



A VICTIM OF TERROR

www.findtruth.co.uk

HUJR IBN ADI AL-KINDI

A VICTIM OF TERROR

Dr. Sayed Ammar Nakshawani

دخلت مع معاوية على أمر المؤمنين عائشة
قالت يا معاوية، **قتلت حجرا واصحابه**، وفعلت الذي فعلت، أه
قلت أن أحباً لك رجلاً فيقتلك؟ فقال: لا، إني في بيت أمان، سمعت
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم يقول: الإيمان قيد الفتك، لا
يك من حاجتك و أمرك؟ يفتك مؤمن يا أمر المؤمنين، كيف أنا في
بيت صالح. قال: فدعيني وحجرا حتى نلتقي عند ربنا عز سو
جل. قال مروان بن الحكم: دخلت مع معاوية على أمر المؤمنين
عائشة فقالت يا معاوية، **قتلت حجرا واصحابه**، وفعلت الذي
فعلت، أما خشيت أن أحباً لك رجلاً فيقتلك؟ فقال: لا، إني في بيت
أمان، سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم يقول: الإيمان

This book is dedicated to:

***Professor Sibte Jaffer
Servant of the Servants of Ali***



**The Grave of Ḥujr b. ‘Adī
Before and After the Terrorist Attack
on 2nd May 2013**



Whats your final wish before we execute you?

Hujr said: Kill my son first.

Why?

Kill my son, he said.

They executed his son.

He smiled.

Why do you smile they said?

He said: now I know my son died loving Ali I am ready to die.

*I could not bear the thought that the sight of death may make
him leave the love of Ali and become a lover of Muawiya.*

I AM NOW READY TO DIE.

HUJR IBN ADI AL-KINDI

A VICTIM OF TERROR

By

DR. SAYED AMMAR NAKSHAWANI

SAYED AMMAR PRESS



HUJR IBN ADI AL-KINDI
A VICTIM OF TERROR

by
Dr. Sayed Ammar Nakshawani

Published by Sayed Ammar Press
in association with Sun Behind The Cloud Publications Ltd
PO Box 15889, Birmingham, B16 6NZ

Copyright © Sayed Ammar Press 2013

All rights reserved
Copyright under the Berne Convention

The author asserts the moral right to be identified
as the author of this work.

A CIP record of this title is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-908110-18-3
Printed and bound in the UK

Front cover text quoted from: Ibn Kathīr, Ismā'īl b. 'Umar, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*
(Beirut: Maktabah al-Ma'ārif, 1966) The events of SLAH

Back cover text quoted from: al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Yazīd, *The History of al-Tabari - Biographies of the Prophet's Companions and Their Successors*,
vol.39, p. 274

CONTENTS

About the Author	1
Acknowledgements	2
Foreword	3
Introduction	5
Ḥujr b. ‘Adī al-Kindī: A Victim of Terror	13
The Role of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān	18
Mu‘āwiya’s Treatment of Rebellions	26
The Execution of Ḥujr b. ‘Adī	29
Analysis of the Incident	39
Bibliography	42
Appendix	65

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Sayed Ammar Nakshawani is regarded as one of the most powerful speakers in the Muslim world. He was born in 1981 and graduated from the University College London, as well as the London School of Economics. He was then awarded with an M.A. in Islamic Studies from Shahid Beheshti University in Iran. Dr. Nakshawani completed his Ph.D. thesis at the University of Exeter. He has lectured at the university in Classical Islamic History and then pursued further studies at the Islamic Seminary in Damascus, Syria. Currently he is a visiting scholar at the Centre of Islamic Studies, University of Cambridge.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My sincere gratitude goes to Kawther Rahmani, who edited this book through cancer out of her love for Ḥujr b. ‘Adī, and to all those who helped, supported and contributed to this work.

My special thanks extend to Yahya Seymour and Nader Zaveri for their research assistance; to Tehseen Merali of Sun Behind The Cloud Publications for her help in publishing the work; to al-Hajj Salman and Zain Moloobhoy for the unswerving support they have shown; to Dr Liaket Dewji and Hyderi Islamic Centre for the inspiration to write about this great man; to team SAN for their continued help, and to my family for instilling love of Ḥujr b. ‘Adī in my heart.

Your rewards are with the Almighty.

FOREWORD

Some analysts of the contemporary Middle East are far too quick to trace back current conflicts to ancient and long lasting hatreds. But sectarianism - and particularly pernicious forms of anti-Shī'ī feeling that seem rampant in the post-2003 world - has political causes, symptoms and consequences. However, history in the consciousness of many Muslims is not a dispassionate view of the past or even simply determined by our current preconceptions. Rather, history is the unfolding of the sacred intervening in the human; the events of the time of the Prophet and of the early communities constitute both the sacred history and the political theology that many believers hold to this day. Symbols matter whether they unite or divide. And personages are often the most powerful symbols.

Ḥujr b. 'Adī was precisely one prominent figure - a companion of the Prophet, confidant of Imam 'Alī, scourge of Mu'āwiya - who remains a potent symbol of dissent, as a model who spoke truth to power, whose identity has in the sectarianised conflict of contemporary Syria become a symbol of Shī'ī identity - despite and perhaps precisely because he was a common symbol before the hostilities of 2011. I remember visiting his shrine many times and being struck with the simple observation that this was a sacred space, a votive sanctuary that are common to all and particularly revered by the local Sunni inhabitants of the area in the hinterland of Damascus.

The brutal desecration of his tomb in Adhra, whilst being the result of a morally and intellectually bankrupt theology that has wrecked havoc in Arabia and also more recently in Mali, is more than just a disapproval of local expressions of spirituality or the covenants of pilgrimage and shrine visitation; it is a wilful act of provocation, an attack on what is perceived to be an exclusive repository of Shī'ī identity.

This short and useful book, to which I am happy to add a few words by way of introduction and endorsement, demonstrates not only how the very historiography and visions of early sacred history continues to affect our world but also how Ḥujr b. 'Adī's life and martyrdom expressed forms of Shī'ī identity in the Umayyad period as one finds present in the historical sources. The destruction of his shrine raises the question of who he was and what he means.

In answering such interrogations, Dr Sayed Ammar makes it clear how Ḥujr b. ‘Adī, while being a Shī‘ī hero, should also be viewed as the Muslim exemplar, one who speaks for the values of social justice, the noble virtues of standing for the truths of faith and love against oppression, and being a faithful and true friend of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

The current conflict around the world is for the very nature and understanding of Islam. By espousing and commemorating Ḥujr, believers can stand up for a conception of the faith that not only espouses universal values but seeks to promote human flourishing and achievement, in opposition to a distorted conception of Islam that reduces religiosity to nihilistic political action, destruction and murder.

We often learn through stories - we seem hard wired to enjoy narrative - and through the recollection of the case of Ḥujr b. ‘Adī Dr Sayed Ammar contributes to a deeply felt and intentioned desire to say no to nihilism, to terrorism and to the wanton abuse of the faith, of Islam that so many millions of people hold dear just as they deeply love the symbols of that faith of love and human flourishing such as the Prophet, Imam ‘Alī, and their loved ones like Ḥujr b. ‘Adī.

Professor Sajjad H. Rizvi
MA, M.Phil (Oxon), Ph.D. (Cantab)
Associate Professor of Islamic Intellectual History
Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies
University of Exeter
June 2013

INTRODUCTION

‘I came to say a word and I shall say it now, but if death prevents my word it will be said by tomorrow. For tomorrow never leaves a word unspoken.’

- Khalīl Gibrān

This work is dedicated to Ḥujr b. ‘Adī, the revered companion of Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH). A colossal figure in Islamic history, very much underestimated, understudied and undervalued. Arab historians are of the belief that Mu‘āwiya was at fault for killing Ḥujr, and that Ḥujr and his supporters were innocent.¹ Some scholars believe that Ḥujr was oppressed by Zīyād and that Zīyād helped Mu‘āwiya in making his decision to execute Ḥujr.² Sha‘bān viewed the act as that of a despot.

However, this victim of terror in his own lifetime was to also become a victim of terror after his death. The desecration of the grave of Ḥujr b. ‘Adī (AS), left me in a state of shock as well as frustration. I was truly flabbergasted at how low the human being can sink. I used to seek to visit his shrine every Friday when I was studying in the Islamic Seminary in Damascus. Memories came flooding back of tranquil moments of contemplation sitting next to this bastion of Islamic thought, bravery, valour and sacrifice. I remember the lectures I had given there, reflecting on his stand against the despotic terrorist of his time, Mu‘āwiya I. I was astonished at what drives a human to seek to exhume the corpse of another human being. A theological edict, an unswerving loyalty to a cause, frustration, or poverty? Whatever it may be, to seek to desecrate the shrine of a fellow human being, irrespective of whatever their denomination or theological conclusion, is somewhat remarkable to say the least. Who would perform such an act of terror? For this behaviour is surely not befitting of any human being, surely not befitting of any Muslim. For a Muslim is taught to not only respect the body

1 Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Wakīl, *al-Umawīyyun bayn al-sharq wal-gharb; dirāsa wasfiyyah wa-tahlīlīyya li-l-dawla al-Umawīyyah* (Damascus: Dar alQalam, 1995), 87-90; Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Najjār, *al-Dawla al-Umawīyyah fi-l-sharq; bayna ‘awamil al-bina’ wa-ma‘awil al-fana* (Cairo: Dar al-I‘tisam, 3rd edn., 1977), 80.

2 Ibrahīm Aḥmad al-‘Adawī, *al-Dawla al-Umawīyyah* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Shabāb, 1987-88), 87; Muḥammad Mahir Hamda, *Dirāsa wathaiqiyya li-l-Tārīkh al-islāmī wa-maṣadirihī; min ‘ahd banī umayyah ḥata al-fath al-‘Uthmānī li-Sūriyah wa-miṣr* 40-922AH /661-1516 C.E. (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al Risāla, 1988), 38-39.

of a fellow Muslim, but to respect the sanctity of a fellow human being and the honour of a member of their community at large. A Muslim is taught to honour Prophet Muḥammad and those he loved. And Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH) loved Ḥujr.

There is not a day that goes by without a headline using the word terrorism. Televisions, radio, and print media alike are fixated with the employment of this term, highlighting what really is a bleak period in human history. From 9/11 to 7 /7, Madrid or Boston, Oklahoma or Kerbala, Woolwich or Damascus, is anybody really safe from an attack on their lives involving a suicide bomber or a student depressed with what surrounds them? Many people are nervous at the sight of a mere backpack, let alone a face somewhat similar to those featured in posters of the FBI's Most Wanted. Many ask the question, can we not live in harmony with one another, co-exist in peace, tolerate our differences and build healthy community relationships on the basis of our similarities? Indeed, Khalīl Gibrān's words still echo the truth that 'we are all like the bright moon, [though] we still have our darker side', but surely not to this extent.

Terrorism, in the eyes of many today, is an act performed by a Muslim against a non-Muslim, but what people need to realise is that Muslims are also victims of terrorism at the hands of other Muslims. In its true meaning, being a Muslim and a terrorist is a paradox as Islam never condones such barbaric behaviour. It is indeed ironic when many assume that Islam and its followers are only terrorists and are never the victims of terrorism. The desecration of the grave of Ḥujr b. 'Adī in Syria serves to highlight the fact that it is not only the non-Muslim who should be weary of terror, but even the Muslim whose theological conclusions are not in agreement with another Muslim may eventually be the victim of an attack. Unfortunately, this is not something new in the history of Islam. Just because some people call themselves Muslims does not mean that they follow the principles and ideals of the religion. A mere glance at our history will show that Islamic terrorism has always existed.

Fāṭima, the daughter of Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH), asked to be buried in the middle of the night, highlighting the existence of Muslim state terror in her time. Imam 'Alī's burial site was not known until nearly one hundred years after his death out of fear that the terrorists of the time, known as Khārījites, would exhume his corpse. Abū Bakr's son Muḥammad was not only killed by fellow Muslims, but his body was placed in the

corpse of a donkey and then set on fire. Ḥussain, the grandson of Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH), was beheaded by Muslim terrorists in Kerbala upon the orders of the terrorist Muslim caliph, Yazīd. Zayd, the great-grandson of Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH), has his nude body hung on a tree by the Umayyad state terror police. The Abbasids had prisons in different parts of Iraq ready to victimize and torture those who would just happen to disagree with their ways. The list could go on and on.

However, one would expect a certain amount of respect for a burial ground. While the dead have indeed moved on, their bodies should not be mutilated. They are to be judged by their Lord. Their good deeds are to be remembered. Visiting their graves is a lesson for everyone. According to verse 21 of Sūrat al-Kahf, when the Companions of the Cave went to sleep again, the people differed with one another on how to mark the place where they had gone to sleep, and they finally agreed to build a place of worship so that visitors, apart from visiting, could also engage in worshipping God. It is thus recorded in history books that every year the Prophet (PBUH) would visit the graves of the martyrs of the Battle of Uhud and recite this prayer: ‘Peace be upon you because you were so constant; how excellent is then the issue of the abode?’

It is also recorded that Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān, like the Prophet (PBUH), also used to perform such a visitation. Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet of Islam (PBUH), would also visit the martyrs of Uhud two days a week. During his visit to the martyrs, especially to Hamza and Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Umayr, the Holy Prophet (PBUH) would recite the following verse: ‘Men who fulfill what they have pledged to Allāh’ (33:23). In addition to this, Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī would extend salutations to the grave of Hamza. Umm Salamah, one of the honorable wives of the Prophet (PBUH), and individuals such as Abū Hurayra, Fāṭima Khuzā‘īyya, and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar al-Khaṭṭāb also used to visit this group of martyrs. It is thus recorded in the important book, *Al-Ghadīr*, under the section, “Virtues and Merits of Abū Ḥānīfah” (Bab Fadā‘il wa Manaḥib Abū Ḥānīfah) that whenever he would go to Baghdad, Imam ash-Shāfi‘ī would pay a visit to the grave of Abū Ḥānīfah. He would stand beside his grave, offer salutation to him and seek his intercession for the fulfillment of his needs. Ahmad b. Ḥanbal did the same practice with respect to his master, Imam ash-Shāfi‘ī, to such an extent that his son would get astonished.

This act of desecration stems from the ideology and propaganda of one region in the Muslim world, namely Saudi Arabia. In 1806, the Wahhabi

terrorist army occupied Medina. They did not leave any religious building, including mosques, whether inside or outside the Baqī' (graveyard), without demolishing it. They intended to demolish the grave of the Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH) many times, but would repeatedly change their minds. At this time, non-Wahhabi Muslims were prevented from performing the Hajj (pilgrimage). In 1805, Iraqi and Iranian Muslims were refused permission to perform Hajj, as were the Syrians in 1806 and Egyptians the following year. The Saudi leader at the time wanted the pilgrims to embrace his Wahhabi beliefs and accept his mission. If they refused, he denied them permission to perform the Hajj and considered them to be heretics and infidels. The Wahhabi army's destruction campaign targeted the graves of the martyrs of Uhud, the mosque at the grave of Sayyid al-Shuhadā' Hamza b. 'Abdul Muṭṭalib and the mosques outside the Baqī': the Mosque of Fāṭima al-Zahra, the Mosque of al-Manāratayn, and Qubbat al-Thanyā (the burial site of the Prophet's (PBUH) incisor that was broken in the Battle of Uhud). The structures in the Baqī' were also leveled to the ground and not a single dome was left standing. This great place that was visited by millions of Muslims over many centuries became a garbage dump, such that it was not possible to recognize any grave or know whom it was for.

