

Selected Texts

From

Encyclopedia of Quran

For

Graduate Students

Of

Nahj Al Balagheh

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به نام خدا

"امیر المومنین آبشخور فصاحت و خاستگاه بلاغت است. قواعد و قوانین فصاحت از او گرفته شد و هر گوینده سخنور از او دنباله روی کرد و هر واعظ سخنمدانی از سخن او مدد گرفت، با این حال، آنها به پای او نرسیدند و از او عقب ماندند چرا که، هر کلام او نشانه ای از دانش خدایی و بویی از سخن نبوی بود..." مقدمه سید رضی بر نهج البلاغه

شناخت کلام امیر المومنین ع شناخت کلام کسی است که از دانش خدایی متمتع بوده و در دامان پیامبر اسلام صلی الله علیه و آله و سلم پرورش یافته است. شوق آشنایی با سخن این راد مرد و کشف حقیقت کلامش در میان شیفتگان حقیقت، موضوعی دیرین است.

در این راستا رشته معارف نهج البلاغه یکی از رشته های نو در جامعه دانشگاهی است که به لطف الهی، در عین جدید بودن به سرعت در میان علاقمندان به امام علی ع مشتاقان و شیفتگان زیادی را به خود جذب نموده است.

این نیست مگر به علت محبت به امیر مومنان علی ع و اشتیاق آنان در شناخت کلام بلیغ و معارف اصیل حضرتش ع. ویژگی بارز دانشجویان رشته معارف نهج البلاغه همت عالی و شوق وافر برای شناخت معارف علوی و انتقال آن به سایر مخاطبان و محبان علی بن ابی طالب علیه السلام است.

دانشجویان عزیز؛ به نیکی مطلعند که آگاهی از متون تخصصی و مطالب ارائه شده به زبان انگلیسی به عنوان زبانی شناخته شده و پر مخاطب از جمله امور ضروری است.

هر چند در رشته های علوم اسلامی زبان اصلی علم، زبان عربی است و منابع و متون آن به این زبان تالیف و تدوین شده است ولی به علت گسترش ارتباطات بین المللی علمی و اشتیاق مخاطبان انگلیسی زبان برای اطلاع از علوم اسلامی و یا وظیفه پاسخ گویی به شبهات که بر دوش عالمان و دانشجویان سنگینی می کند، دانستن زبان های خارجی به خصوص زبان انگلیسی وظیفه ای است که باید آن را به خوبی انجام داد.

بنابراین در میان دروس رشته معارف نهج البلاغه درس زبان خارجی پیش بینی شده است.

ضرورت بازنگری در سرفصل برنامه های آموزشی و منابع درسی امری بدیهی است که باید انجام پذیرد. البته اصلاح و تکمیل سرفصل برنامه های آموزشی روند مخصوص و متفاوت با منابع درسی را داراست.

هر ساله در دانشگاه پیام نور منابع درسی مورد بازنگری قرار می گیرد و تلاش بر این است تا انتخاب منابع آموزشی روز آمد و مطلوب باشد.

درس زبان خارجی در رشته معارف نهج البلاغه نیز از این روال مستثنا نبوده و متون منتخب آن پس از چند دوره اجرا با دو رویکرد زیر تغییر یافته است.

اولاً، ارتباط مقالات گزین شده با رشته تحصیلی بیشتر از قبل باشد.

ثانیا، ترجمه نهج البلاغه به زبان انگلیسی به عنوان متن درسی باشد.

لذا با عنایت به رویکرد های مذکور متن های پیشین تغییر کرد. و جزوه ای با مشخصات زیر از منابع انگلیسی ارائه شده است:

۱. انتخاب دو مدخل از مداخل Encyclopedia of Islam که از لوح فشرده مربوط گرفته شده است.

۲. انتخاب ده متن گزین شده از برخی خطب امام علی بن ابی طالب علیه السلام در نهج البلاغه.

۳. انتخاب چهار متن گزین شده از برخی نامه های علی بن ابی طالب علیه السلام در نهج البلاغه.

۴. انتخاب ۱۶ فقره از حکم آغازین نهج البلاغه.

لازم به ذکر است که متن های گزین شده از نهج البلاغه انگلیسی عربی چاپ انتشارات انصاریان قم است که توسط سید علی

رضا به زبان انگلیسی برگردان شده و با مقدمه علی نقی النقوی منتشر شده است.

قابل ذکر است آزمون نهایی این درس ۱ از متون منتخب از نهج البلاغه انگلیسی و دو مقاله منتخب از دایره

المعارف اسلام به عمل خواهد آمد و پاورقی ها صرفا برای مطالعه است.

امید است با انعکاس نقائص و اصلاح آنها شاهد گسترش بیش از پیش معارف علوی در بین پیروان و محبان مولی الموحدین

علی بن ابی طالب علیه السلام باشیم.

نوزدهم رمضان المبارک ۱۴۲۹

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TRANSLITERATION

ARABIC LETTERS

Symbol	Transliteration	Symbol	Transliteration
ا	'	ك	k
ب	b	ل	l
ت	t	م	m
ث	th	ن	n
ج	j	ه	h
ح	h	و	w
خ	kh	ي	y
د	d	ة	ah; at (construct state)
ذ	dh	ال	article al- and 'l (even before the antepalatals)
ر	r		
ز	z		
س	s		
ش	sh		
ص	ṣ		
ض	ḍ		
ط	ṭ		
ظ	ẓ		
ع	'		
غ	gh		
ف	f		
ق	q		

Long Vowels

اى	ā
و	ū
ي	ī

Short Vowels

ا	a
ـِ	u
ـِ	i

In this very sermon he spoke about Hajj

Allah has made obligatory upon you the pilgrimage (hajj) to His sacred House which is the turning point for the people who go to it as beasts or pigeons go towards spring water. Allāh the glorified made it a sign of their supplication before His Greatness and their acknowledgement of His Dignity. He selected from among His creation those who on listening to His call responded to it and testified His word. They stood in the position of His Prophets and resembled His angels who surround the Divine Throne securing all the benefits of performing His worship and hastening towards His promised forgiveness. Allāh the glorified made it (His sacred House) an emblem for Islam and an object of respect for those who turn to it. He made obligatory its pilgrimage and laid down its claim for which He held you responsible to discharge it. Thus, Allāh the glorified said:

... And (purely) for Allāh, is incumbent upon mankind, the pilgrimage to the House, for those who can afford to journey thither. And whoever depeth then verily, Allāh is Self-sufficiently independents of the worlds (Qur'an, 3:96).

* * * * *

SERMON 2

Delivered on return from Şiffin
Arabia before proclamation of Prophethood

I praise Allāh seeking completion of His Blessing, submitting to His Glory and expecting safety from committing His sins. I invoke His help being in need of His Sufficiency (of protection). He whom He guides does not get astray, He with whom He is hos-

ومنها في حكاية الحج

وَفَرَضَ عَلَيْكُمْ حَجَّ بَيْتِهِ الْحَرَامِ ، الَّذِي جَعَلَهُ قِبْلَةً لِلأَنْعَامِ ،
يُرِيدُونَ وُرُودَ الأَنْعَامِ ، وَيَأْلَهُونَ إِلَيْهِ وُلُوهَ الْحَرَامِ ، وَجَعَلَهُ سُبْحَانَهُ
عَلَامَةً لِيَتَوَضَّعِيهِمْ لِعَظَمَتِيهِ ، وَإِدْعَائِهِمْ لِعِزَّتِيهِ ، وَأَخْتَارَ مِنْ خَلْقِهِ سُطُوعًا
أَجَابُوا إِلَيْهِ دَعْوَتَهُ ، وَصَدَّقُوا كَلِمَتَهُ ، وَوَقَفُوا مَوَاقِفَ أَنْبِيَائِهِ ،
وَتَشَبَّهُوا بِمَلَائِكَتِهِ الطَّيِّفِينَ بَعْرَثِيهِ . يُخْرُجُونَ الأَرْبَابَ فِي مَنَاجِرِ عِبَادَتِهِ ،
وَيَتَبَادَرُونَ عِنْدَهُ مَوْعِدَ مَغْفِرَتِيهِ ، جَعَلَهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَمَلَّكَ الأِسْلَامَ - عَلَمًا ،
وَاللَّعَائِدِينَ حَرَمًا ، فَرَضَ حَقَّهُ ، وَأَوْجَبَ حُجَّتَهُ ، وَكَتَبَ عَلَيْكُمْ
وَفَادَتَهُ ، فَقَالَ سُبْحَانَهُ : « وَاللَّهِ عَلَى النَّاسِ حُجُّ الْبَيْتِ مِنْ أَسْطَاحٍ
إِلَيْهِ سَبِيلًا ، وَمَنْ كَفَرَ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ غَنِيٌّ عَنِ الْعَالَمِينَ » .

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

— ٢ —

بعد انصرافه من صفين

وفيها حال الناس قبل البعثة وشفقة آل النبي ثم صفة قوم آخرين

أَحْمَدُهُ اسْتِغْنَامًا لِعِزَّتِيهِ ، وَأَسْتَسْلِمًا لِعِزَّتِيهِ ، وَأَسْتَمْتَصًا مِنْ مَغْفِرَتِيهِ .
وَأَسْتَعِينُهُ فَاقَةً إِلَى كِفَايَتِيهِ ، إِنَّهُ لَا يَضِلُّ مِنْ هُدَاةٍ ، وَلَا يَغِلُّ (١٧٧) مِنْ

tile gets no protection. He whom He supports does not remain needy. Praise is most weighty of all that is weighed and the most valuable of all that is treasured.

I stand witness that there is no god but Allāh the One. He has no like. My testimony has been tested in its frankness, and its essence is our belief. We shall cling to it for ever till we live and shall store it facing the tribulations that overtake us because it is the foundation stone of belief (*imān*) and the first step towards good actions and Divine pleasure. It is the means to keep Satan away.

I also stand witness that Muhammad (p.b.u.h.a.h.p.) is His slave and His Prophet. Allāh sent him with the illustrious religion, effective emblem, written Book,¹ effulgent light, sparkling gleam and decisive injunction in order to dispel doubts, present clear proofs, administer warning through signs and to warn of punishments. At that time people had fallen in vices whereby the rope of religion had been broken, the pillars of belief had been shaken, principles had been sacrilegged, system had become topsy turvy, openings were narrow, passage was dark, guidance was unknown and darkness prevailed.

Allāh was being disobeyed, Satan was given support and Belief had been forsaken. As a result the pillars of religion fell down, its traces could not be discerned, its passages had been destroyed and its streets had fallen into decay. People obeyed Satan and tread his paths. They sought water from his watering places. Through them Satan's emblems got flying and his standard was raised in vices which trampled the people under their hoofs, and treaded upon them with their feet. The vices stood on their toes (in full stature) and the people immersed in them were strayed, perplexed, ignorant and seclered as though in a goal house² with bad neighbours. Instead of sleep they had wakefulness and for antimony they had tears in the eyes. They were in a land where the learned were in bridle (keeping their mouths shut) while the ignorant were honoured.

عَادَاهُ ، وَلَا يَفْتَقِرُ مِنْ كَفَاهُ ، فَإِنَّهُ أَرْجَحُ مَا وُزِنَ ، وَأَفْضَلُ مَا نُخِرَ .
وَأَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ ، شَهَادَةٌ مَمْتَحِنًا إِخْلَاصَهَا ،
مُتَّقِدًا مُصَاصَهَا^(١٣٧) ، نَتَمَسَّكُ بِهَا أَبَدًا مَا أَبْتَعْنَا ، وَنَلْتَجِرُهَا لِأَهْوَابِلِ مَا
يَلْتَعْنَا ، فَإِنَّهَا عَرِيضَةُ الْإِيمَانِ ، وَفَاتِحَةُ الْإِحْسَانِ ، وَمَرْضَاةُ الرَّحْمَنِ ،
وَمُدْحَرَةُ الشَّيْطَانِ^(١٣٨) . وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ ، أَرْسَلَهُ بِالَّذِينَ
الْمَشْهُورِ ، وَالْعَلَمِ الْكَائِبِ الْمَسْطُورِ ، وَالنُّورِ السَّاطِعِ ،
وَالضِّيَاءِ الْأَمْعِ ، وَالْأَمْرِ الصَّادِعِ ، إِزَاحَةَ لِلشُّبُهَاتِ ، وَأَحْتِجَاجًا
بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ ، وَتَحْذِيرًا بِالْآيَاتِ ، وَتَخْوِيفًا بِالْمَعَلَّاتِ^(١٣٩) ، وَالنَّاسُ فِي
فِتْنٍ أَنْجَلِمُ^(١٤٠) فِيهَا حَبْلُ الدِّينِ ، وَتَزَعَزَعَتْ سَوَارِي الْيَقِينِ^(١٤١) ،
وَأَخْتَلَفَ النَّجْرُ^(١٤٢) ، وَتَشَّتْ الْأَمْرُ ، وَضَاقَ الْمَخْرُجُ ، وَعَوِيَ الضَّمْرُ ،
فَالْهَدَى حَامِلٌ ، وَالْعَمَى شَامِلٌ . عُصِيَ الرَّحْمَنُ ، وَنَصَرَ الشَّيْطَانُ ،
وَخِيلَ الْإِيمَانُ ، فَانْتَهَارَتْ دَعَائِمُهُ ، وَتَنَكَّرَتْ مَعَالِمُهُ ، وَدَرَسَتْ^(١٤٣)
سُبُلُهُ ، وَعَفَّتْ شُرُكُهُ^(١٤٤) . أَطَاعُوا الشَّيْطَانَ فَسَلَكُوا مَسَالِكَهُ ، وَوَرَدُوا
مَنَاجِلَهُ^(١٤٥) ، بِهِمْ سَارَتْ أَعْلَامُهُ ، وَقَامَ لِيَوَاوِهِ ، فِي فِتْنٍ دَاسْتُهُمْ بِأَخْفَافِهَا^(١٤٦) ،
وَوَطَّئَتْهُمُ سَاطِلُهَا^(١٤٧) . وَقَامَتْ عَلَى سَنَابِكِهَا^(١٤٨) . فُهُمْ فِيهَا تَأْتَهُونَ
حَاثِرُونَ جَاهِلُونَ مَفْتُونُونَ ، فِي خَيْرِ دَارٍ ، وَشَرِّ جِيرَانٍ . نُوهِمُ سُهُودَ^(١٤٩)
وَكَحْلَهُمْ دُمُوعَ^(١٥٠) ، بَارِضٍ عَالِمِهَا مُلْجَمٍ ، وَجَاهِلِهَا مَكْرَمٍ .

In the same sermon Amir al-mu'minin referred to *Al an-Nabi* (the Household of the Holy Prophet) as under.

They are the trustees of His secrets, shelter for His affairs, source of knowledge about Him, centre of His wisdom, valleys for His books and mountains of His religion. With them Allah straightened the bend of religion's back and removed the trembling of its limbs.

In the same Sermon he spoke about the hypocrites

They sowed vices, watered them with deception and harvested destruction.

(*Alu Muhammad*)

None in the Islamic community can be taken *at par* with the Progeny³ of the Prophet (*Alu Muhammad*).

One who was under their obligation cannot be matched with them. They are the foundation of religion and pillar of Belief. The forward runner has to turn back to them while the follower has to overtake them. They possess the chief characteristics for vicegerency. In their favour exists the will and succession (of the Prophet). This is the time when right has returned to its owner and diverted to its centre of return.

1. The Preserved Record.

2. Good House means 'Mecca' while the bad neighbours mean the 'Unbelievers of Quraysh.'

3. About the Progeny of the Prophet Amir al-mu'minin has said that no person in the world can be brought *at par* with them, nor can any one be deemed their equal in sublimity, because the world is overlaid with their obligations and has been able to secure eternal blessings only through their guidance. They are the corner stone and foundation of religion and the sustenance for its life and survival. They are such strong pillars of knowledge and belief that they can turn away the stormy flow of doubt and suspicion. They are such middle course among the paths of excess and backwardness that if some one goes far towards excess and exaggeration or falls behind then unless he comes back or steps forward to that middle course he cannot be on the path of Islam. They possess all the characteristics which give the superiority in the right for vicegerency and leadership. Con-

ومنها یعنی آل النبی علیہ الصلاة والسلام

ہم موضع سیرہ ، وکجا امرہ (۸۰) ، وعینہ علیہ (۸۱) ، ومویل (۸۲)
حکمیہ ، وکھوف کئیہ ، وجمال دینہ ، بیہم اقام انجاء ظہرہ ،
واذهب ارتعاد فرائضہ (۸۳)

ومنها یعنی قومنا العربین

زرعوا الفجور ، وسقوه الغرور ، وحصلوا الثبور (۸۱)

آل عند (علیہم السلام)

لا یُقاسُ بِآلِ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ أَحَدٌ ، وَلَا يُسَوَّى
بِهِمْ مَنْ جَرَتْ زِعْمَتُهُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَبَدًا : هُمْ أَسَاسُ الدِّينِ ، وَعِمَادُ الْيَقِينِ .
إِلَيْهِمْ يَفِيءُ الْعَالِي (۸۵) ، وَبِهِمْ يُلْحَقُ التَّالِي . وَلَهُمْ خَصَائِصُ حَقِّ
الْوَلَايَةِ ، وَفِيهِمْ الْوَصِيَّةُ وَالْوَرَاثَةُ ؛ أَلَا إِنَّ إِذْ رَجَعَ الْحَقُّ إِلَى أَهْلِهِ ،
وُنُقِلَ إِلَى مُنْتَقِلِهِ !

* * * * *

sequently, no one else in the *ummah* enjoys the right of patronage and guardianship. That is why the Prophet declared them his vicegerents and successors. About will and succession the commentator Ibn Abi'l-Hadid Mu'tazili writes that there can be no doubt about the vicegerency of Amir al-mu'minin but succession cannot imply succession in position although the Shi'ite sect has so interpreted it. It rather implies succession of learning. Now, if according to him succession is taken to imply succession in learning even he does not seem to succeed in achieving his object, because even by this interpretation the right of succeeding the Prophet does not devolve on any other person. When it is agreed that learning is the most essential requirement of *khilafah* (caliphate) because the most important functions of the Prophet's Caliph consist of dispensation of justice, solving problems of religious laws, clarifying intricacies and administration of religious penalties. If these functions are taken away from the Prophet's deputy his position will come down to that of a worldly ruler. He cannot be regarded as the pivot of religious authority. Therefore either we should keep governmental authority separate from Prophet's vicegerency or accept the successor of Prophet's knowledge to suit that position.

The interpretation of Ibn Abi'l-Hadid could be acceptable if Amir al-mu'minin had uttered this sentence alone, but observing that it was uttered soon after 'Ali's (p.b.u.h.) recognition as Caliph and just after it the sentence "Right has returned to its owner" exists, this interpretation of his seems baseless. Rather, the Prophet's will cannot imply any other will except that for vicegerency and caliphate, and succession would imply not succession in property nor in knowledge because this was not an occasion to mention it here but it must mean the succession in the right leadership which stood proved as from Allah not only on the ground of kinship but on the ground of qualities of perfection.

* * * * *

SERMON 4

Amir al-mu'minin's far-sightedness and his
staunch conviction in Belief

Through us you got guidance in the darkness and secured high position, and through us you got out of the gloomy night. The ears which do not listen to the cries may become deaf. How can one who remained deaf to the loud cries (of the Qur'an and the Prophet) listen to (my) feeble voice. The heart that has ever palpitated (with fear of Allāh) may get peace.

I always apprehended from you consequences of treachery and I had seen you through in the garb of the deceitful. The curtain of religion had kept me hidden from you but the truth of my intentions disclosed you to me. I stood for you on the path of truth among misleading tracks where you met each other but there was no leader and you dug but got no water.

Today I am making these dumb things speak to you (i.e. my suggestive ideas and deep musings etc.) which are full of descriptive power. The opinion of the person who abandons me may get astray. I have never doubted in the truth since it has been shown to me. Mūsā (Moses)¹ did not entertain fear for his own self. Rather he apprehended mastery of the ignorant and away of deviation. Today we stand on the cross-roads of truth and untruth. The one who is sure of getting water feels no thirst.

1. The reference is to that even of Moses when sorcerers were sent for to confront him and they showed their sorcery by throwing ropes and sticks on the ground and Moses felt afraid. Thus, the Qur'an records:

... it seemed to him (Moses), by their sorcery as if they were running.

وَمِنْ حُجَّتِهِ الْمَعْلِيَاءُ

وهي من أصح كلامه عليه السلام وفيها يعطى الناس ويدهم من صلاحهم

بِنَا أَهْتَلِدِيْتُمْ^{١١٨٨} فِي الظَّلَمَاءِ ، وَتَسْتَنْتُمُ^{١١٨٧} ذُرُوءَ الْمُعْلِيَاءِ ، وَبِنَا
أَفْجَرْتُمْ^{١١٨٩} عَنِ السَّرَّارِ^{١١٨٩} . وَفِيهِ سَمِعَ لَمْ يَفْقَهُ^{١١٩٠} أَوْلَاعِيَهُ^{١١٩٠} ، وَكَيْفَ
يُرَاعِي^{١١٩١} النَّبِيَّةَ^{١١٩١} مِنْ أَصَمَّةِ الصَّيْحَةِ ؟ رُبَّ جَنَانٍ^{١١٩٢} لَمْ يُفَارِقْهُ
الْحَقِّقَانُ . مَا زِلْتُ أَنْتَظِرُ بِكُمْ عَوَاقِبَ النَّفْرِ ، وَأَتَوَسَّمُكُمْ^{١١٩٣} بِحِلْيَةِ
الْمُعْتَرِينَ^{١١٩٤} ، حَتَّى سَتَّرَ لِي عَنْكُمْ جِلْبَابَ الدِّينِ^{١١٩٥} ، وَبَصَّرْتِكُمْ صِلْقَ
النَّبِيِّ . أَقَمْتُ لَكُمْ عَلَى سَنَنِ الْحَقِّ فِي جَوَادِّ الْفَضْلَةِ^{١١٩٦} ، حَيْثُ تَلْتَمُونَ
وَلَا دَلِيلَ ، وَتَحْتَفِرُونَ وَلَا تُسَيِّهُونَ^{١١٩٧}

الْيَوْمَ أَنْظِرُ لَكُمْ الْأَجْمَعَاءَ^{١١٩٨} ذَاتِ الْبَيَانِ ! عَزَبَ^{١١٩٩} رَأْيُ أَمْرِي
تَخَلَّفَ عَنِّي ! مَا شَكَّكَتُ فِي الْحَقِّ مِنْ أَرِيئِهِ ! لَمْ يُوَجِّسْ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ
السَّلَامُ خِيْفَةً^{١٢٠٠} عَلَى نَفْسِهِ ، بَلْ أَشْفَقَ مِنْ غَلْبَةِ الْجَهَّالِ وَدَوْرِ الضَّلَالِ !
الْيَوْمَ تَوَاقَفْنَا^{١٢٠١} عَلَى سَبِيلِ الْحَقِّ وَالْبَاطِلِ . مَنْ وَثِقَ بِمَاءٍ لَمْ يَعْطَمَا !

SERMON 14

This also is in condemnation of the people of Basrah

Your earth is close to the sea and away from the sky. Your wits have become light and your minds are full of folly. You are the aim of the archer, a morsel for the eater and an easy prey for the hunter.

* * * * *

SERMON 15

After resuming the land grants made by 'Uthman ibn 'Affan, he said:

By Allāh, even if I had found that by such money women have been married or slave-maids have been purchased I would have resumed it because there is wide scope in dispensation of justice, and he who finds it hard to act justly should find it harder to deal with injustice.

* * * * *

SERMON 16

Delivered when allegiance was sworn to him at Medina

The responsibility for what I say is guaranteed and I am answerable for it. He to whom experiences have clearly shown the past exemplary punishments (given by Allāh to peoples) is prevented by piety from falling into doubts. You should know

— ١٤ —

في مثل ذلك

أَرْضُكُمْ قَرِيبَةٌ مِنَ الْمَاءِ ، وَبَعِيدَةٌ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ . حَفَّتْ عُمْرُكُمْ
وَسَفِهَتْ حُلُومُكُمْ ، فَانْتُمْ عَرَضٌ لِنَائِلٍ (٢١٠) ، وَأَكْلَةٌ لِأَكِلٍ .
وَقَرِيبَةٌ لِنَائِلٍ (٢١١) .

