the Prophet) told me about it.'

"Then he (i.e., al-Husayn) said: `I implore Allah for you to tell him whose religion you trust.'"

#### Mu'awiya and the Leaders of the Shi'a

After his Peace Treaty with al-Hasan, Mu'awiya adopted a spiteful attitude towards the leaders of the Shi'a. Through that attitude he showed neither mercy, nor conscience, nor covenant. He hurt the leaders of the Shi'a, banished them, tortured them, and killed them. That is because he was afraid of their effective propagation. Now, we do not intend to count what Mu'awiya had done towards the Shi'ite leader, nor do we intend to mention his strategic plans towards them. However, we, to indicate the extent of the honesty of this Umayyad (i.e., Mu'awiya) towards his stipulations, will mention, in this chapter, some of his intentions and practices towards them. We have preferred few examples to many ones which we have chosen to leave or of which we have no knowledge. The history of these Shi'ite figures has suffered until now from the paucity of the justice of the historians.

The dispraised fanaticism plays an important role in distorting the facts of this history that is full of prominent matters, which are regarded as lessons for all generations. Moreover, the rulers spare no effort to direct the historians to write events and traditions as they want even if those events and traditions are concerning the Imams of the Shi'a, the Shi'ite leaders, and the common Shi'a.

In his book `Ta'rikh', b. `Arafa known as Naftawayh, who was a great traditionist, said :"( A group of people) fabricated most traditions concerning the outstanding merits of the Companions (of the Prophet) during the days of the Umayyads to approach them. Through that they (i.e., the Umayyads) thought that they would defeat the Hashimites."

Concerning the time of Mu'awiya, al-Mada'ini said: "Many fabricated traditions appeared, and false

accusations spread. The jurists, the judges, and the governors adopted that."

"The most dangerous of all people in that were the hypocrite readers (of the Qur'an), and those, whom were deemed weak, who pretended piety, and asceticism. So they fabricated traditions to find favor with their governors, to approach their board, and to get money, country estates, and houses. Then those reports and traditions were transmitted to the religious persons who regarded lying and false accusations as illegal. So they accepted them and narrated them. They thought that they (i.e., the reports and the traditions) were true. If they had known that they were untrue, they would have not narrated them, nor would they have adopted them."<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Abu al-Hadid said: "Our Shaykh Abu Ja'far al-Iskafi mentioned that Mu'awiya had appointed a group from the Companions (of the Prophet) and a group from the later (Companions of the Prophet) to narrate obscene traditions concerning 'Ali, peace be on him, to defame him and to renounce him. Mu'awiya fixed wages for them to (achieve) that. So they fabricated what pleased him. Among them were Abu Hurayra, 'Amr b. al-'As, and al-Mughira b. Shu'ba. Among the later (companions of the Prophet) was 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr."<sup>2</sup>

I (i.e., the author) say: A neutral quick look and an accurate conclusion are enough for us to be satisfied with the various, wide range, and arbitrary practices that destroyed both the Islamic traditions and the historical events in Islam to the extent that it is difficult for the person who studies the early Islamic events to find an event safe from doubt. That is because these events were liable to the ambitions of the opposing trends.

Therefore we are in no need of collecting proofs and declarations concerning the spread of fabrication and many fabricators.<sup>3</sup> That is because the best witnesses are those who bear direct witness to the thing. The matter of al-Hasan b. 'Ali, peace be on them, with its conditions and results was among those matters that were liable to the play of those who have written about them. These matters have lost their early wonderful reality because of the effect of this regretful play with or without intention. So the people had different ideas concerning these matters. Therefore the matter of al-Hasan was an example of many matters in the history of Islam. History has wronged this matter and covered it with darkness.

When they (i.e., the historians) write about the matter of al-Hasan, they know his position in history, and they know that they write about one of the two unique persons (i.e., al-Hasan and al-Husayn) in the entire world.

No wonder when the historians leave this important matter and write about matters that are not as important as the matter of Imam al Hasan!

Concerning the topic 'Mu'awiya and the Leaders of the Shi'a', we do not think that we will get enough facts that satisfy the need of the researcher, nor will we find exact figures that enrich the range of the subject. In other words all these facts and figures do not suite the speech of al-Mada'ini and the details of Sulaym b. Qays.

That is because the opposing manners and the hireling fabrications have dominated throughout history everything of this type and everything of the authentic history of Shi'a.

Now, it is necessary for us to collect reports from here and there to show a historical picture, though horrible, about the crimes of the Umayyads.

The following is the sad list that contains the names of the Shi'a from the Companions and the later Companions (of the Prophet). In the light of this list, we will study the answer of Mu'awiya to the fifth stipulation from the Stipulations of the Peace Treaty. Then we will study gradually the clauses of this stipulation in the chapters that follow.

## **A. Patient Martyrs**

### *1. Hujr bin `Adi al-Kindi*

He was known as Hujr al-Khayr. His Kunya was Abu `Abd al Rahman b. `Adi b. al-Harth b. `Amr b. Hujr. He was given the nickname (i.e., laqab) of Akil al-Mirar. He was the king of the Kindis. It was said that he was the son of `Adi b. Mu'awiya b. Jubla b. `Adi b. Rabi'a b. Mu'awiya al-Akramin. He belonged to Kinda [4](#)

Hujr was a notable companion from the Companions of 'Ali and his son al-Hasan, peace be on them. He was a lord from the lords of the Muslims in Kufa.

Hujr and his brother Hani' b. `Adi came to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family. In his book `al-Isti'ab', b. `Abd al-Bir al Maliki said: "Hujr was among the excellent Companions, and his age was less than their old ones." In his book `Asad al-Ghaba fi Tamyiz al-Sahaba', Ibn al-Athir has mentioned him with words similar to these ones. In his book `al-Mustadrak', al-Hakim has described him as: "the monk of the Companions of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and his family."

Hujr worshipped (Allah) to the extent that when he made ritual impurity, he performed the ritual ablution; when he performed the ritual ablution, he prayed. He performed one thousand rak`as a day. His religious piety was apparent, and his supplication was accepted.[5](#) He was among the chosen reliable figures. He preferred the hereafter to the life in this world to the extent that he subjected his life to killing, refusing to renounce his Imam. He had a high social position.

Hujr was in the army that conquered Sham (Syria), and in the army that conquered Qadisiya ( a city in Iraq). He took part in the Battle of the Camel headed by 'Ali. He was the commander of Kinda at the Battle of Siffin, and the commander of the left wing of the army at the Battle of al-Nahrwan. He was the brave man who defeated al-Dahhak b. Qays in the western part of Tadmur. It was he who said: "We are the children of war and appropriate for it. We start it and end it. We have known it (i.e., war) and it has known us."

Hujr was the first patient martyr in Islam.

Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan killed Hujr and six of his companions at Marj `Athra' twelve miles away from Damascus in the year 51 A.H. Up till now, Hujr's grave is apparent and famous. There is a firm dome on it. Old marks can be seen on the dome that is beside a wide mosque. Hujr's companions who were killed with him are in his shrine. We will mention them one by one.

Ziyad b. Abih demolished Hujr's house in Kufa.

## The Cause of his Killing

Hujr opposed al-Mughira b. Shu'ba and Ziyad b. Abih when they cursed 'Ali, peace be on him. In this connection he said to them: "I testify that whom you dispraise is worthier of the outstanding merit, and whom you praise is worthier of dispraise." When Hujr said openly these words of his, most people agreed with him on that and said: "By Allah, Hujr has said the truth and kept his words"

As for al-Mughira b. Shu'ba, he knew the high spirits that made Hujr as an excellent companion, as a leader from the great figures of 'Ali in Kufa, and as an Arab Emir who inherited the crown from his close grandfathers. Al-Mu'ghira had heard with his own ear when the people supported Hujr's summons paying no attention to any force, nor were they afraid of the wrath of the ruler. So he thought that it was better for him to be slow towards the affair of Hujr and to apologize to his advisers who provoked him to punish Hujr. Then al-Mughira said to his advisers: "I have killed Hujr." How have you done that?" asked the advisers." Al-Mughira answered: "An emir will come after me. Hujr will think that the emir is similar to me. Hujr will say to him similar to what you have heard. So the emir will punish him immediately, and then will kill him through an evil way."

During his attitude towards Hujr, al-Mughira pretended to be wise. Also he pretended to be wise towards Sa'sa'a b. Sawhan during the discord, which was created by al-Mustawrad b. `Alafa al-Khariji (i.e., the Kharijite) in the year 43 A.H. Al-Mu'ghira said to Sa'sa'a: "Be careful! I have heard that you spread openly the outstanding merits of 'Ali. That is because I know all the excellent qualities of 'Ali. Rather I know them more than you do. However, this ruler (i.e., Mu'awiya) has appeared. He has forced us to show the people 'Ali's defects. We leave many things from what he has ordered us (to mention). We mention the thing which we regard as precautionary stimulation (taqiya) to save our lives from these people (i.e., the Umayyads)."<sup>6</sup>

When al-Mu'ghira b. Shu'ba died in the year 50 or 51 A.H., b. Sumayya (i.e., Ziyad b. Abih) became the governor of Kufa. So the latter wanted to serve his claimed Umayyad lineage through killing Hujr b. `Adi to relieve the Umayyads of the greatest of all troublemakers against them. However, he forgot that the blood of Hujr would go on making troubles to the Umayyads throughout their history as long as the people knew these two names (i.e., Hujr's name and Mu'awiya's name).

The new governor (i.e., b. Sumayya) elaborated Friday sermon to the extent that there was no time for

Friday prayers that had a limited time. So Hujr, who always attended their (i.e., the Umayyad's) Friday sermon and prayers, said: "The prayers!" Still Ziyad continued his sermon. Hujr was afraid that the obligatory prayers would escape him, so he took a handful of stones. Then he rose to perform the prayers and the people rose with him.