In 1818, the Wahhabis were defeated, and they withdrew from the holy places. The Prophet's (PBUH) Mosque, the Baqī' and the monuments at Uhud were rebuilt during the reigns of the Ottoman sultans 'Abd al-Majīd I, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II and Maḥmūd II. From 1848 to 1860, the buildings were renovated and the Ottomans built the domes and mosques in splendid aesthetic style. They also rebuilt the Baqī' with a large dome over the graves of Imam Zainul 'Abidīn ('Alī b. al-Ḥussain), Imam Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir and Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq. The graves of others related to the Prophet (PBUH) found at the Baqī' include those belonging to Ibrahīm (son), 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (Companion and son-in-law), Ṣaffīyya bint 'Abdul Muṭṭalib (aunt), 'Atīka bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (aunt), Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (uncle), Fāṭima bint Asad (Imam 'Alī's mother), 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib (cousin) and Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib (The Prophet's cousin).

The grave of the Prophet's (PBUH) father 'Abd Allāh was in Dār al-Nābigha of the Banī Najjār, the house where the Prophet learned to swim. However, his father's grave was exhumed 17 years ago and transferred to the Baqī'. The area of the house today lies under the marble covering the plaza surrounding the mosque.

A number of the Prophet's (PBUH) wives (the Mothers of the Faithful) were buried in the Baqī': 'A'isha, Ḥafṣa, Jūwayrīyya, Ṣaffīyya, Sawda, Zaynab bint Khuzaima, Zaynab bint Jaḥsh, Umm Ḥabība and Umm Salama. The tomb of Khadīja, the Prophet's first wife, is in Mecca because she died before the Hijra (the migration of Muslims to Medina). Her grave is in the Ḥajūn cemetery, known as Maqbarat al-Ma'lā. The tomb of Maimouna, another wife, is also in Mecca in an area known as Sarīf, which lies on the side of the Hijra Road, nearly 13 miles (20 kilometers) outside of Mecca.

On 21st April 1925, the domes in the Baqī' were demolished once more along with the tombs of the holy personalities in Maqbarat al-Ma'lā in Mecca, where the Holy Prophet's (PBUH) mother, his wife Khadīja, grandfather and other ancestors are buried. The destruction of the sacred sites in the Ḥijāz continues till this day. Wahhabis say they are trying to rescue Islam from what they consider to be innovations, deviances and idolatries. Among the practices they believe are contrary to Islam are constructing elaborate monuments over graves and making supplications there. The Mashrubat Umm Ibrahīm - which was built to mark the location of the house where the Prophet's son, Ibrahīm, was born to Mārīah, his Egyptian wife - also contained the grave of Ḥamīda al-Barbarīyya, the mother of Imam Mūsā al-Kāzim. These sites were destroyed over the past few years.

When Muqbil b. Ḥādī al-Wadī'ī was a student at the University of Medina, he wrote a thesis entitled, About the Dome Built over the Grave of the Messenger, sponsored by Sheikh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī. In this paper, he demands that the noble grave be brought out of the Mosque. He says the presence of the holy grave and noble dome are major innovations and that they both need to be destroyed! His thesis received very high marks. A few years ago, the city planning board of Medina painted the famous green dome of the Prophet's (PBUH) Holy Mosque silver. After intense protests by the citizens of Medina, the board restored the dome to its original color.

In the Ottoman part of the Prophet's (PBUH) Mosque, at the center of the three sections, and raised a bit from the ground level, are three circles. The first, toward the west, corresponds to the grave of the Prophet (PBUH). The next two, toward the east, correspond to the graves of Abū Bakr and 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Above the circles are invocations, such as 'Yā Allāh' and 'Yā Muḥammad.' The latter was removed and replaced with 'Yā Majīd' by adding the dot under the 'hā' of Muḥammad (PBUH) to make it 'jīm' and two dots under the second 'mīm' of Muḥammad (PBUH) to make it 'yā.'

There are qaṣīdas written by rulers of the Muslim world, such as Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. Many verses of the famous Burda of al-Busīrī have also been painted over. On the Qibla side, the brass partition that is divided into three sections between two columns, the authorities have also tried to cover the famous two verses inscribed in the east from the story of al-‘Utībī as mentioned by Ibn Kathīr in his tafsīr.

O best of those whose bones are buried in the deep earth,
and from whose fragrance the depth and height have become
sweet! May I be the ransom for a grave in which you dwell,
where purity, bounty and munificence [lives].

In 1998 the grave of ‘Amina bint Wahb, the Prophet’s (PBUH) mother, was bulldozed in ‘Abwā and gasoline was poured over it. Even though thousands of petitions throughout the Muslim world were sent to Saudi Arabia, nothing could stop this heinous action from being performed. The House of Khadīja was excavated during the Haram extensions, then hurriedly covered over so as to obliterate any trace of it. This was the house where the Prophet (PBUH) received some of his first revelations and it is also where his children Umm Kulthūm, Ruqqaya, Zaynab, Fāṭima, and Qāsim were born. Dār al-Arḡam, the first school in Islam where the Prophet taught, has also been demolished. It was in the area of Shi‘b ‘Alī near the Bāb ‘Alī door opposite the king’s palace. It is now part of the extension of the Haram. The authorities plan to demolish the house of Mawlid, where the Prophet (PBUH) was born.

About 60 years ago, this house, which used to have a dome over it, was turned into a cattle market. Some people then worked together to transform it into a library, which it is today. It is lined with shelves of books about Mecca, most of them written by Meccans. But the library is under threat again because of the new Jabal ‘Umar project, one of the largest real estate development projects near the Grand Mosque. The birthplace of the Prophet (PBUH) is to make way for a car park and hotels. About 99% of real estate owners in the Jabal ‘Umar area are shareholders in this company. The owners have been provided with financial incentives, including what they used to receive as rents, combining five-star facilities under the luxurious Le Meridien banner. The Meridien Towers will allow several thousand housing units in Mecca to be available during specified periods of time, for a one-off, fixed fee, giving the towers 25 years of shared ownership in Mecca. This scheme allow outsiders, whether Muslim or not, to invest in the city; they will be allowed to buy from a range of properties that can be used, sublet, resold or given as a gift.

In Medina, of the seven mosques at the site of the Battle of the Trench (Jabal al-Khandaq), where Sūrat al-Ahzāb was revealed, only two remain. The others have been demolished and a Saudi bank's cash point machine has been built in the area. The remaining mosques will be demolished as soon as the new mosque being constructed is ready. One of the mosques slated for destruction is Masjid Fath, the mosque and rock of victory where the Prophet (PBUH) stood during the Battle of the Trench praying for victory. On the rock is where he received God's promises of victory and of the conquest of Mecca.

This study therefore will seek to historically examine the life and death of Ḥujr b. 'Adī. It seeks to understand who Ḥujr b. 'Adī really was, and why he and his companions were killed so mercilessly by Mu'āwiya. In brief, Wellhausen and Hawting portray Mu'āwiya as having little choice but to kill Ḥujr b. 'Adī because of the schism that existed between Ḥujr and Zīyād and his only choice surprisingly, was to execute Ḥujr and forgive the latter.³ Maḥmūd Ibrahīm concludes that Ḥujr was a threat to Mu'āwiya's economic interests, and therefore had to be executed, which is in line with Sha'ban's 'despot' conclusion. The taking of the Ṣawafī land was the first step:

With its income taken away from them, this faction of the New Segment were reduced further despite their objections which ended in the execution of Ḥujr b. 'Adī and some of his supporters, the first political execution in Islam.⁴

Interesting to note that Hodgson believed that *ḥilm* was represented by executing those who were dividing the state. In executing Ḥujr, Hodgson views Mu'āwiya as the Arab-Shaykh and not an autocrat and that the unity of the Muslim community at the time could only be maintained by executing those who were deemed as threats, irrespective of their backgrounds or past service to the religion. Khaled Keshk concludes that the core of the Ḥujr incident is true, but that historians sought to add their own explanations within the narrative. He examines Ḥujr as the dissident and as the martyr, then analyses the different versions which portray his struggles with Mu'āwiya. Keshk seeks to portray that the inclusion of Khubayb b. 'Adī in Baṣran sources sought to highlight how history repeats itself, as Abū Sufyān was a witness to Khabab's death and his son was a witness to Ḥujr's.⁵ Such

3 Julius Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions of Early Islam*, ed. R.C. Ostle, trans. R.C. Ostle and S.M. Waltzer (Amsterdam-North Holland Publishing, 1975).

4 Ibrahīm M. *The Social and Economic Background of the Umayyad Caliphate*, 370-1.

5 Keskh K. "The Historiography of an Execution: The Killing of Ḥujr b. 'Adī", journal of Islamic Studies, vol. 19, no. 1 (January 2008), 1-35.

incidents would be included in narratives of other clashes to add weight to the image of the martyr, as discussed by Waldman and al-Qāḍī.⁶

By analyzing the life of this great companion of the Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH), we are able to see a distinct Shī'ī identity/theology in the formative period of Islamic History. Ḥujr's execution, in my opinion, is arguably one of the clearest proofs that a party who believed in the designation of 'Alī by the Prophet (PBUH) are present and existed very early, and not as some would like to portray as being a group whose beliefs were crystallized centuries later. Thirdly, we are able to reflect on our lives and seek to apply the lessons from his magnificent stands and principles today. How much have we truly sacrificed in our lives for the cause of the religion of Islam? How much have we sought to protect the tenets of the religion? How much have we sought to stand against the Mu'āwiya's of our time, representatives of tyranny, cruelty and hypocrisy in all it's forms? Ḥujr's grave may have been destroyed, but the terrorists can never obliterate his stands and principles from the heart's of the people. The words of Hind, the daughter of Zayd al-Anṣārī, recited to bewail Ḥujr, reverberate in the heart of every devout believer:

O bright moon, go higher
So that you may see Ḥujr walking!
He is walking to Mu'āwiya b. Harb.
(Mu'āwiya will) kill him as the Emir has claimed.
(He will) hang him on the gate of Damascus.
So the eagles will eat from his charms.
The tyrants have become haughty after Ḥujr.
Al-Khwarnaq and al-Sidir (two palaces) have delighted them.
The country has become faded
As if no rain had enlivened it.
O Hujr, Ḥujr b. 'Adī,
May safety and joy receive you.
I fear that you will be killed as 'Alī had been killed.
If you perish, then every chief of people
moves from this world to destruction.

Dr. Sayed Ammar Nakshawani

London, England

5th June 2013

6 Walmand M R. *Toward a Theory of Historical Narrative* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1980); al-Qāḍī, W. Bishr b. Kubar al-Balawī; *namudhaj min al-nathr al-fanni al-mubakkir fi al-Yaman* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1985)

ḤUJR B. ʿADĪ AL-KINDĪ: A VICTIM OF TERROR

Once Mecca had been conquered, a great number of pagan tribes became Muslim of their own accord, whereas others accepted Islam when the Prophet sent missionaries to instruct people in the tenets of the Muslim religion. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was one of the Prophet's companions who was sent to Yemen in 10 AH to invite the Yemeni tribes to Islam. His efforts had a monumental affect on many of the youths in that region as well as endearing him to many of them forever. Although the final expedition which the Prophet organized was under the command of Usāma b. Zayd b. Hāritha on the Syrian frontier, he never left Medina in his lifetime. Accordingly, the missionary expedition to Yemen in Ramadhan 10 AH under the command of ʿAlī was the last one which left the city of Medina while he was still alive.

The army arrived with ʿAlī in the winter period, and he begun to invite the leaders of Madhḥaj to accept Islam. Their reply was a unanimous score of arrows and rocks whereupon he also signaled his troops to charge. They attacked the tribesmen and routed them but did not pursue them because ʿAlī's mission was one of peace and not of war. His orders to his troops were to fight only in self-defense. The Madhḥaj wanted peace which ʿAlī granted them, and he renewed his invitation to them to accept Islam. This time they and also the tribe of Ḥamdān responded to his call, and accepted Islam. The whole of Yemen became Muslim through the efforts of ʿAlī.

The tribe of Kinda belonged to the band of Kahlān, and their homeland was Yemen. Many of their leaders then moved to Iraq. Kahlān and Ḥimyar were the two sons of Saba'; this was the name which brought both tribes together. It was said: 'The Arabs regarded the houses with glory and honor after the house of Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf as four houses. They were the house of Qays al-Fāzāzī, (the house of) the Darīmyyīn, (the house of) Band Shayn, and the house of Yemen, who belonged to the bane of al-Ḥarith b. Ka'b.' As for the Kinda, they were not regarded simply as ordinary people from the houses. They were kings, and among them was al-Malik al-Dilīl (i.e., ʿUmrū' al-Qays). They had authority in both Yemen and al-Ḥijāz. The glory of Kinda lasted during the time of Islam. A few of the Kindīs took part in the conquests and the revolts; while some of them were governors, others were judges, such as Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Ḥujrī; and there were poets such as Ja'far b. ʿAffan al-Makfūf, the poet of the Shī'a, in their lineage. Hanī b. al-Wad b. ʿAdī, the nephew of Ḥujr, was among the noble figures of Kūfah. Ja'far b.

al-Ash‘ath and his son al-‘Abbās b. Ja‘far were among the Shī‘a of Imam Abu al-Ḥasan (i.e., Mūsā b. Ja‘far) and his son al-Riḍa, peace be upon them. As for al-Ash‘ath b. Qays al-Kindī, he was the greatest of all the hypocrites in Kūfah. He became Muslim, then he renounced Islam after the Prophet died. Then he became Muslim, and Abu Bakr accepted his Islam. Abu Bakr then married him to his sister who was the mother of Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath. Imam al-Ḥasan married al-Ash‘ath’s daughter whom Mu‘āwiya asked to give poison for Imam al-Ḥasan to drink.

Ḥujr b. ‘Adī’s full name was Ḥujr b. ‘Adī b. Jabāl b. ‘Adī b. Rābi‘ah b. Mu‘āwiya al-Akbār b. al-Ḥarīth b. Mu‘āwiya b. Thawr b. Bazīgh b. Kindī al-Kūfī. He was known as Ḥujr al-Khayr (Ḥujr the Good). There is a difference of opinion as to whether Ḥujr was a companion or from the followers of the companions as he is included in the lists of both groupings, however in his book *Al-Mustadrak*, al-Ḥakīm has described him as ‘the monk of the Companions of Muḥammad, may Allāh bless him and his family.’¹

He fought in the Ridda and later took part in the battle of al-Qādisīyyah on the Sasanian front.² He fought alongside ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib in the Battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn and was one of his staunch supporters.³ Ḥujr and his brother Hānī b. ‘Adī came to the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and his family. In his book *Al-Istī‘āb*, Ibn ‘Abd al-Birr al-Malikī said, ‘Ḥujr was among the excellent companions, and his age was less than their old ones.’ In his book *Usad al-Ghāba*, Ibn al-‘Athīr has mentioned him with words similar to these.

Imam ‘Alī attracted more Shī‘a from the ‘Adnānī tribes than from among the Qaḥṭānī ones; although Shī‘ism among the Qaḥṭānīs had grown a great deal as well. The principal Shī‘a who comprised the soldiers and compilers of history of the Commander of the Faithful were Arab tribes from Yemen in the south and from among the Qaḥṭānīs. For example, Imam ‘Alī said in Rājzī, one of the battle arenas in Ṣiffīn:

أنا الغلام القرشي المؤمن * الماجد الأبيض ليث كالشطن
يرضى به السادة من أهل اليمن * من ساكني نجد ومن أهل عدن

1 al-Nīsabūrī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥakīm, *al-Mustadrak ala l-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (India: Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-Nād’imiyet al-Qā’ima fī l-Hind, 1913).

2 Ibn Sa‘d, *Al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 6, 151.

3 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya*, ed. ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Ṣāṭir (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīyah, 1985), vol. 3, 51-2.