— ١٥ —

فيآرده على المسلمين من قتالهم عاتق (٢١٢)

وَاللَّهِ لَوْ وَجِدْتُهُ قَدْ تَزَوَّجَ بِهِ النِّسَاءَ ، وَمَلَكَ بِهِ الْأَمَاءَ ، لَرَدَدْتُهُ ؛
فَإِنَّ فِي الْعَمَلِ سَعَةً . وَمَنْ صَاقَ عَلَيْهِ الْعَمَلُ ، فَالْجَوْرُ عَلَيْهِ أَضْبَعُ ۝

— ١٦ —

لا يبيع في المدينة وفيها يجبر الناس بمله بما تقول اليه احوالهم
وفيها يقسمهم الى اقسام

ذُنُوبِي بِمَا أَقُولُ رَهِيْنَةً (٢١١٧) . وَأَنَا بِهِ زَعِيمٌ (٢١٥) . إِنَّ مِنْ صَرَحْتِ لَكَ
الْمَيْرَ (٢١١٦) - عَمَّا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ مِنْ الْمُعْتَلَاتِ (٢١٧) ، حَجْرَتُهُ (٢١٨) التَّقْوَى عَنْ تَقْصُرِ

that the same troubles have returned to you which existed when the Prophet was first sent.

By Allāh who sent the Prophet with faith and truth you will be severely subverted, bitterly shaken as in sieving and fully mixed as by spooning in a cooking pot till your low persons become high and high ones become low, those who were behind would attain forward positions and those who were forward would become backward. By Allāh, I have not concealed a single word or spoken any lie and I had been informed of this event and of this time.

Beware that sins are like unruly horses on whom their riders have been placed and their reins have been let loose so that they would jump with them in Hell. Beware that piety is like trained horses on whom the riders have been placed with the reins in their hands, so that they would take the riders to Heaven. There is right and wrong and there are followers for each. If wrong dominates, it has (always) in the past been so, and if truth goes down that too has often occurred. It seldom happens that a thing that lags behind comes forward.

ash-Sharif ar-Radi says: In this small speech there is more beauty than can be appreciated, and the quantity of amazement aroused by it is more than the appreciation accorded to it. Despite what we have stated it has so many aspects of eloquence that cannot be expressed nor can anyone reach its depth, and no one can understand what I am saying unless one has attained this art and known its details.

... No one appreciates it except those who know (Qur'an, 29:43)



الشبهات^(٢٢١). أَلَا وَإِنَّ بَلِيَّتِكُمْ قَدْ عَادَتْ كَهَيْئَتِهَا^(٢٢٢) يَوْمَ بَعَثَ اللَّهُ نَبِيَّهُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. وَالَّذِي بَعَثَهُ لِيُبَلِّغَنَّ^(٢٢٣) بَلِيَّتَهُ ، وَلِتُعْرَبِلَنَّ^(٢٢٤) عَرَبِيَّةً ، وَتَسْطُلَنَّ^(٢٢٥) سَوْطَ الْفَيْدْرِ^(٢٢٦) ، حَتَّى يَعُودَ أَسْفَلَكُمْ أَعْلَاكُمْ ، وَأَعْلَاكُمْ أَسْفَلَكُمْ ، وَلِيَسْتَفِينَ سَابِقُونَ^(٢٢٧) كَانُوا فَصَرُّوا ، وَلِيَفْصُرَنَّ سَابِقُونَ^(٢٢٨) كَانُوا سَبَقُوا. وَاللَّهُ مَا كُنْتُمْ وَشِمَهُ^(٢٢٩) ، وَلَا كَذَبْتُمْ كَذِبَةً ، وَلَقَدْ نَبَّيْتُ بِهَذَا الْمَقَامِ وَهَذَا الْيَوْمِ . أَلَا وَإِنَّ الْأَخْطَايَا جِيلٌ وَسُمِسَ^(٢٣٠) حِمِلٌ عَلَيْهَا أَهْلُهَا ، وَخَلِعَتْ لُجْمَهَا^(٢٣١) ، فَتَفَحَّحَتْ^(٢٣٢) بِهِمْ فِي النَّارِ . أَلَا وَإِنَّ الْأَتَقُونَ مَطَايَا ذُلِّ^(٢٣٣) ، حِمِلٌ عَلَيْهَا أَهْلُهَا ، وَأَعْطُوا أَرْزَمَتَهَا ، فَأَوْرَدْتَهُمْ^(٢٣٤) الْجَنَّةَ . حَقٌّ وَبَاطِلٌ ، وَكُلُّ أَهْلٍ ، فَلَيْتَ أَمِيرَ الْبَاطِلِ لَقَدِيمًا فَعَلَّ ، وَلَيْتَ قَلَّ الْحَقُّ قَلِيلًا وَلَكَلَّ ، وَكَلَّمْنَا أَدِيرَ^(٢٣٥) شَيْءٍ فَأَقْبَلَ !

قال السيد الشريف : وأقول : إن في هذا الكلام الأذنى من مواقع الإحسان ما لا يلبثه مواقع الاستحسان، وإن حظ المصعب منه أكثر من حظ المصعب به. وفيه - مع الحال التي وصفنا - زوائد من الفصاحة لا يقوم بها لسان، ولا يتطالع قبحها إنسان^(٢٣٦)، ولا يعرف ما أقول إلا من ضرب في هذه الصناعة بحق، وجرى فيها على عرف^(٢٣٧). وما يعقلها إلا المألون^(٢٣٨).



From the same Sermon

He who has heaven and hell in his view has no other aim. He who attempts and acts quickly, succeeds, while the seeker who is slow may also entertain hope, and he who falls short of action faces destruction in Hell. On right and left there are misleading paths. Only the middle way is the (right) path which is the Everlasting Book and the traditions of the Prophet. From it the *sunnah* has spread out and towards it is the eventual return.

He who claims (otherwise) is ruined and he who conceals falsehood is disappointed. He who opposes¹ right with his face gets destruction. It is enough ignorance for a man not to know himself. He who is strong rooted² in piety does not get destruction, and the plantation of a people based on piety never remains without water. Hide yourselves in your houses and reform yourselves. Repentance is at your back. One should praise only Allah and condemn only his own self.

1. In some versions after the words "man abda qafhatahu lilhaqqi *halaka*" the words "inda jahlata'i'n-nas" also occur. In that case the meaning of this sentence would be that he who stands in face of right dies in the estimation of the ignorant.

2. Piety is the name of heart and mind being affected and impressed by the Divine Greatness and Glory, as an effect of which the spirit of man becomes full of fear of Allah, and its inevitable result is that engrossment in worship and prayer increases. It is impossible that heart may be full of Divine fear and there be no manifestation of it in actions and deeds. And since worship and submission reform the heart and nurture the spirit, purity of heart increases with the increase of worship. That is why in the Qur'an "taqwa" (piety) has been applied sometimes to fear, sometimes to worship and devotion and sometimes to purity of heart and spirit. Thus in the verse "wa iyyāya fataqun" (and Me you fear [16:2]) *taqwa* implies fear, in the verse, "itagu'l-laha haqqa taqāhī" (worship Allah as He ought to be worshipped [3:102]). *taqwa* implies worship and devotion and in the

ومن هذه الخطبة ولها يقسم للناس الى ثلاثة اصناف

شُعْلٌ مِنَ الْجَنَّةِ وَالنَّارِ أَمَامَهُ ۱ سَاعٍ سَرِيْعٍ نَجَا ، وَطَالِبٌ بَطِيْئٌ رَجَا ، وَمَقْصُرٌ فِي النَّارِ هَوَى ۱ . الْيَمِيْنُ وَالشَّمَالُ مَضَلَّةٌ ، وَالطَّرِيْقُ الرَّوْطِيُّ هِيَ الْجَادَةُ ۲۳۲۱ ، عَلَيْهَا بَاقِي الْكِتَابِ وَآثَارُ النُّبُوَّةِ ، وَمِنْهَا مَنْفَعُ السَّنَةِ ، وَالِيْهَا مَوْبِرُ الْعَاقِبَةِ . هَلَاكَ مِنَ ادَّعَى ۱ ، وَخَابَ مِنَ اَفْتَرَى ۱ . مِنْ اَبْدَى صَفْحَتِهِ لِلْحَقِّ هَلَاكَ . وَكَفَى بِالرَّءِ جَهْلًا اَلَّا يَعْرِفَ قَدْرَهُ . لَا يَهْلِكُ عَلَى التَّقْوَى سَيْخٌ ۲۳۲۱ اَصْلٌ ، وَلَا يَطْمَأ عَلَيْهِا زَرْعٌ قَوْمٌ . فَاسْتَبْرُوا فِي بُيُوْتِكُمْ ، وَأَصْلِحُوا ذَاتَ بَيْنِكُمْ ، وَالتَّوْبَةُ مِنْ وِرَائِكُمْ ، وَلَا يَحْمَدُ حَامِدٌ اِلَّا رَبَّهُ ، وَلَا يَلْمُ اِلَّا نَفْسَهُ .

verse "*wa yakshah 'l-āha wa yatatqih faulāika humu 'l-fā'izūn*" (24:52) *taqwā* implies purity of spirit and cleanliness of heart .

In the traditions *taqwā* has been assigned three degrees. The first degree is that a man should follow the injunctions and keep aloof from prohibitions. The second degree is that recommendatory matters should also be followed and disliked things should be avoided. The third degree is that for fear of falling into doubts one may abstain from the permissible as well. The first degree is for the common men, the second for the nobles and the third for high dignitaries. Allah has referred to these three degrees in the following verse:

On those who believe and do good, is no blame for what they ate, (before) when they did guard themselves and did believe, and did good, still (furthermore) they guard themselves and do good; and Allah loveth the doers of good. (Qur'ān, 5:93)

Amir al-mu'minin says that only action based on piety is lasting, and only that action will blossom and bear fruit which is watered by piety because worship is only that wherein the feeling of submissiveness exists. Thus, Allah says:

Is he therefore better who hath laid his foundation on fear of Allah and (His) goodwill or he who layeth his foundation on the brink of a crumbling down with into the fire of Hell; . . . (Qur'ān, 9:109)

Consequently, every such belief as is not based on knowledge and conviction is like the edifice, erected without foundation, wherein there is no stability or firmness while every action that is without piety is like the plantation which withers for lack of watering.

* * * * *

SERMON 18

Amir al-mu'minin said in disparagement of the differences of view among the theologians.

When¹ a problem is put before anyone of them he passes judgement on it from his imagination. When exactly the same problem is placed before another of them he passes an opposite verdict. Then these judges go to the chief who had appointed them and he confirms all the verdicts, although their Allāh is One (and the same), their Prophet is one (and the same), their Book (the Qur'ān) is one (and the same).

Is it that Allāh ordered them to differ and they obeyed Him? Or He prohibited them from it but they disobeyed Him?

Or He prohibited them from it but they disobeyed Him? Or (is it that) Allāh sent an incomplete Faith and sought their help to complete it? Or they are His partners in the affairs, so that it is their share of duty to pronounce and He has to agree? Or is it that Allāh the Glorified sent a perfect faith but the Prophet fell short of conveying it and handing it over (to the people)? The fact is that Allāh the Glorified says:

... We have not neglected anything in the Book (Qur'ān) ... (Qur'ān, 6:38)

And says that one part of the Qur'ān verifies another part and that there is no divergence in it as He says:

... And if it had been from any other than Allāh, they would surely have found in it much discrepancy. (Qur'ān, 4:82)

۱۸ - مجمع البحار

في ذم اختلاف العلماء في الفتناء

وفيه يلم أهل الرأي ويكل أمر الحكم في أمور الدين للقرآن

دم أهل الروا

تَرَدُّ عَلَى أَحَدِهِمْ الْقَضِيَّةُ فِي حُكْمٍ مِنَ الْأَخْتِامِ فَيَحْكُمُ فِيهَا بِرَأْيِهِ ،
ثُمَّ تَرَدُّ تِلْكَ الْقَضِيَّةُ بِعَيْنِهَا عَلَى غَيْرِهِ فَيَحْكُمُ فِيهَا بِخِلَافِ قَوْلِهِ ،
ثُمَّ يَجْتَمِعُ الْقَضَاءُ بِذَلِكَ عِنْدَ الْأَمَامِ الَّذِي اسْتَقْضَاهُمْ^(۱۳۳) ، فَيَصُوبُ
آرَاءَهُمْ جَمِيعاً - وَاللَّهُمَّ وَاحِدٌ ! وَبَيْنَهُمْ وَاحِدٌ ! وَكِتَابُهُمْ وَاحِدٌ !
أَقَامَرَهُمْ اللَّهُ - سُبْحَانَهُ - بِالْاِخْتِلَافِ فَطَاعُوهُ ! أَمْ نَهَاهُمْ عَنْهُ
فَعَصَوْهُ !

الحكم للقرآن

أَمْ أُنزِلَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ دِينًا نَاقِصًا فَاسْتَعَانَ بِهِمْ عَلَى اِتِّمَائِهِ ! أَمْ كَانُوا
شُرَكَاءَ لَهُ ، فَلَهُمْ أَنْ يَقُولُوا ، وَعَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَرْضَى ! أَمْ أُنزِلَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ
دِينًا تَامًا فَقَصَرَ الرُّسُولُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَنْ تَبْلِيغِهِ وَأَدَائِهِ ، وَاللَّهُ
سُبْحَانَهُ يَقُولُ : « مَا فَرَطْنَا فِي الْكِتَابِ مِنْ شَيْءٍ » وَفِيهِ تَبَيُّنٌ لِكُلِّ
شَيْءٍ ، وَذَكَرَ أَنَّ الْكِتَابَ يُصَدِّقُ بَعْضُهُ بَعْضًا ، وَأَنَّهُ لَا اِخْتِلَافَ فِيهِ
فَقَالَ سُبْحَانَهُ : « وَكَوْ كَانَ مِنْ عِنْدِ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ لَوَجَدُوا فِيهِ اِخْتِلَافًا

Certainly the outside of the Qur'an is wonderful and its inside is deep (in meaning). Its wonders will never disappear, its amazements will never pass away and its intricacies cannot be cleared except through itself.

1. It is a disputed problem that where there is no clear argument about a matter in the religious law, whether there does in reality exist an order about it or not. The view adopted by Abu'l-Hasan al-Ash'ari and his master Abu 'Ali al-Jubba'i is that in such a case Allāh has not ordained any particular course of action but He assigned the task of finding it out and passing a verdict to the jurists so that whatever they hold as prohibited would be deemed prohibited and whatever they regard permissible would be deemed permissible. And if one has one view and the other another then as many verdicts will exist as there are views and each of them would represent the final order. For example, if one scholar holds that barley malt is prohibited and another jurist's view is that it is permissible then it would really be both prohibited and permissible. That is, for one who holds it prohibited, its use would be prohibited while for the other its use would be permissible. About this (theory of) correctness Muhammad ibn Abdi'l-Karim ash-Shahrastani writes:

A group of theorists hold that in matters where *ijtihad* (research) is applied there is no settled view about permissibility or otherwise and lawfulness and prohibition thereof, but whatever the *mujtahid* (the researcher scholar) holds is the order of Allāh, because the ascertainment of the view of Allāh depends upon the verdict of the *mujtahid*. If it is not so there will be no verdict at all. And according to this view every *mujtahid* would be correct in his opinion. (*al-Miftah wa'l-nihal*, p.98)

In this case, the *mujtahid* is taken to be above mistake because a mistake can be deemed to occur where a step is taken against reality, but where there is no reality of verdict, mistake has no sense. Besides this, the *mujtahid* can be considered to be above mistake, if it is held that Allāh, being aware of all the views that were likely to be adopted has ordained as many final orders as a result of which every view corresponds to some

كثيراً . وَأَنَّ الْفُرْقَانَ ظَاهِرُهُ أَيْبِقُ (١٢١) ، وَبَاطِنُهُ عَمِيقٌ ، لَا تَفْرَسِي عَجَائِبُهُ ، وَلَا تَنْقَضِي عَرَائِبُهُ ، وَلَا تُكْشِفُ الظُّلُمَاتُ إِلَّا بِهِ .

SERMON 23

About keeping aloof from envy, and good behaviour towards kith and kin

Now then, verily Divine orders descend from heaven to earth like drops of rain, bringing to every one what is destined for him whether plenty or paucity. So if any one of you observes for his brother plenty of progeny or of wealth or of self, it should not be a worry for him. So long as a Muslim does not commit such an act that if it is disclosed he has to bend his eyes (in shame) and by which low people are emboldened, he is like the gambler who expects that the first draw of his arrow would secure him gain and also cover up the previous loss.

Similarly, the Muslim who is free from dishonesty expects one of the two good things: either call from Allāh and in that case whatever is with Allāh is the best for him, or the livelihood of Allāh. He has already children and property while his faith and respect are with him. Certainly, wealth and children are the plantations of this world while virtuous deed is the plantation of the next world. Sometimes Allāh joins all these in some groups.

Beware of Allāh against what He has cautioned you and keep afraid of Him to the extent that no excuse be needed for it. Act without show or intention of being heard, for if a man acts for some one else then Allāh makes him over to that one. We ask Allāh (to grant us) the positions of the martyrs, company of the virtuous and friendship of the prophets.

— ٢٣ —

وتعمل على تهاب القراء بالزهد وتاديب الأغنياء بالشفقة

صحيح العمري.

أما بعد ، فإن الأمر ينزل من السماء إلى الأرض كقطرات المطر إلى كل نفس بما قسم لها من زيادة أو نقصان ، فإن رأى أحدكم لأخيه غفيرة^(٢٨١٢) في أهل أو مال أو نفس فلا تكونن له فينة ، فإن المرء المسلم ما لم يفش ذنائة تظهر فيخشع لها إذا ذكرت ، ويعزى بها لغام الناس ، كان كالقاصح^(٢٨١١) الباسر^(٢٨٢) الذي ينتظر أول فوزة من قذاحه توجب له المنعم ، ويرفع بها عنه المغموم . وكذلك المرء المسلم الكبريء من الخيانية ينتظر من الله إحدى الحسينين : أما داعي الله فما عند الله خير له ، وأما رزق الله فإذا هو ذو أهل ومال ، ومعه دينه وحسبه . وإن المال والبنين حزن الدنيا ، والممل الصالح حزن الآخرة ، وقد يجمعهما الله تعالى لأقوام ، فأخذروا من الله ما حذركم من نفسه ، وأخشوه خشية ليست بتعذيب^(٢٨٣) ، وأعملوا في غير رياء ولا سمعة ، فإنه من يعمل لغير الله يكله الله^(٢٨١٧) لمن عمل له . نسأل الله منازل الشهداء ، ومعايشة السعداء ، ومرافقة الأنبياء .

O' people! surely no one (even though he may be rich) can do without his kinsmen, and their support by hands or tongues. They alone are his support from rear and can ward off from him his troubles, and they are the most kind to him when tribulations befall him. The good memory of a man that Allāh retains among people is better than the property which others inherit from him.

In the same sermon

Behold! If any one of you finds your near ones in want or starvation, he should not desist from helping them with that which will not increase if this help is not extended, nor decrease by thus spending it. Whoever holds up his hand from (helping) his kinsmen, he holds only one hand, but at the time of his need many hands remain held up from helping him. One who is sweet tempered can retain the love of his people for good.

as-Sayyid ar-Radi says: In this sermon "al-ghathrah" means plenty or abundance, and this is derived from the Arab saying, "al-jamm al-ghathr" or "al-jammā' al-ghathr" meaning thick crowd. In some versions for "al-ghathrah" "afwatan" appears. "afwah" means the good and selected part of anything. It is said "akaltu 'afwata' l-ja'am", to mean "I ate select meal." About "wa man yaqbiḍ yadahu 'an 'ashiratihī" appearing towards the end he points out how beautiful the meaning of this sentence is, Amir al-mu'minin implies that he who does not help his own kinsmen witholds only his hand but when he is in need of their assistance and would be looking for their sympathy and support then he would remain deprived of the sympathies and succour of so many of their extending hands and marching feet.

تأليف الأبيّ

أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ ، إِنَّهُ لَا يَسْتَعْنِي الرَّجُلُ - وَأَنْ كَانَ ذَا مَالٍ - عَنْ عَشْرَتِهِ ، وَوَقَائِعِهِمْ عَنْهُ بِأَيْدِيهِمْ وَالسِّنِّيهِمْ ، وَهُمْ أَكْثَرُ النَّاسِ حَيْطَةً (٢٨٥) مِنْ وَرَائِهِ ، وَاللَّهُمْ لَسَمِعِيهِ (٢٨٦) ، وَأَعْظَمُهُمْ عَلَيْهِ عِنْدَ نَارِهِ إِذَا تَزَلَّتْ بِهِ . وَلِسَانَ الصَّالِقِ (٢٨٧) يَجْعَلُهُ اللَّهُ لِلْمَرْءِ فِي النَّاسِ خَيْرًا لَهُ مِنْ أَلْمَالِ يَرْتُدُّهُ عَيْرُهُ .

ومنها : أَلَا لَا يَغْدِلُنَّ أَحَدُكُمْ عَنْ الْفَرَايَةِ يَرَىٰ بِهَا الْخَصْمَصَةَ (٢٨٨) أَنْ يَسُدَّهَا بِالْبَدِي لَا يَزِيدُهُ أَنْ أَمْسَكَهُ وَلَا يَنْقُصُهُ أَنْ أَهْلَكَهُ (٢٨٩) ؛ وَمَنْ يَفْقِضُ يَدَهُ عَنْ عَشِيرَتَيْهِ ، فَإِنَّمَا تُفْقِضُ مِنْهُ عَنْهُمْ يَدًا وَاحِدَةً ، وَتُقْبِضُ مِنْهُمْ عَنْهُ أَيْدٍ كَثِيرَةٌ ؛ وَمَنْ تَلَّنَ حَاشِيَتَهُ يَسْتَلِمُ مِنْ قَوْمِهِ الْمَوَدَّةَ .

قال السيد الشريف : أقول : الفقيرة ما هنا الزيادة والكثرة ، من قوروم الجمع الكثير : الجلم الفقير ، والجماء الفقير . ويروي « عفتة من أهل أو مال » والمفتوة : الخيار من الشيء ، يقال : أكلت عفتة الطعام ، أي خياره . وما أحسن المعنى الذي أراد عليه السلام بقوله : « ومن يقبض يده عن عشيرته ... » إلى عام الكلام ، فإن المسك خيره عن عشيرته إنما يمسك قمع يده واحدة ، فإذا احتاج إلى نصرته ، واضطر إلى مرافقتها (٢٩٠) ، فمدوا عن نصره ، وتناقلوا عن صوته ، فسمع ترافد الأيدي الكثيرة ، وتناقص الأقدام الجمعة .

He reaches the next world with virtues. He hastens (towards virtue) out of fear (for vice). He removes briskly during the short time (of life in this world). He devotes himself in seeking (eternal good), he runs away from evil. During today he is mindful of tomorrow, and keeps the future in his view. Certainly Paradise is the best reward and achievement, which hell is appropriate punishment and suffering. Allāh is the best Avenger and Helper and the Qur'ān is the best argument and confronter.

Warning against Satan

I enjoin upon you fear of Allāh Who has left no excuse against what He has warned, has exhausted argument (of guidance) about the (right) path He has shown. He has warned you of the enemy that steals into hearts and stealthily speaks into ears, and thereby misguides and brings about destruction, makes (false) promises and keeps under wrong impression, He represents evil sins in attractive shape, and shows as light even serious crimes. When he has deceived his comrades and exhausted the pledge he begins to find fault with what he presented as good, and considers serious what he had shown as light, and threatens from what he had shown as safe.

Part of the same sermon dealing with creation of man

Or look at man whom Allāh has created in the dark wombs and layers of curtains from what was overflowing semen, then shapeless clot, then embryo, then suckling infant, then child and then fully grown up young man. Then He gave him heart with memory, tongue to talk and eye to see with, in order that he may take lesson (from whatever is around him) and understand it and follow the admonition and abstain from evil.

When he attained the normal growth and his structure gained its average development he fell in self-conceit and got perplexed. He drew bucketfuls of his desires, got immersed in fulfilling his wishes for pleasures of the world and his (sordid)

زَادَ الْأَجَلَةَ سَعِيدًا ، وَرَادَرَ مِنْ وَجَلٍ (٨١٧) ، وَأَكْمَشَ (٨١٨) فِي مَهَلٍ ،
 وَرَغِبَ فِي طَلَبٍ ، وَدَهَبَ عَنْ هَرَبٍ ، وَرَأَقَبَ فِي يَوْمِهِ غَدَهُ ، وَنَظَرَ
 قَدَمًا أَمَامَهُ . فَكَفَى بِالْجَنَّةِ ثَوَابًا وَتَوَالًا ، وَكَفَى بِالنَّارِ عِقَابًا وَوَبَالًا !
 وَكَفَى بِاللَّهِ مُنْتَقِمًا وَنَصِيرًا ! وَكَفَى بِالْكَتَابِ حَاجِمًا وَخَصِيمًا (٨١٩) !