Abu `Abd al-Rahman (i.e., Hujr b. `Adi) who had a high social position, and worshipping ascetic spirit—refused to bargain with the Umayyads or flatter them concerning his religion. He thought that there were the rest of the companions of al-Hasan among the people. He reminded them of al-Hasan and opposed the Umayyads before them to make them follow his example. In this way he opposed the Umayyads to support the usurped right to authority, and he struggled against them through his tongue to defend his religion, his Imam, and his prayers as he did against them through his sword during the Islamic conquests.

Hujr's crime list, according to the Umayyads' custom, contained: he opposes cursing 'Ali, peace be on him. He wants the prayers to be performed at their exact times, and nothing more than that.

Ziyad summoned his obedient servants who sold their consciences for pleasures. Among them were `Umar b. Sa'd (who killed al-Husayn, peace be on him), al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr, Shimr b. Dhi al-Jawshan al-`Amiri, Isma`il and Ishaq (the two sons of Talha b. `Abd Allah), Khalid b. `Arfata, Shibth b. Rib'i, Hajjar b. Abjard, `Amr b. al Hajjaj, Zajr b. Qays, and the like of these persons who divorced manhood three times. They were seventy men. In his book `Ta'rikh, vol.6,pp.150-1', al-Tabari counted them one by one. He distinguished Abu Burda b. Abu Musa al-Ash'ari from them; for the latter was the weakest of them with him (i.e., al-Tabari) or he was the strongest of them with Mu'awiya who ordered him to write:

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. This is what Abu Burda b. Abu Musa al-Ash'ari has testified for Allah the Lord of the worlds. I (i.e., Abu Burda) testify that Hujr b. `Adi has refused obedience, left the united people (jama`a), cursed the Caliph, summoned (the people to wage) war (against him), gathered groups of people and summoned them to break the pledge of allegiance, and disbelieved openly in Allah (the Great and Almighty)."

Then Ziyad said to the seventy persons: "Confirm this testimony. Indeed, by Allah, I will do my best to cut off the thread (of hope) of this foolish traitor!" Seventy persons from the notables and the children of the houses in Kufa testified this traitorous foolish document. Then Ziyad wrote many letters to Mu'awiya concerning Hujr. So Mu'awiya wrote to him: "Tie him (i.e., Hujr) up with the iron and send him to me."

It is necessary for us to remember now the backgrounds of this group of people, who belonged to the houses in Kufa, towards the matter of al-Hasan b. 'Ali, peace be on them, during the days of his succession to authority. It was they who deserted from the Camp of Maskan, provoked the people at the Camp of al-Mada'ini (against al-Hasan), and wrote to Mu'awiya to desert al-Hasan and to hand him over. Therefore who refused obedience, left the united people, and broke the pledge of allegiance— Hujr

b. `Adi or they?

Then we have to remember the attitudes of these persons themselves during the tragedy of al-Husayn, peace be on him, at the Battle of Karbala<sup>1</sup>. They were then the swords of the Umayyad tyrants who were responsible for those painful events whose atrocities have no limit in the history of Arabs and Islam.

### The Attitude of the Kufans towards the Event of Hujr

If Hujr had wanted to resist with the weapon, he would have been able to ignite the fire of the revolution that would be strong enough to shake the position of Mu'awiya in Kufa. Mu'awiya understood that when he said after the killing of Hujr: "If Hujr had remained alive, he would have created another war." Also Ziyad understood that when he sent his postman to Mu'awiya and said to him: "Go quickly to Mu'awiya and say to him: `If you need your authority, then save me from Hujr."

However, the Shi'ite leader (i.e., Hujr), who had taken lessons from the valuable sacrifices of al-Hasan b. 'Ali (peace be on them) prevented bloodshed, and prevented his people from waging war openly (against Mu'awiya).

Still a group of Hujr's companions clashed with the police of Ziyad at the gates of Kinda. Another group of them clashed with Ziyad's policemen at the door of his house near the cemetery of Kinda. Among the heroes of these two events were `Abd Allah b. Khalifa al Ta'i, `Umru b. al-Hamaq al-Khaza'i (We will mention them both in the chapters that follow), `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhriz al-Tamhi, `A'idh b. Hamla al-Tamimi, Qays b. Yazid, `Ubayda b. `Amru, Qays b. Shimr, and `Umayr b. Yazid al-Kindi known as (Abu al-`Umrrata). They said: "The sword of Abu al-`Umrrata was the first sword to be used in Kufa on the day when Hujr (was killed)." Qays b. Fahdan al-Kindi went out riding his own donkey walking through the meetings of Kinda to urge them to wage war (against Mu'awiya).

Ziyad dominated the people of Kufa. That was his legal inheritance from his mother Sumayya.<sup>7</sup>

As for Hujr himself, he always ordered his people to scabbard their swords and said to them: "Do not fight (against Mu'awiya), for I hate to expose you to destruction. As for me, I will follow some of these ways."

The spies of Ziyad were unable to capture Hujr, for most people protected him from them.

In this manner Ziyad was unable to bear Hujr and his companions.

So he gathered the notables of Kufa and said to them: "O people of Kufa don't be sad! Your bodies are with me, and your desires are with Hujr. You are with me while your brothers, your children, and your tribes are with him. By Allah, this is some of your cheat. By Allah, you should renounce Hujr; otherwise I will bring a group of people through whom I will reform your deviation and your wry faces." Then he added: "Each man of you should help this group of people against Hujr. Moreover, each man of you

should summon his brother, his son, his relatives, and those who obey him from his tribe, to the extent that you are able to provoke all people against him (i.e., Hujr)."

Then Ziyad ordered the commander of his police, Saddad b. al Haytham al-Hilali to capture Hujr. Ziyad knew that his police would be unable to arrest Hujr. So he summoned Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Kindi and said to him: "Abu Maytha', by Allah, you should bring me Hujr; otherwise I will uproot your date-palms, demolish your houses, and tear you to pieces." Shaddad said to him: "Give me time to look for him." Ziyad said: "I will give you three days. You should bring him; otherwise you must regard yourself as one of the perished!"

I (i.e., the author) say: Why was Ziyad full of rage? Was he full of rage for the religion?

Certainly not! For b. Sumayya (i.e., Ziyad) was not worthier of religion than the worshipping Companion (i.e., Hujr), who performed one thousand ruk`as a day, and who had no crime but that he wanted to forbid (the people) from doing evil deeds, and wanted the ritual prayers to be performed during their fixed times. Or was Ziyad full of rage for the life in this world? Surely not! For he lost his glory in history when he killed Hujr b. `Adi.

Ziyad intended to make the Kindis kill each other when he ordered al-Ash'ath al-Kindi to capture Hujr. This was among the evil ways which rulers have used to dominate helpless peoples.

Hujr knew what Ziyad intended towards the Kindis. So he said: "However, I listen and obey."

The policemen went about to arrest the prominent figures who supported Hujr. They arrest nine Kufans and four non-Kufans, according to the narration of al-Mas'udi.

Ibn al-Athir has counted them in this way: "Hujr b. `Adi al-Kindi, al-Arqam b. `Abd Allah al-Kindi, Shurayk b. Shaddad al-Hadrami, Sayfi b. Fasil al-Shaybani, Qubaysa b. Dubay'a al-Absi, Karim b. `Afiif al-Khath'ami, `Asim b. `Awf al-Bajali, Warqa' b. Sumay al Bajali, Kaddam b. Hayyan, `Abd al-Rahman b. Hassan al-Anzayan, Muhriz b. Shahab al-Tamimi, and `Abd Allah b. Hawba al-Sa'di al-Tamimi." Ibn al-Athir said: "These are twelve men. Then Ziyad added two men to them. They were `Utba b. al-Akhnas b. Sa'd b. Bakr, and Sa'd b. Nimran al-Hamadani. So they were fourteen men."

At that time the slanderers became active and numerous in that unfortunate city (i.e., Kufa).

Hujr remained in the prison of Kufa for ten days till the policemen of Ziyad gathered his above-mentioned companions. Then Ziyad ordered them to be sent to Sham (Syria). So all that was in Kufa indicated that the situation would result in an uprising. No one knew the tribulation of that uprising against the ruler and the subjects.

However, Ziyad paid attention to that, so he ordered them to be sent during the night to make use of darkness and to decrease the violence of this obvious oppression.

Qubaysa b. Dubay'a, one of Hujr's companions, looked left and right. He found himself walking by his house near the graveyard of `Arzam. Also he found his daughters looking at him and weeping over him. So he spoke to them and preached them, and then he went away. We will mention that in his biography.

A daughter of Hujr's feared for him. So she recited the following lines of poetry during one of her black nights when she addressed the moon. It was said that Hind bint (the daughter of) Zayd al-Ansari recited these lines to bewail Hujr:

O bright moon, go higher

So that you may see Hujr walking!

He is walking to Mu'awiya b. Harb.

(Mu'awiya will) kill him as the Emir has claimed.

(He will) hang him on the gate of Damascus.

So the eagles will eat from his charms.

The tyrants have become haughty after Hujr.

Al-Khwarnaq and al-Sidir (two palaces) have delighted them.

The country has become faded

As if no rain had enlivened it.

O Hujr, Hujr b. `Adi,

May safety and joy receive you.

I fear that you will be killed as 'Ali had been killed.

(There is) a Shaykh in Damascus with roar.

If you perish, then every chief of people

Moves from this world to destruction.

## [His Killing](#)

They (i.e., the police men) took them (i.e., Hujr and his companions) to `Adhra', that was a village twelve miles far from Damascus. They were imprisoned there. Mu'awiya and Ziyad exchanged letters. The delay increased them nothing but torture. The one-eyed man of Mu'awiya and a group of his companions came to them. They brought Mu'awiya's order to kill Hujr and his companions. Also they

brought shrouds with them. He (i.e., the one-eyed man of Mu'awiya) said to Hujr: "Indeed the Commander of the faithful (i.e., Mu'awiya) has ordered me to kill you, for you are the head of error, the origin of unbelief and tyranny, and the supporter of Abu Turab (i.e., Imam 'Ali).