I am a Qurayshī youth - trustworthy, great, pure, and like a lion - with whom the distinguished men of the people of Yemen from among the residents of Najd and ‘Aden are pleased.⁴

Likewise, after the death of the Prophet of Islam (PBUH), the majority of ‘Alī’s followers from among the companions of the Prophet (PBUH) were Anṣār whose origins were Qaḥṭānī. It was most of these men who had accompanied ‘Alī from Medina to the Battle of Jamal.⁵ Similarly, when Imam al-Ḥusayn set off toward Kūfah, ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās said to him:

If the people of Iraq like you and want to assist you, you write to them, “The enemy shall expel you from your city. Then, you come here.” Instead, you move toward Yemen where there are mountains, strongholds and forts that Iraq does not have. Yemen is a vast land and your father have Shī‘a there. You go there and then send your preachers to the neighboring places to invite the people to come to you.

The companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn, with the exception of Banū Hāshim and a few Ghaffārīs, belonged to tribes from Yemen as well. As Mas‘ūdī has said, ‘from among the companions of the Prophet (PBUH), only four persons attained martyrdom at the lap of the Prophet (S) and these four were from the Anṣār.’⁶

After the Battle of Nahrawān, Mu‘āwiya sent Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri with a force of four thousand towards Kūfah with the purpose that he should create disorder in this area, kill whomever he finds and keep busy in bloodshed and destruction so that Amīr al-Mu‘minīn should find no rest or peace of mind. He set off for the achievement of this aim, and shedding innocent blood and spreading destruction all round reached up to the place of al-Tha‘labīyyah. Here he attacked a caravan of pilgrims (to Mecca) and looted all their wealth and belongings. Then at al-Quṭqūṭānah he killed the nephew of ‘Abdullāh b. Mas‘ūd, the Holy Prophet’s companion, namely, ‘Amr b. ‘Uways b. Mas‘ūd together with his followers. In this manner he created havoc and bloodshed all round. When Amīr al-Mu‘minīn came to know of this rack and ruin he called his men to battle in order to put a stop to this vandalism, but people seemed to avoid war. Being disgusted with their

4 Ibn Shāhrashūb Māzandarānī, *Manāqib Al Abī Ṭālib* (Qum: Mu‘assasah Intisharat-e ‘Allameh, n.d.), vol. 3, p. 178.

5 Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Jābir Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, researched by Muḥammad Bāqir Maḥmūdī (Beirut: Manshurat Mu‘assasah al-A‘lami Li’l-Matbu‘at, 1394 AH), vol. 3, 161.

6 ‘Alī b. ‘usayn b. ‘Alī Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahāb wa Ma‘ādin al-Jawhar*, 1st edition (Beirut: Manshurat Mu‘assasah al-A‘lami Li’l-Matbu‘at, 1411 AH), vol. 3,84

lethargy and lack of enthusiasm he ascended the pulpit and delivered this sermon, wherein he has roused the men to feel shame and not to try to avoid war but to rise for the protection of their country like brave men without employing wrong and lame excuses. At last Ḥujr b. ‘Adī al-Kindī rose with a force of four thousand for crushing the enemy and overtook him at Tadmur. Only a small encounter had taken place between the parties when night came on and he fled away with only nineteen killed on his side. In the army two persons also fell as martyrs. This sermon in the *Nahj al-Balāgha* sets the scene:

O people, your bodies are together but your desires are divergent. Your talk softens the hard stones and your action attracts your enemy towards you. You claim in your sittings that you would do this and that, but when fighting approaches, you say (to war), 'turn thou away' (i.e. flee away). If one calls you (for help) the call receives no heed. And he who deals hardly with you his heart has no solace. The excuses are amiss like that of a debtor unwilling to pay. The ignoble can not ward off oppression. Right cannot be achieved without effort. Which is the house besides this one to protect? And with which leader (Imam) would you go for fighting after me?

By Allāh! Deceived is one whom you have deceived while, by Allāh! he who is successful with you receives only useless arrows. You are like broken arrows thrown over the enemy. By Allāh! I am now in the position that I neither confirm your views nor hope for your support, nor challenge the enemy through you. What is the matter with you? What is your ailment? What is your cure? The other party is also men of your shape (but they are so different in character). Will there be talk without action, carelessness without piety and greed in things not right?!⁷

Furthermore, on the night of the assassination Ibn Muljam came to al-Ash‘ath b. Qays and both retired to a corner of the mosque and sat there when Ḥujr b. ‘Adī passed by and he heard al-Ash‘ath saying to Ibn Muljam, ‘Be quick now or else dawn’s light would disgrace you.’ On hearing this Ḥujr said to al-Ash‘ath, ‘O one-eyed man, you are preparing to kill ‘Alī’ and hastened towards ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, but Ibn Muljam had preceded him and struck ‘Alī with his sword. When Ḥujr turned back, people were crying, ‘Alī has been killed.’

Later, Al-Ḥasan sent Ḥujr b. ‘Adī to order the leaders to set out and to call

⁷ Sermon 29, *Nahj al-Balāgha*

the people together for war (jihād). They were slow to (answer) him and then they came forward. (Al-Ḥasan) had a mixed band of men: some of them belonged to his Shī'a and to his father's; some of them were members of the Muḥakkima (i.e., Khārijites) who were influenced by (the desires of) fighting Mu'āwiya with every means (possible); some of them were men who loved discords and were anxious for booty; some of them were doubters; others were tribal supporters who followed the leaders of their tribes without reference to religion.

Al-Ḥasan, peace be on him, followed all these ways from the day when he assumed the succession in Kūfah. Also he used them when he declared jihād. Among his measures, as we have said earlier, were that he increased the salaries of the fighters a hundred percent. He sent Ḥujr b. 'Adī to his rulers to summon them to jihād. His notable companions, who were orators, helped him with his task. Among them were 'Adī b. Hātam, Ma'qal b. Qays al-Riyāhī, Zīyīd b. Sa'sa'a al-Tāmīmī, and Qays b. Sa'd al-Anṣārī. They criticized the people for their slowness and urged them to take part in jihād for Allāh. Then they themselves competed with each other for their places in the general camp, and they competed with the people for that.

They spread the standards of jihād all over Kūfah. They summoned the people (to obey) Allāh, the Great and Almighty, and the family of Muḥammad, peace be on them. The partisans of 'Alī revolted against Mu'āwiya and his central government. They had paid allegiance to al-Ḥasan, son of 'Alī and grandson of Muḥammad, soon after the battle of Ṣiffīn and the murder of 'Alī. They viewed al-Ḥasan as the legitimate successor to 'Alī. Mu'āwiya did not believe that al-Ḥasan had the capability of leading and dismissed him, by stating:

I admit that your blood relationship gives you a clear title to the office. If I knew that you were more capable than I in keeping the people under discipline, more considerate of this Ummah, a better statesman, more effective in collecting the revenues, and a greater deterrent against the enemy, I would certainly swear allegiance to you. But I have had long enough in this position and I have much more experience in its duties than you have.⁸

8 Al-Isfahānī, Abul Faraj, *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyīn*, ed. Aḥmed Saqr, (Cairo, 1949), 2nd edition, (Tehran, 1970), 58

THE ROLE OF MU‘ĀWIYA B. ABĪ SUFYĀN

According to traditional Muslim sources, Mu‘āwiya was born in Mecca five years before the open proclamation of the religion of Islam.¹ His father was Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb b. Umayyah b. ‘Abd Shams b. ‘Abd Manāf, who was known as Abū Sufyān and his mother was Hind bt. ‘Utba b. Rabī‘ah b. ‘Abd Shams b. ‘Abd Manāf.² Abū Sufyan had two sons, Yazīd and Mu‘āwiya, and a daughter named Umm Ḥabība. Mu‘āwiya ruled the Islamic nascent Muslim community from 41-60/661-680. Historians see Mu‘āwiya as either the first or the second of the Umayyad Caliphs as ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān ruled before him from 23-35/644-656.³ ‘Uthmān is viewed as being amongst the rightly guided Caliphs, an honour notably given to only one other Umayyad, ‘Umar II.⁴ Mu‘āwiya, however, is regarded as the founder of the Caliphate of the Umayyad dynasty.⁵ The Sufyanid dynasty refers solely to Mu‘āwiya and his lineage, which came to an end with the death of his grandson Mu‘āwiya II in 64/683, thus marking the beginning of the Marwānid dynasty.

There is a difference of opinion on the timing of Mu‘āwiya’s conversion

- 1 Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Iṣṣabah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah* (Cairo: Bulaq, 1328/1910), vol. 3, 433.
- 2 On Abū Sufyān, see Abū ‘Amr Khalīfa Ibn Khayyāt, *al-Ṭabaqāt: riwāyat Abī ‘Imrān Mūsā al-Tustarī*, ed. Akram Ḍiyā’ al-‘Umarī (Baghdad: Maṭba‘at al-‘Anī, 1967), 297; ‘Abdullāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Ma‘ārif*, ed. Tharwat ‘Ukāshah (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Dār al-Kutub, 1960), 344; ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas‘ūdī, *al-Tanbih wa-l-ishraf* (Leiden, 1894, rpt., Beirut: Maktabat al-Khayyat, 1965); on Hind, see Ibn Khayyāt, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 298.
- 3 Asma Afsaruddin, *The First Muslims: History and Memory* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2008), 47-50, discusses the notion of ‘Uthmān as being amongst the Rightly Guided Caliphs. Cf. M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History: A New Interpretation A.D. 600-750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), vol. 1, 63.
- 4 G.R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (London: Routledge, 2000), 18. It is not very clear when the term *al-Khulāfa’ al-Rāshidūn* was crystallised. Afsaruddin comments on page 55 of *The First Muslims* that ‘the concept began to crystallize at some point during the Umayyad period when, against the backdrop of what appeared to be a deliberate reversion to pre-Islamic values, nostalgia for the age of the Prophet and his Companions must have become pronounced. Abū Hanīfa (d. 767) and Aḥmed b. Hanbal (d. 855) are credited with being the earliest scholars to recognise the chronological order of the four *Rāshidūn* caliphs and to have imparted a certain degree of theological significance to this order.’ There is a difference of opinion as to whether was ‘Alī was initially excluded from the list of caliphs. See Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, 173. This seems to have changed by the late eighth century. See M. Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), 77.
- 5 Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam*, 1.

to Islam.⁶ A conversion preceding the conquest of Mecca would be more favorable in light of later claims for the Caliphate, as he would not be categorized as being one of the freed ones, known as the *tulaqāh*. One narration discusses his conversion as taking place before the occupation of Mecca. The narration discusses the fact that he accepted Islam at the Treaty of Ḥudaybīyyah.⁷ Another narration, however, indicates a conversion to Islam in the year 8 AH, hence counting him amongst the freedmen in Mecca.⁸ After his conversion, Mu‘āwiya was given one hundred camels and forty ounces of gold from the booty of the Battle of Ḥunayn, for he was one of those whose hearts had been reconciled.⁹ Mu‘āwiya was employed by the Prophet as a secretary,¹⁰ or *kātib*.¹¹ Amongst his duties was to ensure messages were written to chiefs of different Arab tribes.¹²

Mu‘āwiya served the state during the rule of the first three caliphs. First, he acted as lieutenant of the army that conquered Syria during the reign of Abū Bakr. Then, when Khālīd b. Sa‘īd b. al-Āṣ had been defeated and killed by the Byzantines in the Battle of Marj al-Ṣuffar in the year 13/ 633, Mu‘āwiya was head of the 3, 000 tribesmen that were part of the expedition.¹³ Furthermore, during the reign of ‘Umar,¹⁴ he fought and defeated the Byzantines in the Battle of al-Yarmūk in 15/635 and would then continue under ‘Uthmān as a military governor.¹⁵

The political divisions of the period between 656 and 661 acquired

6 Ibn ‘Asākīr, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abī Sa‘īd ‘Umar b. Gharāma al-‘Amrawī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995-1998) vol. 61, 57. See also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, ed. Iḥsan ‘Abbās (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979), vol. 4, 13, who discusses a different though not exact date and indicates that it was earlier than the conquest of Mecca.

7 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, 433; see also I. Hasson, *JSAI*, 22 (1998), ‘La conversion de Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān,’ 219.

8 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa’l-mulūk*, ed. M.J. de Goej, et al (Leiden: Brill, 1881), vol. 1, 1642-3.

9 Ismail b. ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah* (Beirut: Maktabah al-Ma‘ārif, 1966), vol. 8, 117.

10 Afsaruddin, *The First Muslims*, 81.

11 Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. C.J. Tornberg (Leiden: Brill, 1868-70), vol. 2, 313.

12 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, 434.

13 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa’l-mulūk*, vol. 1, 2090-1.

14 S. Bashear, ‘The Title Fārūq and its Association with ‘Umar I’, *Studia Islamica*, 72 (1990), 47-70.

15 Ahmed b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1865), 135-6. See also R.B. Serjeant, ‘The Caliph ‘Umar’s Letters to Abū Mūsā and Mu‘āwiya,’ *Semitic Studies*, 24 (1984), 65-79.

significance in regards to the discussions of Mu‘āwīya’s authority and leadership for later Muslims.¹⁶ These events shaped the identities and political thoughts of Muslim communities.¹⁷ Irreconcilable factions within the community were to be explained in light of the civil wars after the murder of ‘Uthmān.¹⁸ Tensions were clearly prevalent within the new Muslim community.¹⁹ Old rivalries between the Meccans and Medinans, as well as inter-tribal conflicts, were revived. The newly created Islamic theocracy was full of dissensions.²⁰ Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were seen to have upheld a *modus vivendi*²¹ with their recognition of the religious and political aspects of leading the Islamic state.²² However, with the emergence of ‘Uthmān and the Umayyads, dissatisfaction once again resurfaced.²³ Mu‘āwīya’s leadership is central to this period and its main events as we shall see.²⁴

It is a period referred to by Donner as the era of ‘Islamic origins.’²⁵

The history of Islamic origins is mainly taken from the Islamic tradition itself. There are extensive sources for this - that fact is not under question.²⁶ Yet the documentary value of such sources is under intense scrutiny and this in many cases reduces the confidence of scholars when seeking to build a traditional picture of Islamic origins.²⁷ This is not to deny that there are sources which, although outside of the Islamic tradition, were contemporary

16 M. Hinds, “The Murder of the Caliph ‘Uthmān”, *IJMES*, 3 (1972), 450-69.

17 M. Sharon, “Notes on the Question of Legitimacy of Government in Islam”, *Israel Oriental Studies*, 10 (1980), 116-23.

18 P. Crone, *God’s Rule* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 23.

19 M. Hinds, “The Murder of the Caliph ‘Uthmān”.

20 G. Hawting, “The Significance of the Slogan *La Ḥukma illa Lillah* and the References to the *Ḥudūd* in the Traditions about the *Fitna* and the Murder of ‘Uthmān”, *BSOAS*, 41 (1978), 453-463.

21 E. Petersen, *Alī and Mu‘āwīya* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1964), Introduction. However, Madelung questions the legitimacy of their authority in light of the events at Saqīfat Banī Sā’idah - see Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, 28.

22 W.M. Watt, “God’s Caliph: Quranic Interpretations and Umayyad Claims”, *Iran and Islam*, ed. C.E. Bosworth (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971).

23 Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, 113. See also M. Quṭb, *Social Justice In Islam*, tr. John Hardie (New York: Octagon Books, 1970), 183.

24 M. Sharon, “The Umayyads as Ahl al-Bayt”, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 14 (1992), 115-52.

25 Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 1.

26 M. Hinds, “The Siffin Arbitration Agreement”, *JSS*, 17 (1972), 92-129.

27 S.P. Brock, “Syriac Sources for Seventh Century History”, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 2 (1976).

with the spread of Islam.²⁸ These have been viewed as being more reliable than the Islamic sources, as they were produced without any type of theological or political stance underpinning the way history is portrayed.²⁹ These sources are of the utmost importance, though at times they may not provide conclusive or even helpful results in relation to certain parts of history.³⁰ Particular detail shall be paid in our study to the conditions for leadership, which are listed in such sources, in order to examine the reign of Mu‘āwīya. ‘The Maronite Chronicle’, compiled by an anonymous Maronite Christian author, recorded Mu‘āwīya’s succession as caliph. This chronicle was compiled between 664 and 727 and is seen as a near contemporaneous source.³¹ This is the view adopted by Marsham when he states:

The two Syriac accounts of Mu‘āwīya’s succession in Syria are not only contemporaneous evidence for early Umayyad succession ritual than anything in the extant Arabic-Islamic material but are also more detailed in many respects. We can be reasonably confident that they are near contemporaneous, even perhaps eyewitness accounts, copied by the compiler of the chronicle.³²

The narratives indicate a ceremony representing a shift from the Caliphate to kingship. Mu‘āwīya’s reign as leader marks that shift from Caliphate to kingship in light of the conditions of leadership as stipulated in the sources.