الومضة بالفتوى

أَوْصِيَكُمْ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ الَّتِي أَعْدَرَ بِهَا أَنْذَرَ ، وَأَخْتَجَّ بِمَا نَهَجَ ،
 وَحَدَّرَكُمْ عَدُوًّا نَمَدَ فِي الصُّدُورِ خَفِيًّا ، وَنَفَثَ فِي الْأَذَانِ نَجِيًّا (٨١١) ،
 فَاصْلٌ وَارْدِي ، وَوَعْدٌ فَمَنِي (٨١٢) ، وَزَيْنٌ سَيَّاتِ الْجَرَائِمِ ، وَهُونٌ
 مُوَبِقَاتِ الْعِظَامِ ، حَتَّى إِذَا اسْتَدْرَجَ قَرِينَتَهُ ، وَاسْتَعْلَقَ رَهِينَتَهُ (٨١٣) ،
 أَنْكَرَ مَا زَيْن (٨٥٥) ، وَاسْتَعْظَمَ مَا هُونٌ ، وَحَدَّرَ مَا أَمِنٌ .

ومها في صفة خلق الانسل

أَمْ هَذَا الَّذِي أَنْشَأَهُ فِي ظُلُمَاتِ الْأَرْحَامِ ، وَسُخِّفَ الْأَسْتَارَ (٨٥٦) ،
 نَظْفَةً دِهَانًا (٨٥٧) ، وَعَلَقَةً مِحَاقًا (٨٥٨) ، وَجَبِينًا مِحَاقًا (٨٥٩) وَرَاضِعًا ، وَوَلِيدًا
 وَيَانِعًا (٨٦٠) ، ثُمَّ مَنَحَهُ قَلْبًا حَافِظًا ، وَلِسَانًا لَافِظًا ، وَبَصْرًا لَاحِظًا ،
 لِيَمْتَنِعَ مِنْهُمْ مُغْتَبِرًا ، وَيَقْصِرَ مِنْ دَجْرًا ؛ حَتَّى إِذَا قَامَ اعْتِدَالُهُ ، وَاسْتَوَى
 مِثَالُهُ (٨٦١) ، نَفَرَ مُسْتَكْبِرًا ، وَخَبَطَ سَادِرًا (٨٦٢) ، مَا يَبْحَثُ فِي ضَرْبِ
 هَوَاهُ (٨٦٣) ، كَادِحًا سَفِيًّا لِلدُّنْيَا ، فِي لَدَائِلِ طَرَبِهِ ، وَبَدَوَاتِ (٨٦٤)

aims. He did not fear any evil nor got frightened of any apprehension. He died infatuated with his vices. He spent his short life in rubbish pursuits. He earned no reward nor did he fulfil any obligation. Fatal illness overtook him while he was still in his enjoyments and perplexed him. He passed the night in wakefulness in the hardships of griefs and prickings of pains and ailments in the presence of real brother, loving father, wailing mother, crying sister, while he himself was under maddening uneasiness, serious senselessness, fearful cries, suffocating pains, anguish of suffocating sufferings and the pangs of death.

Thereafter he was clad in the shroud while he remained quiet and thoroughly submissive to others. Then he was placed on planks in such a state that he had been down-trodden by hardships and thinned by ailments. The crowd of youngmen and helping brothers carried him to his house of loneliness where all connections of visitors are severed. Thereafter those who accompanied him went away and those who were waiting for him returned and then he was made to sit in his grave for terrifying questioning and slippery examination. The great calamity of that place is the hot water and entry into Hell, flames of eternal Fire and intensity of blazes. There is no resting period, no gap for ease, no power to intervene, no death to bring about solace and no sleep to make him forget pain. He rather lies under several kinds of deaths and moment-to-moment punishments. We seek refuge with Allah.

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أَرِيهِ ؛ ثُمَّ لَا يَحْتَسِبُ رِزِيَةً ٨١٧١٦ ، وَلَا يَخْشَعُ تَقِيَةً ٨١٧١٧ ؛ فَمَاتَ فِي
فِتْنَتِهِ غَرِيرًا ٨١٦٨٦ ، وَعَاشَ فِي هَفْوَتِهِ ٨١٦٨٧ يَسِيرًا ، كَمْ يُعِدُّ ٨٧٠١٥ عَوْضًا ،
وَكَمْ يَقْضِي مُفْتَرَضًا . دَهْمَتَهُ ٨٧١١٦ فَجَعَلَتْ اللَّيْبِيَّةَ فِي غَيْرِ جَمَاحِهِ ٨٧٧٢ ،
وَسَنَّ ٨٧٣١ مِرَاجِحِهِ ، فَظَلَّ سَادِرًا ٨٧٧١٢ ، وَبَاتَ سَاهِرًا ، فِي عَصْرَاتِ
الْأَلَامِ ، وَطَوَارِقِ الْأَوْجَاعِ وَالْأَسْفَامِ ، بَيْنَ أَخٍ شَقِيقٍ ، وَوَالِدٍ
شَقِيقٍ ، وَدَاعِيَةِ بَالُوَيْلِ جَزَعًا ، وَوَلَادِيَةِ اللَّصْدُرِ قَلْعًا ، وَاللَّوْءِ فِي
سَكْرَةِ مَلْهِيَّةٍ ، وَغَمْرَةِ كَارِيَّةٍ ، وَأَنَّةٍ ٨٧٧٣١ مُوجِعَةٍ ، وَجَذْبَةٍ مُكْرَبَةٍ ٨٧٧٨١ ،
وَسَوْقَةٍ ٨٧٧١١ مُتَعَبَةٍ . ثُمَّ أُدْرِجَ فِي أَكْفَانِهِ مُبْلِسًا ٨٧٠١٢ ، وَجُدِبَ مُنْقَادًا
سَلَسًا ٨٨١١١ ، ثُمَّ أَلْفِي عَلَى الْأَعْوَادِ رَجِيعٌ وَصَبٌّ ٨٨٧٢١ ، وَبَضُو سَقَمٌ ،
تَحْمِلُهُ حَفْدَةٌ ٨٨٧١٢ الْوَلْدَانِ ، وَحَسَنَةٌ ٨٨٥١٥ الْأَخْوَانِ ، إِلَى دَارِ غُرْبَتِهِ ،
وَمَنْقَطِعِ زَوْرَتِهِ ٨٨٦١١ ، وَمَمْرَدِ وَحْشَتِهِ ؛ حَتَّى إِذَا انْصَرَفَ الْمَشِيعُ ،
وَرَجَعَ الْمَتَفِجُّ ، أَفِيدَ فِي حُفْرَتِهِ نَجِيًّا لِيَهْتَهُ السُّؤَالُ ٨٨٧٧١ ، وَغَمْرَةُ ٨٨٨١١
الْإِمْتِحَانِ . وَأَعْظَمُ مَا هُنَالِكَ بَلِيَّةٌ تُزُولُ الْحَمِيمِ ٨٨٨١١ ، وَتَضَلِّيَّةُ ٨٩١١١
الْجَجِيمِ ٨٨١٠١ ، وَفُورَاتِ السَّمِيرِ ، وَسُورَاتِ الرَّفِيرِ ٨٩١١١ ، لَا قُتْرَةَ ٨٩١١٢
مُرِيحَةً ، وَلَا دَعَا ٨٩١٢١٢ مُزِيحَةً ، وَلَا قُوَّةَ حَاجِرَةٍ ، وَلَا مَوْتَةَ نَاجِرَةٍ ٨٩١١٢٣
وَلَا سِنَةَ ٨٩١٥١٥ مَسْلِيَّةٍ ، بَيْنَ أَطْوَارِ الْمَوْتَاتِ ٨٩١٦١ ، وَعَدَابِ السَّاعَاتِ ! إِنَّا
بِاللَّهِ عَائِدُونَ !

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The lesson to be learnt from those who have passed away

O' creatures of Allāh! where are those who were allowed (long) ages to live and they enjoyed bounty. They were taught and they learnt; they were given time and they passed it in vain; they were kept healthy and they forgot (their duty). They were allowed long period (of life), were handsomely provided, were warned of grievous punishment and were promised big rewards. You should avoid sins that lead to destruction and vices that attract wrath (of Allāh).

O' people who possess eyes and ears and health and wealth! Is there any place of protection, any shelter of safety, or asylum or haven, or occasion to run away or to come back (to this world)? If not, "how are you then turned away?" (Qur'an, 6:95; 10:34; 35:3; 40:62) and wither are you averting? By what things have you been deceived? Certainly, the share of every one of you from this earth is just a piece of land equal to his own stature and size where he would lie on his cheeks covered with dust. The present is an opportune moment for acting.

O' creatures of Allāh, since the neck is free from the loop, and spirit is also unfettered, now you have time for seeking guidance; you are in ease of body; you can assemble in crowds, the rest of life is before you; you have opportunity of acting by will; there is opportunity for repentance, and peaceful circumstances. (But you should act) before you are overtaken by narrow circumstances and distress, or fear and weakness, before the approach of the awaited death and before seizure by the Almighty, the Powerful.

as-Sayyid ar-Radi says: It is related that when Amir al-mu'minin delivered this sermon people began to tremble, tears flowed from their eyes and their hearts were frightened. Some people call this sermon the Brilliant Sermon (*al-Khubbatu'l-Gharra'*)

عِبَادَ اللَّهِ ، أَيْنَ الَّذِينَ عَمَرُوا فَتَعَمُّوا^(٨٨٧) ، وَعَلَّمُوا فَفَهِمُوا ، وَأَنْظَرُوا فَلَاهُوا ، وَسَلَّمُوا فَتَسُوا ! أَمْ هَلُوا طَوِيلًا ، وَنَبِضُوا جَمِيلًا ، وَحَدَّرُوا أَلِيمًا ، وَوَعَدُوا جَسِيمًا ! أَحَدَّرُوا الذُّنُوبَ الْمَوْرَظَةَ^(٨٨٨) ، وَالْمَيُوسِبَةَ الْمَسْخَفَةَ .

أُولَى الْأَبْصَارِ وَالْأَسْمَاعِ ، وَالْمَعَانِيَةِ وَالْمَتَاعِ ، هَلْ مِنْ مَنَاصِي^(٨٨٩) أَوْ خَلَاصٍ ، أَوْ مَعَادٍ أَوْ مَلَاذٍ ، أَوْ فِرَارٍ أَوْ مَخَارِجٍ^(٩٠٠) ! أَمْ لَا ؟ « قَالِي نُوذَكُونُ^(٩٠١) » أَمْ أَيْنَ نَصْرُ قُرُونٍ ! أَمْ يَمَادًا تَغْتَبِرُونَ ! وَأَيْنَمَا حَظَّ أَحَدِكُمْ مِنْ الْأَرْضِ ، ذَاتِ الطُّولِ وَالْعَرْضِ ، قَبْدٌ قَلِيلٌ^(٩٠٢) ، مَتَعَفٌّ أَوْ^(٩٠٣) عَلَى خَلْعٍ ! أَلَا إِنَّ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ وَالْخِشَاقِ^(٩٠٤) مَهْمَلٌ ، وَالرُّوحُ مَرْسَلٌ ، فِي قَبِيئَةٍ^(٩٠٥) الْإِرْشَادِ ، وَرَاحَةِ الْأَجْسَادِ ، وَبَاحَةِ الْإِحْتِسَادِ^(٩٠٦) ، وَمَهْلٍ الْبِقِيئَةِ ، وَأَنْفِ الْمَشِيئَةِ^(٩٠٧) ، وَأَيْنَظَارِ التَّوْبَةِ ، وَأَيْنَسَاحِ الْحَوْبَةِ^(٩٠٨) ، قَبْلَ الصَّنَالِ^(٩٠٩) وَالْمَضْيِقِ ، وَالرُّوْعِ^(٩١٠) وَالزُّهُوقِ^(٩١١) ، وَقَبْلَ قُدُومِ الْيَأْسِ الْمَسْتَعْرِ^(٩١٢) وَأَخَذَةِ التَّرْبِيزِ الْمَقْتَدِرِ .

قال الشريف: وفي الخبر: أنه لا خطب بهذه الخطبة أفتحرت لها الطلود، وبكت العيون، ورجفت القلوب. ومن الناس من يسمي هذه الخطبة: «النراه».



SERMON 87

The Qualities of a faithful believer

O' creatures of Allah! the most beloved of Allah is he whom Allah has given power (to act) against his passions, so that his inner side is (submerged in) grief and the outer side is covered with fear. The lamp of guidance is burning in his heart. He has provided entertainment for the day that is to befall him. He regards what is distant to be near himself and takes the hard to be light. He looks at and perceives; he remembers (Allah) and enhances (the tempo of his) actions. He drinks sweet water to whose source his way has been made easy. So he drinks to satisfaction and takes the level path. He has put off the clothes of desires and got rid of worries except one worry peculiar to him. He is safe from misguidance and company of people who follow their passions. He has become the key to the doors of guidance, and the lock for the doors of destruction.

He has seen his way and is walking on it. He knows his pillar (of guidance) and has crossed over his deep water. He has caught hold of the most reliable supports and the strongest ropes. He is on that level of conviction which is like the brightness of the sun. He has set himself for Allah, the Glorified, for performance of the most sublime acts by facing all that befalls him and taking every step needed for it. He is the lamp in darkness. He is the dispenser of all blindness, key to the obscure, remover of complexities, and a guide in vast deserts. When he speaks he makes understand whereas when he remains silent then it is safe to do so. He did everything only for Allah and so Allah also made him His own.

٨٧ — مَعْرِضَةُ الْخَوْفِ وَالْإِيمَانِ

وهي في بيان صفات المتقين وصفات المساك والتسبيح الى مكان
العترة العلية والطن الحاطم لبعض الناس

عِبَادَ اللَّهِ ، إِنَّ مِنْ أَحَبِّ عِبَادِ اللَّهِ إِلَيْهِ عَبْدٌ أَعَانَهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى نَفْسِهِ ،
فَاسْتَشْعَرَ الْحُزْنَ ، وَتَجَلَّبَبَ الْخَوْفَ (١١١٧) ؛ فَزَهَرَ مِصْبَاحُ الْهُدَى (١١٢٣) فِي
قَلْبِهِ ، وَأَعَدَّ الْقِرَى (١١١١) لِيَوْمِهِ النَّازِلِ بِهِ ، فَقَرَّبَ عَلَى نَفْسِهِ الْبَعِيدَ ،
وَهُوَ النَّعِيدُ . نَظَرَ فَأَبْصَرَ ، وَذَكَرَ فَاسْتَكْتَفَرَ ، وَارْتَوَى مِنْ عَذَابِ
فِرَاتٍ سَهَلَتْ لَهُ مَوَارِدُهُ ، فَقَرَّبَ نَهْلًا (١١٥٥) ، وَسَلَكَ سَبِيلًا جَدِيدًا (١١٢١) .
فَدَخَلَ خَلْعَ سَرَابِيلِ الشُّهُورَاتِ ، وَتَخَلَّى مِنَ الْهَمِّومِ ، إِلَّا هَمًّا وَاحِدًا أَنْفَرَدَ
بِهِ ، فَخَرَجَ مِنْ صِفَةِ الْعَمَى ، وَمَشَارَكَةَ أَهْلِ الْهَوَى ، وَصَارَ مِنْ مَفَاتِيحِ
أَبْوَابِ الْهُدَى ، وَمَعَالِيقِ أَبْوَابِ الرَّدَى . قَدْ أَبْصَرَ طَرِيقَهُ ، وَسَلَكَ
سَبِيلَهُ ، وَعَرَفَ مَنَارَهُ ، وَقَطَعَ عِمَارَهُ (١١٨٧) ، وَاسْتَمْسَكَ مِنَ الْعَرَى
بِأَوْثِقِهَا ، وَمِنْ الْجِبَالِ بِأَمْتِيهَا ، فَهُوَ مِنَ الْبَاقِينَ عَلَى مِثْلِ ضَوْءِ الشَّمْسِ ،
وَقَدْ نَصَبَ نَفْسَهُ لِلَّهِ — مَسْحَانَهُ — فِي أَرْفَعِ الْأُمُورِ ، مِنْ إِضْطَارِّ كُلِّ وَارِدٍ
عَلَيْهِ ، وَتَضْيِيرِ كُلِّ فَرْعٍ إِلَى أَضْلِهِ . مِصْبَاحُ ظُلُمَاتٍ ، كَغَافِثِ
عَسَوَاتٍ (١١٨٨) ، مِفْتَاحُ مِهْمَاتٍ ، دَفَاقُ مَغْضَلَاتٍ ، ذَكِيلُ فَلَواتٍ (١١٩١) ،
يَقُولُ فِيهِمْ ، وَيَسْكُتُ فِيْسَلَمُ . قَدْ أَخْلَصَ لِلَّهِ فَاسْتَخْلَصَهُ ، فَهُوَ مِنْ

Consequently, he is like the mines of His faith, and as stump in his earth. He has enjoined upon himself (to follow) justice.

The first step of his justice is the rejection of desires from his heart. He describes right and acts according to it. There is no good which he has not aimed at nor any likely place (of virtue) of the Qur'an. Therefore the Qur'an is his guide and leader. He gets down when the Qur'an puts down his weight and he settles where the Qur'an settles him down.

The Characteristics of an unfaithful believer

While the other (kind of) man is he who calls himself learned but he is not so. He has gleaned ignorance from the ignorant and misguidance from the misguided. He has set for the people a trap (made) of the ropes of deceit and untrue speech. He takes the Qur'an according to his own views and right after his passions. He makes people feel safe from big sins and takes light the serious crimes. He says that he is waiting for (clarification) doubts but he remains plunged therein, and that he keeps aloof from innovations but actually he is immersed in them. His shape is that of a man, but his heart is that of a beast. He does not know the door of guidance to follow nor the door of misguidance to keep aloof therefrom. These are living dead bodies.

About the Descendants ('Urah) of the Holy Prophet

"So wither are you going to" (Qur'an, 81:26) and "how are you then turned away?" (Qur'an, 6:95; 10:34; 35:3; 40:62) Ensigns (of guidance) are standing, indications (of virtue) are clear, and the minarets (of light) have been fixed. Where are you being taken astray and how are you groping while you have among you the descendants of the Prophet? They are the rains of Right, ensigns of Faith and tongues of truth. According to them the same good position as you accord to the Qur'an, and come to them (for quenching the thirst of guidance) as the thirsty

مَعَادِنِ دِينِهِ ، وَأَوْتَادِ أَرْضِهِ . قَدْ أَلَمَ نَفْسَهُ الْعَمَلُ ، فَكَانَ أَوَّلَ عَدْلِهِ نَفْيَ الْهَوَىٰ عَنْ نَفْسِهِ ، يَصِفُ الْحَقَّ وَيَعْمَلُ بِهِ ، لَا يَدْعُ لِلخَيْرِ عَابَةً إِلَّا أَمَّا (١٥٠١) ، وَلَا مَطْلَبًا (١٥١١) إِلَّا قَصْدَهَا ، قَدْ أُنْكَنَ الْكِتَابَ مِنْ زَمَائِمِهِ (١٥٠٢) ، فَهُوَ قَائِدُهُ وَأَمَامُهُ ، يَحُلُّ جَيْثُ حَلِّ ثَقْلِهِ (١٥٣٢) ، وَيَبْتَرُلُ جَيْثُ كَانَ مَبْتَرُلُهُ .

صَلَاتُ الْمَسْأَلِ

وَأَخْرَجَ قَدْ تَسَمَّى عَالِمًا وَلَيْسَ بِهِ ، فَاتَّقَيْتَسَ جَهَائِلَ مِنْ جَهَالٍ ، وَأَضَائِلَ مِنْ ضَلَالٍ ، وَتَصَبَّ لِلنَّاسِ أَشْرَاكَا مِنْ جَبَائِلِ غُرُورٍ ، وَقَوْلٍ زُورٍ ؛ قَدْ حَمَلَ الْكِتَابَ عَلَىٰ آرَائِهِ ، وَعَصَفَ الْحَقَّ (١٥١١) عَلَىٰ أَهْوَائِهِ ، يُؤْمِنُ النَّاسَ مِنَ الْعَمَائِلِ ، وَيَهْوَنُ كَبِيرَ الْجَرَائِمِ ، يَقُولُ : أَلِفْتُ عِنْدَ الشُّبُهَاتِ ، وَفِيهَا وَقَعَ ؛ وَيَقُولُ : أَعْتَرَلُ الْبِدْعَ ، وَبَيْنَهَا انْصَطَحَ ؛ فَالْصُّورَةُ صُورَةُ إِنْسَانٍ ، وَالْقَلْبُ قَلْبُ جَوَانٍ ، لَا يَعْرِفُ بَابَ الْهُدَىٰ وَيَسْتَمِعُهُ . وَلَا بَابَ أَلْمَىٰ قَيْصِدًا عَنْهُ . وَذَلِكَ مَيْتُ الْأَحْيَاءِ ١

مَعْرُوفَةُ النَّبِيِّ

« قَائِلِينَ تَنْهَيْتَنَ » ٢ « وَأَنْتَىٰ تُؤْتِفُكُونَ » (١٥٥٠) ١ وَالْأَعْلَامُ (١٥٥١) قَائِمَةٌ ، وَالْأَيَاتُ (١٥٥٢) وَاضِحَةٌ ، وَالْمَنَارُ (١٥٥٣) مَنْصُوبَةٌ ، قَائِلِينَ يَتَاءَهُ بِكُمْ (١٥٥٤) أَوْ كَيْفَ تَعْمَهُونَ (١٥٥٥) وَبَيْنَكُمْ عِتْرَةٌ (١٥٥٦) بَيْنَكُمْ ١ وَهُمْ أَرْزَمَةُ الْحَقِّ ، وَأَعْلَامُ الدِّينِ ، وَالسِّنَّةُ الصَّدِيقُ ١ فَاتَّبِرُوا لَهُمْ بِأَحْسَنِ مَنَازِلِ الْقُرْآنِ ، وَرِدُّوهُمْ وَرُودَ الْهَيْمِ

SERMON 931

About the annihilation of the Khārijites, the mischief mongering of Umayyads and the vastness of his own knowledge

So now, praise and eulogy be to Allāh, O' people, I have put out the eye of revolt. No one except me advanced towards it when its gloom was swelling and its madness was intense. Ask me before you miss me,² because, by Allāh, who has my life in His hands, if you ask me anything between now and the Day of Judgement or about the group who would guide a hundred people and also misguide a hundred people I would tell you who is announcing its march, who is driving it in the front and who is driving it at the rear, the stages where its riding animals would stop for rest and the final place of stay, and who among them would be killed and who would die a natural death.

When I am dead hard circumstances and distressing events would befall you, many persons in the position of asking question would remain silent with cast down eye, while those in the position of replying would lose courage. This would be at a time when wars would descend upon you with all hardship, and days would be so hard on you that you would feel them prolonged because of hardship till Allāh would give victory to those remaining virtuous among you.

When mischiefs come they confuse (right with wrong) and when they clear away they leave a warning. They cannot be known at the time of approach but are recognized at the time of return. They blow like the blowing of winds, striking some cities and missing others.

Beware that the worst mischief for you in my view is the mischief of Banū Umayyah, because it is blind and also creates darkness. Its sway is general but its ill effects are for particular

93 — رَجْعُ خَطْبَةِ الْمَدِينَةِ

وفيها بيته أمير المؤمنين على نفسه وعلمه وبين فتنة بني أمية

أَمَا بَعْدَ حَمْدِ اللَّهِ ، وَالشَّعَاءِ عَلَيْهِ ، أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ ، فَإِنِّي فَفَاتُ (١١٢١٨١)
عَيْنَ الْفِتْنَةِ ، وَكَمْ يَكُنْ لِيَجْرِيءَ عَلَيْهَا أَحَدٌ غَيْرِي بَعْدَ أَنْ مَسَّحَ
عَبْهُهَا (١١٢٠١) ، وَاشْتَدَّ كَلْبُهَا (١١٢٥١) . فَاسْأَلُونِي قَبْلَ أَنْ تَفْقِدُونِي ، فَوَالَّذِي
نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ لَا تَسْأَلُونِي عَنْ شَيْءٍ فِيمَا بَيْنَكُمْ وَبَيْنَ السَّاعَةِ ، وَلَا عَنْ
فِتْنَةٍ تَهْدِي مَنَّهُ وَتُضِلُّ مَنَّهُ إِلَّا أَنْبَأْتُكُمْ بِنَاقِعِهَا (١١٢٥٢) وَقَالِيدِهَا وَسَائِقِهَا ،
وَمَنَاحِ (١١٢٥٣) رِكَابِهَا ، وَمَحَطَّ رِحَالِهَا ، وَمَنْ يَقْتُلُ مِنْ أَهْلِهَا قَتْلًا ،
وَمَنْ يَمُوتُ مِنْهُمْ مَوْتًا . وَلَوْ قَدِ فَعَفُنْتُمُونِي وَتَرَكْتُمْ بِكُمْ كِرَاهِيَةَ (١١٢٥٤)
الْأُمُورِ ، وَحَوَارِيبِ (١١٢٥٥) الْخُطُوبِ ، لِأَطْرَقَ كَثِيرٌ مِنَ السَّائِلِينَ ، وَقَفِيلٌ
كَثِيرٌ مِنَ السُّؤُولِينَ ، وَذَلِكَ إِذَا قَلَصْتَ حَرْبَكُمْ (١١٢٥٦) ، وَسَمَّيْتُمْ عَنْ
سَاقٍ ، وَصَافَقْتِ الدُّنْيَا عَلَيْكُمْ . فَيُصِيفُ ، تَسْتَطِيلُونَ مَعَهُ أَيَّامَ الْبَلَاءِ
عَلَيْكُمْ ، حَتَّى يَفْتَحَ اللَّهُ لِبَيْتِيهِ الْأَبْرَارِ مِنْكُمْ .