Also he has ordered me to kill your companions except when you withdraw from your unbelief, curse your leader (i.e., Imam 'Ali) and renounce him." So Hujr and his companions said to him: "Indeed patience towards the punishment of the sword is easier for us than what you summon us to. Then meeting Allah, His Apostle, and his (i.e., the Prophet's) trustee of authority (wasi) is more lovable for us than entering the fire."

The graves were dug. Hujr and his companions began performing prayers throughout the night. When the morning came, they (i.e., the police men) brought them to kill them, so Hujr said to them: "Let me perform the ritual ablution and say prayers. For when I perform the ritual ablution, I say prayers." They let him (pray). He prayed, and then went away. By Allah, I had not performed a prayer lighter than it (i.e., this prayer). Were it not for that you think that I am impatient of death, I would increase it."

Then Hujr said: "O Allah, we ask you to show enmity towards our people. Indeed the Kufans had testified against us, and the Syrians have come to kill us. By Allah, If you kill me at it (i.e., the village of `Adhra'), I will be the first Muslim horseman to be killed in its valley, and the first Muslim man at whom its dogs will bark.

Then Hudba b. Fayyad al-Quda'i walked forward Hujr carrying his own sword. The former trembled and said to the latter: "You have claimed that you are patient towards death. Therefore renounce your leader (i.e., Imam 'Ali), and we will let you (go)."

So Hujr said: "Of course, I am patient towards death. For I see a dug grave, a spread shroud, and a drawn sword. Indeed, by Allah, even if I am impatient towards death, I will not say what displeases the Lord!"

Some close associates of Mu'awiya interceded for seven companions of Hujr.

The rest of Hujr's companions were exposed to the sword. Hujr's final words were: "leave me shackled with the iron and stained with the blood. For I will meet Mu'awiya on the straight path tomorrow (i.e., on the judgment Day). I will bring suit (against him before Allah). Mu'awiya mentioned these words of Hujr. So when he was about to die, he said: "Hujr, my day will be long because of you."

### **The Muslims' Reactions towards Hujr's killing**

After he had killed Hujr, Mu'awiya performed the hajj. Then he passed by `A'isha. "He asked permission (to enter her house). She permitted him. When he sat down, she said to him: `Did you not fear Allah when you killed Hujr and his companions?'"<sup>8</sup> Then she added: "Were it not for the critical situation, we would change the killing of Hujr. By Allah, he performed the greater and the lesser hajj."<sup>9</sup>

Shurayh b. Hanī' wrote to Mu'awiya concerning Hujr. He gave him a religious opinion in which he denoted that it was forbidden (for Mu'awiya) to shed the blood of Hujr and to take his possessions. Concerning Hujr, Shurayh said: "He was among those who performed the ritual prayers, pay zakat, performed frequently the lesser and the greater hajj, enjoyed (the people) to do good deeds and prevented them from doing evil deeds. It was forbidden to shed his blood and to take his property."[10](#)

Ibn `Umar began asking the people about Hujr from the day when the latter was captured. While b. `Umar was walking in the market, he was told that Hujr had been killed. So he burst into tears and went away.[11](#)

`Abd al-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hisham came to Mu'awiya, after the latter had killed Hujr, and said to him: "When did the clemency of Abu Sufyan leave you?" Mu'awiya replied: "It left me when those who were like you in clemency left me. Ibn Sumayya (i.e., Ziyad b. Abih) provoked me, so I carried that out." Then He (i.e., `Abd al-Rahman) said: "By Allah, the Arabs will never regard you as the one who has clemency and an opinion. You killed the people whom the prisoners from the Muslims sent to you."

Many people from kindā, al-Sikun, and the Yemen supported Malik b. Hubayra al-Sikuni. So Malik was able to say to Mu'awiya the following words when the latter refused to release Hujr: "By Allah, we are in no need of Mu'awiya more than Mu'awiya is in no need of us. We have alternates among his peoples,[12](#) while he has no successor from us among the people.

It was said to Abu Ishaq al-Subay'i: "When did the people become low?" He replied: "When al-Hasan died, Ziyad was claimed, and Hujr b. `Adi was killed."[13](#)

Al-Hasan al-Basri said: "Mu'awiya had four qualities. If he had only one of them, it would have been a grave sin: he dominated this community through the foolish to the extent that he usurped its affair (i.e., the succession) without any advice from it (i.e., the community), while among it were the rest of the Companions (of the Prophet) and the virtuous ones. He appointed his son to the succession to authority while he drank wine, wore silk (clothes), and played on the lutes. He claimed Ziyad while the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, said: 'The baby is to bed and the prostitute is stoned.' He killed Hujr. Woe unto him (i.e., Mu'awiya) from Hujr and his companions."[14](#)

Al-Rabi` b. Ziyad al-Harithi died of sadness when Hujr was killed. He was the governor of Mu'awiya over Khurasan. In his book (al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 195) Ibn al-Athir said: "The reason for his death was that he was indignant when Hujr b. `Adi was killed, so he said: 'The Arabs will be killed because of patience after Hujr. If they had revolted (against Mu'awiya) when he killed Hujr, no one of them would have been killed because of patience. However, they accepted that, so they became low.' After this speech, he (i.e., al Rabi`) remained one Friday. Then he went out on Friday and said: "O people, indeed, I am tired of life. So I will ask (Allah for something) through a supplication, so be safe.' Then he raised his hands after the prayers and said: 'O Allah, if I have good with you, then make me die soon.' The people became safe. Then he went out. Before his garments disappeared, he fell (over the

ground)." [15](#)

Al-Husayn, peace be on him, wrote a letter to Mu'awiya: "Aren't you he who killed Hujr the brother of Kinda and the worshipping prayers who refused oppression and regarded heresies as great and did not fear the blame of the blamer concerning Allah. You killed them because of oppression and enmity after you had given them strong oath and certain covenants (al-Husayn refers to the clauses of the fifth item in the Peace Treaty.) so that you should not punish them due to an event between you and them or a spite you bear in yourself against them." [16](#)

Then the role of history came so that many historians have written books about Hujr and his companions. For example, Nasr b. Muzahim al-Minqari and Lut b. Yahya b. Said al-Azdi [17](#) have written two books about the killing of Hujr. Hisham b. Muhammad b. al-Sa'ib has written two books: one concerning the killing of Hujr; the other is about the killing of his companions such as Rashid, Maytham, and Juwayriya b. Mishhir. [18](#)

### [Traditions concerning Hujr and his Companions](#)

Ibn `Asakir said: "After `A'isha had blamed Mu'awiya for killing Hujr and his companions, she said: `I heard the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, say: At (the Marj of) `Adhra', the place where Hujr and his companions were killed, people will be killed so that Allah and the people of the sky will be angry for them."

He (i.e., Ibn `Asakir) has narrated traditions similar to this one through another way on the authority of `A'isha.

Al-Bayhaqi (in his book `al-Dala'il') and Ya'qub b. Sufyan (in his book `Ta'rikh') have narrated the following tradition on the authority of `Abd Allah b. Zurayr al-Ghafiqi, who said: "I heard 'Ali b. Abu Talib, peace be on him, say: `O people of Iraq, seven people from you will be killed at (the Marj of) `Adhra'. Their likeness is like the Companions of the furrow (ikhdu)." [19](#)

### [The Martyrs from Hujr's Companions](#)

From what we have mentioned, we understand that the companions of Hujr were a choice from the few men of Allah. Also we have known that al-Husayn, peace be on him, wrote a letter to Mu'awiya concerning them, in which he said: "... and the worshipping prayers who refused oppression and regarded heresies as great and did not fear the blame of the blamer concerning Allah."

Also we have known that the great Muslim figures mentioned them as long as they mentioned Hujr.

Though the Umayyads did their best to hide the stories of Hujr's companions, they (i.e., Hujr's companions) have become the martyrs of the principles and victims of the usurped right to authority. That is enough for them to be virtuous, glorious, and prominent in history.

After he had killed this honorable group of people, and after he had performed his (accepted) hajj, Mu'awiya met al-Husayn b. 'Ali, peace be on them, in Mecca and said to him proudly: "Have you heard what we have done for Hujr, his companions, and his Shi'a (followers) who were the Shi'a of your father?" Al-Husayn asked: "What have you done for them?" Mu'awiya replied: "We have killed them, shrouded them, prayed over them, and buried them." Al-Husayn, peace be on him, smiled, and then he said: "Mu'awiya, the people will bring suit against you (before Allah). If we killed your followers, we would not shroud them, nor would we pray over them, nor would we bury them. [19](#)

The following are the martyrs from Hujr's companions:

*A. Shurayk b. Shaddad or Thaddad al-Hadrami*

Another (historian) has called him `Urak b. Shaddad.

*B. Sayfi b. Fasil al-Shaybani*

He was a leading companion of Hujr. He had an iron heart, a strong belief, and correct words. He was captured and brought before Ziyad who said to him: "O enemy of Allah, what do you think of Abu Turab (i.e., Imam 'Ali)?" "I do not know Abu Turab," replied Sayfi.

"You know him very well," said Ziyad. "I do not know him," answered Sayfi. "Do you not know 'Ali b. Abu Talib?" asked Ziyad. "Yes," answered Sayfi.

"That is Abu Turab," said Ziyad. "No, that is Abu al-Hasan and al-Husayn," said Sayfi. So the commander of the police of Ziyad said to Sayfi: "The Emir say to you: He is Abu Turab, and you say: No." Do you want me to tell lies as the Emir does or do you want me to testify falsehood as the Emir does?" asked Sayfi. "This is some of your sin, too. Bring me the rod," said Ziyad. The rod was brought to Ziyad, and then he said to Sayfi: "What do you say?" "These are the best words which I have said concerning a servant from the believing servants of Allah," replied Sayfi. "Hit his shoulder with the rod till he stick to the ground," said Ziyad. So Sayfi was hit till he stuck to the ground.