A survey of the sources that discuss Mu‘āwīya’s leadership is therefore vital. Historical, theological, jurisprudential, adab and jurisprudence literature form the basis of the narratives relating to the period in and around the fitnah and provide adequate evidence that the theory of the schools can be rejected and that through source criticism, the similarities and contradictions in the narratives display no clear political or ideological motive in compilation.

While stressing the lack of sympathy within Shī‘ī and Kharijite circles,

28 M. Leeker, “The Estates of ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ in Palestine: Notes on a New Negev Arabic Inscription”, *BSOAS*, 52 (1989), 24-37.

29 W. Kaegi, “Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquests”, *Church History*, 38 (1969), 139-49; R. Hoyland, “Sebeos, the Jews and the Rise of Islam”, *Studies in Muslim-Jewish Relations*, 2 (1996), 89-102.

30 F. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 142-146.

31 A. Palmer, S. Brock, and R. Hoyland, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993), 29.

32 A. Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy, Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 87-88.

Humphreys does admit that Mu‘āwiya does not necessarily fall within the definition of the more traditional religious circles:

The real problem is that he did not fit neatly into the moral categories which later Muslims decided to evaluate a person’s religious standing - indeed, he subverted them, and so they could never quite decide what to make of him.³³

He speaks of ‘Arabic sources, dominated by Iraqi and pro-‘Alid perspectives.’³⁴ ‘Alī is portrayed here as never intending to find the killers of ‘Uthmān. But at the same time, he ironically belittles Mu‘āwiya’s approach to events. First is the clear lack of help he offers his cousin in his time of need. Intrigue overshadows much of Mu‘āwiya’s intention for the position of Caliphate, like that of his partner ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ, ‘a man not above cynical opportunism.’³⁵

Humphreys introduces certain members of the Caliph’s government - people whose personal conduct had ‘often been scandalous’,³⁶ like al-Mughīrah and the hapless Zīyād, son of his father, named because of his mysterious, adulterous birth. ‘To win the reluctant Zīyād to his cause, Mu‘āwiya had the idea of proclaiming that he was the son of his own father Abu Sufyan’³⁷, an act of un-Islamic proportions. This Zīyād is highly praised by Humphreys, especially in a comical narration of his striking of an innocent bedouin’s head!³⁸ Humphreys does, however, admit that Mu‘āwiya ‘lacked and almost certainly never desired, the religious charisma of Muḥammad but in his methods of using political means for political ends, he is perhaps no different.’³⁹

Moreover, the depiction of Mu‘āwiya, according to Keshk, very much depends on the period in which the accounts have taken place and who the narrators of the respective events are. His work includes an analysis of some diametrically opposed depictions, within three periods, pre-civil war, civil war and post-civil war. In the pre-civil war period, Mu‘āwiya’s image is portrayed as that of an obedient governor. His loyalty, bravery and piety all emerge. What is the reasoning behind this? Keshk believes this is very much

33 Humphreys, *Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān*, 3.

34 Ibid, 79.

35 Ibid, 81.

36 Ibid, 86.

37 Ibid, 89.

38 Ibid, 92.

39 Ibid, 93.

related to the fact that the historical tragedy of the first civil war had not yet affected Mu‘āwiya’s persona.⁴⁰

Keshk then continues by looking at ‘civil war Mu‘āwiya’ and discusses the fact that the negative images which emerge are due to parallels made between ‘Alī’s struggle with Mu‘āwiya and Muḥammad’s struggle with Abū Sufyān.⁴¹ Keshk then sheds light on two of the most important incidents in defining Mu‘āwiya’s image in Islamic history, the killing of Ḥujr b. ‘Adī al-Kindī and the appointment of Yazīd as heir apparent. Again, the question is raised, is Mu‘āwiya the proverbial Arab sheikh or the despot? Keshk argues that this all depends on the way one views Ḥujr. Is Ḥujr a rebel against the cause or is he a renowned companion of the Prophet? Likewise, when discussing Yazīd, he analyses the regional and political factors that led to the appointment.⁴²

Keshk’s main point is that history and historiography are two different things. ‘Madelung takes this argument, as he does with every negative comment about Mu‘āwiya, with absolute truth. Although Madelung does seem to accept the story at face value, we believe he misses out some of its subtleties, or maybe he purposely avoids them.’⁴³ Again Keshk believes that without considering the sources and the environment of the time, Madelung is amongst the historians who have reached the wrong conclusions:

Mu‘āwiya and his followers were easily stigmatized by the simple injection of Mu‘āwiya’s name among the confederates besieging Medina at the Battle of the Trench. This association remained with Mu‘āwiya and his followers through their subsequent struggle with ‘Alī and his supporters. Indeed, Mu‘āwiya’s character in these depictions was that of an evil, irreligious, cowardly usurper who was unworthy of the support of other Muslims, let alone the caliphate. This re-working of Mu‘āwiya’s image has been sufficiently effective that one modern scholar, namely Madelung, has accepted it as a true reflection of a historical figure, rather than the fictional story telling of the classical Muslim historians.⁴⁴

However, Keshk’s conclusion is rejected when examining the sources and the way they depict Mu‘āwiya’s decisions. Keshk seeks to explain the

40 Keshk, *The Depiction of Mu‘āwiya*, 18.

41 Ibid, 53.

42 Ibid, 101.

43 Ibid, 106.

44 Ibid, 185.

killing of Ḥujr b. ‘Adī by proposing the theory that historians emphasize certain elements of the story of Ḥujr to highlight a particular political bias, and that when this is done, they are taking away from the fact that ‘these sources had a primary purpose that was lost on modern scholars in their use of the Ḥujr story.’ The reply, however, is that the emphasis on these elements was to portray a clearer understanding of the motives and the backgrounds of the execution. Historians are in agreement on four major parts of the narrative. The first is a discussion of the disagreement which occurred between Ḥujr, al-Mughīrah and Zīyād. The second is that they discuss the background to his disobedience of the authorities in Kūfah, the third is his arrest and the fourth is his execution. Keshk states that while they all agree, they tend to emphasize one incident over another. The emphasis of one incident over another does not hide the over-arching question as to whether Mu‘āwīya’s conclusive decision concerning Ḥujr was that of a *ḥalīm* or that of a *jāhil*.

Mu‘āwīya’s does not display *ḥilm* in his dealings with Ḥujr. It was a ruthless decision that was undertaken, with no tolerance or respect shown to the men who tried to intercede on behalf of Ḥujr. The offer to exile them into different parts of the empire would no doubt have silenced his critics and the critics of Zīyād as well. But the government had reached a stage where dissidents were not tolerated, especially those who continued to display love towards ‘Alī, his family and their political beliefs. In each case, Shaban concludes that Mu‘āwīya acts as a despot in his dealings with Ḥujr.⁴⁵

This point is stressed upon by Quṭb. While Quṭb may not be regarded as a historian as such, his later social influence in Islamic political circles is very clear.⁴⁶ Quṭb is extremely critical of the sources that depict Mu‘āwīya as being of the earlier entourage of companions and a man of known piety. Mu‘āwīya’s biography and subsequent credentials are examined and he disagrees with the picture portrayed by some historians:

The erroneous fable still persists that Mu‘āwīya was a scribe who wrote down the revelations of Allāh’s Messenger. The truth is that when Abū Sufyān embraced Islam, he besought the Prophet to give Mu‘āwīya some measure of position in the eyes of the Arabs; thus he would be compensated of being slow to embrace Islam and of being one of those who had no precedence in the new religion. So

45 Shaban, *Islamic History*, 89.

46 W. Shepard, “The Development of the Thought of Sayyid Quṭb as Reflected in Earlier and Later Editions of ‘Social Justice in Islam’,” *Die Welt des Islam*, 32 (1992); See also W. Shepard, “Sayyid Quṭb’s Doctrine of Jaḥīliyya”, *IJMES*, 35 (2003), 521-45.

the Prophet used Mu‘āwiya for writing letters and contracts and agreements. But none of the companions ever said that he wrote down any of the Prophet’s revelations, as was asserted by Mu‘āwiya’s partisans after he had assumed the throne.⁴⁷

Yet no historian of the modern school has been as scathing in his attack on the Umayyads in general and Mu‘āwiya in particular as Madelung:

The cancer in the body of the caliphate which had nurtured and proved unable to excise because of his doting love for a corrupt and rapacious kin destroyed him. It was to continue to grow and to sweep away ‘Umar’s caliphate of the Islamic meritocracy. ‘Uthmān’s successor, Mu‘āwiya, turned it, as predicted by a well-known prophecy ascribed to Muḥammad, into traditional despotic kingship.⁴⁸

This view of Mu‘āwiya, in stark contrast to Humphreys and others, is further emphasized in discussing what they he viewed as *hilm*:

Mu‘āwiya had developed a taste for despotism of the Roman Byzantine type. While endowed with a natural instinct for power and domination, his judgment of human nature was, contrary to his reputation, limited and primitive. He had come to understand that in statecraft, whenever bribery or intimidation would not reduce an opponent, murder, open or secret, was the most convenient and effective means.⁴⁹

Madelung then analyzes the role of cursing within Mu‘āwiya’s political finesse. ‘Alī is portrayed by Mu‘āwiya as a sworn enemy, in a manner which differs from the works of contemporary scholars, with the animosity displayed in public arenas:

Particularly useful for Mu‘āwiya’s purposes was the public cursing of ‘Alī in Kūfah where, he hoped, it would bring out into the open the latent opposition to Umayyad rule, thus facilitating his measures of repression.⁵⁰

47 Quṭb, *Social Justice in Islam*, 183.

48 Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, 140.

49 Ibid, 197-8.

50 Ibid, 335.

MU‘ĀWIYA’S TREATMENT OF REBELLIONS

Mu‘āwiya had cleverly chosen al-Mughīrah b. Shu‘bah al-Thaqafī, a man of experience, as governor of Kūfah.¹ Al-Mughīrah could now help control any emerging political rivals for Mu‘āwiya in Kūfah and, indeed, dissenters. As soon as he came into power, al-Mughīrah would have to end the revolt of Mu‘ayn b. ‘Abdullāh al-Muḥāribī and ensured that he was executed. Abū Laylā, ally of Banī al-Ḥārith b. Ka‘b was also killed. He had shouted, ‘*Tahkīm!*’ (arbitration), in the mosque and wanted to revolt in Kūfah. Ma‘qil b. Qays al-Riyāhī was appointed by al-Mughīrah to kill him in the Sawād.

Mu‘āwiya had appointed al-Mughīrah in Kūfah and ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Āmīr in Baṣra. ‘Abdullāh had to face the Khawārij but was seemingly lenient with them. ‘Ibādah b. Qurṣ al-Laythī, known as a companion of Muḥammad, was killed by a group of the Khawārij who had been led by Sahn b. Ghālib al-Hujaymī. They killed him as well as his wife and son. ‘Abdullāh caught them, but did not kill them, and ensured that they were to be granted amnesty. He therefore went against an order from Mu‘āwiya to execute them.² Mu‘āwiya dismissed him because:

He had some difficulties in his dealings with the the tribesmen in Baṣra itself. This was because large numbers of new immigrants coming into Baṣra had caused some tension between the different tribal groups. Mu‘āwiya, who was alarmed by the situation, removed Ibn ‘Āmīr in 44/664, replacing him with the redoubtable Zīyād b. Abīhī.³

These two appointments were signs of the *ḥilm* of Mu‘āwiya. He knew who to appoint and when to replace them and with whom to replace them. Al-Mughīrah was protecting Kūfah for him and Zīyād was now ensuring the smooth running of affairs in Baṣra. Al-Mughīrah was constantly aware of the plans of the Khawārij. Men such as Mu‘adh b. Juwayn al-Ṭa’ī, al-Mustawrid b. ‘Ullafa al-Taymī and Ḥayyān b. Dhabyan al-Sulamī were seeking to make a breakthrough in Kūfah, especially Ḥayyān, who had been in al-Rayy since 38/658. The meetings were held in the house of Ḥayyān and were attended by twenty of the Khawārij. Qabīḍa b. al-Dāmūn was appointed to break the meeting, capture and imprison the leaders in the prisons of Kūfah. These people had felt oppressed and at the same time felt Islamic law was not being

1 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 4A, 139-40.

2 Ibn al-‘Athīr, vol. 3, 417-418.

3 Shaban, *Islamic History*, 85-86.

implemeneted. However, al-Mustawrid escaped and al-Mughīrah met each and every tribal leader to ensure that they kept an eye out for the rebels, and if they did not, or if a rebel was from their tribe, then the whole tribe would be imprisoned. This form of governance had not been witnessed in the reigns of any of the first caliphs.⁴

Furthermore, Mughīrah would ensure that any of the enemies of the central government would fight each other. Qabīḍa b. al-Dāmūn was ordered to ensure three thousand of the Shīʿīs of Kūfah would be sent under Maʿqil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī, a Shīʿī, to fight al-Mustawrid.

Both died at al-Madhār, a Khārijite and a Shīʿī fighting each other with al-Mughīrah instigating the war. Indeed, anyone whose loyalty was in question would not be given any sanctuary, including Shabīb b. Bajra al-Ashjaʿī who had fought against ʿAlī at al-Nahrawān was killed by Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭa in ʿUnqf near Kūfah.⁵

Zīyād b. Abīhī made a unanimous announcement when appointed as the governor (45/664) of Baṣra which embodied the message of the government.

I swear I will never be remiss in punishing the client for the Sire, the father for the son, the healthy for the sick, the staying for the fugitive, the obedient for the unruly, until the man on meeting will say, ʿSave yourself Saʿd for Saʿīd has perished.’⁶

Those who were pardoned or given amnesty would no longer receive such treatment under Zīyād. As an example, Sahm was killed and Zīyād b. Mālik al-Bāhilī was to be placed under house arrest in Baṣra under the watchful eye of Muslim b. ʿAmr al-Bāhilī. On the night that Zīyād asked to see Zīyād b. Mālik he was not there. This led to his execution and his body was not even given a burial but thrown towards a resident tribe.⁷ Zīyād was ruthless but the act of throwing a body with no burial was unprecedented.⁸ Furthermore, when ʿAbbad b. Ḥusayn al-Ṭāʿī led a revolt in Baṣra, he was mercilessly caught and executed by Bishr b. ʿUtbah al-Tamīmī under the orders of Zīyād. The latter would eventually take charge of both Kūfah and Baṣra when al-Mughīrah died in 50/670. One governor would administer both districts for the first time. He would ensure that he spent six months in Baṣra and six months in Kūfah.

4 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 32-33.

5 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 4A, 141.

6 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 74.

7 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 4A, 148-49.