إِنَّ الْفِتْنََةَ إِذَا أَقْبَلَتْ شَبَّهَتْ (١١٢٥٧) ، وَأَرَادَا أَدْبَرَتْ نَبَّهَتْ ، وَيَسْكُرُونَ
مَقْبَلَاتٍ ، وَيَعْرِفُونَ مُدْبِرَاتٍ ، يَحْمِنُ حَوْمَ الرِّيَّاحِ ، يُصِنُّ بِلَدَا
وَيُخَطِّقُ بِلَدَا . آلا وَرَأَى أَخْوَفَ الْفِتَنِ عِنْدِي عَلَيْكُمْ فِتْنَةُ بَنِي أُمِيَّةَ ،
فَإِنَّهَا فِتْنَةٌ عَمِيَاءُ مُظْلِمَةٌ : عَمَّتْ خَطْبَتُهَا (١١٢٥٨) ، وَنَحَصَتْ بَلِيَّتُهَا ،

people. He who remains clear-sighted in it would be affected by distress, and he who remains blind in it would avoid the distress. By Allah, you will find Banu Umayyah after me worst people for yourselves, like the old unruly she-camel who bites with its mouth, beats with its fore-legs, kicks with its hind legs and refuses to be milked. They would remain over you till they would leave among you only those who benefit them or those who do not harm them. Their calamity would continue till your seeking help from them would become like the seeking of help by the slave from his master or of the follower from the leader.

Their mischief would come to you like evil eyed fear and pre-Islamic fragments, wherein there would be no minaret of guidance nor any sign (of salvation) to be seen. *We Ahlu'l-bayt* (the Household of the Prophet) are free from this mischief and we are not among those who would engender it. Thereafter, Allah would dispel it from you like the removal of the skin (from flesh) through him who would humble them, drag them by necks, make them drink full cups (of hardships), not extend them anything but sword and not clothe them save with fear. At that time Qurayshi would wish at the cost of the world and all its contents to find me even only once and just for the duration of the slaughter of a camel in order that I may accept from them (the whole of) that of which at present I am asking them only a part but they are not giving me.

1. Amir al-mu'minin delivered this sermon after the battle of Nahrawan. In it mischiefs imply the battles fought in Basrah, Siffin and Nahrawan because their nature was different from the battles of the Prophet. There the opposite party were the unbelievers while here the confrontation was with those who had veils of Islam on their faces. So people were hesitant to fight against Muslims, and said why they should fight with those who recited the call to the prayers and offered the prayers. Thus, Khuzaymah ibn Thabit al-Ansari did not take part in the Battle of Siffin till the falling of 'Ammar ibn Yasir as martyr did not prove that the opposite party was rebellious. Similarly the presence of companions like Talhah and az-Zubayr who were

وَأَصَابَ الْبَلَاءُ مَنْ أَبْصَرَ فِيهَا ، وَأَخْطَأَ الْبَلَاءُ مَنْ عَمِيَ عَنْهَا . وَأَنِيمَ
 اللَّهُ لَتَعْبُدُنَّ بَنِي أُمَيَّةَ لَكُمْ أَرْبَابَ سُوءِ بَعْدِي ، كَأَنْتَابِ الضُّرُوسِ (١٢٥٩) :
 تَعْلِمُ (١٢٦٠) بِفِيهَا ، وَتَخْطِئُ بِيَدَيْهَا ، وَتَزِينُ بِرِجْلِهَا ، وَتَمْسَعُ
 ذُرَاهَا (١٢٦١) ، لَا يَزَالُونَ بِكُمْ حَتَّى لَا يَبْرُكُوا مِنْكُمْ إِلَّا نَافِعًا لَكُمْ ، أَوْ
 غَيْرَ ضَائِرٍ بِهِمْ . وَلَا يَزَالُ بَلَاؤُهُمْ عَنْكُمْ حَتَّى لَا يَكُونَ الْإِنْتِصَارُ
 أَحَدِكُمْ مِنْهُمْ إِلَّا كَانْتِصَارَ الْمَيْدِ مِنْ رَبِّهِ ، وَالصَّاحِبِ مِنْ مُسْتَضْحِيهِ ،
 تَرُدُّ عَلَيْكُمْ فِتْنَتَهُمْ سُوءَهَا (١٢٦٢) مَخْشِيَةً ، وَقَطْمًا جَاهِلِيَّةً ، لَيْسَ
 فِيهَا مَنَارٌ هُدَى ، وَلَا عِلْمٌ يَرَى (١٢٦٥)
 نَعْنُ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ مِنْهَا بِمَنْجَاةٍ ، وَلَسْنَا فِيهَا بِدَعَاةٍ ، ثُمَّ يَهْرُجُهَا
 اللَّهُ عَنْكُمْ كَتَفْرِيجِ الْأَدِيمِ (١٢٦٦) : بَيْنَ يَسْوِهِمْ حَسْفًا (١٢٦٧) ، وَيَسْوِقُهُمْ
 عَنَّا ، وَيَسْقِيهِمْ بِكَاسِ مَصْرُوءِ (١٢٦٨) لَا يُعْطِيهِمْ إِلَّا السَّيْفَ ، وَلَا
 يَحْلِسُهُمْ إِلَّا الْخَوْفَ ، فَعِنْدَ ذَلِكَ تَوَدُّ قُرَيْشٌ - بِاللَّيْلِ وَمَا فِيهَا -
 أَنْ يَرَوْنِي مَقَامًا وَاحِدًا ، وَكَوْ قَدَّرَ جَزْرَ جَزْوَرٍ (١٢٧٠) ، لِأَقْبَلِ مِنْهُمْ مَا
 أَطْلَبَ الْيَوْمَ بَعْضَهُمْ فَلَا يُعْطُونِيهِ !

sources of wisdom. Our supporter and lover awaits mercy v. life our enemy and he who hates us awaits wrath.

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SERMON 110

About Islam

The best means by which seekers of nearness to Allāh, the Glorified, the Exalted, seek nearness, is the belief in Him and His Prophet, fighting in His cause, for it is the high pinnacle of Islam, and (to believe) in the *kalimatul-ikhlas* (the expression of Divine purification) for it is just nature and the establishment of prayer for it is (the basis of) community, payment of *zakaat* (Islamic tax) for it is a compulsory obligation, fasting for the month of *Ramaḍān* for it is the shield against chastisement, the performance of *hajj* of the House of Allāh (i.e. Ka'bah) and its *umrah* (other than annual visit) for these two acts banish poverty and wash away sins, regard for kinship for it increases wealth and length of life, to giving alms secretly for it covers shortcomings, giving alms openly for it protects against a bad death and extending benefits (to people) for it saves from positions of disgrace.

About the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah

Go ahead with the remembrance of Allāh for it is the best remembrance, and long for that which He has promised to the pious, for His promise is the most true promise. Tread the course of the Prophet for it is the most distinguished course. Follow the *sunnah* of the Prophet for it is the most right of all behaviours.

وَمَعَادُنِ الْعِلْمِ ، وَيَتَابِعُ الْحَكْمَ ، نَاصِرُنَا وَمُجِنًا يَنْتَظِرُ الرَّحْمَةَ ، وَعَدُونَا وَمُبِغِضُنَا يَنْتَظِرُ السَّطْوَةَ .

١١٠ - رُوحُ حَيْبِ الْمَعَادِي

في أركان الدين

الإسلام

إِنَّ أَفْضَلَ مَا تَوَسَّلَ بِهِ الْمُتَوَسِّلُونَ إِلَى اللَّهِ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى ، الْإِيمَانَ بِهِ وَيَرْسُولِهِ ، وَالْجِهَادَ فِي سَبِيلِهِ ، فَإِنَّهُ ذِرْوَةُ الْإِسْلَامِ ؛ وَكَلِمَةُ الْإِخْلَاصِ فَإِنَّهَا الْفِطْرَةُ ، وَأَقَامُ الصَّلَاةَ فَإِنَّهَا الْمِثْلَةُ ، وَارْتِئَاءُ الزَّكَاةَ فَإِنَّهَا فَرِيضَةٌ وَاجِبَةٌ ، وَصَوْمُ شَهْرِ رَمَضَانَ فَإِنَّهُ جَنَّةٌ مِنَ الْمَقَابِ ؛ وَحَجُّ الْبَيْتِ وَاعْتِمَادُهُ فَإِنَّهُمَا يَنْفِيَانِ الْفَقْرَ وَيَرْحَضَانِ الذَّنْبَ ^(١١٨٧) ؛ وَصَلَّةُ الرَّحِمِ فَإِنَّهَا مَثْرَاءٌ فِي الْمَالِ ، وَنَسَاءَةٌ ^(١١٨٨) فِي الْأَجْلِ ، وَصَدَقَةُ السَّرِّ فَإِنَّهَا تُكْفِرُ الْخَطِيئَةَ ؛ وَصَدَقَةُ الْعَمَلِيَّةِ فَإِنَّهَا تَدْفِعُ مِثَّةَ السُّوءِ ؛ وَصَنَائِعُ الْمَعْرُوفِ فَإِنَّهَا تَقِي مَصَارِعَ الْهَوَانِ .

أَفِيضُوا فِي ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ فَإِنَّهُ أَحْسَنُ الذِّكْرِ . وَارْتَبِعُوا فِيمَا وَعَدَ الْمُتَّقِينَ فَإِنَّ وَعْدَهُ أَصْدَقُ الرَّغْدِ . وَاقْتُلُوا يَهْدِي نَبِيِّكُمْ فَإِنَّهُ أَفْضَلُ الْهَدْيِ . وَاسْتَمُوا بِسُنَّتِهِ فَإِنَّهَا أَهْدَى السُّنَنِ .

Learn the Qur'an for it is the fairest of discourses and understand it thoroughly for it is the best blossoming of hearts. Seek cure with its light for it is the cure for hearts. Recite it beautifully for it is the most beautiful narration. Certainly, a scholar who acts not according to his knowledge is like the off-headed ignorant who does not find relief from his ignorance; but on the learned the plea of Allah is greater and grief more incumbent, and he is more blameworthy before Allah.

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SERMON 111

Caution about this world

So now, certainly I frighten you from this world for it is sweet and green, surrounded by lusts, and liked for its immediate enjoyments. It excites wonder with small things, is ornamented with (false) hopes and decorated with deception. Its rejoicings do not last and its afflictions cannot be avoided. It is deceitful, harmful, changing, perishable, exhaustible, liable to destruction, eating away and destructive. When it reaches the extremity of desires of those who incline towards it and feel happy with it, the position is just what Allah the Glorified, says (in the Qur'an):

... like the water which send We down from Heaven, and the herbage of the earth mingleth with it, then it becometh dry stubble which the winds scatter, for Allah over all things hath power. (18:45)

No person gets rejoicing from this world but tears come to

محل العزل

وَدَعَلِمُوا الْقُرْآنَ فَأَنَّهُ أَحْسَنُ الْحَدِيثِ ، وَتَفَقَّهُوا فِيهِ فَأَنَّهُ رَاسِخٌ وَالْقُرْبُ ، وَاسْتَشْفَعُوا بِوَجْهِهِ فَأَنَّهُ شِفَاءُ الصُّدُورِ ، وَأَحْسِنُوا تِلَاوَتَهُ فَأَنَّهُ أَنْفَعُ الْقَصَصِ . وَإِنَّ الْعَالِمَ الْعَامِلَ يَغْيِرُ عَلَيْهِ كَالْحَاهِلِ الْحَاوِي الَّذِي لَا يَسْتَفِيقُ مِنْ جَهْلِهِ ؛ بَلِ الْحَسْرَةُ لَهُ الْآزِمُ ، وَهُوَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ الْآزِمُ . (١١٨٧٢)

مَنْ حَذَرَ الدُّنْيَا

في ذم الدنيا

أَمَّا بَعْدُ ، فَإِنِّي أَحَذَرُكُمْ الدُّنْيَا ، فَإِنَّهَا حُلُوَّةٌ خَفِيزَةٌ ، وَحَفَّتْ بِالشَّهَوَاتِ ، وَتَحْبَبَتْ بِالْمَاجِلَةِ ، وَرَأَقَتْ بِالْقَلِيلِ ، وَتَحَلَّتْ بِأَلَا مَالٍ ، وَتَزِينَاتٍ بِالرُّغْرِ . لَا تَدُومُ حَبْرَتُهَا (١١٨٧١) ، وَلَا تُؤْمِنُ فُجَّتُهَا . عُرَاةٌ صَرَاةٌ ، حَائِلَةٌ (١١٨٧٣) زَائِلَةٌ ، نَائِفَةٌ (١١٨٧٣) بَائِدَةٌ (١١٨٧٣) ، أَكَاالَةٌ خَوَالَةٌ (١١٨٧٧) . لَا تَعْمُرُ - إِذَا تَنَاهَيْتَ إِلَى أُمْنِيَةِ أَهْلِ الرَّغْبَةِ فِيهَا وَالرَّضَاءِ بِهَا - أَنْ تَكُونَ كَمَا قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى سُبْحَانَهُ : « كَمَا أَنْزَلْنَاهُ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ فَاخْتَلَطَ بِهِ نَبَاتُ الْأَرْضِ فَأَصْبَحَ هَشِيمًا (١١٨٧٥) تَذَرُهُ الرِّيَّاحُ ، وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ مُقْتَدِرًا » . لَمْ يَكُنْ أَمْرٌ مِنْهَا فِي جَبْرَةٍ إِلَّا أَصْفَيْتَهُ بَعْدَهَا جَبْرَةً (١١٨٧٧) .

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SERMON 139

On the occasion of the Consultative Committee
(after the death of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab)

No one preceded me in inviting people to truthfulness, in giving consideration to kinship and practising generosity. So, hear my word and preserve what I say. May-be you will see soon after today that over this matter swords will be drawn and pledges will be broken, so much so that some of you will become leaders of the people of misguidance and followers of people of ignorance.

SERMON 140

About backbiting and speaking ill of others¹

Those who do not commit sins and have been gifted with safety (from sins) should take pity on sinners and other disobedient people. Gratefulness should be mostly their indulgence and it should prevent them from (finding faults with) others. What about the backbiter who blames his brother and finds fault with him? Does he not remember that Allāh has concealed the sins which he committed while they were bigger than his brother's sins pointed out by him? How can he vilify him about his sins when he has himself committed one like it? Even if he has not committed a similar sin he must have committed bigger ones. By Allāh, even if he did not commit big sins but committed only small sins, his exposing the sins of people is itself a big sin.

١٣٩ - شرح سورة التوبة

في وقت الثوري

لَنْ يُسْرَعَ أَحَدٌ قَبْلِي إِلَى دَفْعَةِ حَقٍّ ، وَصَلَّةِ رَجْسٍ ، وَعَاقِلَةِ كَرَمٍ .
فَأَسْمَعُوا قَوْلِي ، وَعُوا مَنَظِلِي ؛ عَسَى أَنْ تَرَوْا هَذَا الْأَمْرَ مِنْ بَعْدِ هَذَا
الْيَوْمِ تُنْتَهَى^(١٣٧١) فِيهِ السُّيُوفُ ، وَتُخَانُ فِيهِ الْيَهُودُ ، حَتَّى يَكُونَ
بِعَفْصِكُمْ أَيْمَةٌ لِأَهْلِ الضَّلَالَةِ ، وَشَيْعَةٌ لِأَهْلِ الْجَهَالَةِ .

١٤٠ - شرح سورة التوبة

في النهي عن غيبة الناس

وَأَنَا يَنْبَغِي لِأَهْلِ الْبُصْمَةِ وَالْمَضْنُوعِ إِلَيْهِمْ فِي السَّلَامَةِ^(١٣٧٢) أَنْ
يَرْحَمُوا أَهْلَ الذُّنُوبِ وَالْمَعْصِيَةِ ، وَيَكُونَ الشُّكْرُ مَوْ الْغَالِبِ عَلَيْهِمْ ،
أَمَا ذَكَرَ مَوْضِعَ سِتْرِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ ذُنُوبِهِ مَا هُوَ أَكْثَرُ مِنَ الذَّنْبِ الَّذِي
عَابَهُ بِهِ ؟ وَكَيْفَ يَنْمُو بِذَنْبٍ قَدْ رَكِبَ مِثْلَهُ ؟ فَإِنْ كَمْ يَكُنْ رَكِبَ
ذَلِكَ الذَّنْبَ بِعَيْنِهِ فَقَدْ عَصَى اللَّهَ فِيمَا سَوَّاهُ ، مَا هُوَ أَكْثَرُ مِنْهُ . وَإِنَّمَا
اللَّهُ لَيِّنٌ كَمْ يَكُنْ عَصَاهُ فِي الْكَبِيرِ ، وَعَصَاهُ فِي الصَّغِيرِ ، لِحِرَّاتِهِ عَلَى
عَبِّ النَّاسِ الْكَبِيرِ !

O' creature of Allāh, do not be quick in exposing anyone's sin for he may be forgiven for it, and do not feel yourself safe even for a small sin because you may be punished for it. Therefore, every one of you who comes to know the faults of others should not expose them in view of what he knows about his own faults, and he should remain busy in thanks that he has been saved from what others have been indulging in.

1. The habit of fault finding and backbiting has become so common that even the feeling of its evilness has disappeared. And at present neither the high avoid it nor the low; neither the high position of the pulpit prevents it nor the sacredness of the mosque. Whenever a few companions sit together their topic of conversation and engaging interest is just to discuss the faults of their opponents with added colourisation, and to listen to them attentively. Although the fault finder is himself involved in the faults which he picks up in others, yet he does not like that his own faults should be exposed. In such a case, he should have consideration for similar feelings in others and should avoid searching for their faults and hurting their feelings. He should act after the proverb: "Do not do unto others what you do not want others to do unto you."

Backbiting is defined as the exposure of the fault of a brother-in-faith with the intent to vilify him in such a way as to irritate him, whether it be by speaking, acting, implication or suggestion. Some people take backbiting to cover only that which is false or contrary to fact. According to them to relate what was seen or heard, exactly as it was, is not backbiting, and they say that they are not backbiting but only relating exactly what they saw or heard. But in fact backbiting is the name of this very relating of the facts, because if it is not factually correct it would be false accusation and wrong blame. It is related about the Prophet that he said :

"Do you know what backbiting is?" People said, "Allāh and His Prophet know better." Then he said, "Backbiting means that you say about your brother a thing which pains him." Someone said, "But what if I say what is actually true about him?" The Prophet replied, "It is backbiting only when it is factually true, otherwise you would be accusing him falsely."

There are many causes for indulging in backbiting, and because of this a man commits it sometimes knowingly and sometimes unknowingly. Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī has recounted these causes in detail in his book *Ihya'*

يَا عَبْدَ اللَّهِ ، لَا تَعْجَلْ فِي عَيْبِ أَحَدٍ بِأَنْبِيِهِ ، فَلَعَلَّهُ مَغْفُورٌ لَكَ ، وَلَا تَأْمَنْ عَلَى نَفْسِكَ صَغِيرٍ مَعْصِيَةٍ ، فَلَعَلَّكَ مُعَذَّبٌ عَلَيْهِ . فَلْيَكْتُمَنَّ مِنْ عِلْمِ مَنْكُمْ عَيْبَ غَيْرِهِ لِمَا يَعْلَمُ مِنْ عَيْبِ نَفْسِهِ ، وَلْيَكُنِ الشُّكْرُ شَاغِلًا لَهُ عَلَى مَعَانِيهِ مَا أَتَى بِهِ غَيْرُهُ .

LETTER 10

To Mu'awiyah

What will you do when the coverings of this world in which you are wrappd are removed from you. The world attracted you with its embellishment and deceived you with its pleasure. It called you and you responded to it. It led you and you followed it. It commanded you and you obeyed it. Shortly an informer will inform you of things against which there will be no shield (to protect you). Therefore, keep off from this affair, take heed of the accounting (on the Day of Judgement), get ready for death that will soon overtake you and do not give your ears to those who have gone astray. If you do not do so I shall recall to you whatever you have forgotten, because you are a man living in ease and luxury.¹ Satan has taken you in his clutches, has secured his wishes in you and has taken complete control of you like your soul and blood.

O' Mu'awiyah, when were you all protectors of the ruled and guardians of the affairs of the people? Without any forward step or conspicuous distinction? We seek Allāh's protection against the befalling of previous misfortunes, and I warn you lest you continue being deceived by desires and your appearance becomes different from your innerself.

You have called me to war. Better to leave the people on one side, come out to me and spare both the parties from fighting so that it may be known who of us has a rusted heart, and covered

مَعْرِضُ مَعْرِضِ الْمَلِكِ

— ١٠ —

إليه ايضاً

وَكَيْفَ أَنْتَ صَاحِبٌ إِذَا تَكَشَّفَتْ عَنْكَ جَلَابِيبُ ٣٣٥٧٢ مَا أَنْتَ فِيهِ
 مِنْ دُنْيَا قَدْ تَبَهَّجَتْ بِرَبِّئِيتِهَا ٣٣٥٨١ ، وَخَدَّعَتْ بِإِلْدِيهَا . دَعَاكَ فَأَجَبْتَهَا ،
 وَقَادَاكَ فَأَتَّبَعْتَهَا ، وَأَمْرُوكَ فَأَطَعْتَهَا . وَأَنْتَ يُوشِكُ أَنْ يَتَفَقَّكَ وَأَوْفَى
 عَلَى مَا لَا يُنْجِيكَ مِنْهُ مِجَنٌّ ٣٣٥٩١ ، فَأَقْفَسَ ٣٣٦٠٠ عَنْ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ ، وَخَدَّاهُ ٣٣٦١١
 الْحَسَابَ ، وَتَسْمَّرَ لِمَا قَدْ نَزَلَ بِكَ ، وَلَا تُنْكَرُ الْعَوَاةَ ٣٣٦١٧ مِنْ سَمْعِكَ ،
 وَلَا تَفْعَلْ أَفْعَالَكَ مَا أَفْعَلْتَ مِنْ نَفْسِكَ ، فَإِنَّكَ مُتْرَفٌ ٣٣٦٢٢ قَدْ أَخَذَ
 الشَّيْطَانُ مِنْكَ مَا خَذَهُ ، وَبَلَغَ فِيكَ أَمَلَهُ ، وَجَرَى مِنْكَ مَجْرَى الرُّوحِ
 وَاللِّمِّمِ .

وَمَتَى كُنْتُمْ يَا مُعَاوِيَةُ سَاسَةَ الرَّعِيَّةِ ٣٣٦١١ ، وَوَلَاةَ أَمْرِ الْأُمَّةِ ٩ بِغَيْرِ
 قَدَمٍ سَابِقٍ ، وَلَا شَرَفٍ بَاسِقٍ ٣٣٦٥١ ، وَتَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنْ لُزُومِ سَوَابِقِ
 الشَّقَاءِ . وَأَحْذَرُكَ أَنْ تُكُونَ مَتَمَادِيًا فِي غُرَّةِ ٣٣٦١١ الْأُمْنِيَّةِ ٣٣٦١٧ ، مُخْتَلِفٍ
 الْكَلَابِيَّةِ وَالسَّرِيرَةِ .