Then Ziyad said: "leave him. What do you think of 'Ali?" "By Allah, even, if you cut me to pieces with razors and knives, I will not say except what you have heard from me," answered Sayfi.

"You should curse him (i.e., Imam 'Ali); otherwise I will cut off your neck," said Ziyad. "Therefore cut it off, and Allah accepts that. If you refuse (anything) but to cut it off, then I am satisfied with Allah, (while) you are unhappy," said Sayfi. "Push him in the neck. Tie him up with the shackles, and throw him into prison," shouted Ziyad.

Then Sayfi joined the caravan of death with Hujr, and was among those blessed people who died martyrs at (the Marj of) `Adhra'.

*C. `Abd al-Rahman b. Hasan al-Anzi*

He was among Hujr's companions. He was sent with Hujr while he was shackled. When he arrived at (the Marj of) `Adhra, he asked (the police men) to send him to Mu'awiya, for he thought that Mu'awiya would be better than b. Sumayya (i.e., Ziyad). When he came to Mu'awiya, the latter said to him: "Brother of Rabi'a, what do you say concerning 'Ali?" "Leave me and do not ask me (about him), for that is better for you," replied `Abd al-Rahman. "By Allah, I will not leave you," said Mu'awiya. Abd al-Rahman said: "I testify that he was among those who remembered Allah very much, enjoined (the people to follow) the truth, undertook justice, and forgave the people." "What do you say concerning `Uthman?" asked Mu'awiya. "He was the first to open the door of injustice and to close the door of the truth," answered `Abd al-Rahman. "You have killed yourself," said Mu'awiya. "Rather, you have killed yourself," said `Abd al-Rahman. Then Mu'awiya returned him to Ziyad in Kufa and ordered him to kill him in an evil manner.

It was `Abd al-Rahman who said the following words on the day when the police men of Mu'awiya imprisoned him along with his companions (at the Marj of) `Adhra: "O Allah, make me among those whom You honor through their (i.e., the Umayyads') disgrace, and You are pleased with me. I subjected myself to killing many times, but Allah refused (that) except what He willed."

In his book (Ta'rikh al-Kufa, p. 274), Habbata al-`Arani has mentioned `Abd al-Rahman as follows: "Abd al-Rahman b. Hassan al-`Anzi was among the companions of 'Ali, peace be on him. He lived in Kufa to provoke the people against the banu (sons) of Umayya. So Ziyad captured him and sent him to Sham (Syria). (There) Mu'awiya summoned him to renounce 'Ali, peace be on him. So `Abd al-Rahman answered Mu'awiya rudely. Then Mu'awiya returned him to Ziyad, so he (i.e., Ziyad) killed him."

Ibn al-Athir (in his book `al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 192.) and al-Tabari (in his book `Ta'rikh', vol. 6, p. 155.) said that Ziyad buried `Abd al-Rahman alive at the Qis of al-Natif.[20](#)

I (i.e., the author) say: If Mu'awiya had known the ways which Ziyad used to kill the Shi'a of 'Ali in Kufa, and if he had known that Ziyad cut off their legs, their hands, and their tongues, and knocked out their eyes, he would have not suggested any way when he ordered him to kill `Abd al-Rahman through an evil way. Is there a way worst of these ways of killing and punishment? However, Ziyad carried out Mu'awiya's suggestion, so he created a way through which he buried `Abd al-Rahman alive to kill him.

[21](#)

Do you know which punishment Mu'awiya and Ziyad will face on the Judgment Day because of these ways of killing?

#### *D. Qubaysa bin Rabi `a al-`Abasi*

Some historians have called him Qubaysa b. Dubay'a. He was the brave man who decided to resist the Umayyads with his weapon and his people. However, the commander of the police gave him security over his blood and his property. So he put his hand in their hands depending on security covenant which the Arabs before and after Islam followed. However, it seems that the Umayyads abandoned the Arabic

and the Islamic morals or that they understood that such morals were mere means for victory and violence.

Accordingly, (Qubaysa) b. Dubay'a al-'Abasi was brought before Ziyad who said to him: "By Allah, I will do (something) for you to distract you from creating discords and revolting against the governors."

Qubaysa said: "I have come to you according to the security covenant." "Take him to prison," said Ziyad.

Then Qubaysa was among the shackled persons who were driven to death because of patience. In this connection the tradition says: "Whoever gives security to a man over his blood and kills him, therefore I (i.e., the Prophet) renounce the killer even if the killed one is unbeliever." [22](#)

Before the policemen took the prisoners (i.e., Hujr and his companions), they had passed by Qubaysa's house. Qubaysa saw his daughters looking at him and weeping over him. So he said to the two police men (i.e., Wa'il and Kathir): "Permit me to recommend my family. When he approached his daughters who were weeping, he kept silent for an hour, and then he said to them: "Be silent." So they kept silent. Then he said to them: "Fear Allah, the Great and Almighty. Be patient. Indeed I hope that Allah, my Lord, will grant me one of the two good things during this going of mine: either martyrdom that is happiness or coming back to you in good condition. It is Allah, the Most 'High, Who gives You your provisions. He is Living, and never dies. I hope that He will not leave you. Rather I hope that He will protect me for you." Then Qubaysa went away.

The hopeless family spent that night weeping and praying, as Mu'awiya wanted. There were then many daughters similar to Dubaya's ones in tragedy.

Al-Tabari said: "Qubaysa b. Dubay'a fell into the hands of Abu Sharif al-Baddi. So Qubaysa said to him: 'Indeed there is no evil between my people and your people. Thus let other than you kill me.' Abu Sharif said: 'kinship is obedient to you.' Then al-Quda`i killed Qubaysa."

#### *E. Kaddam bin Hayyan al-'Anzi*

#### *F. Muhriz bin Shahab bin Bujayr bin Sufyan bin Khalid bin Munqir al-Tamimi*[23](#)

He was among the chiefs of the people, and from the pure Shi'ites who were known for their Shi'ism. Muhriz was the commander of the left wing of the army headed by Ma'qal b. Qays who waged war against the Kharijites in the year 43 A.H. During those three battles the army of Ma'qal was three thousand people from the loyal Shi'ites and their horsemen, as al-Tabari described them in his book (Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 108).

#### *2. `Amr bin al-Hamaq al-Khaza'i*

He was b. (son of) al-Kahil b. Habib b. `Amr b. al-Qayn b. Dhrrah b. `Amr b. Sa'd b. Ka'b b. Rabi'a al-Khaza'i.

He became Muslim before the Conquest (of Mecca), and immigrated to Medina. He was a loyal companion. Thus the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family, prayed for Allah to make him (i.e., `Amru) enjoy his youth. So eighty years passed and no one saw a white hair among his hair, in addition to this, there was handsomeness on his face, that increased his splendor.

After the Prophet, `Amr became a companion of the Commander of the faithful (i.e., 'Ali), peace be on him. Thus he was the sincere companion to whom 'Ali said: "I wish I had a hundred people like you in my army." `Amr witnessed the Battles headed by 'Ali such as the Camel, Siffin, and al-Nahrwan.

The Commander of the faithful invoked Allah for `Umru with these words: "O Allah, enlighten his heart with piety, and guide him to Your straight path." Moreover, he said to him: "Amru, you will be killed after me. Indeed, your head will be moved (from one place to another). It will be the first head to be moved in Islam. Woe unto him who will kill you!" [24](#)

Ibn al-Athir said in his book (al-Kamil fi Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 183): "When Ziyad came to Kufa, `Ammara b. 'Aqaba b. Abu Mi'yat said to him: `Indeed `Amr b. al-Hamq has gathered the Shi'ites of Abu Turab (i.e., Imam 'Ali).'" Thus Ziyad sent for him (and said to him): "What are these groups which you have gathered? Whomever you want to speak to, (you should speak to him) in the mosque. [25](#)

"Then `Amr was still (as al-Tabari has narrated) afraid and expecting till the event of Hujr b. `Adi occurred. Then he proved himself brave. A man called Bakr b. `Ubayd from al-Hamra' (i.e., the police of Ziyad) hit `Umru on the head with an iron bar. Thus `Amr fell over the ground. The Shi'ites carried him and hid him in the house of a man from the Azd. Then `Amr went out to leave (Kufa). The other leader, Rifa'a b. Shaddad, accompanied him. So they headed for al-Mada'in. Then they departed till they arrived at the land of Mousil. They hid in a mountain there. The governor of al-Rustaq condemned that. So he went to them with the horses.

As for `Amru, he reached Mousil while he was ill. As for Rifa'a b. Shaddad, who was a strong young man, he jumped on his quick horse and said to `Amru: 'I will fight on behalf of you.' 'It does not avail me that you fight on behalf of me. Save yourself if you can.' Thus Rifa'a attacked them, so they let him go. Then he went out while his horse was bolting. The horsemen went out looking for him. He was a sharp shooter so that he wounded or killed those horsemen who followed him. Thus they left him and went away. Then they asked `Amru: "Who are you?" "It is him whom if you leave, it will be safer for you, and whom if you kill, it will be more harmful for you," replied `Amru. Again they asked him, but he refused to tell them. Thus b. Abu Balta'a, the governor of al-Rustaq, sent him to `Abd al-Rahman b. `Abd Allah b. `Uthman al Thaqafi, the governor of Mousil. When the latter saw `Amr b. al Hamaq, he knew him, and then he wrote to Mu'awiya concerning him. So Mu'awiya ordered `Abd al-Rahman to stab `Amr nine times as he (i.e., `Amru) stabbed `Uthman."