8 Ibid, 149.

His strength as governor would be revealed through the revolts that would be led when he was not present. An increase in revolts began because of his strictness with his fiscal policies and the purging of records which included the names of the deceased of the Khawārij. Corruption would then be limited and people would not abuse the system.⁹ When he left Baṣra, he would announce Samar b. Jundab al-Fazārī as his successor and some Khawārij would seek to revolt including the likes of Qurayb b. Murra al-‘Azdī and Zaḥāf b. Zaḥr al-Ṭā‘ī. They had the audacity to march through the streets and kill. When Zīyād returned he unleashed a warning that if the people of Baṣra did not cooperate with him then they would feel the force of his administration and rule. Their annual stipends would also be cut off.¹⁰ This announcement led to the heads of the tribes of ‘Alī and Rāsib to besiege the Banī Yashkur and kill Qurayb and his companions. If your tribe was made up of a Khārijite, people would ensure that the person would be taken to Zīyād.¹¹

Zīyād was equally ruthless with the women of the community. In an unprecedented move, he declared that even the women of the Khawārij would be killed if they were known to be plotting against the state. Questions are raised about Mu‘āwiya’s silence on this issue as this was not known to be a practice of Prophet Muḥammad. Women were to be hung naked if they were following the ideologies of Qurayb and Zaḥāf. Jārīyah, a women of the Khārijites decided that she had to speak out against Zīyād and his policies. She was to be executed and hung as a message to all Baṣran women who supported the Khawārij. The caliph was silent when advice and guidance was necessary to stop the ruthless Zīyād.¹² By the end of his rule, none of the Khārijites could rebel against him, male or female. Hence one may argue this was the reason Mu‘āwiya was silent. Zīyād’s message was continued by his son ‘Ubaydullāh, who would cut off the feet of ‘Urwah b. ‘Adīyah b. Ḥandhala al-Tamīmī when he had the bravery to criticise his father’s policies. He also had to foil the revolt of Ṭawwaf b. Ghallāq. When ‘Urwah’s brother Abū Bilāl sought to revolt in Darabjerd, he was killed by Ibn Zīyād’s commander ‘Abbād b. ‘Alqama b. ‘Amr al-Mazinī al-Tamīmī in 61/681.¹³

9 Shaban, *Islamic History*, 87.

10 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 4A, 150-152.

11 Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, 245.

12 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 4A, 152-153.

13 Ibid, 159.

THE EXECUTION OF ḤUJR B. ʿADĪ

Muʿāwīya did not face the animosity from the partisans of ʿAlī as he had faced from the Khawārij. In the first ten years of his rule, there was relative peace between the two factions. ʿAbdullāh b. Amīr, the governor of Baṣra, and al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah would employ prominent Shīʿī such as Sharik b. al-Aʿwar al-Ḥārithī to fight the Khawārij. However, where Muʿāwīya's *ḥilm* is to be questioned is making permissible the cursing of ʿAlī on the pulpits.

This was an act unprecedented in Islamic history and would result in uproar from the followers of ʿAlī. His followers would constantly display their loyalty towards their leader by narrating his merits. Saʿsaʿah b. Sahwān al-ʿAbdī was once informed by al-Mughīrah when hearing that he would narrate the merits of ʿAlī publically that:

I warn you to stop doing so, and to remember that you will not say a thing in praise of ʿAlī which I do not know. If you want to do so, you can do it among your kinsmen in your houses and in secret but in the mosque I shall not permit it and the caliph himself will not tolerate this or forgive me for this if I allow you to do it.¹

Surprisingly enough, the statement that the merits of ʿAlī would not be tolerated in the mosque, but the cursing of ʿAlī had become an institution, were approved by the caliph and the governor.

After the year of the community (*ʿam al-jamāʿa*), Muʿāwīya wrote a letter to his tax collectors in which he said, 'Let the conquered people refrain from mentioning any merit to Abū Turāb or his kinsmen.' So in every village and on every pulpit preachers stood up cursing ʿAlī, disowning him, disparaging him and his house. In another letter he wrote, 'Make search for those you can find who were partisans of ʿUthmān and those who supported his rule and those who uphold his merits and qualities. Seek their company, gain access to them and honor them. Write down for me what everybody relates, as well as his name, that of his father and clan.'

Thus, they did until they had increased the number of merits and qualities of ʿUthmān. In exchange he sent them presents, garments, gifts and [documents of] pieces of land. This was showered over Arabs *mawali* alike and it occurred on a large scale in every city, the people competing in ranks

¹ Al-Ṭabarī, citing Abū Mikhnāf, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 38.

and worldly honors. Every lowly individual who went to any governors of Mu‘āwīya and related about ‘Uthmān a merit or a virtue was received kindly, his name was taken down and he was given preferential treatment.

Regular public cursing of ‘Alī, identified as the soul of the Prophet, in the congregational prayers thus remained a vital institution, which was not abolished until sixty years later by ‘Umar II (‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz). Marwān clearly recognized the importance of the cursing as a tool of government. He told ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, ‘No one was more temperate (*akaff*) towards our master than your master.’ ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn asked him, ‘Why do you curse him then from the pulpits?’ He answered, ‘Our reign would not be sound without that.’ (*Lā yastaqīmu lana hadha ilia bi hadha*).

Particularly useful for Mu‘āwīya’s purposes was the public cursing of ‘Alī in Kūfah where, he hoped, it would bring out into the open the latent opposition to Umayyad rule, thus facilitating his measures of repression. When he appointed al-Mughīrah b. Shu‘ba governor of Kūfah, he instructed him, ‘Never desist from abusing and censuring ‘Alī, from praying for God’s mercy and forgiveness for ‘Uthmān, from disgracing the followers of ‘Alī, from removing them and refusing to listen to them. Moreover, never cease praising the partisans of ‘Uthmān, bringing them close to you, and listening to them.’

The Shī‘ī of ‘Alī would not accept what they viewed as an act of injustice against the tenants of Islam. ‘Alī was a caliph, son-in-law of Muḥammad and a nobleman of great pedigree. Unlike the Khawārij, the Shī‘ī who stood up and revolted were men of great history and virtue, amongst them Ḥujr b. ‘Adī. Al-Mughīrah had cursed ‘Alī in his sermon. This caused outrage with Ḥujr and other worshippers standing who raised a cry that they would not accept such words and policies from the government. Al-Dīnawarī narrates that al-Mughīrah tried to win Ḥujr’s support with a sum of five thousand dirhams, but this seems unlikely as the diwān was providing Ḥujr with 2,500 dirhams at the time.² Al-Mughīrah died in 50/670 and Zīyād became governor of both Kūfah and Baṣra.

Ḥujr and Zīyād had known each other through previous skirmishes, both on the side of ‘Alī and when they fought in opposition. Ḥujr was offered sums of money and different ranks within the government hierarchy but refused all the advances made by Zīyād.³ ‘Amr b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī had been

² Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 223; Ibn al-‘Athīr, *Usad al-Ghāba*, vol. 1, 386.

³ Al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Beirut, 1970), vol. 3, 16.

appointed as Zīyād's representative in Kūfah when he had left for Baṣra. 'Amr's speech, anti-'Alī in its stance, was interrupted by Ḥujr and his partisans. Sinān b. Ḥurayth al-Ḍabbī was sent to inform Zīyād of what had happened in Kūfah. He conveyed to him the message that Ḥujr and his followers were now in a position of strength in Kūfah.

Zīyād sent warnings to Ḥujr through personalities such as Jarīr b. 'Abdullāh al-Bajālī and Khālīd b. 'Urfuta al-'Udhri that such behavior would not be tolerated. Ḥujr could not tolerate their public attacks seeking to defile the character of 'Alī, which he believed to be attacks against the very core of the religion of Islam. Shaddād b. al-Haytham al-Hilālī was sent to Ḥujr but he did not make any breakthrough. Zīyād was outraged and conveyed his outrage to the chiefs of Kūfah including Qays b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd Shams b. al-Mughīrah and Abū Burḍa b. Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī. He said:

O people of Kūfah, you are wounding with one hand and sympathizing with the other. Your bodies are with me but your hearts are with Ḥujr that fool. You are with me while your kinsmen are with Ḥujr. This is dishonesty. You have to show me unqualified loyalty otherwise I shall send against you people who will bring you back and will destroy your pride.

The chiefs of Kūfah vowed that their kinsmen would support Zīyād and leave Ḥujr.⁴ Interesting to note the language used by Zīyād in describing Ḥujr as a fool and that the people of Kūfah were either with him or against him. The people of Kūfah's support for Ḥujr indicates distrust, or, indeed, disenchantment with Zīyād's rule, and a question mark on Mu'āwiya's choice of one governor for two districts.

Zīyād, recognizing the power of Ḥujr's stand, sent out groups to find Ḥujr. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath b. Qays was given three days to find Ḥujr. If he did not, then all the plam trees that he owned and his houses would be destroyed and he would be executed. Ḥujr had to flee, including movements made from al-Nakha'ī, an area led by 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha'ī towards ĩAzd. Muḥammad received a letter from Ḥujr that he would surrender himself if he were to be pardoned and sent to Mu'āwiya, in expectation of amnesty from the caliph. Ḥujr b. Yazīd al-Kindī and Jarīr b. 'Abdullāh al-Bajālī accompanied Muḥammad to Zīyād who granted Ḥujr amnesty in a prison cell for ten days.⁵ Thirteen of Ḥujr's loyal partisans were pursued and captured by Zīyād. Sa'd b. Nimrān

4 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 4A, 214-215.

5 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 121.

al-Hamdhānī, ‘Utbah b. al-Akhnās al-Sa’dī, ‘Abdul Raḥman b. Ḥasan al-Anzī, ‘Abdullāh b. Ḥawīyyah al-Tamīmī, Kidam b. Ḥayyān al-‘Ansī, Warqa’ b. Sumayyah al-Bajālī, ‘Aṣīm b. ‘Awf al-Bajālī, Qabīṣa b. Dubaya b. Ḥarmala al-‘Absī, Qabīṣa b. Dubaya, Sayfi b. Faṣīl al-Shaybānī, Sharik b. Shaddad al-Ḥadrāmī and al-Arqām b. ‘Abdullāh al-Kindī.⁶ Amongst them was ‘Amr b. Ḥumq al-Khuzā‘ī, a companion of Muḥammad. Reports indicate he escaped but was caught by ‘Abdul-Raḥman b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Uthmān al-Thaqafī, the governor of Mosul, was killed and paraded around.⁷

When Ḥujr and his companions rebelled, Zīyād attacked their stance and revolt. He first forged a story that they were looking to dissolve the caliphate of Mu‘āwiya by revolting against his governor in Iraq. Secondly, he used their love for the family of the Prophet (the Ahl al-Bayt) as a negative belief which had to be destroyed.⁸ The origin of Islam was built on the foundation of love and its expression for Muḥammad’s near ones, but was now seen as a threatening armour in the hands of Ḥujr and his followers. Seventy men of different tribes signed the accusations of Zīyād.⁹

Wa‘il b. Ḥujr al-Ḥadrāmī and Kathīr b. Shihāb al-Ḥarithī were ordered to ensure Ḥujr was taken to Mu‘āwiya, who refused to meet him, although he did meet Zīyād’s messengers. Two miles from Damascus in Marj ‘Adhra, Ḥujr and his companions were imprisoned.¹⁰ Yazīd b. Asad al-Bajālī sought to advise Mu‘āwiya to spread Ḥujr and his followers to different parts of the region and thus break their stand against him. Zīyād however wanted a quick resolution to end their lives and keep stability in the region. ‘If you desire the stability of this *miṣr*, please do not send Ḥujr and his followers to Kūfah again.’¹¹

Each of Ḥujr’s followers had kinsmen in Syria who sought to mediate on their tribesmen’s behalf. ‘Asim and Warqa, both Bajālīs were represented by Jarīr b. ‘Abdullah al-Bajālī. Sa’d b. Nimrān al-Hamdhānī received the backing of Humrah b. Mālīk al-Hamdhānī, Karīm b. ‘Afīf al-Kath‘amī received the backing of Shamir b. ‘Abdullāh al-Kath‘amī. Ḥujr was represented by Mālīk b. Ḥubayra al-Sakūnī, but to no avail. Mu‘āwiya firmly believed that Ḥujr was the instigator and ordered that this innocent

6 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 4A, 218-219.

7 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 136.

8 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 4A, 236-237.

9 Ibid, 223.

10 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 134.

11 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 4A, 223.

man who stood up against the injustice of the pulpits of Kūfah was to be executed alongside six of his followers.¹² Shaban states that for Mu‘āwiya ‘it was effective, but unusually rash and high handed.’¹³

The policemen took Ḥujr and his faithful companions to Marj ‘Adhra’, where they were quickly imprisoned. Mu‘āwiya and Zīyād then exchanged letters with each other. Not only did they bring Mu‘āwiya’s order to kill Ḥujr and his companions, they also brought shrouds with them. ‘Indeed the Commander of the Faithful has ordered me to kill you, for you are the root of error, the origin of unbelief and tyranny, and the supporter of Abū Turāb. He has ordered me to kill your companions unless you retract your unbelief, curse your leader and renounce him,’ Mu‘āwiya’s officials declared to Ḥujr. ‘Indeed patience towards the punishment of the sword is easier for us than what you summon us to. Meeting Allāh, His Apostle, and his *waṣī* (Imam ‘Alī) is more attractive to us than entering the fire,’ said Ḥujr and his companions.

The graves were dug for Ḥujr and his companions. They performed their prayers throughout the night. When morning came, the policemen went to retrieve them. ‘Let me perform the ritual ablution and say my prayers,’ requested Ḥujr. They let him pray, and after he was finished they took him away. ‘By Allāh, I had not performed a prayer lighter than this prayer,’ he said. ‘Were it not for that, you think that I am impatient of death, I would increase it.’

Then Ḥujr said: ‘O Allāh, we ask you to show enmity towards our people. Indeed, the Kūfans have testified against us, and the Syrians have come to kill us. By Allāh, If you kill me in the village of ‘Adhra’, I will be the first Muslim horseman to be killed in its valley, and the first Muslim man at whom its dogs will bark.’¹⁴

Then Hudba b. Fayyad al-Quda‘ī walked towards him with his sword while Ḥujr had his. Hudba trembled and said to Ḥujr: ‘You have claimed that you are patient towards death. Therefore renounce your leader and we will let you go.

12 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 4A, 224; al-Ya‘qubī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 231.

13 Shaban, *Islamic History*, 89-90.

14 Ibn al-‘Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 3, 192. Ibn Sa‘d and Mus‘ab al-Zubārī have narrated the following on the authority of al-Ḥākīm, who said: ‘He was killed at Marj ‘Adhra’ according to Mu‘āwiya’s orders. It was Ḥujr who conquered it (Marj ‘Adhra’), then he was killed at it.’ This is the meaning of Ḥujr’s words: “... and the first Muslim man at whom its dogs will bark.” He meant the day when he conquered it.

Ḥujr replied: ‘Of course, I am patient towards death. For I see a grave has been dug, a shroud has been spread, and a sword has been drawn. Indeed, by Allāh, even if I am impatient towards death, I will not say what displeases the Lord!’

A few close associates of Mu‘āwiya interceded for seven companions of Ḥujr. The rest of Ḥujr’s companions were put to the sword. Ḥujr’s final words were, ‘Leave me shackled with iron and stained with blood. For I will meet Mu‘āwiya on the straight path tomorrow. I will testify against him before Allāh.’ Mu‘āwiya mentioned these words of Ḥujr when he was about to die: ‘Ḥujr, my day will be long because of you,’ he said.

Mu‘āwiya performed the hajj after he had killed Ḥujr; he happened to pass by the house of ‘A’isha. He asked permission to enter her home, and she permitted him inside. When he sat down, she said to him: ‘Did you not fear Allāh when you killed Ḥujr and his companions?’¹⁵ Then she added: ‘Were it not for the critical situation, we would not have let Ḥujr be killed. By Allāh, he performed the greater and the lesser hajj.’¹⁶

Shurayh b. Hānī had wrote to Mu‘āwiya concerning Ḥujr and had given him a religious opinion in which he said that it was forbidden for Mu‘āwiya to shed the blood of Ḥujr and to take his possessions. Shurayh had said about Ḥujr, ‘He was among those who performed the ritual prayers, paid zakat, frequently performed the lesser and the greater hajj, enjoined (the people) to do good deeds and prevented them from doing evil deeds. It was forbidden to shed his blood and to take his property.’¹⁷

Ibn ‘Umar began asking the people about Ḥujr from the day he was captured. While Ibn ‘Umar was walking in the market, he was told that Ḥujr had been killed. He burst into tears and left.¹⁸

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām came to Mu‘āwiya, after the latter had killed Ḥujr, and said to him: ‘When did the clemency of Abū Sufyān leave you?’ Mu‘āwiya replied: ‘It left me when those who were like you in clemency left me. Ibn Sumayya (Ziyād b. Abīhī) provoked me, so I carried that out.’ Then ‘Abd al-Raḥmān said: ‘By Allāh, the Arabs will never regard you as the one who has clemency and a [good] opinion. You killed the people whom the prisoners from the Muslims sent to you.’