وَقَدْ دَعَوْتَ إِلَى الْحَرْبِ ، فَدَعِ النَّاسَ جَانِبًا وَأَخْرِجْ إِلَى ، وَأَعْفِ
 الْفَرِيقَيْنِ مِنَ الْفَيْسَالِ ، لِيَتَعَلَّمَ أَيُّنَا الْمَرِينِ ٣٣٦١٧ عَلَى قَلْبِهِ ،

eyes. I am Abu'l-Hasan who killed your grandfather² your brother³ and your uncle⁴ by cutting them to pieces on the day of Badr. The same sword is with me and I meet my adversary with the same heart. I have not altered the religion nor put up any new prophet. I am surely (treading) on that very highway which you had willingly forsaken (in the beginning) and then adopted per force. You think you have come out seeking to revenge 'Uthmān's blood. Certainly, you know how 'Uthmān's blood was shed. If you want to avenge it, avenge it there. It is as though I see that when war is cutting you with its teeth you cry like camels crying under a heavy load. And it is as though I see your party bewildered by the incessant striking of swords, occurrence of death and falling of bodies after bodies, calling me towards the Qur'ān⁵ although they would themselves be either unbelievers, deniers of truth or breakers of allegiance after swearing it.

1. This is in reference to the verse :

Be sent no warner into any city except its man who lived at ease said, "We disbelieve in the Message you have been sent with." (Qur'ān, 34:34)

2. 'Utbah ibn Rabi'ah.
3. Hanzalah ibn Abi Sufyān.
4. al-Walid ibn 'Utbah.

5. This prophecy of Amir al-mu'minin is about the battle of Siffin. Herein he has depicted the whole picture in very few words. Thus, on one side Mu'āwiyah was bewildered on account of the attacks of the Iraqis and was thinking to run away, and on the other, his army was crying under the constant onslaught of death, and, eventually, when there was no way of escape, they raised the Qur'ān on spears and shouted for peace. By this device, the remaining persons saved their lives.

"This prophecy" as Ibn Abi'l-Hadid al-Mu'tazili says, "is either true prophetic keen eye of Amir al-mu'minin which is really a significant power,

بِحج البلاغة
وَالْمُعْطَى عَلَى بَصْرِهِ ! فَأَنَا أَبُو حَسَنِ قَاتِلُ جَدِّكَ وَأَخِيكَ وَخَالَكَ
سَلْمَةَ^(٣٣٧١) يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ ، وَذَلِكَ السُّيْفُ مَعِي ، وَبِيَدِكَ الْقَلْبُ الَّذِي
عَدُوِّي ، مَا اسْتَبَدْتُكَ دِينًا ، وَلَا اسْتَحْدَثْتُ نَبِيًّا . وَأَنَا لَعَلُّ الْمُنْتَهَا حِ
الَّذِي تَرَكْتُمُوهُ طَائِفِينَ ، وَدَخَلْتُمْ فِيهِ مُكْرَهِينَ .

وَرَضَعْتَ أُمَّكَ جِفْتَ قَاتِلِ^(٣٣٧١) يَدِّمْ صُفْتَانَ . وَلَقَدْ عَلِمْتَ جِفْتَ
وَقَعَ دَمُ عُثْمَانَ فَطَاطِبُهُ مِنْ هُنَاكَ أَنْ كُنْتَ طَالِيًا ، فَكَأَنِّي قَدْ رَأَيْتَكَ
تَبْصِيحُ مِنَ الْحَرْبِ إِذَا عَصَّيْتِكَ صَبِيحَ الْجَمَالِ بِالْأَنْفَالِ ، وَكَأَنِّي
بِحِمَاةِكَ تَدْعُونِي جَزَعًا مِنَ الضَّرْبِ الْمُنْتَابِعِ ، وَالْقَضَاءِ الرَّادِعِ ،
وَمَصَارِعَ بَعْدَ مَصَارِعَ ، إِلَى كِتَابِ اللَّهِ ، وَهِيَ كَابِرَةٌ جَاحِدَةٌ ، أَوْ
مُبَايَعَةٌ حَائِدَةٌ^(٣٣٧٢) .

* * * * *

LETTER 18

To 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Abbās, his Governor of Basrah

You should know that Basrah is the place where Satan descends and mischiefs happen. Keep the people of this place pleased with good treatment and remove the knots of fear from their hearts.

I have come to know of your strictness with Banū Tamim¹ and your harshness over them. Banū Tamim are those that if one star sets another one rises for them. They were never exceeded in (the art of) war in pre-Islamic times or after Islam. They have a special kinship with us and a particular relationship. We shall be rewarded if we pay heed to the kinship and be deemed sinful if we disregard it. O' Abu'l-'Abbās, may Allāh have mercy on you, keep yourself restrained in whatever you say or do, good or bad about your people, as we are both partners in this (responsibility). Prove yourself according to my good impressions about you, and do not prove my opinion (about you) wrong; and that is an end to the matter.

¹ = oerite. Just as there can be no doubt about Amir al-mu'minin's belief, there can be no doubt about Mu'āwiyah's mischief-mongering and hypocrisy. Thus, Amir al-mu'minin has exposed his hypocrisy in the earlier writing in these words.

² These people had not accepted Islam but they had secured safety by verbally professing it and had hidden their misbelief. Consequently, when they found helpers for their mischief they disclosed it.

1. When Talhah and az-Zubayr reached Basrah it was Banū Tamim who took active part in the movement to avenge 'Uthmān's blood and were foremost in fanning this mischief. Therefore, when 'Abdullah ibn al-'Abbās took over as the Governor of Basrah, in view of their breach of faith and animosity, he thought they deserved harsh treatment and was to some extent severe with them. But in this tribe there were also a few =

نوح البلاغة — ١٨

إلى عبد الله بن عباس وهو عاقل على الصرة

وَأَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْبَصْرَةَ مَهْبُطُ إِبْلِيسَ ، وَمَنْزَرُ الْفِتَنِ ، فَخَادَتْ أَهْلَهَا
بِالْإِحْسَانِ إِلَيْهِمْ ، وَأَحْتَلَّ عُقْدَةَ الْخَوْفِ عَنْ قُلُوبِهِمْ .

وَقَدْ بَلَغَنِي تَنَمُّرُكَ^(٣١٢١١) لِسِنِّي تَحِيْمُ ، وَعَظْمُكَ عَلَيْهِمْ ، وَإِنَّ بَنِي
تَحِيْمٍ كَمْ يَغِيبُ لَهُمْ نَحْمٌ^(٣١٢١٢) إِلَّا طَلَعَ لَهُمْ آخِرُ^(٣١٢١٣) ، وَإِنَّهُمْ كَمْ
يَسْتَعْمُوا بِرُغْمٍ^(٣١٢١٤) فِي جَاهِلِيَّةٍ وَلَا إِسْلَامٍ ، وَإِنَّ لَهُمْ بِنَا رَجْمًا مَاسَةً ،
وَقَرَابَةً خَاصَّةً ، نَحْنُ مَاجُورُونَ عَلَى صِلَتِهَا ، وَمَا زُورُونَ عَلَى قَطِيعَتِهَا .
فَارْبَعٌ^(٣١٢١٥) أَبَا الْعَبَّاسِ ، رَحِمَكَ اللَّهُ ، فِيمَا جَرَى عَلَى لِسَانِكَ وَيَسْأَلُكَ
مِنْ خَيْرٍ وَشَرٍّ ، فَإِنَّا شَرِيكَانِ فِي ذَلِكَ ، وَكُنْ عِنْدَ صَالِحِ ظَنِّي بِكَ ،
وَلَا يَفِيئَنَّ^(٣١٢١٦) رَأْيِي فِيكَ ، وَالسَّلَامُ .

* * * * *

LETTER 41

To one of his officers

Now, I had made you a partner in my trust, and made you my chief man. And for me no other person from my kinsmen was more trustworthy than you in the matter of sympathizing with me, assisting and respecting my trusts. But when you saw that time had attacked your cousin, the enemy had waged war, the trust of the people was being humiliated, and the whole community was trackless and disunited, you turned your back against your cousin and forsook him when others forsook him, you abandoned him when others abandoned him, and you betrayed him when others betrayed him. Thus, you showed no sympathy to your cousin, nor discharged the trust.

It seems as if you do not want (to please) Allāh by your *jihad*, and as if you do not stand upon a clear sign from your Lord, and as if you have been playing tricks with this *ummah* (Muslim community) to earn (the pleasure of) this world and watching for the moment of their neglectfulness to usurp their share of the wealth. As soon as it was possible for you to misappropriate the *ummah's* trust, you hastened to turn around and attack (them), and made a swift leap to snatch away whatever you could from their property meant for their widows and their orphans as a wolf snatches a wounded and helpless goat. Then, you happily loaded it off to the Hijāz without feeling guilty for having appropriated it. Allāh's woe be to your ill-wishers; it was as though you were sending to your family what you had inherited from your father and mother.

Glory be to Allāh! Do you not believe in the Day of Judge-

رَبِّهِمْ وَآيَاتِهِمْ وَلِأَنْبِيَائِهِمْ

- ٤١

إلى بعض عماله

أَمَّا بَعْدُ ، فَإِنِّي كُنْتُ أَشْرَكَكَ فِي أَمَانَتِي (٣٨١٨) ، وَجَمَلْتُكَ شِعَارِي
وَبِطَانَتِي ، وَكَمْ يَكُنْ رَجُلٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ أَوْثَقَ مِنْكَ فِي نَفْسِي لِمَوَامِلَاتِي (٣٨١٩)
وَمَوَارِزَتِي (٣٨٢٠) وَأَدَاءِ الْأَمَانَةِ إِلَيَّ ؛ فَلَمَّا رَأَيْتَ الزَّمَانَ عَلَى ابْنِ عَمِّكَ
قَدْ كَلَبَ (٣٨٢١) ، وَالْعَدُوُّ قَدْ حَرَبَ (٣٨٢٢) ، وَأَمَانَةَ النَّاسِ قَدْ خَرَبْتَ (٣٨٢٣) ،
وَهَذِهِ الْأُمَّةُ قَدْ فَتَكَتْ (٣٨٢٤) وَتَعَوَّتْ (٣٨٢٥) ، فَلَبِثَ لَابْنُ عَمِّكَ ظَهَرَ
الْمِحْنِ (٣٨٢٦) فَفَارَقْتَهُ مَعَ الْمَغَارِقِينَ ، وَخَلَّكَ مَعَ الْخَادِلِيِّينَ ، وَخَنَنْتَهُ
مَعَ الْخَانِئِينَ ، فَلَا ابْنَ عَمِّكَ آسَيْتَ (٣٨٢٧) ، وَلَا الْأَمَانَةَ أَدَيْتَ . وَكَانَكَ
كَمْ تَكُنْ اللَّهُ تُرِيدُ بِجَهَادِكَ ، وَكَانَكَ كَمْ تَكُنْ عَلَى بَيْتِهِ مِنْ رَبِّكَ ،
وَكَانَكَ إِنَّمَا كُنْتَ تَكِيدُ (٣٨٢٨) هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةَ عَنْ دِيَارِهِمْ ، وَتَبْغِي عِزَّتَهُمْ
عَنْ قَبِيلِهِمْ (٣٨٢٩) ، فَلَمَّا امْتَكَنْتَكَ الشَّدَّةُ فِي خِيَابَةِ الْأُمَّةِ أَسْرَعْتَ الْكُرَّةَ ،
وَعَاجَلْتَ الزُّهْيَةَ ، وَانْخَطَفْتَ مَا قَدَّرْتَ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمُ الْمَصُونَةَ
لِأَرْبَابِهِمْ وَآيَاتِهِمْ (٣٨٣٠) ، فَخَمَلْتَهُ إِلَى الْحِجَازِ رَجِيبَ الصُّدْرِ بِحَمَلِهِ ، غَيْرَ
الْكَبِيرَةِ (٣٨٣١) ، فَخَمَلْتَهُ إِلَى الْأَنْبِيبِ الدَّنِيبِ الْأَرْزَلِ (٣٨٣٢) دَامِيهِ (٣٨٣٣)
مَتَأْتِمٌ (٣٨٣٤) مِنْ أَنْجِدِهِ ، كَانَكَ - لَا أَبَا لَيْغَبْرِكَ (٣٨٣٥) - حَدَرْتَ (٣٨٣٦)
إِلَى أَهْلِكَ تُرَاثِكَ (٣٨٣٧) مِنْ أَبِيكَ وَأُمَّكَ ، فَسَبَحَانَ اللَّهُ ! أَمَا تُؤْمِنُ

ment, or do you not fear the exaction of account? O' you who were counted by us among the men possessed of mind, how can you enjoy food and drink when you know that you are eating the unlawful and drinking the unlawful. You are purchasing slavemaids and wedding women with the money of the orphans, the poor, the believers and the participants in *jihād* to whom Allāh had dedicated this money and through whom He had strengthened these cities. Fear Allāh and return to these people their properties. If you do not do so and Allāh grants me power over you I shall excuse myself before Allāh about you and strike you with my sword with which I did not strike anyone but that he went to Hell.

By Allāh, even if Hasan and Husayn had done what you did there would have been no leniency with me for them and they could not have won their way with me till I had recovered from them the right and destroyed the wrong produced by their unjust action. I swear by Allāh, the Lord of all beings, that I would not be pleased to regard their money which you have appropriated as lawful for me and to leave it to my successors by way of inheritance. Mind yourself and consider for a while as though you had reached the end of life and had been buried under the earth. Then your actions will be presented before you in the place where the oppressor cries "Alas" while he who wasted his life yearns for return (to the world), *but time was none to escape.* (Qur'an, 38:3)

* * * * *

بِالْمَعَادِ ؟ أَوْ مَا تَخَافُ نِعَاشِ الْحِسَابِ ۱ أَيُّهَا الْمَعْتَرِدُ - كَانَ -
عِنْدَنَا مِنْ أُولِي الْأَلْبَابِ ، كَيْفَ تُسْبِغُ سَرَابًا وَطَعَامًا ، وَأَنْتَ تَعْلَمُ
أَنَّكَ تَأْكُلُ حَرَامًا ، وَتَشْرَبُ حَرَامًا ، وَتَبْنِي عِ الْإِيمَانِ وَتَنْكِيحُ النِّسَاءِ مِنْ
أَمْوَالِ الْيَتَامَى وَالْمَسْكِينِ وَالْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُجَاهِدِينَ ، الَّذِينَ آفَأَهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ
هَذِهِ الْأَمْوَالِ ، وَأَخْرَجَ بِهِمْ هَذِهِ الْبِلَادَ ۱ فَاتَّقِ اللَّهَ وَأَزِدْ إِلَى هَؤُلَاءِ الْقَوْمِ
أَمْوَالَهُمْ ، فَإِنَّكَ إِنْ كَمْ تَفْعَلُ ثُمَّ أَمَكَّنِي اللَّهُ مِنْكَ لِأَعْبِرَنَّ إِلَى اللَّهِ
فِيكَ ۱ ۳۸۱۱۷ ، وَلَا ضَرِيْبَتَكَ بِسَيْفِي الَّذِي مَا ضَرِيْبَتْ بِهِ أَحَدًا إِلَّا دَخَلَ
النَّارَ ۱ وَوَاللَّهِ لَوْ أَنَّ الْحَسَنَ وَالْحُسَيْنَ فَعَلَا مِثْلَ الَّذِي فَعَلْتَ ، مَا كَانَتْ
لَهُمَا عِنْدِي هَوَادَةٌ ۳۸۱۱۷ ، وَلَا ظَفِيرًا مِنِّي بِإِرَادَةٍ ، حَتَّى آخَذَ الْحَقُّ
مِنْهُمَا ، وَأَزِيحَ الْبَاطِلَ عَنْ مَطْلَعَتَيْهِمَا ، وَأَقْسِمُ بِاللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ مَا
بَسُرْتُ أَنْ أَنْجُوهُ مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمْ حَلَالًا لِي ، أَنْزِمَكَ مِيرَانًا لِمَنْ بَعْدِي ،
فَصَحَّ رَوِيْدًا ۳۸۱۱۳ ، فَكَانَكَ قَدْ بَلَّغْتَ الْمَدَى ۳۸۱۱۱ ، وَدَفَيْتَ نَحْتَ
الْبَرَى ۳۸۱۰۹ ، وَعَرَضْتَ عَلَيْكَ أَفْعَالَكَ بِالْمَحَلِّ الَّذِي يُتَادَى النَّالِمُ
فِيهِ بِالْحَسْرَةِ ، وَيَتَمَنَّى الْمُضْمِعُ فِيهِ الرَّجْمَةَ ، « وَلَا تَ جِيْنَ مَنَاصِي ۳۸۱۱۶ »

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DOCUMENT¹ OF INSTRUCTION 53

Written for (Mālik) al-Ashtar an-Nakha'i, when the position of Muḥammad ibn Abi Bakr had become precarious, and Amir al-mu'minin had appointed al-Ashtar as the Governor of Egypt and the surrounding areas; it is the longest document and contains the greatest number of beautiful sayings.

In the Name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful

This is what Allāh's servant 'Alī, Amir al-mu'minin, has ordered Mālik ibn al-Jarīth al-Ashtar in his instrument (of appointment) for him when he made him Governor of Egypt for the collection of its revenues, fighting against its enemies, seeking the good of its people and making its cities prosperous.

He has ordered him to fear Allāh, to prefer obedience to Him, and to follow what He has commanded in His Book (Qur'ān) out of His obligatory and elective commands, without following which one cannot achieve virtue, nor (can one) be evil save by opposing them and ignoring them, and to help Allāh the Glorified, with his heart, hand and tongue, because Allāh whose name is Sublime takes the responsibility for helping him who helps Him, and for protecting him who gives Him support.

He also orders him to break his heart off from passions, and to restrain it at the time of their increase, because the heart leads towards evil unless Allāh has mercy.

The qualifications of a governor and his responsibilities

Then, know O' Mālik that I have sent you to an area where there have been governments before you, both just as well as oppressive. People will now watch your dealings as you used to

٥٣ — نهج البلاغة

كتبه للأئمة النخعي ، لا ولاة على مصر وأعمالها حين اضطرب أمر أميرها محمد بن أبي بكر ، وهو أطول عهد كنه وأجمه للمحاسن .

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

هَذَا مَا أَمَرَ بِهِ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ عَلِيٌّ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ، مَالِكُ بْنُ الْحَارِثِ الْأَشْثَرِ فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَيْهِ ، حِينَ وُلَاهُ مِصْرَ : جِيَابَةَ خَرَاجِهَا ، وَجِهَادَ عَدُوِّهَا ، وَاسْتِصْلَاحَ أَهْلِهَا ، وَصِمَارَةَ بِلَادِهَا .

أَمْرُهُ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ ، وَإِيثَارِ طَاعَتِهِ ، وَاتِّبَاعِ مَا أَمَرَ بِهِ فِي كِتَابِهِ : مِنْ قَرَائِضِهِ وَسُنَنِهِ ، الَّتِي لَا يَسْمَعُ أَحَدٌ إِلَّا بِاتِّبَاعِهَا ، وَلَا يَشْفَى إِلَّا مَعَ جُودِهَا وَأَصَابَتِهَا ، وَأَنْ يَنْصُرَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ بِقَلْبِهِ وَيَدِهِ وَلِسَانِهِ ، قَائِلًا ، جَلَّ اسْمُهُ ، قَدْ تَكْفَلَ بِنَصْرِ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ ، وَلَا عَزَازَ مِنْ أَعْرَهُ .

وَأَمْرُهُ أَنْ يَكْسِرَ نَفْسَهُ مِنَ الشَّهَوَاتِ ، وَيَرْعَى (١٠٠١١) عِنْدَ الْجَمْعَاتِ (١٠٠١٢) ، فَإِنَّ النَّفْسَ أَمَارَةٌ بِالسُّوءِ ، إِلَّا مَا رَحِمَ اللَّهُ .

ثُمَّ أَعْلَمَ يَا مَالِكُ ، أَيُّ قَدْ وَجَّهْتُكَ إِلَى بِلَادٍ قَدْ جَرَتْ عَلَيْهَا دُونَ مِثْلِكَ ، مِنْ عَدْلٍ وَجَوْرِ ، وَأَنَّ النَّاسَ يَنْظُرُونَ مِنْ أُمُورِكَ فِي مِثْلِ مَا

watch the dealings of the rulers before you, and they (people) will criticise you as you criticised them (rulers). Surely, the virtuous are known by the reputation that Allāh circulates for them through the tongues of His creatures. Therefore, the best collection with you should be the collection of good deeds. So, control your passions and check your heart from doing what is not lawful for you, because checking the heart means detaining it just half way between what it likes and dislikes.

Habituate your heart to mercy for the subjects and to affection and kindness for them. Do not stand over them like greedy beasts who feel it is enough to devour them, since they are of two kinds, either your brother in religion or one like you in creation. They will commit slips and encounter mistakes. They may act wrongly, willfully or by neglect. So, extend to them your forgiveness and pardon, in the same way as you would like Allāh to extend His forgiveness and pardon to you, because you are over them and your responsible Commander (Imām) is over you while Allāh is over him who has appointed you. He (Allāh) has sought you to manage their affairs and has tried you through them.

Do not set yourself to fight Allāh because you have no power before His power and you cannot do without His pardon and mercy. Do not repent of forgiving or be merciful in punishing. Do not act hastily during anger if you can find way out of it. Do not say: "I have been given authority, I should be obeyed when I order," because it engenders confusion in the heart, weakens the religion and takes one near ruin. If the authority in which you are placed produces pride or vanity in you then look at the greatness of the realm of Allāh over you and His might the like of which might you do not even possess over yourself. This will

كنت تنظر فيه من أمور الأولاد قبلك ، ويعتورون فيك ما كنت تقول
فيهم ، وإنما يستأهل على الصالحين بما يجزي الله لهم على السن
عباده ، فليكن أحب الدخائر إليك ذخيرة العمل الصالح ، فأملك هورك ،
وشح (١٠٠٣١) بنفسك عما لا يحل لك ، فإن الشح بالنفس الانصاف منها
فيما أحبت أو كرهت . وأشهر قلبك الرحمة للربية ، والمحبة لهم ،
واللطف بهم ، ولا تكون عليهم سيما ضاريا تفيتهم أكلمهم ، فإنهم
صنفان : إما أخ لك في الدين ، أو نظير لك في الخلق ، يعطو (١٠٠٧)
منهم الرأى (١٠٠٥) ، وتعرض لهم الملل ، ويؤتى على أيديهم في العمد
والخطأ ، فأعطهم من عفوك وصفحك مثل الذي نحب وترضى أن يعطيك الله
من عفوه وصفحه ، فأنت لقرتهم ، ووالى الأمر عليك فوقك ، والله فوق
من ولأولئك وقد استحكفك أمرهم (١٠٠٧) ، وأنبلاك بهم . ولا تنصين نفسك
لحرب الله (١٠٠٧١) فإنه لا يد لك ببعثيه (١٠٠٨) ، ولا غنى بك عن عفوه
ورحمته . ولا تندمن على عفوه ، ولا تبجحن (١٠٠٧٥) بعبودية ، ولا
تسرعن إلى بادرة (١٠١٠) وجدت منها مندوحة (١٠١١) ، ولا تقولن : إني
مومر (١٠١٢) أمر فأطاع ، فإن ذلك ادغال (١٠١٣) في القلب ، وشهك (١٠١٤)
للدين ، وتقرّب من الغير (١٠١٥) . وإذا أخذت لك ما أنت فيه من
سلطانك أبه (١٠١٧) أو مخيلة (١٠١٣) ، فانظر إلى عظم ملك الله فوقك ،
وقدرته منك على ما لا تقدر عليه من نفسك ، فإن ذلك يطامن (١٠١٨)

curl your haughtiness, cure you of your high temper and bring back to you your wisdom which had gone away from you.

Beware of comparing yourself to Allāh in His greatness or likening yourself to Him in His power, for Allāh humiliates every claimant of power and disgraces every one who is haughty.

Do justice for Allāh and do justice towards the people, as against yourself, your near ones and those of your subjects for whom you have a liking, because if you do not do so you will be oppressive, and when a person oppresses the creatures of Allāh then, instead of His creatures, Allāh becomes his opponent, and when Allāh is the opponent of a person He tramples his plea; and he will remain in the position of being at war with Allāh until he gives it up and repents. Nothing is more inducive of the reversal of Allāh's bounty or for the hastening of His retribution than continuance in oppression, because Allāh hears the prayer of the oppressed and is on the look out for the oppressors.

Ruling should be in favour of the people as a whole

The way most covered by you should be that which is the most equitable for the right, the most universal by way of justice, and the most comprehensive with regard to the agreement among those under you, because the disagreement among the common people sweeps away the arguments of the chiefs while the disagreement among the chiefs can be disregarded when compared with the agreement of the common people. No one among those under you is more burdensome to the ruler in the comfort of life, less helpful in distress, more disliking of equitable treatment, more tricky in asking favours, less thankful at the time of giving, less appreciative of reasons at the time of refusal, and weaker in endurance at the time of the discomforts of life than the chiefs. It is the common people of the community who are the pillars of the religion, the power of the Muslims and the defence against the enemies. Your leanings should therefore be towards them and your inclination with them.