Ibn Kathir opposed the above- mentioned account of al-Tabari. He said: "Indeed the companions of Mu'awiya found `Amr dead in a cave. They cut off his head and sent it to Mu'awiya. Thus it was the first

head to be moved in Islam. Then Mu'awiya sent his head to his (i.e., `Amru's) wife, Amina bint al-Sharid, who was in the prison of Mu'awiya. The head was put on her lap. She put her hand on his forehead and kissed his mouth, and then she said: `You had concealed him for a long time, then you have offered him to me and he is dead. Therefore welcome to this lovable gift.'

"Then he was in what al-Husayn, peace be on him, wrote to Mu'awiya: Aren't you who killed `Amr b. al-Hamaq, the Companion of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family? He was the righteous person whom worship wore out to the extent that it made his body weak and his color yellow. You had given him security. You had given him some of the covenants of Allah and His pledges. If you had given them to a bird, it would have come down from the top of the mountain for you. Then you killed him showing impudence towards your Lord and disdaining His covenant through that."

I (i.e., the author) say: Through this covenant, al-Husayn refers to the clauses of the fifth item in the Peace Treaty.

In his book `Safiinat al-Bihar,' `Abbas al-Qummi said: "His (i.e., `Amru's) grave was in the outskirts of Mousil. Abu `Abd Allah (i.e., Said b. Hamdan), the cousin of Saif al-Dawla, was the first to build the grave in the month of Sha'ban in the year 336 A.H."

In the book (`Usul al-Ta'rikh wa al-Adab, vol. 9, p.2) it has been mentioned: "Abu al-Hasan 'Ali b. Abu Bakr al-Harawi said in the book `al-Ziyarat (i.e., visitations): `The shrine of `Amr b. al-Hamaq was on the highest elevation at the outskirts of Mousil. His body was buried (there) and his head was carried to Damascus. It was said that it was the first head to be carried in Islam. In the shrine were some Sheriffs from the children of al-Husayn, peace be on him."

### *3. `Abd Allah bin Yahya al-Hadrami and his Companions*

In his book (al-Furuq bayna al-Abatil wa al-Huquq), Muhammad b. Bahr al-Shaybani has mentioned the following on the authority of al-Qasim b. Mujayma: "Mu'awiya did not fulfill anything of the covenant he made with al-Hasan. I (i.e., al-Qasim b. Mujayma) have read the letter of al-Hasan to Mu'awiya, in which he counted the crimes Mu'awiya committed against him and the Shi'ites of 'Ali, peace be on him. Al-Hasan mentioned `Abd Allah b. Yahya al Hadrami and those whom Mu'awiya killed with him."[26](#)

I (i.e., the author) say: We do not know now anything about the conditions of al-Hadrami, the event of his killing, and the number of his martyred companions. However, we know that this man (i.e., `Abd Allah b. Yahya) was among the men of the Commander of the faithful who said to him at the Battle of the Camel: "O bin Yahya, you and your father be cheerful."

We have known the reasons why al-Hasan mentioned `Abd Allah before the Shi'ites whom Mu'awiya killed. Among these reasons is that he was the farthest of them from the life of this world and the nearest of them to the life of asceticism.

They (i.e., the historians) said: " Mu'awiya knew that (`Abd Allah) b. Yahya and his companions were full of sadness when the Commander of the faithful (i.e., 'Ali) died, and that they loved him and mentioned his outstanding qualities very much. Thus Mu'awiya brought them and cut off their heads because of patience.

The one who brings down a monk from his cell to kill him without a crime (issues) from him towards his killer is more wonderful than the one who takes out a priest from an abbey and kills him, for the owner of the abbey (i.e., the priest) is nearer to the stretching of the hand than the owner of the cell (i.e., the monk) who is between the sky and the earth. Therefore no wonder when al-Hasan counted Mu'awiya's crimes, preferred servants to servants, ascetics to ascetics, and the lamps of the country (i.e., the brilliant figures) to the lamps of the country. Rather, it is a wonder if he had preferred a neglectful one to the one who was humble (before Allah), and a moderate one to a hardworking one."[27](#)

The tragedy of `Abd Allah b. Yahya was similar to the tragedy of Hujr b. `Adi. For they both were killed because of patience. Companions were killed with them both. Moreover, they both were killed without any crime except the crime that was the title of their outstanding virtues.

#### 4. *Rushayd al-Hajri*[28](#)

He was the student of 'Ali, peace be on him, and his companion who devoted himself to him. He was a religious scholar. He was famous for the knowledge of deaths and disasters. Many people narrated accounts on his authority. However, they all refrained from mentioning his name because they were afraid of the Umayyad rulers. No one narrated stories openly on his authority except his only daughter who attended him when he was killed. It was she who gathered his limbs (i.e., his hands and his legs) which b. Sumayya (i.e., Ziyad) cut off.

When his limbs were cut off, his daughter asked him: "O my father! Do you feel pain because of what has hit you?" "No, my little daughter, but (it is) like the crowd among the people!"

Rushayd was brought before Ziyad who said to him: "What had your companion (i.e., 'Ali, peace be on him) told you about what we would do for you?"

"You would cut off my hand, my leg, and would hang me," said Rushayd. "By Allah, I will refute his (i.e., `Ali's) words. Release him!" When Rushayd wanted to go out, Ziyad said: "Return him! We find nothing more appropriate for you than what your companion had said to you. For you still intend to do evil for us if you remain (alive). Cut off his hands and his legs!" They (i.e., the police men) cut them off while Rushayd was still speaking! Thus Ziyad said: "Hang him!" "A thing for me is with you. I do not think that you have done it yet," said Rushayd. "Cut off his tongue!" shouted Ziyad. When they took out Rushayd's tongue, he said: "Release me to say one word." So they released him, and he said: "By Allah, this confirms what the Commander of the faithful had told me. He had told me that my tongue would be cut off."

Rushayd was brought out of the palace while he was torn to pieces. The people gathered around him. He, may Allah be pleased with him, died on the same night.

His daughter said: "I said to my father: 'How hard your struggle is!'" "My little daughter, people will come after us. Their insights will be for their religion. Thus (their struggle) will be better than ours," he answered.

Also he said to her: "My little daughter, make the speech die through concealment, and make the heart an abode for trust."[29](#)

##### 5. *Juwayriya bin Mashar al-'Abdi*

Ibn Abu al-Hadid said: "One day, 'Ali, peace be on him, looked at Juwayriya and called him: 'Juwayriya, follow me. For when I see you, I love you.' Then he told him about some affairs secretly. His last words to him were: 'Juwayriya, love the person whom we love as long as he loves us, and hate the one whom we hate as long as he hates us. However, if he loves us, then love him. If he hates us, then hate him.' Juwayriya devoted himself to 'Ali, peace be on him. Thus he came one day to him, peace be on him, while he was sleeping and there were people from his companions with him, and called him: 'O you who is sleeping, get up. Indeed you will be hit on the top of your head so that your beard will be colored because of that hit.'

He (i.e., Juwayriya) said: 'Thus the Commander of the faithful smiled,' and then he said: 'Juwayriya, I will tell you about your fate. By Him in whose hand is my soul, you will be taken by force to the rude bastard (i.e., Ziyad). He will cut off your hand and your leg, and will kill you beside a short trunk.' He (i.e., the narrator) said: 'By Allah, only few days after that, Ziyad took Juwayriya, cut off his hand and his leg, and killed him beside the trunk of b. Ma'kbar. It was a long trunk so that he hanged him on a short trunk beside it.'

I (i.e., the author) say: Habbata al-'Arani, may Allah be pleased with, has narrated this story, too. Moreover, he added the following words: "Ziyad b. Abih was among those who showed enmity towards the Commander of the faithful, peace be on him. He followed the companions of 'Ali while he (i.e., Ziyad) knew them very well. Still he killed them everywhere."

##### 6. *Awfa bin Hisn*

He was among the victims of the Umayyad injustice. Ziyad summoned him, but he refused to meet him. Ziyad reviewed the people so that he passed by Awfa and said: "who is this?" It was said to him: "Awfa b. Hisn." Thus Ziyad said: "His two legs have brought you a traitorous (deed)." Then he said to Awfa: "What do you think of 'Uthman?" "The Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, married his (i.e., 'Uthman's) two daughters," replied Awfa. Then Ziyad asked him: "What do you think of Mu'awiya?" "(He is) generous and clement," answered Awfa.

Awfa was smart in his language and his style so that Ziyad was unable to find a justification to kill him.

Again Ziyad came back to Awfa and asked him: "What is your opinion concerning me?" Awfa replied: "I have heard that you said in Basrah: By Allah, I will punish the innocent one because of the guilty one and the comer because of the runaway." "I said that" said Ziyad. "You mixed them at random," said Awfa.

I (i.e., the author) say: Some of the smartness of this wise man (i.e., Awfa) was that he gave gradual answers to Ziyad to draw his attention to his errors. Do not forget that Awfa was at that time between the leather rug and the sword (i.e., he was about to be killed), and between the right and the wrong. These attitudes increase our admiration towards these heroes from the students of 'Ali. However, all his preachment went in vain. That is because Ziyad said concerning him: "The blower is not the worst of the group." Then Ziyad ordered Awfa to be killed'.[30](#)

I (i.e., the author) do not know, and I do not think that Ziyad himself knew the reason why he shed the blood of Awfa, while the Prophetic tradition says: "It is forbidden for the Muslim to (shed) the blood of the Muslim, (to violate) his honor, and (to confiscate) his property."

In all his answers, the man (i.e., Awfa), as you have seen, did not reveal a secret, nor did he violate an affair. Rather the one who opposed the Qur'an openly when he punished the innocent because of the guilty and the comer because of the runaway did not understand the above mentioned tradition and the Words of Allah that say: "And no bearer of burden shall bear the burden of another."

