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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."[1]

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."[2]

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.[3] 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)."[6]

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-I', 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'. 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.[7]

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. Shadddd 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 alTamimi." 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?'"[8] 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.[9]

Shurayh b. Hani' 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 kinda, 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 (ikhdud)."

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 knifes, 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-Tamimi23

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 tom 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: "0 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. `Uttba 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. `Uttba. 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', 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 alTa'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') 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. 40Thus 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."41

"Mu'awiya imprisoned Sa'sa'a b. Sawhan al-`Abdi,42`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).45 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."46

1. Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 3, p. 161.
2. Ibid. vol. 1, p. 358.
3. 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.
4. (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., `Umru' 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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