إِيَّاكَ مِنْ طَمَاحِكَ (١٠٢١٧) ، وَيَكْفُ عَنْكَ مِنْ غَرَبِكَ (١٠٢٢٠) ، وَيَبْقِي (١٠٢٢١) إِيَّاكَ بِمَا غَرَبَ (١٠٢٢٢) عَنْكَ مِنْ عَقْلِكَ ا

إِيَّاكَ وَسَمَامَةَ (١٠٢٢٣) اللَّهِ فِي عَظَمِيَّتِهِ ، وَالنَّسَبِيَّةَ بِهِ فِي جَبْرُوتِهِ ، فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يُبْدِلُ كُلَّ جَبَّارٍ ، وَيُهَيِّئُ كُلَّ مُخْتَالٍ .

أَنْصِفِ اللَّهَ وَأَنْصِفِ النَّاسَ مِنْ نَفْسِكَ ، وَمِنْ خَاصَّةِ أَهْلِكَ ، وَمَنْ لَكَ فِيهِ هَوًى (١٠٢٢٤) مِنْ رَعِيَّتِكَ ، فَإِنَّكَ إِلَّا تَفْعَلْ تَظْلِمُ ا وَمَنْ ظَلَمَ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ كَانَ اللَّهُ خَصَمَهُ دُونَ عِبَادِهِ ، وَمَنْ خَاصَمَهُ اللَّهُ أَدْحَضَ (١٠٢٢٥) حُجَّتَهُ ، وَكَانَ لِلَّهِ حِرَا (١٠٢٢٦) حَتَّى يَنْزِعَ (١٠٢٢٧) أَوْ يَثْرِبَ . وَلَيْسَ شَيْءٌ أَدْعَى إِلَى تَغْيِيرِ نِعْمَةِ اللَّهِ وَتَفْجِيلِ نَفْسِهِ مِنْ إِقَامَةِ عَلَى ظُلْمٍ ، فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَمِيعٌ دَعْوَةَ الْمُضْطَهَّدِينَ ، وَهُوَ لِلظَّالِمِينَ بِالْمِرْصَادِ .

وَلَيْكُنْ أَحَبَّ الْأُمُورِ إِلَيْكَ أَوْسَطُهَا فِي الْحَقِّ ، وَأَصْحَبَهَا فِي الْقَوْلِ ، وَأَجْمَعُهَا لِرِضَى الرَّعِيَّةِ ، فَإِنَّ سُخْطَ الْعَامَّةِ يُجْحِفُ (١٠٢٢٨) رِضَى الْخَاصَّةِ ، وَإِنْ سُخْطَ الْخَاصَّةِ يَغْتَفِرُ مَعَ رِضَى الْعَامَّةِ . وَلَيْسَ أَحَدٌ مِنَ الرَّعِيَّةِ أَثْقَلَ عَلَى الْأَرْقَاءِ مَوْرَنَةً فِي الرَّخَاءِ ، وَأَقْلَ مَعُونَةً لَهُ فِي الْبِلَاءِ ، وَأَكْرَهَ لِلِإِنْصَافِ ، وَأَسْأَلَنَّ بِالِإِلْحَافِ (١٠٢٢٩) ، وَأَقْلَ شُكْرًا عِنْدَ الْأَعْظَاءِ ، وَأَبْطَأَ عُدْرًا عِنْدَ الْمَنْعِ ، وَأَضْمَفَ صَبْرًا عِنْدَ مُلِمَّاتِ الدَّهْرِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْخَاصَّةِ . وَإِنَّمَا عِمَادُ الدِّينِ ، وَجَمَاعُ (١٠٢٣٠) الْمُسْلِمِينَ ، وَالْعَلَمَةُ لِلِأَعْدَاءِ ، الْعَامَّةُ مِنَ الْأُمَّةِ ، فَلَيْكُنْ صِفْوَكُ (١٠٢٣١) لَهُمْ ، وَمَيْلِكَ مَعَهُمْ .

وَلَيْكُنْ أَحَبَّ الْأُمُورِ إِلَيْكَ أَوْسَطُهَا فِي الْحَقِّ ، وَأَصْحَبَهَا فِي الْقَوْلِ ، وَأَجْمَعُهَا لِرِضَى الرَّعِيَّةِ ، فَإِنَّ سُخْطَ الْعَامَّةِ يُجْحِفُ (١٠٢٢٨) رِضَى الْخَاصَّةِ ، وَإِنْ سُخْطَ الْخَاصَّةِ يَغْتَفِرُ مَعَ رِضَى الْعَامَّةِ . وَلَيْسَ أَحَدٌ مِنَ الرَّعِيَّةِ أَثْقَلَ عَلَى الْأَرْقَاءِ مَوْرَنَةً فِي الرَّخَاءِ ، وَأَقْلَ مَعُونَةً لَهُ فِي الْبِلَاءِ ، وَأَكْرَهَ لِلِإِنْصَافِ ، وَأَسْأَلَنَّ بِالِإِلْحَافِ (١٠٢٢٩) ، وَأَقْلَ شُكْرًا عِنْدَ الْأَعْظَاءِ ، وَأَبْطَأَ عُدْرًا عِنْدَ الْمَنْعِ ، وَأَضْمَفَ صَبْرًا عِنْدَ مُلِمَّاتِ الدَّهْرِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْخَاصَّةِ . وَإِنَّمَا عِمَادُ الدِّينِ ، وَجَمَاعُ (١٠٢٣٠) الْمُسْلِمِينَ ، وَالْعَلَمَةُ لِلِأَعْدَاءِ ، الْعَامَّةُ مِنَ الْأُمَّةِ ، فَلَيْكُنْ صِفْوَكُ (١٠٢٣١) لَهُمْ ، وَمَيْلِكَ مَعَهُمْ .

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

مَجْلَدُ الْفَتْوَى

الْمَجْلَدُ الْاَلْفُ

باب المختار من حكم أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام
ويدخل في ذلك المختار من اجوبة مسالته
والكلام القصير الخارج في سائر أغراضه

SELECTIONS FROM THE SAYINGS AND PREACHINGS
OF AMIR AL-MU'MININ 'ALI IBN ABI T'ALIB (PEACE BE
UPON HIM) INCLUDING HIS REPLIES TO QUESTIONS,
AND MAXIMS MADE FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES

1. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: During civil disturbance be like an adolescent camel¹ who has neither a back strong enough for riding nor udders for milking.

2. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: He who adopts greed as a habit devalues himself; he who discloses his hardship agrees to humiliation; and he who allows his tongue to overpower his soul debases the soul.

3. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: Miscriness is shame; cowardice is a defect; poverty disables an intelligent man from arguing his case; and a destitute person is a stranger in his home town.

4. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: Incapability is a catastrophe; endurance is bravery; abstinence is riches; self-restraint is a shield (against sin); and the best companion is submission (to Allāh's will).

5. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: Knowledge is a venerable estate; good manners are new dresses; and thinking is clear mirror.

1. "labūn" means a milch camel and "ibnu'l-labūn" means its two year old young. In this age the young is neither suitable for riding nor does it has udders which could be milked. It is called "ibnu'l-labūn" because in this period of two years its mother bears another young and begins yielding milk again.

The intention is that during civil disturbance or trouble a man should behave in such a manner that he may be regarded of no consequence and ignored. No need should be felt for his participation in either party. This is because during mischief only dissociation can save from molestation. Of course, when the clash is between right and wrong it is not permissible to keep aloof nor can it be called civil disturbance; but on such occasions it is obligatory to rise up for the support of right and suppression of wrong. For example, during the battles of Jannat al-Bayq and Siffin it was obligatory to support the right and to fight against the wrong.

١ - قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ : كُنْ فِي الْفِتْنَةِ كَأَبْنِ اللَّيْمِ (١١٢٧٨) ، لَا تَظْهَرُ فَيْرَكَ ، وَلَا تَضْرَعُ فَيْحَلَبَ .

٢ - وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ : أَزْرَىٰ بِنَفْسِهِ مَنِ اسْتَشْمَرَ اللَّطْمَعَ ، وَرَضِيَ بِالْأُلِّ مَنِ كَتَفَ عَنْ ضُرِّهِ ، وَهَانَتْ عَلَيْهِ نَفْسُهُ مِنْ أَمْرِ (١١٢٣١) عَلَيْهَا لِسَانَهُ .

٣ - وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ : الْبِخْلُ عَارٌ ، وَالْجَبْنُ مَنَقَصَةٌ ، وَالْفَقْرُ بِخَرَسُ الْفَوَاطِنِ عَنْ حُجَّتِهِ ، وَالْمَقِيلُ غَرِيبٌ فِي بَلَدَيْهِ (١١٢٣٢) .

٤ - وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ : الْعَجْزُ آذَانٌ ، وَالصَّبْرُ سَجَاعَةٌ ، وَالرُّهْمَةُ نَرْوَةٌ ، وَالْوَرَعُ جَنَةٌ (١١٢٣٣) ، وَنِعْمَ الْفَرِيقُ الرَّضَىٰ .

٥ - وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ : الْعِلْمُ وَرَائَتُهُ كَرِيمَةٌ ، وَالْآدَابُ حَلَلٌ مُجَدَّدَةٌ ، وَالْفِكْرُ مِرْآةٌ صَافِيَةٌ .

6. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said : The bosom of the wise is the safe of his secrets; cheerfulness is the bond of friendship; effective forbearance is the grave of short-comings.

It is narrated that Amir al-mu'minin said in expressing this meaning that: Mutual reconciliation is the covering for shortcomings; and he who admires himself attracts many opponents against him.¹

7. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said : Charity is an effective cure, and the actions of people in their present life will be before their eyes in the next life.²

1. In the last phrase, Amir al-mu'minin has described the consequences and effects resulting from self-admiration namely that it creates the feeling of hatred and humiliation-against others. Thus, the man who manifests his greatness by every pretext in order to make himself conspicuous is never regarded with esteem. People begin to despise him because of his mental condition in seeking self-conspicuity and are not prepared to accord him the worth which he really has, much less to regard him as he himself thinks to be.

2. This saying comprises of two phrases:—

The first sentence relates to charity and Amir al-mu'minin has described it as an effective cure, because when a man helps the poor and the destitute by alms they pray for his health and recovery from the depth of their hearts and therefore their prayer is granted and brings him cure. In this connection, there is the saying of the Holy Prophet that, "Cure your sick by charity."

The second sentence relates to the disclosure of actions on the Day of Judgement, namely that the good and bad deeds which a person performs in this world cannot be perceived by human senses because of the veil of material elements but on the Day of Judgement when material curtains will be lifted they will so appear before the eyes that there will be no possibility of denial by anyone. Thus, Allah has said:

On that day shall come out people (from their graves) in (scattered) groups, to be shown their own deeds. Then he who has done an atom-weight of good shall see it. (Qur'an, 99:6-8)

٦ - وقال عليه السلام : صدر العقول صندوف سيره ، والبعثات جباله (١١٣٧) المودة ، والأخيمال قبر العيوب .

وروي أنه قال في العبارة عن هذا المعنى أيضاً : المسألة جياء العيوب ، ومن رضي عن نفسه كثر السخط عليه .

٧ - وقال عليه السلام : الصدقة دواء منجح ، وأعمال العباد في عاجلهم ، نصب أعينهم في آجالهم .

8. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: How wonderful is man that he speaks with fat, talks with a piece of flesh, hears with a bone and breathes through a hole.

9. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: When this world advances towards anyone (with its favours) it attributes to him other's good; and when it turns away from him it deprives him of his own good.¹

10. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: Meet people in such a manner that if you die they should weep for you and if you live they should long for you.¹

11. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: When you gain power over your adversary pardon him by way of thanks for being able to overpower him.¹

1. The meaning is that when a man's fortune is helpful and the world is favourable to him then people describe his performances with exaggeration and give credit to him for others' actions as well, while if a man loses the favour of the world and the clouds of ill-luck and misfortune engulf him, they ignore his virtues and do not at all tolerate even to recall his name.

They are friends of him whom the world favours and the foes of him whom the world hits.

1. To the person who behaves with others with benignity and mannerliness, people extend their hand of cooperation, they honour and respect him and shed tears after his death. Therefore, a person should lead such an agreeable life that no one should have any complaint against him, nor should any harm be caused by him to anyone so that during life he should attract others and after death too he should be remembered in good words.

1. The occasion for pardon and forgiveness is when there is power to take revenge. But when there is no such power, then pardon is just the result of helplessness, for which there is no credit. However, to practise pardon despite having power and the ability to avenge is the essence of human distinction and an expression of thanks to Allāh for bestowing this power, because the feeling of gratefulness necessitates that man should bow before Allāh in humbleness and humiliation by which the delicate feeling of pity and kindness will arise in his heart and the rising flames of rage and

٨ - وقال عليه السلام : أَعْجِبُوا لِهَذَا الْإِنْسَانَ يَنْظُرُ بِشَعْرٍ (١١٣١) ، وَيَسْمَعُ بِلَحْمٍ (١١٣٢) ، وَيَتَنَفَّسُ مِنْ حُورٍ ۱۱

٩ - وقال عليه السلام : إِذَا أُقْبِلَتْ الدُّنْيَا عَلَى أَحَدٍ أَعَارَتْهُ مَخَارِينَ غَيْرِهِ ، وَإِذَا أُدْبِرَتْ عَنْهُ سَكَبَتْهُ مَخَارِينُ نَفْسِهِ .

١٠ - وقال عليه السلام : خَالِطُوا النَّاسَ مُخَالَطَةً أَنْ يَمُنَّ بِمَنْ مَعَهُ بِكْرًا عَلَيْكُمْ ، وَأَنْ عَشِمْتُمْ حَنُورًا إِلَيْكُمْ .

١١ - وقال عليه السلام : إِذَا قَدَّرْتَ عَلَى عَدُوِّكَ فَاجْعَلِ الْعَمْرُ عَنْهُ شُكْرًا لِلْفُتُورَةِ عَلَيْهِ .

12. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: The most helpless of all men is he who cannot find a few brothers during his life, but still more helpless is he who finds such a brother but loses him.¹

13. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: When you get (only) small favours do not push them away through lack of gratefulness.

14. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: He who is abandoned by near ones is dear to remote ones.

15. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: Every mischief monger cannot even be reproved.¹

16. Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: All matters are subject to destiny, so much so that sometimes death results from effort.

anger will cool down after which there will be no urge to take revenge under the effect of which he would use his power and capability to satisfy his anger instead of using it properly.

1. It is not difficult to attract others by good manners and cheerfulness and to befriend them by sweet speech because no physical exertion or mental worry is required for this: and after making friends it is still easier to maintain the friendship and good relations because for making friends some effort or other is needed while for maintaining it no difficulty is to be surmounted. Therefore, no one can be more wretched than the man who cannot even retain a thing which could be retained just by keeping away a frown from the face.

The intention is that a man should meet everyone with good manners and cheerfulness so that people may like to associate with him and extend a hand of friendship towards him.

1. Amir al-mu'minin uttered this sentence when Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqās, Muhammad ibn Maslamah and 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar refused to support him against the people of Jamal. He means to say that these people are so against me that neither have my words any effect on them nor do I need to reproof, rebuke or correct them.

١٢ - وقال عليه السلام : أضعفُ الناسِ منَ عَجَزَ عَنِ اكْتِسَابِ الْإِخْوَانِ ، وَأَعَجَزُ مِنْهُ مَنْ ضَيَّعَ مِنْ ظَفَرِهِ مِنْهُمْ .

١٣ - وقال عليه السلام : إِذَا وَصَلَتْ إِلَيْكُمْ أَطْرَافُ النَّعَمِ (١١٣٦) وَلَا تُنْفَرُوا أَفْصَاهَا (١١١٠) بِعِلَّةِ الشُّكْرِ .

١٤ - وقال عليه السلام : مَنْ ضَيَّعَهُ الْأَقْرَبُ أَيْبَحَ لَهُ (١١١٧) الْأَبْعَدُ .

١٥ - وقال عليه السلام : مَا كُلُّ مَفْتُونٍ بِعَائِبٍ .

١٦ - وقال عليه السلام : تَبِيلُ الْأُمُورِ لِلْمَعَادِيرِ ، حَتَّىٰ يَكُونَ الْخُتْفُ (١١١٣) فِي التَّلْبِيئِ .



‘ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB

, cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, and fourth caliph, was one of the first to believe in Muḥammad's mission. Whether he was the second after *Khadija*, or the third after *Khadija* and Abū Bakr, was much disputed between *Shītes* and *Sunnīs*. He was at that time aged 10 or 11 at most, and Muḥammad had taken him into his own household to relieve the boy's father Abū Ṭālib, who had fallen into poverty. One narrative, which is open to criticism on several counts, represents ‘Alī as having occupied the Prophet's bed on the night when the latter left Mecca for Medina, so that the conspirators, on entering the house in order to kill Muḥammad, were surprised to discover his young cousin sleeping there. After restoring to their owners the objects which Muḥammad was holding on trust, ‘Alī rejoined the Prophet at *Kubā*. Some months later, he married Muḥammad's daughter *Fāṭima* [*q.v.*], and of their marriage were born al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn [*qq.v.*]. During the lifetime of *Fāṭima* ‘Alī took no other wife.

Military exploits.

In Muḥammad's lifetime ‘Alī took part in almost all the expeditions, often as standard-bearer, twice only as commander (at *Fadak* in 6/628, and in *al-Yaman* in 10/632). He always displayed a courage, which later on became legendary; at *Badr* he killed a large number of *Kurayshites*; at *Khaybar* he used a heavy door as a shield, and the victory of the Muslims over the Jews was due to his ardour; at *Hunayn* (8/630) he was one of those who stoutly defended the Prophet. After the Prophet's death, he took no part in any military expedition, for reasons unknown. ‘Umar is said to have prevented the *Kurayshites* from going out to the provinces, but ‘Uthmān removed all obstacles to their movements. It is possible that ‘Alī himself had no wish to absent himself from Medina; perhaps it was simply his state of health which kept him from fighting, although several feats are attributed to him at the battles of the "Camel" and *Ṣiffin*, in 36/656 and 37/657, when he was already sixty years old.

In addition, ‘Alī performed several other functions for the Prophet. He was one of his secretaries, and on occasion was charged with missions which might be called diplomatic; on two occasions he was deputed to destroy idols. He executed with his own hand enemies condemned to death by the Prophet, and with al-Zubayr supervised the massacre of the *Banū Kurayza* (5/627). In 9/631 he read to the assembled pilgrims at *Minā* the first seven verses of the sūra *Barā'a* (ix).

Dispute with Abū Bakr.

During the election of Abū Bakr [*q.v.*] as Muḥammad's successor, ‘Alī, with *Ṭalḥa al-Zubayr*, and several other Companions, remained apart in the Prophet's house to watch over his body and prepared for its burial. Although solicited to do so by al-‘Abbās and also, it is said, by Abū Sufyān he, made no effort to keep the control of the Community in the hands of the *Hāshimites*. When those persons who had at first abstained from recognizing Abū Bakr gradually accepted his election, ‘Alī maintained his refusal for six months. His position was complicated by a [1382a] question of inheritance; *Fāṭima* had asserted a claim to the lands held by her father, which Abū Bakr firmly rejected on the ground of Muḥammad's saying that "Prophets have no heirs". Whether ‘Alī really hoped to succeed Muḥammad is doubtful. The Arabs as a rule chose as their chiefs men of mature age (in 11/633 ‘Alī was a little over thirty) and showed no inclination to legitimism. The *Shītes*, by inventing or interpreting in the light of their beliefs certain words said to have used by Muḥammad concerning ‘Alī (see *Wensinck, Handbook*, s.v. ‘Alī), have always maintained that the Prophet intended to transmit the succession to his son-in-law and cousin, but it is certain, in any case, that in his last illness he did not express this desire.

Relations with 'Umar.

According to the Muslim authors, 'Alī was a valued counsellor of the caliphs who preceded him; but although it is probable that he was asked for advice on legal matters in view of his excellent knowledge of the *Qur'ān* and the *sunna*, it is doubtful whether his advice was accepted by 'Umar on political questions. In regard to the famous *ḍiwān*, at least, 'Alī held a view entirely opposed to that of the caliph, for when being questioned on this subject by 'Umar he recommended the distribution of the entire revenue without holding anything in reserve (al-Balādhurī, ap. Caetani, *Annali*, A.H. 40, § 275). During the lifetime of 'Umar (and of 'Uthmān), 'Alī held no office, either military or political, except the lieutenancy of Medina during 'Umar's journey to Palestine and Syria (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2404, 2522); for this reason he alone was absent from the meeting at Dajābiya [*q.v.*] at which the military commanders and leading personages convoked by 'Umar gave approval to measures of the greatest importance on the regulation of the conquests and the *ḍiwān*. Further evidence of 'Alī's lack of complete agreement with the policies of Abū Bakr and 'Umar is contained in the received tradition relating to the *shūrā* [see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān], according to which 'Alī, on being asked by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf whether he engaged himself to follow, together with the *Qur'ān* and the *sunna*, the work (*fi'l, sira*) of the preceding caliphs, gave an evasive answer.

The Opposition to 'Uthmān.

During the caliphate of 'Uthmān, 'Alī, with other Companions (notably Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr), frequently accused him of deviating from the *Qur'ān* and the *sunna* of Muḥammad, particularly in the application of the *ḥudūd* [see AL-hurmuzān]. 'Alī insisted upon the duty of applying the divine Law; he was among those who demanded that the legal punishment for drinking should be inflicted on al-Walīd b. 'Uqba, viceroy of Kūfa, and in some accounts is said to have carried out the whipping with his own hand. With 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf he reproached 'Uthmān with introducing *bida'*, such as making four *rak'as* at 'Arafāt and Minā in place of two (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. 'Alī). But on political questions also he ranged himself with 'Uthmān's opponents and was recognized by them as their chief, or one of their chiefs, at least morally. E.g. (1) when Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī [*q.v.*], who preached against the misdeeds of the powerful, was exiled from Medina, 'Alī with his sons went to salute him on his departure in spite of 'Uthmān's prohibition, and provoked thereby a violent dispute with 'Uthmān. (2) When the rebels who came from Egypt to Medina opened negotiations with 'Uthmān, 'Alī was their intermediary, or one of their intermediaries (see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2969). (3) When they returned [p. 382b] later on to Medina and besieged "the House," they asked 'Alī to put himself at their head (idem, i, 2965); although he refused, nevertheless by his attitude he encouraged the rebels during the siege, and there are reasons for suspecting him to have been in agreement with them in demanding the caliph's abdication, at the same time that any participation by him in the bloody conclusion of the conflict is to be excluded. (4) After his election as caliph, his partisans included those persons who are known to have been hostile to the government on economic questions, such as al-Ashṭar [*q.v.*], Ibn al-Kawwā', Ṣa'ṣa'a and others (al-Mas'ūdī, iv, 261; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2916, 2908, etc.). His own programme in face of the various financial demands put forward by the *muḳātila* (division of the surplus of the revenues, distribution of the domanial lands, etc.) is not known. It is recorded only that on becoming caliph he distributed the entire sums which he found in the *bayt al-māl* of Medina, Baṣra and Kūfa, and the whole of the provisions collected in the *bayt al-ṭa'ām* (cf. also *Annali*, 40 A.H., §§ 276-80), an action which is to be regarded not simply as a demagogic gesture but as the consequence of the view that he had previously expressed to 'Umar. He is said also to have wished to distribute the Sawād (i.e. the domanial lands in al-'Irāq), but to have refrained through fear of legal disputes (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 265 f.).

Apart from this, there is no statement which authorizes us to regard him as an extremist; on the contrary, he was hostile to the Saba'iyya, the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' [*q.v.*], and when they exalted him beyond measure he rid himself of them; he tried to cut himself loose from the *nuffār*, the besiegers of "the House" (of 'Uthmān) and their adherents, as soon as circumstances allowed him to do so (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3163-5, 3182). By his extreme attachment to Islam 'Alī was driven to attach an absolute superiority in merit to priority of conversion and to services rendered to Islam in its early days, over other claims such as nobility of birth and political or administrative ability. In his conflict with the government he continually appealed to the duty of applying the *Ḳur'ān* and following the *sunna* of the Prophet, which in his view were being neglected. Whether by this policy, or because, aiming to defend the right of the Hāshimid house to the caliphate, he was bound to oppose the principle which extended this right to the whole of Muḥammad's tribe, he set the *Ḳuraysh* against him, although himself of *Ḳuraysh*; in return he had the support of most of the Anṣār, of the other non-*Ḳuraysh*ite Arabs who had been amongst the Old Believers, of the *mukātila* in the provinces, and the depressed classes in general (*Aghānī*, xi, 31).

Election of 'Alī and early measures.