Ziyad adhered to his immoderation. Thus the people around him suffered from the strongest ordeals in the world: some of them were driven to prisons; some of them were chased, and hundreds of them were brought before him every day so that their eyes could be knocked out, their limbs were cut off, and their ribs were destroyed.[31](#) Other shackled victims were between Kufa and Sham (Syria). There was nothing in Kufa except dreadful terrorism, and there was nothing in Sham but horrible death.

Kufa, which was full of plots and opposition, submitted as the broken wing did because of the oppression of the Umayyad rulers. Thus the people who plotted against the Umayyads yesterday began to practice oppression today when they became rulers over the Kufans. Thus the Kufans became various groups and took to flight.

Mu'awiya, Ziyad b. Abih, and the men of their school were heedless. They did not think that violence would result in finding an ideal leader who was able to fight against the violent ruler, and that violence was unable to destroy that opinion that has become immortal in history.

For this reason hundreds of millions of people took part in the opinion of the Kufans, and were ready to send Mu'awiya and his men its echo which the days were unable to wear out.

## Torture without killing

The Umayyads had methods other than killing, homelessness, demolishing houses, confiscating properties, and muzzling mouths.

When Ibn al-Athir mentioned the tragedy of Awfa b. Hisn, he said: "He (i.e., Awfa) was the first to be killed by Ziyad after the event of the thirty or the eighty (people) whose hands Ziyad cut off.

Mu'awiya knew thoroughly the internal affairs of Basrah and Kufa. Thus he attacked the chiefs of the people, the swordsmen, the notable orators, and the Shi'ite talented poets. He irritated them, imprisoned them, shackled them, made them homeless, and shed their blood.

The following are some examples of the tragedies that Abu Yazid (i.e., Mu`awiya) committed then against the prominent figures from the Shi'ite leaders.

## B. Terrified Shi'ite Leaders

### 1. `Abd Allah bin Hashim al-Mirqal

He was the chief of Quraysh in Basrah and head of the Shi'ites there.

His father, Hashim (al-Mirqal) b. `Utbah b. Abu Waqqas was the brave leader of the left wing of the army of 'Ali, peace be on him. He defeated Mu'awiya in a dreadful way at the Battle of Siffin.

Mu'awiya wrote to his governor, Ziyad,: "Now then, look for `Abd Allah b. Hashim b. `Utbah. Tie his hand to his neck, and then send him to me."

Thus Ziyad came to `Abd Allah's house by night. He shackled him, and then sent him to Damascus. `Abd Allah was brought before Mu'awiya. `Amr b. al-`As was with Mu'awiya. Mu'awiya said to `Amru: "Do you know this?" `Amr replied: "This is (the man) whose father said at the Battle of Siffin..." He read his lines of poetry that he memorized, and then he recited this line of poetry:

"The pasture may grow on the dunghill.

Thus the spites of the selves remain as they are."

Then `Amr went on saying: "Commander of the faithful, take this tricky one. Cut off his jugular veins and his shoulders. Do not return him to Iraq, for he always plays the hypocrite. They (i.e., the Iraqis) are the people of hypocrisy and discord, and the party of Iblis when he becomes excited. His (i.e., `Abd Allah's) desire moves him, his opinion makes him tyrant, and his retinues make him strong. So an evil deed is for an evil deed.

Such a report and such discrimination against Iraq and the Iraqis were from the famous habits of `Amru.

We do not think that there was a person who had described the Iraqis in such a hostile manner before him.

As for `Abd Allah b. Hashim al-Mirqal, he was so brave that he said to `Amr b. al-`As: " `Amru, if I am killed, then I am the man whose people have deserted, and whose death has come. Aren't you who turned away from fighting when we summoned you to encounter? (Aren't you who) sought protection in the compact stones? You were like the black female slave and the tractable ewe. You were unable to push the hand of a toucher."

Thus `Amr said: "By Allah, I do not think that you will escape from the claws of the Commander of the faithful (i.e., Mu'awiya)."

`Abd Allah said: "By Allah, b. al-`As, You are ungrateful in ease, cowardly during the encounter, unjust during authority, fainthearted during battles. You are not important in all circumstances. Didn't these attitudes issue from you when the people met you? You know that the people did not become violent when they were youngsters, nor did they renounce (their own faith) when they became grownups. They had strong hands and sharp tongues. They reformed the deviation (from the truth), removed the sin, increased the little (thing), quenched thirst, and supported the weak."

Then `Amr said: "By Allah, I saw your father at the time when his bowels split apart, his intestines remained, and the middle parts of his back became restless."

So `Abd Allah said: " `Amru, we have tested you and your speech. So we have found that you have a lying disloyal tongue. You are alone with the people who do not know you, and with the soldiers who do not bargain with you. If you wanted to speak to other than the Syrians, your reason would be confused, your tongue would be stammering, and your two thighs would shake like the young camel whose load has burdened it."

Thus Mu'awiya said: "Stop quarreling!" Then he ordered `Abd Allah to be released. `Amr went on blaming Mu'awiya for releasing `Abd Allah, saying:

"I have given you a resolute order.

It was an act of success to kill b. Hashim.

Wasn't his father, Mu'awiya, who helped 'Ali When he (i.e., 'Ali) cut off the heads?

He did not leave (us) till our blood

at (the Battle of) Siffin flew like overflowing seas. This is his son, and the person is like his

Shaykh, and you are about to gnash

the tooth of a repentant because of him."

## 2. `Adi bin Hatam al-Ta'i

He was a noble Companion (of the Prophet). The Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, honored him when he (i.e., `Adi) came to him. He was a great leader, skillful orator, and fearful hero. He became Muslim in the year 9 A.H., and his Islam became well. `Adi said: "When I came to Medina, the people received me and said: ' `Adi b. Hatam!' The Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, said to me: ' `Adi, be Muslim and you are safe.' I (i.e., `Adi) said: 'I have religion.' 'I am more knowledgeable than you in your,' said the Prophet, 'I think that the shortcoming which you see from those who are around me prevent you (from adopting Islam), and you see that the people have gathered against us.'

He (i.e., the Prophet) said: 'Have you seen al-Hira.' 'No, I haven't,' I said, 'but I know where it is.' 'You are about to take the howdah (al-Za`ina) out of it without neighborhood till you circumambulate the Kaaba, and you will conquer for us the treasures of Kasra b. Hurmoz,' he said. 'Kasra b. Hurmoz?' I asked. 'Yes,' he said, 'and the property will be very much to the extent that the man will worry who will accept his alms.' `Adi said: 'Thus I have seen two (things): the howdah (al-Za`ina), and

I was among the first horsemen who attacked the treasures of Kasra. I swear by Allah, the third (thing) will come."[32](#)

Also he (i.e., `Adi) said: 'A group of my people and I came to `Umar. He allotted (money) for all persons and turned away from me. Thus I met him face-to-face and said: 'Do you know me?' He (i.e., `Umar) said: 'Yes, you believed (in Allah) when they disbelieved (in Him), you knew (Him) when they denied (Him), you were loyal when they deserted, and you walked forward (the enemy) when they turned away (from him). Indeed the first alms that made happy the Companions of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, was the alms of Tay."[33](#) He (i.e., `Adi) said: "From the day when I became Muslim, I had performed the ritual ablution before the prayers were established. [34](#)

At the Battle of Siffin, `A'idh b. Qays al-Hazmari al-Ta'i disputed with `Adi over the standard. The banu of Hazmar were more in number than the banu of `Adi,[35](#) the tribe of Hatam.

Thus `Abd Allah b. Khalifa al-Ta'i addressed them before 'Ali, peace be on him: "Banu Hazmar, do you want to compete with `Adi unjustly? Is there a person like `Adi among you or is there a person like his father among your fathers? Wasn't he the protector of the water-skin? Wasn't he the son of the one who took the fourth of booty and son of the one who was the most generous of all the Arabs? Wasn't he the son of the one whose horse was very quick, and who protected his neighbor? Wasn't he the one who did not betray, was not ignorant, was not miserly, was not dissolute, did not remind anyone of a favor, and was not cowardly?

Give me an example of your fathers like his father! Or give me an example of yourselves like him! Isn't he (i.e., `Adi) the best of you in Islam? Wasn't he your representative who came to the Apostle of Allah,

may Allah bless him and his family? Wasn't he your commander at the Battle of al-Nukhayla, the Battle of al-Qadisiya, the Battle of al-Mada'in, the Battle of Jalawla<sup>1</sup>, the Battle of Nahawand, and the Battle of Taster? There is a great deference between you and him! By Allah, no one of your people requests like what you have requested."

So 'Ali, peace be on him, said to `Abd Allah b. Khalifa al-Ta'i: "Bin Khalifa, that is enough. O people, come to me! Let the group of Tay come to me, too. Thus they all came to him. Then 'Ali, peace be on him, asked: `Who was your chief during these battles?' `Adi,' they replied. So b. Khalifa said to `Ali: `Commander of the faithful, ask them: Aren't they satisfied to hand over the leadership to `Adi? 'Ali did (that). `Yes,' they answered. Therefore 'Ali said to them: ` `Adi is the most appropriate of you (for carrying) the standard. Thus hand it over to him."[36](#)

Ziyad sent for `Adi in the year 51 A.H. `Adi was in his mosque called the mosque of `Adi in Kufa. Thus he was brought out of the mosque and was imprisoned. So all the Kufans, who belonged to the Yemen, Rabi'a, and Mudar, rushed to support `Adi b. Hatam. They came to Ziyad and spoke to him concerning `Adi. They said (to Ziyad): "Why have you done this towards `Adi b. Hatam, the Companion of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family?"

Ziyad asked `Adi to bring him `Abd Allah b. Khalifa al-Ta'i. For he was a companion of `Adi's, and for the police of Ziyad (al Hamra<sup>1</sup>) suffered from him very much. However, `Adi refused that. Then Ziyad agreed with `Adi on banishing b. Khalifa from Kufa.[37](#)

`Adi b. Hatam came to Mu'awiya. The latter respected the former, knew his wise patience during critical discords, his keen practice during adversities, his penetrating insight, and his many past experiences. Thus Mu'awiya held a talk with `Adi, depending on his own (private talent) to which he resorted when he debated with the great figures from his opponents.