15 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 6, 156.

16 Ibn al-‘Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 3, 193.

17 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 6, 153.

18 Ibid.

Many people from Kinda, al-Sikūn, and Yemen supported Mālik b. Hubayra al-Sikūnī. So Mālik was able to freely say to Mu‘āwiya the following words when he refused to release Ḥujr from prison: ‘By Allāh, we are in no need of Mu‘āwiya more than Mu‘āwiya is in no need of us. We have alternates among his peoples, while he has no successor from us among the people.’¹⁹

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said: ‘Mu‘āwiya had four flaws. Firstly, his appointment of troublemakers for this community so that he stole its rule without consultation with its members, while there was a remnant of the companions and possessors of virtue among them. Secondly, his appointment of his son as his successor after him, a drunkard and a habitual drinker of alcohol who wears silk and plays *tunbur*. Thirdly, he claimed Zīyād [as his own child] while the Apostle of Allāh, may Allāh bless him and his family, said, “The baby is to the bed (son of *zina*, or adultery) and the prostitute is stoned.” Fourthly, the execution of Ḥujr. Woe unto him from Ḥujr and his companions.’²⁰

After Mu‘āwiya had murdered these noble Muslims, and after he had performed his hajj, he met al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, peace be upon him, in Mecca and said to him proudly: ‘Have you heard what we have done to Ḥujr, his companions, and his Shī‘a (followers) who were the Shī‘a of your father?’ Al-Ḥusayn asked: ‘What have you done to them?’ Mu‘āwiya replied: ‘We have killed them, shrouded them, prayed over them, and buried them.’ Al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, smiled, and then he said: ‘Mu‘āwiya, the people will bring suit against you (before Allāh). If we killed your followers, we would not shroud them, nor would we pray over them, nor would we bury them.’²¹

Among the companions who were killed with Ḥujr were Shurayk b. Shaddād, Thaddād al-Ḥaḍramī, and Ṣayfī b. Fasīl al-Shaybānī. The latter was one of the best companions of Ḥujr. It is said that he had an iron heart, strong belief in God, and polite speech. He was captured with Ḥujr and brought before Zīyād. ‘O enemy of Allāh, what do you think of Abū Turāb

19 See also: Ibn ‘Abd al-Birr al-Malikī, *al-Isti‘āb*; Ibn al-‘Athīr, *Usad al-Ghāba fī Tamyīz al-Ṣahāba*; ‘Alī Khān, *al-Darajāt al-Rāfi‘a*; Al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*.

20 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya* (Beirut: Maktabah al Ma‘ārif, 1966), vol. 8, 130-140.

21 Al-Majlisī, *Bihar al-Anwar*. Al-Tabarī has narrated a tradition similar to this one on the authority of al-Ḥasan. That is incorrect for the tragedy of Ḥujr and his companions happened two years after the death of al-Ḥasan. A similar tradition has been narrated by Ibn al-‘Athīr on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī who said: ‘By the Lord of the Ka‘aba, they have instituted a proof against them.’

(i.e., Imam ‘Alī)?,’ he said to him. ‘I do not know anyone named Abū Turāb,’ replied Ṣayfī. ‘You know him very well,’ Zīyād continued. ‘I don’t know him,’ answered Ṣayfī. ‘Do you not know ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib?’ asked Zīyād. ‘Yes,’ answered Ṣayfī. To which Zīyād replied incredulously, ‘That is Abū Turāb!.’ ‘No, that is Abu al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn,’ said Ṣayfī. So Zīyād’s police chief said to Ṣayfī: ‘The Emir said to you: “He is Abū Turāb,” and you say: “No.”’ ‘Do you want me to tell lies as the Emir does? Do you want me to falsely testify?’ asked Ṣayfī. ‘Bring me the rod,’ said Zīyād. When the rod was brought to Zīyād, he said to Ṣayfī: ‘What do you say now?’ ‘These are the best words which I have said concerning a servant from the believing servants of Allāh,’ replied Ṣayfī. ‘Hit his shoulder with the rod till he sticks to the ground,’ said Zīyād. So Ṣayfī was hit a number of times until his body stuck to the ground.

Then Zīyād requested that the police stop beating Ṣayfī. ‘What do you think of ‘Alī now?,’ Zīyād asked. ‘By Allāh, even if you cut me to pieces with razors and knives, I will not say except what you have heard from me,’ answered Ṣayfī. ‘You should curse him otherwise I will cut off your neck,’ said Zīyād. ‘Then cut it off,’ he replied. ‘Push him in the neck. Tie him up with the shackles, and throw him into prison,’ shouted Zīyād. Thus Ṣayfī joined the caravan of death with Ḥiujr, and was among those blessed people who died as martyrs at the Marj of ‘Adhra’.

Then there was ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-‘Anzī. He was sent to prison along with Ḥiujr while he was shackled. When he arrived at the Marj of ‘Adhra’, he asked the police to send him to Mu‘āwiya because he thought that Mu‘āwiya would be kinder to him than Ibn Zīyād. When he came to Mu‘āwiya, the latter said to him: ‘Brother of Rābī‘a, what do you have to say about ‘Alī?’ ‘Leave me and do not ask me (about him), for that is better for you,’ replied ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. ‘By Allāh, I will not leave you alone until you answer,’ said Mu‘āwiya.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān said: ‘I testify that he was among those who remembered Allāh very much, enjoined the truth, undertook justice, and forgave the people.’ ‘What do you say concerning ‘Uthmān?’ asked Mu‘āwiya. ‘He was the first to open the door of injustice and to close the door of truth,’ answered ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. ‘You have killed yourself,’ said Mu‘āwiya. ‘Rather, you have killed yourself,’ said ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. Then Mu‘āwiya returned him to Zīyād in Kufah and promptly ordered him to kill him in a malevolent manner.

On the day when the policemen of Mu‘āwiya imprisoned him along with his companions at the Marj of ‘Adhra’ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān said the following words: ‘O Allāh, make me among those whom You honor through their [the Umayyads’] disgrace, and be pleased with me. I subjected myself to the possibility of being murdered many times, but Allāh refused (that) except what He willed.’

In his book *Tarikh al-Kūfah*, Ḥabbata al-‘Aranī has mentioned ‘Abd al-Raḥmān as follows: ‘‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-‘Anzī was among the companions of ‘Alī, peace be upon him. He lived in Kūfah and used to provoke the people against the Banū Umayya. So Zīyād captured him and sent him to Sham. Mu‘āwiya summoned him to renounce ‘Alī, peace be upon him, but ‘Abd al-Raḥmān answered Mu‘āwiya rudely. So Mu‘āwiya returned him to Zīyād, and Zīyād killed him.’ Ibn al-‘Athīr²² and al-Ṭabarī²³ narrate that Zīyād buried ‘Abd al-Raḥmān alive at the Qis of al-Natif.²⁴

Also among the companions who died with Ḥujr was Qubayṣa b. Rābī‘a al-‘Abasī, although he was called Qubayṣa b. Dubay‘a by some historians. Qubayṣa was a brave man who decided to resist the corrupt Umayyads along with his community. The commander of the police gave him his oath that his blood would not be shed and his property would not be taken, and he put his hand in their hands according to the covenant of security and protection which the Arabs followed before and after Islam. But it seems that the Umayyads abandoned the morals of the Arabs and Muslims, or that they simply understood that such morals were a mere means for victory and violence. So (Qubayṣa) b. Dubay‘a al-‘Abasī was brought before Zīyād, who said to him: ‘By Allāh, I will do (something) for you to distract you from creating discord and revolting against the governors.’ Qubayṣa said: ‘I have come to you according to the security covenant.’ ‘Take him to prison,’ said Zīyād.

Qubayṣa was among the people who were shackled and taken to their deaths because of patience. Before the policemen took Ḥujr and his companions prisoner, they had passed by Qubayṣa’s house. Qubayṣa saw his daughters looking at him and weeping. So he said to Wā‘il and Kathīr, the two policemen taking him to jail: ‘Allow me to see my family.’ When he approached his weeping daughters, he kept silent for an hour, and then he said to them: ‘Be silent.’ So they remained silent. Then he said to them:

22 Ibn al-‘Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 3, 192.

23 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 6, 155.

24 The eastern bank of the Euphrates.

‘Fear Allāh, the Great and Almighty. Be patient. Indeed I hope that Allāh, my Lord, will grant me one of the two good things during this challenge of mine - either martyrdom or returning to you. It is Allāh, the Most High, Who gives You your provisions. He is Living, and never dies. I hope that He will not leave you. I hope that He will protect me so that I can return to you.’ Then Qubayṣa was taken away. The hopeless family spent the night weeping and praying, just as Mu‘āwiya had wanted. There were many daughters similar to Dubay‘a’s who had suffered such tragedies.

Al-Ṭabarī said: ‘Qubayṣa b. Dubay‘a fell into the hands of Abū Sharīf al-Baddī. So Qubayṣa said to him: “Indeed there is bad blood between my people and your people. So let someone other than you kill me.” Abū Sharīf said: “Kinship is obedient to your wishes.” Then al-Qudā‘ī killed Qubayṣa.’²⁵

Also among the fallen were Kaddam b. Hayyān al-‘Anzī and Muhriz b. Shahāb b. Būjayr b. Sufyān b. Khālid b. Munqir al-Tamīmī. The latter was among the chiefs of the people, and from among the loyal and pious Shī‘ites who were known for their devotion to the Ahlulbayt. Muhriz was the commander of the left wing of the army headed by Ma‘qāl b. Qays, who had waged war against the Khārijites in the year 43 AH. During those three battles, the army of Ma‘qāl numbered three thousand people from among the loyal Shī‘ites and their horsemen, as al-Tabari described in his book.²⁶

²⁵ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 6, 156.

²⁶ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 6, 108.

ANALYSIS OF THE INCIDENT

What Khaled Keshk does not take into account amongst others who seek to defend Mu'āwiya is the pre-Islamic definition of *ḥilm* and its usage. In the pre-Islamic definition of *ḥilm*, the *ḥalīm* was a person renowned for his:

calmness, balanced mind, self-control and steadiness of judgement. A *ḥalīm* is a man who knows how to smother his feelings, to overcome his own blind passions and to remain tranquil and undisturbed whatever happens to him, however much he may be provoked.¹

The *jāhil* was a:

hot-blooded impetuous man, who tends to lose his self-control on the slightest provocation, and consequently to act wrecklessly, driven by an uncontrollable blind passion, without reflecting on the disastrous consequence this behavior might lead to. It is the behavior pattern peculiar to a man of an extremely touch and passionate nature, who has no control of his own feelings and emotions, and who therefore, easily surrenders himself to the dictates of violent passions, losing the sense of what is right and what is wrong.²

Mu'āwiya's act of killing Ḥujr was more an act of *jahl* than *ḥilm* for it can be seen as an act of hot bloodedness as well as wrecklessness, with very little display of tranquility and calmness when these attributes were required.

Keshk furthermore seeks to convey the theory that there is not a need for the historians to emphasize on certain elements of the story of Ḥujr, and that when this is done, they are taking away from the fact that 'these sources had a primary purpose that was lost on modern scholars in their use of the Ḥujr story.'³ The reply however is that the emphasis on these elements was to portray a clearer understanding of the motives and the backgrounds of the execution.

The historians are all in agreement on four major parts of the narrative. The first is a discussion of the disagreement which occurred between Ḥujr,

1 Izutsu, *God and Man in the Koran: Semantics of the Koranic Weltanschauung* (Tokyo: The Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1964), 205.

2 Ibid.

3 Keshk, K. *The Historians Mu'āwiya; The Depiction of Mu'āwiya in the Early Islamic Sources* (Germany: Vdm Verlag Dr. MullerAktienGesellschaft, 2008), 104.

al-Mughīrah and Zīyād. The second is that they discuss the background to his disaobedience of the authorities in Kūfah. The third is his arrest and the fourth is his execution. Keshk states that while they all agree they tend to emphasize one incident over another. Emphasis of one incident above another does not hide the over-arching question mark as to whether Mu‘āwiya’s conclusive decision concerning Ḥujr was that of a *ḥalīm* or that of a *jāhil*.

A study of the works of the historians displays how their conclusions are that Mu‘āwiya was the man who made the decision to kill Ḥujr. While Khalīf b. Khayyat does not elaborate further on the background of the incident and simply states that Mu‘āwiya killed Ḥujr in the year 50 AH,⁴ Ibn A‘tham clearly discusses that there was an active killing spree taking place at the time against the supporters of ‘Alī by Zīyād, which was undertaken to please Mu‘āwiya. This does not reflect well on Mu‘āwiya’s *ḥilm* as here he is portrayed as the bloodthirsty despot of the *jāhil* age.⁵

Furthermore, al-Balādhurī⁶ using Rawḥ b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min and ‘Umar b. Shabba b. ‘Abida b. Zayd b. Raiṭ al-Numayrī, al-Ṭabarī from ‘Alī b. Ḥasan and Muslim b. Abī Muslim al-Ḥaramī⁷ and Ibn ‘Asākīr⁸ using Hishām b. Ḥasan concentrate on portraying two very important themes in the incident. The first theme which they are unanimous on is Ḥujr is a martyr and not a rebel or a dissident figure. Secondly, Ḥujr is the man of piety and not Mu‘āwiya or his soldiers. Mu‘āwiya’s lack of self control is displayed by the fact that historians are unanimous that it was Mu‘āwiya who would encourage his governors to curse ‘Alī publically. This begun under the leadership of al-Mughīrah and continued in the reign of Zīyād. Keshk does not seek to accept that all the early historians are in agreement that it was Mu‘āwiya who would find pleasure in the public cursing of ‘Alī. This important prelude to the incident of the killing of Ḥujr is narrated by al-Balādhurī,⁹ al-Ya‘qūbī, al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-‘Athīr. This could be seen

4 Khalīfah b. Khayyat, Abū ‘Amr. *Tārīkh Khalīfah b. Khayyat*, ed. Muṣṭafa Najib Fawaz and Ḥikmat Fawwāz (Beirut, Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1995), 131.

5 Al-Kūfī, Ibn A‘tham. *Kitāb al-Fütūḥ*, 8 vols. (Ḥaydarabād: Da‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-Uthmaniyyah, 1968-75), 203.

6 Al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Jabīr, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol 4/1, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979), vol. 4, 243.

7 Al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Jarīr, *Tārīkh al rusūl wa-al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrahīm, 11 vols. (Cairo: Dar al-Ma‘ārif, 1960-1970), vol. 5, 256.

8 Ibn ‘Asākīr, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan. *Tārīkh Medinat Dimashq*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Sa‘īd ‘Umar b. Gharama al-‘Amrāwī, 70 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1995-1998).