When 'Uthmān was killed the Umayyads fled from Medina and the opposition remained masters of the situation. Since 'Alī was the person for whom they had most respect, he was invited to succeed to the caliphate. The traditions on the manner and circumstances of his election (the most commonly accepted date is 18 *Dhu 'l-Hiǧǧja* 35/17 June 656) are contradictory in regard to his willingness to accept it. His partisans on the other hand were ready to employ violence against those who refused to recognize him (including Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr); nevertheless there were some who would not yield and who left Medina, e.g. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Anṣārī, Usāma b. Zayd. [1383a] Mu'āwiya was therefore able to maintain that the election was invalid because made by a minority; to this 'Alī replied that the election of the caliph was a right of those persons (Anṣār, Muhāǧǧirūn, or Badr-combatants) who were present in Medina at the relevant time. What is certain is that 'Alī allowed himself to be nominated also by the rebels who had 'Uthmān's blood on their hands. This was an error, in that it exposed him to accusations of complicity in their crime, although some traditions represent him as vainly endeavouring to rid himself of the most factious of his partisans. In spite of counsels by Ibn 'Abbās to go slowly, 'Alī at once took some of the measures demanded by the opposition from 'Uthmān: he removed the governors appointed by the latter and wherever possible replaced them by governors of his own party, and satisfied the populace by distributions of money, made with a laudable equity. The report of 'Uthmān's murder and of 'Alī's protection of those guilty of it had in the meantime provoked strong reactions in Mecca, Syria and Egypt. Mu'āwiya, governor of Syria and cousin of 'Uthmān, accused 'Alī of complicity with the murderers and refused to pay homage to him. 'Alī hastily collected troops to force him to obedience, but another serious rebellion compelled him to delay action in Syria, while Mu'āwiya for his part maintained a prudent waiting policy.

Rebellion of 'Ā'isha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr.

Although 'Ā'isha had supported the opposition against 'Uthmān, she had gone on pilgrimage to Mecca during the siege of "the House". On her way back she learned of the events in Medina, and in consternation, especially at the news of 'Alī's election, returned to Mecca and engaged in active propaganda against the new caliph. Four months later she was joined by Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, and shortly afterwards 'Alī learned that all three, with several hundred troops, were marching to al-'Irāq by sidetracks. He immediately set out in pursuit, but could not overtake them. The rebels expected to find

in al-ʿIrāk the forces and the resources which they needed. ʿAlī was absolutely compelled to prevent them from seizing this province, since Syria obeyed only Muʿāwiya, Egypt was in anarchy, and the loss of al-ʿIrāk would have involved also the loss of the eastern provinces dependent on it.

The three insurgents proclaimed that the *hudūd* must be re-established for all alike, and that a "reform" (*islah*) must be put into effect (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3093, 3131, 3132). Since these influential leaders were in part responsible for the fate of ʿUthmān, the reasons for their rising to demand vengeance for his murder, and the meaning which they attached to *islah*, are obscure. Social and economic motives, inspired by fear of the possible influence of the extremists on ʿAlī, seem to provide a more convincing explanation than personal feelings for their action, and especially for the effect which it produced. The moderates amongst those opposed to ʿUthmān had no doubt desired a change of policy, but not one so radical as that now foreshadowed.

While the insurgents occupied Baṣra, and there massacred many of the *nuffār*, ʿAlī sent his supporters to Kūfa to invite its population to take his part, and when he had collected an adequate force he marched towards Baṣra. Since both parties aimed at a peaceful settlement of the dispute, an agreement was negotiated, according to which ʿAlī should disengage himself from the *nuffār* (while guaranteeing their lives), but this was not the conclusion of the affair which the extremists of his party meant to reach. A brawl provoked by them developed into a battle, which became famous in Muslim annals as the "Battle of the Camel" (15 Djumādā II 36/9 Dec. 656) [see *al-djamaʿ*], and in which Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr lost their lives, while ʿĀʾiṣha was peremptorily ordered by ʿAlī to return to Medina under escort.

Conflict with Muʿāwiya.

Following on this success, ʿAlī had hopes of regaining the allegiance of the governor of Syria by opening negotiations with him, but in vain. Muʿāwiya demanded the surrender of the murderers of ʿUthmān in virtue of a verse of the Qurʾān (xvii, 32/35) which forbids the slaying of any person save for just cause (*illā bi 'l-ḥakk*), at the same time according the right of vengeance in the case of anyone slain unjustly (*mazlūm*^{an}) to his *walī*, i.e. his near relative. Muʿāwiya maintained that ʿUthmān had been killed unjustly; consequently, he proposed to exercise the right accorded by God. In the meantime, he would hold to his refusal to pay homage to ʿAlī. The sources pass vaguely over the thesis maintained by ʿAlī in rejecting Muʿāwiya's demand, except for the explicit statement in the *Waḳʿat Šiffin* of Naṣr b. Muẓāḥim al-Minkarī (570): since ʿUthmān was killed by the people, who were outraged by his arbitrary actions, the murderers should not be liable to the *lex talionis*. In reality the struggle had much deeper causes; what was at issue was the pre-eminence of Syria or of al-ʿIrāk, and probably also two different conceptions of the policy to be followed in the government of the Muslim State.

ʿAlī, finding that Muʿāwiya was not to be won over, passed to the offensive; the two armies, each some tens of thousands strong, faced one another on the plain of Šiffin [*q.v.*]. After some skirmishing, interrupted by a truce in Muḥarram 37/June-July 657 and some parleys, battle was joined; there was a week of combats between horsemen and foot-soldiers, followed by a violent conflict (the "night of clamour", *laylat al-ḥarīr*, 10 Šafar 37/28 July 657). Muʿāwiya's star seemed to be sinking, when ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ advised him to have his soldiers hoist copies of the Qurʾān on their lances. This gesture, famous in Muslim history, did not imply surrender; by this means Muʿāwiya invited the combatants to resolve the question by consultation of the Qurʾān. Weary of fighting—the number of the killed is swollen in the sources to 70,000 or even more—the two armies laid down their arms. ʿAlī was forced by his partisans to submit the difference to arbitration, as proposed by Muʿāwiya, and further to choose the arbitrator for his side from among the "neutrals". So sure were his followers that they were in the right! In these decisions the *ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*], of whom many were in his army (though they were represented in

Mu'āwiya's army also), played a large part.

Appointment and task of the arbitrators (*taḥkīm*).

A convention was drawn up at Ṣiffīn itself (Ṣafar 37/657), by the terms of which the two arbitrators, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī [*q.v.*] for 'Alī and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ [*q.v.*] for Mu'āwiya, would announce their decision at a place halfway between Syria and al-'Irāq in the presence of witnesses chosen by themselves; the date fixed for the meeting was Ramaḍān, but the arbitrators might advance it or postpone it until the end of the year 37. In the two versions of the convention which have come down to us the points to be examined by the arbitrators are not defined; all that is said is that they were to consult the Qur'ān "from the first to the last sūra" and, in default of clear indications in the sacred Book, the *sunna* of the Prophet, excluding what [1384a] might give rise to divergences. L. Veccia Vaglieri (see the art. cited in the Bibliography) has shown that their task was to determine whether the acts of which 'Uthmān was accused were or were not *aḥdāth*, arbitrary actions at odds with the divine Law. If the caliph were guilty, his murder could be regarded as an act of justice; but if he had committed no errors, the conclusion must be that he had been killed unjustly (*mazlūm*^{an}), and in consequence Mu'āwiya was justified in claiming the right of vengeance. But this was not all, for a decision in favour of Mu'āwiya would inevitably involve, for 'Alī, the loss of the caliphate.

Protests against the arbitration.

While awaiting the verdict, the armies returned to their bases. But already at Ṣiffīn certain individuals had protested against recourse to arbitration with the cry *lā ḥukmā illā li'llāh*, literally "No decision save God's". The phrase implied that it was absolutely improper to apply to men for a decision since, for the case in dispute, there existed a divine ordinance in the Qur'ānic verse xlix, 8/9: "If two parties of the Believers fight with one another, make peace between them, but if one rebels (*baghat*) against the other, then fight against that one which rebels (*allatī tabghī*), until it returns to obedience to God ...". In fighting against his opponents 'Alī had appealed to this verse, since in his view the "rebellious party" had been, firstly, that of 'Ā'isha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, and now that of Mu'āwiya. The dissidents maintained, very logically, that it was his duty to continue to fight against Mu'āwiya, as no new fact had intervened to alter the situation.

During the return to Kūfa, those had first raised the cry *lā ḥukmā illā li'llāh* (hence called *al-muḥakkima al-ūlā*) persuaded many other partisans of 'Alī that the arbitration was a sin against God, by substituting the judgment of men for His prescription. A group of some thousands proclaimed their repentance and stopped at Ḥarūrā', near Kūfa (whence their name of Ḥarūrītes [*q.v.*]). The caliph, on a personal visit to their camp, succeeded in reconciling the dissidents, all or in part, evidently by making concessions to them. After his return to Kūfa, however, he denied from the *minbar* the reports which asserted his intention of infringing the convention of Ṣiffīn. When it was learned that he had sent Abū Mūsā to the meeting with 'Amr, a group of dissidents, 3,000 or 4,000, secretly left Kūfa, and some hundreds more left Baṣra. The rallying-point chosen by these dissidents, called *Khawāridj* (*Khāridjites* [*q.v.*]), was al-Nahrawān, on the canal of the same deriving from the Tigris.

The arbitration (*ḥukūma*).

Mu'āwiya, with his escort, was the first to arrive at the meeting-place of the arbitrators (Ramaḍān 37/Feb. 658). 'Alī, excusing himself on the ground of the troubles caused by the dissidents, did no more than send Abū Mūsā with the escort and his cousin Ibn 'Abbās as his representative. The sources give vague or contradictory statements on the place and date of the meeting, some placing it at Dūmat al-Djandal (now al-Djōf), approximately halfway between Syria and al-'Irāq, as stipulated in the

convention, others at Adhruh, between Ma'ān and Petra. There are many grounds (see the art. cited above) for believing that a first meeting in the presence of six persons only was held at Dūmat al-Djandal, and a second meeting (see below) at Adhruh in Sha'bān 38. At the former, the arbitrators must have reached an agreement on the result of their investigations, and this result was that 'Uthmān had committed no breach of [I 384b] his trust, since only on this ground can the later events be explained. A passage in *Wak'at Siffin* (618 f.) explains why their verdict is known to us only indirectly: as a measure of precaution, "the two men agreed at Dūmat al-Djandal to say nothing". But though the verdict was not promulgated, it is certain that it became known to both parties; the Syrians, perhaps in the enthusiasm of the moment, took the *bay'a* to Mu'āwiya (Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 37/April 658: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 199), while 'Alī publicly protested against both arbitrators, proclaimed that their sentence was contrary to the Qur'ān and the *sunna*, and that he was therefore under no obligation to submit to it. Thereupon he assembled his forces and set out to engage Mu'āwiya in battle again. On reaching al-Anbār, he turned aside towards al-Nahrawān, in the conviction that it was necessary first of all to destroy this centre of insurrection. Mu'āwiya, in the same month in which 'Alī was engaged with the Khāridjites, took possession of Egypt (Ṣafar 38).

Battle al-Nahrawān.

'Alī first tried to re-enlist the Khāridjites in his forces by a declaration that he would take the field again against Mu'āwiya, but without effect. The dissidents demanded that he should confess himself guilty of an act of impiety (*kufr*), which he indignantly refused to do. After promising the *amān* to those who should submit—and there were some—he attacked the rebels (9 Ṣafar 38/17 July 658). It was a massacre rather than a battle, and it seems that 'Alī was the first to regret it. This action, condemned by contemporary opinion,—for many sincere believers, of well-known piety, had fallen on the field—had very grievous consequences for him; the defections, which had already begun, increased, and he was forced to return to Kūfa and to give up the campaign against Mu'āwiya.

Conference of Adhruh.

The situation was completely changed after these events. Henceforward the opposing parties were no longer a caliph and a rebel governor, but two rivals for the supreme office in the State. While Mu'āwiya had gained ground, 'Alī was struggling in a morass of difficulties: he had been disqualified in the eyes of the Muslim community by the verdict of the arbitrators, and he had lost many of his supporters by his refusal to submit to their decision after consenting to the *taḥkīm* by the massacre of the Khāridjites, and in general by his vacillating policy. This was the position when the arbitrators and many eminent persons (with the exclusion of 'Alī and also, it would seem, of his representatives) met at Adhruh in Sha'bān 38/January 659. In this conference the meetings attended only by the arbitrators and certain personages must be distinguished from the final plenary session. In the former the verdict of the arbitrators was promulgated (several sources assert that Abū Mūsā recognized that 'Uthmān had been killed unjustly), and the selection of a new caliph was discussed. The information given in the sources is rather discordant, except as regards the final scene. It can be gathered that 'Amr maintained the cause of Mu'āwiya against Abū Mūsā's preference for 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, who for his part refused to stand for election in default of unanimity; Abū Mūsā then proposed, and 'Amr agreed, to declare both 'Alī and Mu'āwiya deposed and to remit the choice to a committee. In the public discourses that followed, Abū Mūsā observed this agreement, possibly adding some counsels in which he alluded to his preference for the son of 'Umar; 'Amr in his [I 385a] turn declared 'Alī deposed and confirmed Mu'āwiya. Several modern historians have adjudged this scene entirely improbable, but this negative attitude towards traditions which are nevertheless explicit and fairly concordant on this point is due to an

inadequate appreciation of the preceding events explained above. In the light of these the final scene at Adhruh can readily be accepted. The unexpected declaration of 'Amr seems to have been a strictly personal proposal on his part, which, as a man charged with a grave responsibility, he believed himself entitled, if not in duty bound, to advance. But this declaration, which obviously contravened the agreement previously reached (since Abū Mūsā reacted to it with indignation), was generally judged in later times as a treacherous trick, and was certainly a disloyal act. It is worthy of notice that even in the plenary assembly no voice was raised on behalf of 'Alī; the clash which followed 'Amr's declaration was a reaction against the Umayyads, not in favour of 'Alī. In any case the conference had entirely negative results, for the participants separated without taking any decision on the caliphate.

Last years, death and burial of 'Alī.

'Alī continued to be regarded as caliph by his partisans, though their numbers were daily diminishing, and Mu'āwiya by his. In 39/659 the situation was still uncertain. 'Alī, confined to Kūfa, remained passive even when Mu'āwiya made small expeditions into the heart of al-'Irāq and of Arabia. In Khurāsān and the East Arab rule was thrown off [see 'abd AL-raḥmān B. SAMURA], but a rising in Fārs was skilfully put down by Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*], as governor for 'Alī. In 40/660 'Alī enjoyed no authority in the two Holy Cities, and could not stop an attack by Mu'āwiya on al-Yamān. Finally, a Khāridjite, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muldjam al-Murādī [see IBN muldjam], in revenge for the men slain at al-Nahrawān, struck 'Alī with a poisoned sword before the door of the mosque of Kūfa. He died about two days later, being then 62 or 63 years of age. A questionable tradition asserts that Ibn Muldjam was only one of a group of fanatics who plotted to rid Islam of the three persons regarded as responsible for the civil war, and that Mu'āwiya and 'Amr were to have been assassinated at the same time.

'Alī's burial place was kept secret, evidently for fear lest his body should be exhumed and profaned. It was not until the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd that it was announced that his tomb had been identified at a spot some miles from Kūfa, where a sanctuary subsequently arose; a town, al-Nadījaf [*q.v.*], grew up there, surrounded by an immense cemetery, due to the aspiration of pious Shī'ites to be buried in the vicinity of their Imāms.

Personal details.

In person, 'Alī is represented as bald, affected by ophthalmia, stout, short-legged and broad-shouldered, with a hairy body and a long white beard covering his chest. In manner he was rough and brusque, apt to give offence and unsociable. He had two nicknames: *Haydara*, "lion", and *Abū Turāb*, "dustman", a name probably given to him contemptuously by his enemies, but which was afterwards interpreted as an honorific by invented episodes (see Noldeke in *ZDMG*, 1898, 30). He had fourteen sons and nineteen daughters by nine wives and several concubines; of his sons, only three, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, played a historical role, and five in all left descendants. He was reputed to have a profound knowledge of the Qur'ān, of which he was one of the best "readers" [1385b] (*Suyūṭī, Itkān* (Sprenger), 169, 171; the statement that he compiled a recension is to be rejected: *Gesch. des Qur.*, ii, 8-11). Many political discourses, sermons, letters and wise sayings (*ḥikam*) have been ascribed to him; these can be read in *Nahdī al-Balāgha*, a collection of the 5th/11th century, which includes here and there old historical texts and passages of *adab* [see AL-sharīf AL-raḍī]. On the *ḍiwān* (in which some poems are perhaps authentic) and the prose works attributed to him, see Brockelmann, i, 43 f., S I, 73 f. His gifts as an orator were doubtless remarkable, but the same cannot be said of his poetic art (H. Lammens, *A propos de 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Etudes sur le siècle des Omeyyades*, 1930, 1-11).

Personality.

The personality of 'Alī is difficult to define, since the historian finds no sure guide either in his actions or his discourses, or in the data supplied by the sources. His own will was paralysed or modified by events and the constraint of his partisans. His discourses are obscure in form, and it is not easy to distinguish the genuine from the forged. Since the conflicts in which he was involved were perpetuated for centuries, the sources are sometimes tendentious, and, though less idealizing or hostile than has been asserted, more often reticent. The hostile judgment of Lammens (especially in *Fātima* and *Mo'awia I*et), sometimes obtained by forcing the texts, is to be rejected. The milder presentation of Caetani which, while exposing the weaknesses of 'Alī, gives due weight to the pressure of circumstances upon him, remains vague in its general lines. Neither Lammens nor Caetani has brought out the religiosity of 'Alī and its reflections in his policy. There is an abundance of notices on his austerity, his rigorous observance of religious rites, his detachment from worldly goods, his scruples in regard to booty and retaliation; and there is no reason to suppose all these details invented or exaggerated, since all his actions were dominated by this religious spirit. Without attempting to decide whether his devotion to Islam was always wholly unmixed with other motives, this aspect of his personality cannot be disregarded for the understanding that it affords of his psychology. He engaged in warfare against "erring" Muslims as a matter of duty, in order "to sustain the Faith and to make the right way (*al-hudā*) triumphant" (*al-Balādhurī* in Caet., 40 A.H., § 235, *d*, etc.). After his victory at "the Camel", he tried to relieve the distresses of the vanquished by preventing the enslavement of their women and children, in face of the protests of a group of his partisans; when battles ended, he showed his grief, wept for the dead, and even prayed over his enemies. Even the apparent ambiguity of his attitude towards the *Ḥārītes* can be explained by his fear of disobeying God; though persuaded by them that the arbitration was a sin, he recognized also that to infringe the convention of *Ṣiffīn* was equally a sin, and in his painful dilemma chose to allow the arbitration to proceed. Obedience to the divine Law was the keynote of his conduct, but his ideas were governed by an excessive rigorism, and it was perhaps for this reason that his enemies described him as *mahdūd*, "narrow-minded". Imprisoned in his strict conformism, he could not adapt himself to the necessities of a situation which was very different from that of Muḥammad's time; thus he lacked that political flexibility which was, on the other hand, one of the pre-eminent qualities of Mu'āwīya. His programme, rather than uncertain, was utopian; [1386a] probably he himself discovered the impossibility of realizing it when the power came into his hands, and this may have contributed, along with the external events, to his discouragement in his last years. Caetani observed that the half-divine aureole which soon encircled the figure of 'Alī was derived not only from his relationship with the Prophet, but also from the personal impression which he left on his contemporaries; but he did not indicate the qualities which gave rise to the legend. If it is recognized that his was a profoundly religious spirit, and that he supported by his authority a programme of social and economic reforms, at the same time placing them on a religious basis, this question also may find its solution. [For *Shī'ite* doctrines and legends concerning 'Alī see *shī'a*.]

(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

The basic historical sources, with many additional texts *adab*, *ḥadīth* and other works, are translated or summarized in Caetani, *Annali* (of which vols. ix and x (1926) are devoted to the caliphate of 'Alī). Further materials in Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minkārī, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo 1365 (the lith. ed. Ṭehran 1301 and abridged ed. Bayrūt 1340 are much inferior), and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ an-Nāḍira fi Manāḳib al-'Ashara*, Cairo 1327, ii, 153-249. Studies: A. Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1885, i, 308-34
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id. *Arabische Reich*, Berlin 1902, 25-71

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- F. Gabrieli, *Sulle origini del movimento Ḥarīḡita*, *Rend. Lin.*, 1941, fasc. vi, 110-7
- L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Il conflitto 'Alī-Mu'āwīya e la secessione khāriḡita riesaminati alla luce di fonti ibāḍite*, *AIUON* 1952, 1-94
- id. *Traduzione di passi riguardanti il conflitto 'Alī Mu'āwīya e la successione khāriḡita*, *AIUON*, 1953, 1-98
- Muḥ. Kafāfī, *The Rise of Kharīḡism according to Abū Sa'īd Muhammad ... al-Qalḡati*, in *B. Fac. Ar.*, xiv, 1952, 29-48
- Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *al-Fitna al-Kubrā*, vol, ii, 'Alī, Cairo 1954 (contains some suggestive ideas).

SHĪ'A

, in the broad sense, refers to the movement upholding a privileged position of the Family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt* [q.v.]) in the political and religious leadership of the Muslim Community. The name is derived from *shī'at 'Alī*, i.e. the party or partisans of 'Alī, which was first used in the inter-Muslim war during 'Alī's caliphate distinguishing them from the *shī'at 'Uthmān*, the partisans of the murdered caliph 'Uthmān opposed to 'Alī. The present article will deal with the origins and early development of the Shī'a until the emergence of the major sectarian branches. For these, see the individual articles on *Ithnā 'ashariyya*, *Ismā'īliyya*, *Zaydiyya*, etc.

In the lifetime of Muḥammad, his close kin enjoyed a raised religious status of purity recognised by the Qur'ān. As his kin (*dhawu 'l-kurbā*), there were counted the descendants of his great-grandfather Hāshim and, to some extent, the descendants of Hāshim's brother al-Muṭṭalib. They were, like the Prophet himself, not allowed to receive or to handle alms (*zakāt*) as these were considered unclean. In compensation for this exclusion they were entitled to receive a portion of the *khums*, the fifth of war booty reserved to the Prophet, and of the *fay*' [q.v.], property which fell to the Muslims without war effort. After Muḥammad's death, the establishment of the caliphate by Abū Bakr on the basis of a privileged position for the tribe of Quraysh as a whole, and the confiscation of Muḥammad's property, deprived the Prophet's Family of the special status, as they were disinherited and lost their title to their Qur'ānic share of the *khums* and *fay*'. The Banū Hāshim vainly protested against these developments by refusing to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr for six months. The disestablishment of the Family of the Prophet after his death was the ultimate motive for the rise of the Shī'a.

As leader of the Banū Hāshim was first generally recognised Muḥammad's cousin 'Alī because of his close association with the Prophet, his marriage to Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima and his early merits in Islam. Early Shī'ī support, however, was not restricted to him and his descendants. Throughout the Umayyad age there was broad awareness that the Prophet's Family comprised all of the Banū Hāshim, as is evident, for instance, in the poetry of al-Kumayt entitled *Hāshimīyyāt*. There were, however, preferences, partly on a local basis, for some particular branch of the Family. In Baṣra, descendants of al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim occasionally enjoyed support as kin of the Prophet since they were settled there. In Kūfa, where 'Alī resided during his reign, his descendants were most often preferred to others. Support of descendants of al-'Abbās and of 'Alī's brother Dja'far should not be seen as an illegitimate deviation from early Shī'ī backing of the 'Alīds.

A popular movement in favour of 'Alī first emerged in Kūfa under the governorship of al-Walīd b. 'Uqba during the first half of 'Uthmān's caliphate. Its spokesmen, many of them Qur'ān readers (*ḥurrā'* [q.v.]), later appear as leaders of the *shī'at 'Alī* under the latter's caliphate and, if they survived, after his assassination. They were calling for the removal of 'Uthmān from the leadership and for allegiance to 'Alī. One of them, [IX 420b] Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashṭar [q.v.], became the leader of the Kūfan revolt which overthrew 'Uthmān's governor Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ [q.v.] and installed Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī [q.v.] in his place. He also led the Kūfan rebel group which joined the groups from Egypt and Baṣra converging on Medina to press for the resignation of 'Uthmān. Although he and the Kūfans did not join in the siege of the caliph's palace carried out by the Egyptians, he played a major part in securing the succession of 'Alī to power against the rival candidacy of Ṭalḥa [q.v.] and subsequently in rousing Kūfan support for 'Alī against 'Ā'isha, Ṭalḥa, and al-Zubayr in the Battle of the Camel, in spite of the neutralist stand of the governor Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī.