He (i.e., Mu'awiya) asked `Adi: " `Adi, where are the Tarafat (i.e., 'Adi's sons: Tarif, Tarif, and Tarafa)?" "They were killed before 'Ali b. Abu Talib at the Battle of Siffin," replied `Adi. "Bin Abu Talib (i.e., 'Ali) did not treat you with justice, for he advanced your sons and delayed his sons," said Mu'awiya. "Rather, I did not treat 'Ali with justice, for he was killed, and I have remained (alive) after him," said `Adi. "Indeed a drop of the blood of `Uthman has remained. Nothing removes it but the blood of a nobleman from the noblemen of the Yemen," said Mu'awiya.

Thus `Adi said: "By Allah, our hearts with which we have hated you are still in our chests, our swords with which we fought against you are on our shoulders. If you approached us through a small span of treason, we would approach you through a span of evil! Indeed the cutting of the throat and the rattle of the middle of the chest are easier for us than hearing the insult towards 'Ali. Therefore, Mu'awiya, hand over the sword to him who has sent it."

"These words were as a crushing defeat. Still he went on talking with `Adi as if he had addressed him with nothing."[38](#)

"There is no good in clemency that has no gestures that protects its clearness from cloudiness."

Then Mu'awiya said to `Adi: "Describe 'Ali for me." "I think it is better to forgive me," said `Adi. "I will not forgive you," said Mu'awiya. Thus `Adi said the following concerning 'Ali, peace be on him:

"By Allah, he was a discerning (man) with strong abilities. His words were just, and his judgment was sound. Wisdom gushed out of his sides, and knowledge (gushed out) of his standpoints. He felt lonely because of the life in this world and its embellishment. He associated with night and its calmness. He reckoned himself when he was alone, and thought over what had passed. Short clothes and hoarse living pleased him. He was among us like one of us. He answered us when we asked him. He approached us to him when we came to him.

Though he brought us nearer to him, and though he was near to us, we did not speak to him because of his prestige, nor did we look at him because of his greatness. When he smiled, (his teeth) were like the well-organized pearl. He regarded the people of religion as great. He had affection for the needy. The powerful one was not afraid of his (i.e., `Ali's) oppression, nor was the weak one hopeless of his justice. I (i.e., `Adi) swear (by Allah) that I saw him one night at his prayer niche (mihrab) when the night had spread and when its stars appeared down. His tears were following on his beard. He was moving restlessly as the sick one does and was weeping as the sad one does. It is as if I hear him now say:

"O world! O world! Get away from me. Why do you present yourself to me? Or are you eager for me? You may not get that opportunity to impress me. Deceive some other person. I have no concern with you. I have divorced you thrice where after there is no restitution. Your life is short, your importance is little and your liking is humble. Alas! The provision is little, the way is long, the journey is far, extending and the goal is hard to get to."

When Mu'awiya heard these words of `Adi, his eyes were full of tears and he said: "May Allah have mercy on Abu al-Hasan. He was really so." Then he turned to `Adi and said: "How do you feel in his absence?" "My grief is like that of a woman whose only child is butchered on her lap. Thus her tear does not cease, nor does her wailing become calm," said `Adi. "How do you remember him?" asked Mu'awiya. "Does the time let me forget him?" asked `Adi.[39](#)

I (i.e., the author) say: `Adi b. Hatam died at the age of 120 years during the time of al-Mukhtar b. Abu `Ubayd in the year 68 A.H. [40](#) Thus a noble self which is not created except in an angel died with him. A wise opinion that does not become ripe except with a wise man, and truthful faith which is not known but with a friend (of Allah) died with him, too.

### **3. Sa'sa'a bin Sawhan**

Sa'sa'a was among the Arab chiefs. He was among the virtuous highborn figures. He became Muslim during the lifetime of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family. However, he did not meet the Prophet, for he was still little. During the days of his caliphate, `Umar faced a difficult problem.

Thus he addressed the people and asked them about an answer for the problem. Sa'sa'a, who was still young, rose. He gave an excellent answer. So the Muslims put his opinion into practice. Sa'sa'a was among the planners in Kufa. He took part at the Battle of the Camel and the Battle of Siffin headed by the Commander of the faithful (i.e., Imam 'Ali). "Indeed al Mughira banished Sa'sa'a from Kufa to the island (al-jazira) or to Bahrain. It was said that he was exiled to the island of bin Kafan (jazirat bin Kafan). Thus he died there."<sup>41</sup>

"Mu'awiya imprisoned Sa'sa'a b. Sawhan al-'Abdi,<sup>42</sup> Abd Allah b. al-Kauwa' al-Yashkuri, a group of 'Ali's companions, and a group of Quraysh. One day, Mu'awiya came to them and asked them: 'Swear by Allah to say the truth. Which of the Caliphs have you seen me?' Thus b. al-Kauwa' said: 'Were it not for that you asked us, we would not say, for you are a stubborn tyrant. You do not fear Allah when you kill the good ones. Still we say: Your life in this world, as we know, is wide, and your next life will be narrow. You are near to the ground and far from the pasture. You make darkness light and light darkness.'

Then Mu'awiya said: 'Indeed Allah has honored this matter (i.e., the authority) through the Syrians who defend His entity, and who avoid what He has forbidden. The Syrians are unlike the Iraqis who violate what Allah has forbidden, make lawful what Allah has forbidden, and make unlawful what Allah has made lawful.'

Thus b. al-Kauwa' said: 'Bin Abu Sufyan, there is an answer for every speech. We are afraid of your might. If you released our tongues, we would defend the Iraqis with sharp tongues that do not fear the blame of a blamer concerning Allah; otherwise we will be patient till Allah judges and shows us His ease.' 'By Allah, your tongue will not be released,' said Mu'awiya.

Then Sa'sa'a said: 'Bin Abu Sufyan, you have exaggerated, and have not abbreviated what you have wanted. The matter is not as you have mentioned. Does the successor rule the people by force, subjugate them with haughtiness, and dominate (them) with the false ways (such as) lying and cunning? Verily, by Allah, you had neither a sword nor a spear at the Battle of Badr. You and your father were (busy) in trade and war. You were among those who gathered against the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family. You were a freed prisoner (of war). The Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, had released you. Then, is the succession (Khilafa) appropriate for a freed prisoner (of war)?' Thus Mu'awiya said: 'Were it not for that I resort to the words of Abu Talib who said:

(I met his ignorance with clemency and forgiveness and forgiveness is a type of generosity.), I would kill you.' Then Mu'awiya asked Sa'sa'a: 'Who are the pious, and who are the sinners?' 'Whoever unveils (the facts) leaves deception. 'Ali and his Companions were from the pious Imams. You and your companions are from those (i.e., the sinners)' said Sa'sa'a. Then Mu'awiya asked him about Hisham. Thus Sa'sa'a said: 'He (i.e., Hisham) was the most obedient of all people to a creature, and the most disobedient of them to the Creator. He has disobeyed the Almighty (Allah) and followed the evil.

May destruction befall him, and the evil abode be his.' 'Bin Sawhan, by Allah, you have carried your

knife for a long time. However, it is the clemency of b. Abu Sufyan that prevents me from (killing) you,' said Mu'awiya. 'Rather the decree of Allah and His power have stopped you from killing me. Indeed Allah's decree is certain.'"

Al-Mas'udi said: "Sa'sa'a b. Sawhan had good stories and clear eloquent words concerning the meanings though they are brief."

Sa'sa'a was a prominent figure from the companions of the Commander of the faithful. The Commander of the faithful described him as a miserly orator. Then al-Jahiz described him as the most eloquent of all the people. When Mu'awiya entered Kufa after the Peace Treaty, he said to Sa'sa'a: "Indeed, by Allah, I had hated to give you security." Thus Sa'sa'a said: "By Allah, I hate to call you with this title (i.e., the Commander of the faithful)."

Then Sa'sa'a greeted Mu'awiya during his succession. So Mu'awiya said to him: "If you are truthful, then go up on the pulpit and curse 'Ali." Thus Sa'sa'a went up on the pulpit. He praised Allah and lauded him, and then he said: "O men, I have come to you from a man who has advanced his evil and delayed his good. He has ordered me to curse 'Ali. Therefore curse him (i.e., Mu'awiya), may Allah curse him."

Thus the people of the mosque shouted: "Amen!" When Sa'sa'a came back to Mu'awiya and told him about what he had said, the latter said: "No, by Allah, you have meant me. Go back and mention his name." Sa'sa'a went back, went up on the pulpit, and said: "O people, the Commander of the faithful (i.e., Mu'awiya) has ordered me to curse 'Ali b. Abu Talib. Therefore curse him (i.e., Mu'awiya). When Mu'awiya was told about that, he said: "By Allah, he has meant no one except me. Take him out. He should not live with me in a certain country." Thus the people took him out (of the country where Mu'awiya lived).[43](#)

Ibn `Abd Rabbih said: "Sa'sa'a b. Sawhan came to Mu'awiya when `Amr b. al-`As was with him (i.e., Mu'awiya) and was sitting on his (i.e., Mu'awiya's) bed. Thus Mu'awiya said (to `Amra b. al'As): "Make room for him (i.e., Sa'sa'a) in spite of his (tirabiya)"[44](#) "By Allah, I am a (tirabi) (i.e., I was created from dust), I was created from it, too it I will return, and from it I will be raised from the dead. However, you were created from a flame of fire."