9 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol 4, 243; al-Ya‘qūbī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, 218; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, 253-4; Ibn al-‘Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, 69-70.

as a clear sign of man driven by an uncontrolled blind passion with little or no reflection on the disastrous consequences of such an act, the behavior of a leader who is more a *jāhil* rather than *ḥalīm*. It is therefore not surprising when seeing Ibn al-‘Athīr’ narration of Ziyād torturing Ṣayf b. Faṣīl for his refusal to take part in the cursing of ‘Alī. The despotic tendency of the leader was reflected by his governors.¹⁰

Al-Balādhurī continues to narrate that there were still good people who were willing to change their minds once they were informed of the sincerity of Ḥujr’s cause. Amongst these was Ibn Khuraym al-Murrī and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad b. ‘Abd Yaghūth al-Zuhrī who both rejected the responsibility of executing Ḥujr once they knew of his true beliefs.¹¹

Ibn ‘Asakīr’s narration concerning Ḥujr’s death clearly displays that there was a lack of *ḥilm* in Mu‘āwiya’s decision. Mu‘āwiya asks for advice concerning the killing of Ḥujr. The advice however is taken from men whose very attitude to the incident is wreckless and bloodthirsty, with little concern for the consequences and more concern for their position before the caliph. A man of *ḥilm* would be seen as a mah who would smother his feelings and be steady in his judgement. However, Mu‘āwiya does not fit either description. While Ibn ‘Asakīr narrates that ‘Amr b. al-Aswad al-‘Ansī left the decision in Mu‘āwiya’s hands by telling him that he knew the people of Iraq better than anybody else,¹² Mu‘āwiya listens to two personalities. One is clearly more rash in his conclusion and gives a speech based on flattery than sincere advice. The second displays a hint of *ḥilm*. He is seeking to offer an avenue of support for Ḥujr where he seeks to make the caliph consider forgiveness as an option. The first is Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī, also known as ‘Abdullāh b. Thuwāb, who states:

We have never hated you since we loved you, never disobeyed you since we obeyed you, never left you since we joined you, and never violated our oath of allegiance to you since we gave it. Our swords are on our shoulders; if you order us we will obey and if you call us we will heed.¹³

10 Ibn al-‘Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, 73.

11 Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, 259-260.

12 Ibn ‘Asakīr, *Tārīkh Medīnat Dimashq*, vol. 12, 223-224.

13 Ibn ‘Asakīr, *Tārīkh*, vol. 12, 224.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Yūsuf b. ‘Abdullāh, *al-Istī‘ab fī ma‘rifat al-aṣḥāb*, ed. A. al-Bajjāwī, 4 vols. (Cairo, n.d.).

Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Futuḥ Miṣr wa-Akḥbāruha* (Baghdad, 1967).

—————, *Futuḥ Miṣr* (al-Qāhirah: Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīniyah, 1995).

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū Ḥamīd, *Sharḥ Nahjul Balāgha* (Cairo: Dār al-kutub al-‘Arabīyyah, 1944).

Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, Aḥmad al-Zayn and Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta’lif wa al-Tarjama wa al-Nashr, 1948).

‘Alam al-Hudā, al-Sharīf Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusain al-Murtaḍā aka Dhūl-Majdain, “*Majmu‘a fī funūn min ‘ilm al-kalām*” in *Nafā‘is al-makḥṭūṭāt*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl-Yāsīn, 1st edition (Baghdad: al-Ma‘ārif, 1955).

—————, “*al-Uṣūl al-itiqādīyya*” in *Nafā‘is al-makḥṭūṭāt*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl-Yāsīn, 1st edition (Baghdad: al-Ma‘ārif, 1955).

—————, *al-Shāfi‘ fil Imāma* (Tehran, 1301/1884).

al-Aminī, ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn, *al-Ghadeer* (Beirut: Dār al Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1970).

—————, *al-Ghadīr fil Kitāb wal Sunnah wal Adab* (Qum: Furū al-Dīn Publishers, 1995).

Asadābādī, ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad, *Fīraq wa-ṭabaqāt al-mu‘tazilah* (Cairo: Dār al-Ṭibā‘ah al-Jāmi‘īyah, 1972).

—————, *al-Mughnī* (Cairo: al-Mu‘assasa al-Miṣrīyya al-‘amma lil-ta’lif wal-anbā’ wal-nashr, 1961-5).

Ibn ‘Asākīr, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abī Sa‘īd ‘Umar b. Gharāma al-‘Amrawī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995-1998).

al-Ash‘ārī, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Isma‘īl, *Kitāb al-Ibānah ‘an Uṣūl al-diyānah* (Hyderabad: 1321/1903); tr. by W.C. Klein as *The Elucidation of Islam’s Foundation* (New Haven: 1940).

———, *Kitāb al-Luma’*, text and translation in R.J. McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ash‘ārī* (Beirut: 1953).

———, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Hellmut Ritter (Istanbul, 1928).

al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah* (Cairo: Būlāq, 1328/1910).

———, *Lisān al-mīzān* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1987-1988).

———, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb fī rijāl al-ḥadīth* (Beirut, 1968).

Ibn A‘tham, *Kitāb al-Fūtūḥ*, 8 vols. (Ḥaydarabād: Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmaniyyah, 1968-75).

———, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Fūtūḥ*, Istanbul Manuscript, Library of Ahmet III.

Ibn al-‘Athīr, Izz al-Dīn, *al-Bāhir fī Tārīkh ad-Dawllah al-Tatabanya*, ed. A. Tulaymat (Cairo: 1962).

———, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. C.J. Tornberg (Leiden: Brill, 1868-70).

———, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* (Beirut, 1965).

al-Baghdādī, Abū Maṣṣūr ‘Abd al-Qāhir Tāhir, *Uṣūl al-dīn* (Istanbul: Madrasat al-Ilāhīyāt bi-Dār al-Funūn al-Türkīyah, 1928), simplified translation in H.A.R. Gibb, “Constitutional Organisation” in *Law in the Middle East*, ed. Majid Khadduri and Herbert]. Liebesny (Washington D.C., 1955).

al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* (published for the first time by the School of Oriental Studies, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, SDF Goitein Univ Press, 1936).

———, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmudī (Beirut, 1974).

———, Aḥmed b. Yaḥyā, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979).

———, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1996).

———, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1865).

Al-Bāqillānī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib, *Manāqib al-a‘immah al-arba‘ah*, ed. Samīra Farhat (Beirut: Dār al-Muntakhab al-Arabī, 2002).

———, *al-Tamhīd fī al-Radd ‘alā al-mulḥidah al-mu‘aṭṭalah wa al-rāfiḍah wa-l-Khawārij wa-l-Mu‘tazilah* (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Fikr al-Islāmī, 1947).

al-Dīnawarī, Abū Ḥanīfah Aḥmad b. Dawūd, *al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl* (Leiden: 1888).

al-Farazdaq, Hammām b. Ghālib Abū Firās, *Dīwān*, ed. M.I.A. al-Ṣāwī (Cairo, 1936 and Beirut, 1960).

Hajjī Khalīf, Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abdullāh, *Kashf al-zunūn ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn*, ed. Gustav Flugel, 7 vols. (Leipzig and London: 1835-58).

al-Ḥamawī, Yāqūt b. ‘Abdallāh, *Irshād al-arīb ilā ma‘rifat al-adīb: al-Mu‘jam al-‘Udaba* (Dictionary of Learned Men), ed. D.S. Margoliouth, 7 vols., 2nd edition (London: 1923-31).

Ibn Ḥanbal, ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad, *Musnad* (Cairo: Maymanya Publishers, 1313 AH).

Ibn Hishām, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Ṣīrat Sayyidna Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*, ed. Ferdinand Wilstenfeld, 2 vols. (Gottingen, 1858-60; reprint, Frankfurt am Main, 1961).

al-Jāḥiẓ, Abu ‘Uthmān ‘Amr b. Baḥr, *al-Bayān wa’l-tabyīn*, ed. A.S.M. Harun (Cairo, 1948-50).

———, *Kitāb al-hayawān*, ed. A.S.M. Harun, 2nd edition (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1965-1969).

———, *Rasa’il al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. H. al-Sandubi (Cairo: Yuṭṭab min al-Maktabah al-Tijārīyah al-Kubrā, 1933).

———, *Rasa’il al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. A.S.M. Harun (Cairo, 1965).

———, *Risālat al-‘Uthmānīyya*, ed. A.S.M. Harun (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1955).

al-Jumahī, Muḥammad b. Sallām, *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu‘arā’*, ed. A. M. Shakir (Cairo, 1952).

al-Juwaynī, ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf, *Ghiyāth al-Umām fi al-Tiyāth al-Zulam*, ed. A. Dīb (Qatar, 1400/1979).

Ibn Kathīr, Ismā‘īl b. ‘Umar, *al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya* (Beirut: Maktabah al-Ma‘ārif, 1966).

———, *al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya*, ed. ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Ṣāṭir (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīyyah, 1985).

Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Cairo, 1321), quoted by L. Gardet and M.M. Anawati in *Introduction à la Théologie Musulmane* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1948).

Ibn Khallikān, Shams al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān*, (Cairo, 1948).

al-Khaṭafā, Jarīr b. ‘Aṭīyya b., *Dīwān*, ed. M.I.A. al-Şāwī (Cairo 1353) and ed. N.M.A. Ṭāhā (Cairo 1969-70).

Ibn al-Khayyāt, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-Intiṣar wa-al-radd ‘ala Ibn al-Rawandī al-mulḥid*, ed. and tr. Albert Nader (Beirut: al-Matba‘ah al-Kathulikiyah, 1957).

———, *al-Ṭabaqāt: riwāyat Abī ‘Imrān Mūsā al-Tustarī*, ed. Akram Ḍiyā’ al-‘Umarī (Baghdad: Maṭba‘at al-‘Ānī, 1967).

———, *Tārīkh Khalīfah b. Khayyāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīyyah, 1995).

al-Kindī, Abū ‘Umar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Wulāt wa Kitāb al-Quḍāt*, ed. R. Guest (Leiden, 1912).

al-Isfahānī, Abū al-Faraj ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1285).

———, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. Naṣr al-Hurini, 20 vols. (Bulāq, 1868).

———, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Leiden, 1905).

———, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927-74).

———, *Maqātil al-Ṭālibīyīn*, ed. Aḥmed Saqr (Cairo, 1949; 2nd edtn, Tehran, 1970).

———, *Maqātil al-Ṭālibīyīn* (Najaf: al-Maktabah al-‘Ilmīyyah, 1965).

al-Isfahānī, Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Raghib, *Kitāb al-mufradāt fī gharīb al-Qur‘ān* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifah, n.d.).

al-Jaṣṣāṣ, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Rāzī, *Uṣūl al-fiqh al-musammā bi al-Fuṣūl fī al-uṣūl*, 4 vols., ed. U.J. Nashmī (Kuwait: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1994).

Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭa‘ al-Imām Mālik b. Anas* (Jeddah: Dār al-Shurūq, 1985).

Ibn Manzūr, Muḥammad b. Mukarram, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 20 vols. (Cairo: Būlaq, 1300-108 AH).

al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ed. G. Wiet (Cairo, 1911-2).

al-Maṣrī, Imām Jamāl al-Dīn b. Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1955-56).

al-Mas‘ūdī, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, *Murūj al-Dhahāb wa Ma‘ādin al-Jawhar*, ed. C. Pellat (Beirut: Université Libanaise, 1966-79).

———, *Les Prairies d’or*, ed and trans. Barbier de Maynard and Pavet de Courteille, 9 vols. (Paris, 1861-77).

———, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, *al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf* (Leiden, 1894, rpt., Beirut: Maktabat al-Khayyāt, 1965).

al-Marzubānī, Abī ‘Ubayd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān b. Mūsā, *al-Muwashshah* (Cairo, 1924).

al-Māwardī, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyyah* (Egypt, 1966).

al-Minqārī, Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq’at Ṣiffīn*, ed. A.S.M. Harūn (Cairo, 1365 AH).

———, *Waq’at Ṣiffīn*, ed. A.S.M. Harūn (Cairo, 1382 AH).

al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salamah, *Fākhīr*, ed. C.A. Storey (Leyden: Brill, 1915).

al-Mufīd, Abū Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *Awā’il al-maqālāt fi’l-madhāhib al-mukhtārāt*, ed. ‘Abbāsquī S. Wajdī, with notes and introduction by Faḍl Allāh Zanjānī, 2nd edition (Tabriz: Charandabi, 1371).

———, *al-Fuṣūl al-mukhtārah min al-‘uyūn wa-al-maḥāsin* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Navīd, 1983).

———, *al-Ifṣāh fi Imāmat Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, 2nd edition (Najaf: al-Haidariyya, 1950).

———, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, tr. I.K.A. Howard (London: The Muḥammadi Trust, 1981).

———, *Sharḥ ‘aqā’id al-Ṣadūq* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1983).

———, *Taṣḥīh al-i’tiqād* (Qum, 1951).

Ibn al-Murtaḍā, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mu‘tazila/Die Klassen der Mu‘taziliten von Ibn al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Sussana Diwald-Wilzer (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1961), as cited in L. Clarke, *Shī‘ite Heritage*.

- al-Najāshī, Abī al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* (Beirut: Dār al-Adwā’, 1988).
- al-Nīsābūrī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥakīm, *al-Mustadrak ala l-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (India: Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif al-Nād’imiyet al-Qā’ima fī l-Hind, 1913).
- al-Nūmairī, Abū Zaid ‘Umar Ibn Shabba b. ‘Abida Zaid, *Tārīkh al-Madīna al-Munawwarrah*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Iran, 1989).
- Nuwayrī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, *Nihāyat al-‘Arab fī funūn al-Adāb* (Cairo, 1342-48).
- Al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān b. Abī ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Tamīmī, *Da‘a‘im al-Islam*, ed. A.A. Fyze, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1951-60).
- Qāsim b. Sallām, Abū ‘Ubayd, *Kitāb al-amwāl* (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Fikr, 1975).
- al-Qurashī, Yaḥyā b. Adam, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, ed. Th. W. Juynboll (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1896).
- Ibn Qutayba, ‘Abdullāh b. Muslim, *al-Imāmāh wa’l-siyāsah* (Cairo, 1909).
 ———, *Kitāb al-ma‘arif*, ed. Tharwat ‘Ukāshah (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Dār al-Kutub, 1960).
- Ibn Sa‘d, Muḥammad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* (Beirut, 1947-60).
- al-Ṣafadī, Khalīl b. Aybak, *al-Wāfi bi-al-wafayāt* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 2000).
- al-San‘ānī, ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Ḥammām, *Muṣannaḥ*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥman al-A‘zamī, 11 vols. (Simlak, Dahbel/Beirut, 1391/1972).
- Ibn Shahrāshūb, Rashīd al-Dīn Abī Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’* (Tehran: Maṭba‘at Fardīn, 1934).
- al-Shammākhī, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd, *Kitāb al-Siyār* (Cairo, 1301).

al-Shīrāzī, Abū Ishāq, *al-Ishārah ilā madhhab Ahl al-ḥaqq* (al-Qāhirah: Markaz al-Sīrah wa al-Sunnah, 1999).

al-Sijistānī, Abū Ya‘qūb Ishāq b. Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-Iftikhār*, ed. with notes and comments by Ismail K. Poonawala (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2000).

al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Yazīd, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa ‘l-mulūk*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1881).

———, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa ‘l-mulūk* (Cairo: al-Istiḳāma Publishers, 1939).

———, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa ‘l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 11 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1960-1970).

———, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa ‘l-mulūk*, 13 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1998).

al-Ṭabrīzī, Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī Khaṭīb, *Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsah* (Cairo, 1916), vol. 1, 3.

al-Tamīmī, Sayf b. ‘Umar al-Asadī, *Kitāb al-Ridda wa ‘l-futūh* and *Kitāb al-Jamal wa-masīr ‘A‘isha wa-‘Alī: A Facsimile Edition of the Fragments Preserved in the University Library of Imām Muḥammad Ibn Sa‘ud Islamic University in Riyadh* (Leiden: Smitskamp Oriental Antiquarium, 1995).

al-Tawḥīdī, Abū Ḥayyān ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, *al-Baṣā‘ir wa-al-dhakhā‘ir*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Beirut, 1988).

———, *Kitāb al-imtā‘ wa-al-mu‘ānasah*, ed. Aḥmed Amīn and Aḥmed al-Zayn (Cairo, 1953).