'Alī's reign bore from the outset the character of a counter-caliphate. He was heralded by his supporters and officials as the most excellent of Muslims after the Prophet, and was acclaimed in poetry and eulogies as the *waṣī*, the legatee, of Muḥammad. Such claims, which put the legitimacy of the caliphate of his predecessors in question, lent the conflict between him and his opponents a religious dimension apart from the political one. Already in the Battle of the Camel, 'Alī's opponents

spoke of a "religion of 'Alī (*dīn 'Alī*)", a notion deeply resented by the Prophet's cousin, who insisted that he represented the religion of Muḥammad.

'Alī's own attitude to the legitimacy of his predecessors' reign, as expressed in his speeches and letters, was complex. He praised Abū Bakr's and 'Umar's conduct in office highly and reprimanded any of his followers who depreciated them. He severely criticised 'Uthmān for misgovernment and arbitrary innovations. Holding that 'Uthmān had provoked the rebellion against himself, he refused to condemn the rebels, while not expressly condoning the murder of the caliph and distancing himself from any personal involvement in the rebellion. He asserted that he personally had a better right to the succession of Muḥammad than any other Companion, on the basis of his close kinship and association with him as well as his outstanding merits in the cause of Islam. The Community of the Faithful as a whole deserved blame for having turned away from him after the death of Muḥammad. It was 'Alī who first gave the *ḥadīth* of Ghadīr Khumm [*q.v.*] publicity by inviting those Companions who had heard the Prophet's statements there to testify on the square in front of the mosque of Kūfa. These statements have traditionally been understood by the Shī'a as an implicit appointment of 'Alī to the succession in the leadership of the Community. 'Alī made plain that he considered the Family of the Prophet to be entitled to the leadership of the Community as long as there remained a single one of them who recited the *Qur'ān*, knew the *sunna* and adhered to the true faith.

The most basic distinguishing beliefs of the Shī'a thus go back to 'Alī, who must to this extent be considered its founder and first teacher. This fact has been largely unpalatable to Sunnī historiography, which therefore created and propagated as the founder of the Shī'a the figure of 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' [*q.v.*], the malicious Yemenite Jew who first stirred up the rebellion against 'Uthmān and invented the doctrine of 'Alī being the legatee of Muḥammad, ending up with extremist fiction denying the death of 'Alī and deifying him. Only this latter aspect may well have had a historical foundation. Ibn Saba' appears to have been active in al-Madā'in after 'Alī's death and to have propagated belief in his return (*raḍī'a*) and ultimate victory over his enemies.

When 'Alī was assassinated in 40/661, his parti- [IX 421a] sans in Kūfa were evidently convinced that only a member of the Prophet's Family could legitimately succeed him. Although 'Alī, probably following the Prophet's precedent, refused to appoint a successor after having been mortally struck, his eldest son al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*], grandson of Muḥammad, was immediately recognised without dissent. A few months later, al-Ḥasan abdicated in favour of the Umayyad Mu'āwiya [*q.v.*] on the basis of a treaty which stipulated a full amnesty and safety of life and property for the *shī'a* at 'Alī and which denied Mu'āwiya the right to appoint a successor. According to some accounts, it provided for al-Ḥasan to succeed him, according to others for election by a council (*shūrā*), evidently on the model of the electoral council appointed by 'Umar. Although the abdication aroused general disappointment and some protest among the Shī'a, it was not regarded as a renunciation by al-Ḥasan of his ultimate title to the leadership, and he continued to be recognised as the legitimate Imām. Al-Ḥasan died in 49/669 or 51/671, poisoned, it was widely suspected, by one of his wives at the instigation of Mu'āwiya. The Shī'a now turned to his younger brother al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*]-and, disaffected by what they regarded as the oppressive and vindictive nature of Mu'āwiya's rule, urged him to rise to restore the legitimate reign of the Prophet's Family. Although by character more inclined to pursue the leadership actively than his brother, al-Ḥusayn declined to act as long as Mu'āwiya was reigning, evidently recognising the continued validity of al-Ḥasan's agreement.

The Shī'a riot in Kūfa in 51/671, for which Ḥudjir b. 'Adī [*q.v.*] and other leaders were executed, was not an attempted revolution but an incident intentionally provoked by Mu'āwiya and his governor Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*] with the aim of crushing latent opposition to the Umayyad rule. Mu'āwiya had, in breach of the spirit, if not the letter, of his treaty with al-Ḥasan, ordered his governor of Kūfa, al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba [*q.v.*], to curse 'Alī from the pulpit in the Friday prayers and to insist on the

presence of several Shīʿī leaders, among them Ḥudjir. Al-Mughīra had done so, but failed, evidently against Muʿāwiya's intentions, to discipline those who protested against the cursing. Al-Mughīra's successor Ziyād took the occasion of pebbles being thrown at his deputy in protest against the cursing to intervene, ordering the rounding-up of Ḥudjir and other Shīʿī leaders. There was some fighting between police and rioters in which no-one was killed. Ḥudjir eluded Ziyād for a time, finding refuge in the quarters of various tribes. Eventually, he surrendered voluntarily on the promise of being sent to Muʿāwiya. Ziyād drew up an accusation of armed rebellion against the Shīʿī leaders and had it signed by representatives of the Kūfan nobility. Muʿāwiya offered them pardon if they would renounce their loyalty to ʿAlī and curse him. As they refused, he ordered the execution of Ḥudjir and five others. The law of Islam and practice so far prevalent allowed only imprisonment and exile for insurrection. These executions amounted to murder. The incident, rather than crushing the opposition, inflamed the sense of outrage of the Kūfan Shīʿā.

After the death of Muʿāwiya and the succession of his son Yazīd [q.v.], the Kūfan Shīʿā and many of the tribal leaders wrote letters to al-Ḥusayn inviting him and offering him their backing. Al-Ḥusayn had, together with other members of the Islamic aristocracy, declined to pledge allegiance to Yazīd during Muʿāwiya's lifetime and, after his death, fled from Medina to the Sanctuary in Mecca in order to avoid [IX 421b] being forced to do so. He sent his cousin Muslim b. ʿAqīl [q.v.] ahead of him to test the ground in Kūfa. On receiving at first a favourable report from Muslim, al-Ḥusayn set out for Kūfa. Determined action by the governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, however, induced the Kūfan tribal leaders to abandon their backing of the revolt. Muslim b. ʿAqīl was killed, and al-Ḥusayn soon faced a Kūfan army preventing him from proceeding or returning. He and over twenty members of the Prophet's *ahl al-bayt*, brothers and sons of al-Ḥusayn, sons of al-Ḥasan, and descendants of ʿAlī's brothers ʿAqīl and Djaʿfar, were massacred at Karbalāʾ on 10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 680.

The violent death of the Prophet's grandson at the hands of a Kūfan army, after the Kūfans had first invited him and then failed to stand up for him, had a profound effect on the Shīʿā. The passion motive, the call for repentance and martyrdom, became permanent aspects of Shīʿī spirituality. In immediate reaction, a movement of penitents (*tawwābūn*), calling for self-sacrifice and revenge for al-Ḥusayn, sprang up among the old partisans of ʿAlī led by Sulaymān b. Šurad al-Khuẓāʾī. It gathered strength after the death of the caliph Yazīd as Kūfa came nominally under Zubayrid rule. In 65/684-5 some 4,000 volunteers left Kūfa, visited Karbalāʾ to weep and make vows on the grave of al-Ḥusayn, and moved against an Umayyad army near ʿAyn al-Warda. They were defeated, and the majority, including Sulaymān b. Šurad, were killed.

As the old guard leaders of the Shīʿā were killed off, new forces came to the fore. After the death of the caliph Yazīd, al-Mukhtār b. ʿUbayd al-Thakafī [q.v.], nephew of ʿAlī's governor of al-Madāʾin Saʿd b. Masʿūd, sought the leadership of the Shīʿā in Kūfa, promising to take revenge for the blood of al-Ḥusayn more effectively than his rival Sulaymān b. Šurad. When the latter was killed, most of the Shīʿā turned to him, although some of the conservatives remained aloof from his movement. Al-Mukhtār claimed to be acting on behalf of ʿAlī's non-Fātimid son Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya [q.v.], whom he proclaimed the Imām and the Mahdī [q.v.], who would restore justice on earth. This choice was natural after the death of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, since Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was the only surviving son of ʿAlī closely associated with him during his reign. Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya gave limited encouragement to al-Mukhtār, especially to his aim to seek revenge for al-Ḥusayn, but declined to assume personal leadership of the movement and to come to Kūfa. Al-Mukhtār took possession of Kūfa by revolt in 66/685. Although he attempted to reconcile the defeated tribal chiefs, initially restraining his followers from taking revenge on those involved in the killing of al-Ḥusayn, conflict soon arose as he accepted substantial numbers of non-Arab clients (*mawālī*) into the ranks of his movement. The tribal chiefs staged a revolt but were defeated. Now fully in control, the radical Shīʿīs took revenge

for al-Ḥusayn, seeking out and killing those most guilty in his death. Shortly afterwards, the Kūfans defeated a Syrian army on the river *Khāzīr*, killing 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād. Many of the tribal chiefs and their supporters had found refuge in Baṣra, governed by Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr [q.v.], and agitated for action against al-Mukhtār. The latter was killed as the Baṣrans took Kūfa in 67/687. Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr allowed the Kūfan nobles to massacre their opponents, and 6,000 to 8,000 of al-Mukhtār's followers are said to have been killed.

The movement founded by al-Mukhtār survived, [IX 422a] however, and spread, chiefly among the lower classes, outside Kūfa also. It was commonly called that of the Kaysāniyya [q.v.], after the chief of al-Mukhtār's bodyguard Abū 'Amra Kaysān [q.v.], and espoused a distinctly messianic *Shī'ism*. The name Saba'iyya also applied to it by early contemporaries evidently connects it with the earlier messianic teaching of 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' concerning 'Alī in al-Madā'in. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya continued to be recognised as the Imām and Mahdī until his death in 81/700. After his death, which was denied by many, he was generally expected to return and to reign in glory. Other beliefs and practices of the followers of al-Mukhtār also aroused hostility and scorn among conservative *Shī'is* as well as *Sunnīs*. Al-Mukhtār had made predictions in rhymed prose like the pre-Islamic soothsayers, and was widely called by his opponents a magician or false prophet although he did not claim prophethood. He instituted or allowed the public veneration of an empty chair, practiced especially by some Yemenite tribes. The chair was said to be a relic from 'Alī and was compared to the Ark of the Covenant of the Jews. The failure of some of al-Mukhtār's predictions to be realised is said to have given rise to the doctrine of *badā'* [q.v.], the possibility of a change of God's will. Upholding a radical interpretation of 'Alī's attitude towards the caliphs preceding him, the Kaysāniyya definitely rejected their legitimacy.

The usurpation of the rights of the Family of the Prophet by the early caliphs was also at the core of the *Shī'ī* teaching of 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās (d. 68/687-8) in Mecca. Ibn al-'Abbās [q.v.], cousin of Muḥammad and 'Alī, had been drawn by the caliph 'Umar close to himself and became initially 'Alī's most trusted associate during his reign, though there arose later disagreement between them. After 'Alī's death he backed al-Ḥasan's caliphate, urging him to resume his father's war against Mu'āwiya. After al-Ḥasan's resignation he became the main spokesman for the rights of the *ahl al-bayt*. He consistently countered the reports of Abū Bakr's daughter 'Ā'ishā which described her father as the closest intimate of Muḥammad, chosen as his successor by his appointment to lead the communal prayers during Muḥammad's final illness. Contrary to her claim, the Prophet had not insisted on Abū Bakr leading the prayers when she pleaded for him to be excused. Rather, he had suggested that 'Umar should lead them. The latter declined, however, to take precedence before Abū Bakr. 'Umar had thwarted the mortally ill Muḥammad's intention to dictate a testament as guidance for the faithful, insisting that the Prophet was delirious and the *Qur'ān* was sufficient guidance for them. Muḥammad had not died in 'Ā'ishā's arms, as she claimed, but leaning on 'Alī's chest. Although critical of some aspects of 'Alī's conduct, Ibn al-'Abbās made clear that the Banū Hāshim, and he himself, were convinced of 'Alī's legitimate right to the succession to Muḥammad, of which he was deprived by Abū Bakr with the backing of the majority of *Quraysh*. Muḥammad's kin had protested against Abū Bakr's usurpation, first by burying the Prophet privately in his house, thus denying the caliph the occasion to do the last honours for his predecessor. The election of Abū Bakr in the Hall of the Banū Sā'ida, which took place at the time of the preparation of Muḥammad's burial, had later been described by 'Umar in public as a *falta*, a precipitate, arbitrary act, excusable only because God had bestowed success on it. Abū Bakr had illegitimately denied the Banū Hāshim their inheritance from the [IX 422b] Prophet and their *Qur'ānic* share of war booty and *ḥay'*. 'Umar had attempted to satisfy their just claim by offering them partial restitution, but they had declined his overtures as being insufficient.

Ibn al-'Abbās warned al-Ḥusayn of the danger of his rising and did not back it. Jointly with

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, however, he resisted the demands of the anti-ʿAlid counter-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr that they should pledge allegiance to him. Ibn al-Zubayr imprisoned them together, and they were freed by a Kūfan Shīʿī cavalry troop sent by al-Mukhtār. Ibn al-Zubayr accused ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās and his brother ʿUbayd Allāh of trying to "raise the banner of Abū Turāb (sc. ʿAlī) which God had lowered and of gathering the muddleheads from ʿIrāk around themselves."

The descendants of Fāṭima were, after the massacre of Karbalāʾ, for a generation eclipsed in the leadership of the Shīʿa. Al-Ḥusayn's only surviving son ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn [*q.v.*] kept aloof from Shīʿī activity and attracted no substantial following. Al-Ḥasan's senior son al-Ḥasan also avoided involvement with the Shīʿa. Only al-Ḥusayn's grandson Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, known as al-Bāqir [*q.v.*], after his father's death in 94/713-14 actively engaged in Shīʿī teaching, while refusing to be drawn into revolutionary activity, and became the founder of systematic Shīʿī religious law. His teaching in particular raised the religious rank and spiritual authority of the Imāms who were endowed with a divinely inspired knowledge. The Imām was described by him as *muhaddath*, "spoken to" by the angel of revelation. The term was taken from a variant reading of Qurʾān, XXII, 52, "We have not sent before you any Messenger of Prophet" adding "or *muhaddath*", which was contained in the codex of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās and was interpreted as a form of revelation ranking below that reserved for prophets. The Imām was not expected, however, to add in any way to the message and the law revealed by the Prophet, but rather to preserve it in its integrity through his divinely-granted authority. The world was in permanent need of such an Imām and could, in the absence of a prophet, never exist for a moment without him. In a hostile environment, the Imām was protected by his and his followers' license and obligation to practice *takīyya* [*q.v.*], the precautionary concealment of their religious beliefs and practice.

Al-Bāqir's legal and ritual teaching comprised most of the features which were later seen as distinctive of Shīʿī law, such as the *ḥayʿala* in the call to prayer [see *adhān*], the prohibition of the *mashʿalaʾ-khuffayn* [*q.v.*] in the ritual ablution, and the permission of *muʿa* [*q.v.*], temporary marriage. The latter permission (which was not upheld by Zaydī and Ismāʿīlī law) also reflects influence of the doctrine of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, who taught that *muʿa* had been practised in the time of Muḥammad and Abū Bakr and had been prohibited only by ʿUmar. Al-Bāqir's quietist conduct aroused little suspicion among the authorities, and he was widely respected as a traditionist among Sunnī scholars. Among the Shīʿa in Kūfa, his prestige was widely recognised.

The activist Shīʿa who had backed al-Mukhtār went underground after his death. The leadership in Kūfa fell to Salama b. Budjāyr of the Banū Musliya Madhhidj. His father Budjāyr b. ʿAbd Allāh had been a close associate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya and al-Mukhtār, and was executed by Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. Salama became intimately attached to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya's son Abū Hāshim, who took a more active part than his father in the organisation of a [*q.v.*] tightly-knit secret movement spreading Shīʿī revolutionary propaganda. After his father's death, Abū Hāshim was recognised by the movement as their Imām. After Abū Hāshim's death in 98/718 there were rival claims among his followers, that he had appointed as his successor either the ʿAbbāsīd Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās or the Djāʿfarīd ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya b. ʿAbd Allāh. Salama b. Budjāyr is said to have recognised the ʿAbbāsīd, but he died shortly afterwards. Decisive was the arbitration of the dispute by Abū Riyāḥ Maysara al-Nabbāl, a *mawlā* of the Azd, in favour of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. The Banū Musliya and their clients now backed the ʿAbbāsīd and, after him, his son Ibrāhīm. The movement had, still under Abū Hāshim, begun to spread to Khurāsān, mainly through the missionary activity of Bukayr b. Māhān, son of a client of the Banū Musliya. While in Kūfa its appeal remained limited, it attracted a broad following among Arab and Persian Muslims during the last decades of the Umayyad caliphate.

A few years after al-Bāqir's death, his brother Zayd b. ʿAlī came to visit Kūfa in a dispute about a debt. He was immediately surrounded by Shīʿīs who persuaded him to lead a rising. Initially, he enjoyed broad backing, but his refusal to denounce Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as apostates and to condemn

their conduct, even though he upheld the prior title of 'Alī to the succession to Muḥammad, was taken by many of the former supporters of al-Bākir and other radicals as a motive to withdraw. They now generally recognised al-Bākir's son Dja'far al-Šādiq [q.v.] as the legitimate Imām. Zayd's revolt failed and he was killed in 122/740.

The schism during Zayd's revolt was decisive for the further development of the Shī'a, giving rise to its Imāmī and Zaydī branches. Dja'far al-Šādiq, who may be considered the founder of the Imāmiyya, closely followed and elaborated the teaching of his father. The teaching authority of the Imāms was further strengthened by the doctrine of their immunity from error and sin (*iṣma* [q.v.]). The imāmate was based on a divinely-guaranteed explicit designation (*naṣṣ* [q.v.]) of the Imām, and, after al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, was handed down from father to son among the descendants of the latter. Knowledge of and obedience to the rightful Imām were incumbent upon every believer. By ignoring the explicit *naṣṣ* of the Prophet for 'Alī and by backing the caliphate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the mass of the Community had fallen into apostasy. The radical tendencies of the following of Dja'far al-Šādiq were strengthened by their gradual absorption of the remnants of the Kaysāniyya and adoption of some of their controversial doctrines like *badā'* and *radj'a* and their messianic expectation of the Mahdī. This expectation was blunted, however, by al-Šādiq's strict prohibition of his followers engaging in revolutionary activity and his insistence that the rising of the legitimate Imām as the Kā'im or Mahdī would occur only in the distant future. The nascent Imāmiyya thus combined radical Shī'i religious dogma with political quietism.

The sectarian movement arising out of the supporters of Zayd's revolt, later known as the Zaydiyya, was, by contrast, moderate in its Shī'i doctrine and deviation from the religious views of Sunnism, but politically militant. The imāmate could be claimed only by someone prepared to rise with the sword actively seeking the leadership, in addition to being qualified by religious knowledge. The first Imām after al-Ḥusayn was thus Zayd b. 'Alī. Neither his more learned brother al-Bākir nor his father were Imāms. [IX 423b] There was no need for an Imām at all times and, after 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn, no designation of a successor, though recognition and support of a legitimate claimant was a religious obligation. The Imām was not immune from error and sin and had no superior teaching competence; rather, a collective religious authority of the Family of the Prophet was generally acknowledged. Since the designation of 'Alī as Muḥammad's successor had been obscure (*naṣṣ khafī*), the Community, in recognising Abū Bakr and 'Umar as caliphs, had not fallen into a state of apostasy but at most into a state of sin. Others held that their caliphate was justified since 'Alī had recognised it. Messianic tendencies were generally weak among the Zaydiyya.

.. Zayd's son Yaḥyā, who escaped to Khurāsān after the collapse of his father's revolt, was tracked down by the Umayyad authorities there and killed in 125/743. His murder strengthened the hand of the Shī'a in Khurāsān, and revenge for Zayd and Yaḥyā became one of the slogans of the rapidly-expanding revolutionary movement. The leader of the movement was now, after the death of the 'Abbāsīd Muḥammad b. 'Alī, his son Ibrāhīm. Its propaganda, however, was in favour of the reign of "the one agreed upon of the Family of Muḥammad (*al-ridā min ĀlMuḥammad*), suggesting a broad choice among the Banū Hāshim.

As the imminent overthrow of the Umayyad caliphate became predictable, leading representatives of the Banū Hāshim met in a secret gathering at al-Abwā', on the road to Mecca, to discuss the choice of a common candidate for the reign. Present were especially Ḥasanids and 'Abbāsīds, including Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. The senior Ḥasanid, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, promoted the candidacy of his son Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, a namesake of the Prophet, whom he had been grooming for the role of the Expected Mahdī. He gained the support of the 'Abbāsīd Abū Dja'far, the later caliph al-Manṣūr, and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [q.v.], received the pledge of allegiance of those present. However, Dja'far al-Šādiq, who arrived later, refused to recognise

him as the Mahdī and maintained that he would not pledge allegiance to him in the presence of his father 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, the senior among the descendants of 'Alī. Given the large following of Djā'far in the Shī'a, his opposition was a severe setback for the efforts to unite the Prophet's Family behind a common leader, and this encouraged the 'Abbāsids to seek the caliphate for their own candidate.

The rivalry between 'Alids and 'Abbāsids erupted into open conflict as soon as the Family of the Prophet achieved their victory over the Umayyads. As the 'Abbasid Imām Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī was discovered, imprisoned, and killed by the last Umayyad caliph Marwān, the 'Abbāsids fled to Kūfa. The local leader of the revolutionary movement there, Abū Salama al-Khallāl [q.v.], sheltered them but hesitated to pledge allegiance to Ibrāhīm's chosen successor Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh. In accord with the general sentiment in Kūfa, he was inclined to back an 'Alid candidate. His hand was forced, however, by the Khurāsānian army commanders who pledged allegiance to Abu 'l-'Abbās. A few months later he was murdered for his display of disloyalty by an emissary of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī [q.v.]. The inaugural address of al-Saffāh, partly delivered by his uncle Dāwūd b. 'Alī, stressed the right of the 'Abbāsids to rule as members of the Prophet's Family and denounced those Shī'is who asserted a superior title of the 'Alids.

The Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh remained, [IX 424a] together with his brother Ibrāhīm, in hiding after the establishment of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, and his supporters spread propaganda for him as the Mahdī. The second 'Abbāsīd caliph, Abū Djā'far al-Manṣūr, was seriously worried and made vain efforts to find him, imprisoning his father and at least nine others of his Ḥasanid kin as they refused to reveal his whereabouts. When Muḥammad revolted in Medina in 145/762-3, al-Manṣūr murdered his imprisoned kinsmen. In spite of widespread popular backing, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm were defeated and killed. Al-Manṣūr now gave his own son and heir-apparent Muḥammad the title *al-Mahdī* in an attempt to attract popular messianic sentiments to the 'Abbāsīd house. His bloody repression of the Ḥasanids, however, rather strengthened the pro-'Alid sympathies in the Shī'a. The Zaydiyya first restricted their backing to the Ṭālibids, the de-scendants of 'Alī's father Abū Ṭālib, and then the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.

The Khurāsānian Shī'a, who had initially recognised the imāmate of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, were at the same time substantially reduced, first by the defection of the supporters of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī after he was killed by al-Manṣūr, then by al-Manṣūr's suppression of those extremists deifying him, and finally, by the defection of the supporters of his nephew 'Isā b. Mūsā, who had been appointed by al-Saffāh to succeed al-Manṣūr but was replaced by the latter's appointment of his own son Muḥammad al-Mahdī. Al-Mahdī tried during his reign to tie the 'Abbāsīd Shī'a more closely to the ruling house by denying the imāmate of 'Alī and his offspring and by asserting the sole right of al-'Abbās and his descendants to the Prophet's succession. His son Hārūn al-Rashīd saw no interest in maintaining a Shī'ī following and preferred to identify fully with orthodox Sunnism. The 'Abbāsīd Shī'a disintegrated under his reign. The attempt of his son al-Ma'mūn to recover broad Shī'ī support for a caliphate of the Banū Hāshim, including 'Alids as well as 'Abbāsids, by appointing Djā'far al-Šādiq's grandson 'Alī al-Riḍā as his successor, ended in failure. There was stubborn opposition from the 'Abbāsids and little appreciation among the Shī'a, who were now upholding the sole right of the descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima. When 'Alī al-Riḍā died, al-Ma'mūn did not seriously renew his efforts. The 'Abbāsīd caliphate had become virtually Sunnī and the Shī'a strictly 'Alid.

(W. Madelung)

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