The delegation of the Iraqis came to Mu'awiya. `Adi b. Hatam was among the delegation of Kufa. Al-Ahnaf b. Qays and Sa'sa'a b. Sawhan was among the delegation of Basrah. Thus `Amr b. al-`As said to Mu'awiya: "These are the men of the life in this world. They are the Shi'ites of 'Ali who led them at the Battle of the Camel, and the Battle of Siffin. Therefore be careful of them."

Sayyid `Abd al-Qays wrote at length about Sa'sa'a b. Sawhan to the extent that his details are not appropriate for our brief intention. In other words we have intended to give a brief idea about the history of Sa'sa'a, and about the attitudes of Mu'awiya towards him.

#### 4. `Abd Allah bin Khalifa al-Ta'i

`Abd Allah kindled war. He took part at the Battle of al-`Adhib, the Battle of Jalawla', the Battle of Nahrwan, the Battle of Taster, and the Battle of Siffin. He proved himself brave at all these battles. He was the orator who refuted the Ta'is when they competed with `Adi b. Hatam for carrying the standard at the Battle of Siffin, as we have said before.

`Abd Allah supported the strong attitude of Hujr b. `Adi al-Kindi when the latter defended the Commander of the faithful (i.e., Imam 'Ali), peace be on him.

The police of Ziyad (al-Hammra') chased `Abd Allah. However, they were unable to capture him. In the meantime, he was able to defeat them through his people. His sister al-Nauwar went out and said: "People of Tay, do you want to hand over your spearhead and your tongue (i.e., `Abd Allah b. Khalifa)?" Thus the Ta'is attacked the police and defeated them. Ziyad was unable to capture `Abd Allah so that he captured the leader of his tribe (`Adi b. Hatam). He imprisoned the leader to force him to bring `Abd Allah. `Adi refused to bring `Abd Allah, for he was sure that Ziyad would kill him. Thus Ziyad agreed with `Adi on banishing `Abd Allah from Kufa.

`Adi advised `Abd Allah to leave Kufa and promised him that he would do his best to return him to it. For this reason, `Abd Allah went to the two mountains (al-jabalayn).<sup>45</sup> It was said that he went to San'a'. He was still homeless there. Thus he longed very much for his homeland.

`Abd Allah remained there for a long time so that he wrote to `Adi to urge him to fulfill his promise. He was a poet with an ability to describe things well. He had many poems through which he reminded `Adi of his (i.e., `Abd Allah's) backgrounds, his estrangement, and his longing. However, the conditions did not permit `Adi to help him. So `Abd Allah remained there till he died. His death was a little time before the death of Ziyad. May Allah have mercy on `Abd Allah."<sup>46</sup>

<sup>1</sup>. Ibn Abu al-Hadid, *Sharh Nahj al-Balagha*, vol. 3, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup>. *Ibid.* vol. 1, p. 358.

<sup>3</sup>. In his book (al-Ghadir, vol. 5, pp. 185– 329), the religious scholar al Amini al-Najafi has collected six hundred and twenty fabricators from those whom the people have regarded as narrators of traditions and history.

<sup>4</sup>. (The tribe of) Kinda belonged to the band of Kahlan. Their homeland was the Yemen. Then many of their leaders moved to Iraq. Kahlan and Himyar were the two sons of Saba'. Saba' was the name which brought both tribes together. It was said: "The Arabs regarded the houses with glory and honor after the house of Hashim b. `Abd Manaf as four houses.

They were the house of Qays al-Fazazi, (the house of) the Darimiyyin, (the house of) band Shayn, and the house of the Yemen, who belonged to the bane of al Harith b. Ka'b." As for Kinda, they are not regarded as some of the people of the houses. Rather they were kings. Among them was al-Malik al-Dilil (i.e., `Umrul al-Qays). They had authority in the Yemen and al-Hijaz. The glory of Kinda lasted during the time of Islam.

Some of the Kindis took part in the conquests and the revolts; some of them were governors; some of them were judges such as Husayn b. Hasan al-Hujri; some of them were poets such as Ja'far b. `Affan al-Makfuf, the poet of the Shi'a. Hani b. al-Wad b. `Adi, the nephew of Hujr, was among the noble figures in Kufa. Ja'far b. al Ash'ath and his son al-`Abbas b. Ja'far were among the Shi'a of Imam Abu al-Hasan (i.e., Musa b. Ja'far) and his son al-Rida, peace be on them. As for al-

Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindi, he was the greatest of all the hypocrites in Kufa. He became Muslim, then he renounced Islam after the Prophet. Then he became Muslim, and Abu Bakr accepted his Islam. Abu Bakr married him his sister who was the mother of Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath. Imam al-Hasan married al-Ash'ath's daughter whom Mu'awiya provoked to give al-Hasan poison to drink.

5. In his book 'al-Isaba fi Tamyiz al-Sahaba', Ibn al-Athir said: "Major ritual impurity hit him (i.e., Hujr) while he was a prisoner. So he said to the guard: 'Give me my water to pure myself with it.' 'I am afraid that you will die of thirst, so Mu'awiya will kill me, said the guard.' He (i.e., Ibn al-Athir) said: 'Hujr prayed to Allah (for rain), so the rain came down from a cloud. Then he took what he needed from (the rain).' His companions said to him: 'Ask Allah to save us.' So he said: 'O Allah, save us.'"

6. Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 108.

7. In his book 'Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 132', al-Tabari said: "From that day he took a compartment."

8. Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 156.

9. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 193.

10. Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 153.

11. Ibid.

12. He meant the banu (sons) of Hashim.

13. Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 4, p. 18.

14. Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 157.

15. See also: Ibn 'Abd al-Bir al-Maliki, al-Isti'ab. Ibn al-Athir, Asad al-Ghaba fi Tamyiz al-Sahaba. 'Ali Khan, al-Darajat al-Rafii'a. Al-Shaykh al-Tusi, al-Amali.

16. Al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 10, p. 149.

17. Ibn al-Nadim, al-Fihrast, p. 136.

18. Al-Najashi, Fihrast al-Rijal, p. 306.

19. Al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar. Al-Tabari has narrated a tradition similar to this one on the authority of al-Hasan. That is incorrect for the tragedy of Hujr and his companions were two years after the death of al-Hasan. A similar tradition has been narrated by Ibn al-Athir on the authority of al Hasan al-Basri who said: "By the Lord of the Kaaba, they have instituted a proof against them."

20. A place near Kufa. It was on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. Al-Marwaha faced it on the western bank of the Euphrates. The battle of Abu 'Ubayd the father of al-Mukhtar al-Thaqafi took place at it.

21. Then this kind of killing became the bad practice (Sunna), which the tyrants after Ziyad followed. When the Umayyads were angry with 'Umar al-Maqsus, the educator of Mu'awiya b. Yazid b. Mu'awiya, who resigned from their succession as protest against them, they took him and buried him alive. This has been narrated by al-Dimyari in his book 'Hayat al-Hayawan, p. 62. In the book, he has narrated the speech which Mu'awiya made concerning the backgrounds of 'Umar's resignation, which makes one feel that 'Umar was a follower of Ahl al-Bayt, peace be on them.

22. Ahmad Shahab al-Din al-'Asqalani, al-Isaba fi Tamyiz al-Sahaba, vol. 4, p. 294.

23. See the following references about what we have written concerning Hujr and his companions: Al-Dinawari, Ibn al-Athir, al-Tabari, b. Abu al Hadid, al-Isti'ab, al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya, and Ta'rikh Baghdad.

24. 'Abbas al-Qummi, Safiinat al-Bihar, vol. 2, p. 360.

25. Al-Tabari has mentioned the slander of 'Ammara b. 'Aqaba, and then he said: "It is said that it was Yazid b. Ruwaym who slandered 'Amr b. al Hamq, and said: 'He (i.e., 'Amru) has provoked the two cities (i.e., Basrah and Kufa' "

26. Al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 10, p. 101.

27. Al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 10, p. 102.

28. He was attributed to Hajr (i.e., Bahrain).

29. 'Abbas al-Qummi, Safiinat al-Bihar, vol. 1, p. 522.

30. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 183. Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, pp. 130- 32.

31. In his book (Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 147), al-Tabari said: "'Umayr b. Yazid (a companion of Hujr b. 'Adi's) was brought before Ziyad. He had been given security over his blood and his property. Ziyad ordered him to be shackled. Then the men began to lift him to the highest point and let him fall over the ground many times."

- [32.](#) Ahmad Shahab al-Din al-`Asqalani, al-Isaba fi Tamiz al-Sahaba, vol. 4, p. 228– 29.
- [33.](#) Ibid.
- [34.](#) Ibid.
- [35.](#) He was the fifth grandfather of `Adi. Thus `Adi, the Companion (of the Prophet) was b. Hatam b. `Abd Allah b. Sa'd b. al-Hashraj b. `Umru' al Qays b. `Adi.
- [36.](#) Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 5.
- [37.](#) Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 189.
- [38.](#) Al-Mas'udi, Hamish b. al-Athir, vol. 6, p. 65.
- [39.](#) Al-Bayhaqi, al-Mahasin wa al-Masawi', vol. 1, p. 33.
- [40.](#) Husayn al-Buraqi, Ta'rikh al-Kufa, p. 388. Ahmad Shahab al-Din al`Asqalani, al-Isaba fi Tamyiz al-Sahaba, vol. 4, p. 119.
- [41.](#) Ahmad Shahab al-Din al-`Asqalani, al-Isaba fi Tamyiz al-Sahaba, vol. 3, p. 23.
- [42.](#) Al-Mas'udi, Hamish b. al-Athir, vol. 6, p. 117.
- [43.](#) `Abbas al-Qummi, Safiinat al-Bihar, vol. 2, 31.
- [44.](#) his love for Abu Turab (i.e., 'Ali, peace be on him).
- [45.](#) They were the two mountains of Tay: they were called Aja and Sahna. There was one day between them and Fadak, five nights between them and Khaybar, and three stages between them and Medina.
- [46.](#) Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 5 and pp. 157– 60.

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