———, *Risālat al-Saqīfah*, published in I. al-Kīlānī, ed., *Thalāth rasā‘il lī-Abī Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī* (Damascus, 1951).

Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *al-Fakhrī fī al-adab al-sulṭānīyah wal duwal al-islāmīyya* (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-tijariya al-kubrā, 1927).

Ibn Ṭūlūn, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, *Quḍāt Dimashq: al-thaghr al-bassām fī dhikr man wuliyya qaḍā‘ al-shām*, ed. S. Munajjid (Damascus, 1956).

al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, ed. A. Sprenger/new ed. Maḥmud Ramyar (Mashhad, 1351).

Ya‘qūb, Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (1886).

al-Ya‘qūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb, *Kitāb al-Tārīkh* (Leiden: Brill, 1883).

———, “Kitāb al-Buldan” in Ibn Rustah’s *A‘lāq al-naḥṣah*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1892).

al-Zubayrī, Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Muṣ‘ab, *Nasab Quraysh* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif lil-Ṭibā‘ah wa-al-Nashr, 1953).

SECONDARY SOURCES

Abbott, N., *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

al-‘Adawī, Ibrāhīm Aḥmad, *al-Dawla al-Umawīyah* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Shabāb, 1987-88).

Afsaruddin, Asma, *Excellence and Precedence: Medieval Discourse on Legitimate Leadership* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

———, *The First Muslims: History and Memory* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2008).

———, “In Praise of the Caliphs: Recreating History from the Manāqib Literature,” *IJMES*, 31 (1999).

Ahlwardt, W., *The Divans of the Six Ancient Arabic Poets*, 25, no. 23:11 (London, 1870).

‘Alī, Jawād, “Mawarid Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,” *Majallat al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī al-Iraqī*, 1 (1950).

al-‘Alī, Ṣalīh, “Muslim Estates in Ḥijāz in the First Century,” *JESHO*, vol. 2 (1959).

‘Alī, ‘Abdullāh Yūsuf, tr. *The Qur’ān* (New York: Tahrike Tarsile Qur’an, Inc., 2007).

Allard, M., *Le problème des attributs divins dans la doctrine d’al-As’arī et de ses premiers grands disciples* (Beirut, 1965).

Aqīl, Nabil, *Dirasat fī al-‘aṣr al-umawī*, 4th edition (Damascus: University of Damascus Press, 1991-92).

‘Arafāt, W., “The Historical Background to the Elegies on ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān Attributed to Ḥassan b. Thabit,” *BSOAS*, 33 (1970).

Arberry, A. J., *Arabic Poetry: A Primer for Students* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1965).

Arnold, T. W., *The Caliphate* (New York : Barnes and Noble, 1966 [1924]).

al-‘Askarī, S. M., *The Role of ‘A’isha in the History of Islam: ‘A’isha in the Time of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān*, tr. Dr. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Pārzārgādī (Iran: Naba Organization, 2000).

Ashtiany, J. and J.D. Latham, *‘Abbāsīd Belles-Lettres* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

‘Aṭwān, Ḥusayn, *Nizām wilayāt al-‘ahd wa wirathāt al-khilāfah fī al-‘aṣr al-Umawī* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1991).

‘Azamī, M. M., *On Schacht’s Origins of Muammadan jurisprudence* (Oxford: Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies; 1996).

———, *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature* (Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1992).

al-Azmeh, A., *Muslim Kingship* (New York: LB. Tauris Publishers, 1997).

Bahar, Muḥammad Taqī, ed., *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* (Tehran, 1314).

Bakhit, M. Adnan, and Robert Schick, eds., *The History of the Bilād al-Shām During the Umayyad Period: Fourth International Conference of the History of Bilād al-Shām* (Amman: University of Jordan and Yarmouk University, 1989).

Bakhtin, M. M., *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. Michael Holquist (Austin: Univeristy of Texas Press, 1981).

Barthes, Roland, *The Pleasure of the Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975).

Bashear, Suliman, “The Title Fārūq and its Association with ‘Umar I’,” *Studia Islamica*, 72 (1990).

Bates, Michael, “The ‘Arab-Byzantine Bronze Coinage of Syria: An Innovation by ‘Abd al-Mālik,” *A Colloquium in Memory of George Carpenter Miles* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1976).

Bayhom-Daou, T., “The Imām’s Knowledge and the Qur’ān According to al-Faḍl b. Shādhān al-Nīsābūrī (d. 260 A.H./874 A.D.),” *BSOAS*, 64, 2 (2001).

_____, Shaykh Muḥīd: *Makers of the Muslim World* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005).

Berg, H., *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000).

Birkeland, H., *Old Muslim Opposition Against Interpretation of the Qur'ān* (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1955).

Brock, Sebastian P., "Syriac Sources for Seventh Century History," *BMGS*, 2 (1976).

_____, "Syriac Views of Emergent Islam" in G.H.A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies in the First Century of Islamic Society* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1982).

Brockelmann, C., "al-Ya'kubī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition (Leiden: Brill, 1954-66).

Brown, J., *Ḥādīth: Muḥammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2009).

Burton, J., *An Introduction to the Ḥādīth* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994).

Busse, H., "Monotheismus und Islamische Christologie in der Bauinschrift des Felsendoms in Jerusalem," *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 161 (1981) as cited by Donner in *Narratives of Islamic Origins*.

Cahen, C., "History and Historians: From the Beginnings to the Time of al-Ṭabarī," *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbāsīd Period: The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Calder, Norman, "The Qurrā and the Arab Lexicographical Tradition," *JSS*, 36, 2 (1991).

Cameron, A. J., *Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: An Examination of His Image in the Hagiography of Islam*, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol. 63 (London: Luzac and Co. Ltd. for the Royal Asiatic Society, 1973).

Cameron, Averil, "Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-

- Century Byzantium,” in M. Mullet and R. Scott (eds.), *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 1981).
- el-Cheikh, N., *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Centre for Middle-Eastern Studies, 2004).
- Cooperson, M., *Classical Arabic Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Crone, Patricia, *God’s Rule: Government in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).
- , *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2004).
- , *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
- , “Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad Period Political Parties?” *DI*, 71 (1994).
- Crone, Patricia, and M. Cook, *Hagarism: The Making Of The Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
- Crone, Patricia, and F.W. Zimmerman, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Coulson, N.J., *A History of Islamic Law, Islamic Surveys*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1964; reprint, 1991).
- Culler, Jonathan, *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981).
- Dabashi, Hamid, *Authority in Islam: From the Rise of Muḥammad to the Establishment of the Umayyads*, 2nd edition (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1992).
- Dakake, Maria, *The Charismatic Community: Shi‘ite Identity in Early Islam* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2007).
- al-Dīb, ‘Abd al-‘AZīm, *Imām al-Ḥāramayn* (Kuwait: Dār al-Qalam, 1981).
- Dixon, A. A., *The Umayyad Caliphate 65-86/684-705: A Political Study* (London: Luzac, 1971).

- Donner, Fred, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).
- , “From Believers to Muslims: Confessional Self-Identity in the Early Islamic Community” in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, IV: Patterns of Communal Identity*, ed. Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2003).
- , *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginning of Islamic Historical Writing* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, Inc: 1998).
- Dūrī, A. A., *The Rise of History Among the Arabs* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).
- Elad, A., “The Beginnings of Historical Writing by the Arabs: The Earliest Syrian Writers on the Arab Conquests,” *JSAI*, 28 (2003).
- Ennami, A. K., “A Description of New ‘Ibādī Manuscripts from North Africa,” *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 15 (1970).
- Farouq, Umar, *Khalāfah b. Khayyāṭ Mu‘arrikhān* (Baghdad: 1967).
- Faris, N. A., “Development in Arab Historiography as Reflected in the Struggle Between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah” in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. P. M. Holt and B. Lewis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).
- Flood, Gavin, *Beyond Phenomenology: Rethinking the Study of Religion* (London: Cassell, 1999).
- Fowden, G., *Qūṣayr ‘Amra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1st Edition, 2004).
- Fück, Johann, “Die Rolle des Traditionalismus im Islam,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 93 (1939) in Berg, H., *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000).
- Fyzee, A. A., “Qāḍī an-Nu‘mān: The Fāṭimid Jurist and Author,” *JRAS* (1934).
- Geyer, R., *The Divan of al-‘A‘isha* (London, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial series, N.S.6, 1928).

Gleave, R. "Between Hādīth and Fiqh: Early Imāmī Collections of Akhbār," *ILS*, 8, 3 (2001).

Goldziher, I., *Mohamedanische Studien* (first published 1890), vol. 2, tr. into English by C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern under the title *Muslim Studies*, vol. 2 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1967-71).

———, *The Principles of Law in Islam*, vol. 8, 301, in *The Historian's History of the World*, ed. H.S. Williams (London, 1907).

Goriawala, M., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fyzee collection of Ismaili Manuscripts*, no. 24 and no. 49 entitled *Ithbāt al-Imāmah* (Bombay: University of Bombay, 1965).

Gorke, A., "The Historical Tradition about al-Hudaybīyya," In *The Biography of Muḥammad: The Issue of the Sources*, ed. Harald Motzki (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

Gruendler, B., "Verse and Taxes: The Function of Poetry in Selected Literary Akhbār of the Third/Ninth Century" in *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*, ed. Ph. F. Kennedy (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005).

Gunther, S., "Assessing the Sources of Classical Arabic Compilations: The Issue of Categories and Methodologies," *BJMES*, 32, 1 (2005).

Halm, Heinz, *Shī'ism* (Edinburgh, 1992).

Hamda, Muḥammad Māhir, *Dirāsa wathā'iqīyya li-l-Tārīkh al-Islamī wa-maṣadirihi; min 'ahd banī umayyah ḥata al-fath al-'Uthmānī li-Sūriyah wa-Miṣr 40-922 AH /661-1516 CE* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al Risāla, 1988).

Hasson, Isaac, "La conversion de Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān," *JSAI*, 22 (1998).

Hawting, Gerald R., *The First Dynasty of Islam* (London: Routledge, 2000).

———, "The Origins of the Muslim Sanctuary at Mecca", in G.H.A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1982).

———, "The Significance of the Slogan *La Ḥukma illa Lillah* and the References to the *Hudūd* in the Traditions about the *Fitna* and the Murder of 'Uthmān," *BSOAS*, 41 (1978).

el-Ḥibrī, T., *JSTOR*, vol. 118, n.1.

———, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography: Harūn al-Rashīd and the Narrative of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Hinds, Martin, “The Banners and the Battle Cries of the Arabs at the Battle of Ṣiffīn (657 AD),” *al-Abḥāth*, 24 (1971).

———, “Mu‘āwīya I,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

———, “The Murder of the Caliph ‘Uthmān,” *IJMES*, 3 (1972).

———, “Sayf b. ‘Umar’s Sources on Arabia,” *Studies in the History of Arabia*, 1: ii (1979).

———, “The Siffin Arbitration Agreement,” *JSS*, 17 (1972).

Hitti, Philip K., *History of the Arabs* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

Hodgson, Marshall, “How Did the Early Shi‘a become Sectarian,” *JAOS*, 75 (1955).

Horst, Heribert, *Die Gewahrsmaner im korankommentar at-Ṭabarī: Ein Beitrag zur kenntnis der exegetischen Überlieferung im Islam* (Rheinische Friedrich-Willhelms-Universität zu Bonn, Ph.D dissertation, 1951) in Berg, H., *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000).

Hoyland, R., “Sebeos, the Jews and the Rise of Islam,” *SMJR*, 2 (1996).

———, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997), quoting George of Resh‘aina, “An Early Syriac Life of Maxim us XXIII.”

Humphreys, R. S., *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

———, *Mu‘āwīya b. Abī Sufyān: From Arabia to Empire* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2006).

Ibrāhīm, Maḥmūd, *Merchant Capital and Islam* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1990).

———, *The Social and Economic Background of the Umayyad Caliphate* (University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.c.l. dissertation, 1981).

Ivanow, V., "Early Shi'ite Movements," *JBBRAS* (1941).

Izutsu, T., *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur'ān* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966).

———, *God and Man in the Koran: Semantics of the Qur'ānic Weltanschauung* (Tokyo: The Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1964).

al-Jabburī, K. S., *Nuṣūs min Tārīkh Abī Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Jāmidī al-Azdī l-Kūfī l-Mutawaffā [157 H]* (Beirut: Dār al-Rasūl al-Akram, 1999).

Jones, J.M.B., "The Chronology of the Maghāzī: A Textual Survey," *BSOAS*, XIX (1957).

Juynboll, G.H.A., *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and the Authorship of Early Ḥadīth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

———, *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982).

Kaegi, Walter, "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquests," *CH*, 38 (1969).

Kassis, H. E., *A Concordance of the Qur'ān* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1983).

Kennedy, Hugh, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphate: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century* (London: Longman, 1986).

———, *Al-Ṭabarī: Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* (London: Darwin Press, 2008).

Keshk, Khaled, *The Depiction of Mu'āwiya in the Early Islamic Sources* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2002).

———, *The Historian's Mu'āwiya: The Depiction of Mu'āwiya in the Early Islamic Sources* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr Muller, 2008).

———, "The Historiography of an Execution: The Killing of Ḥujr b. 'Adī," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 19, 1 (January 2008).

Khālidī, T., *Arab Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

_____, *Images of Muḥammad* (New York: Doubleday, 2009).

Kohlberg, Etan, "Evolution of the Shī'a," *JQ*, 27 (1983).

_____, "From Imāmīyya to Ithnā-Asharīyya," *BSOAS*, 39 (1976).

_____, "Imām and Community in the Pre-Ghayba Period," in *Authority and Political Culture in Shī'ism*, ed. Sa'īd Amīr Arjomand (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988).

_____, "The Term *Muhaddath* in Twelver Shī'ism," *Studio Orientalia D.H. Baneth Dedicata* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1979).

Kristeva, Julia, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

Lalani, Arzina, *Early Shī'i Thought: The Teachings of Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir* (London: I.B. Tauris and the Institute of 'Ismā'īlī Studies, 2004).

Lambton, A., *State and Government in Medieval Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

Lammens, Henri, *Etudies sur le regne du Calife Omiyade Mo'awiya I* (Leipzig, 1908).

_____, "Mu'āwiya," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition (Leiden: Brill, 1954-66).

Lapidus, Ira M., *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

_____, "Knowledge, Virtue, and Action: The Classical Muslim Conception of *Adab* and the Nature of Religious Fulfillment in Islam" In *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara D. Metcalf (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

_____, "The Separation of State and Religion in the Development of Early Islamic Society," *IJMES* 6 (1975).

Lassner, J., *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1986).

Lecker, Michael, "The Estates of 'Amr b. al-Āṣ in Palestine: Notes on a New Negev Arabic Inscription," *BSOAS*, 52 (1989).

Leder, Stefan, "The Literary Use of the *Khabar*: A Basic Form of Historical

Writing” in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, ed. Averil Cameron and Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1992).

Lewinstein, K., *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 121, 2 (2001).

Lindsay, J., *Ibn Asākīr and Early Islamic History* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2001).

Macdonald, D. B., *Development of Muslim Theology: jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903).

Macintyre, Alasdair, *A History of Ethics* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967).

McCarthy, R. J., “Al-Bāqillānī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition (Leiden: Brill, 1954-66).

———, *The Theology of al-Ash‘ārī* (Beirut: 1953).

Mccutcheon, Russell T., “General Introduction” in *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion*, ed. Russell T. Mccutcheon (London: Cassell, 1999).

McDermott, Martin J., *The Theology of Shaykh al-Mufīd* (Beirut, 1978).

Madelung, Wilferd, *The Succession to Muḥammad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Madelung, Wilferd, “Early Sunnī Doctrine Concerning Faith as Reflected in the Kitāb al-Imān of Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām” (d. 224/839), *SI*, 32 (1970).

———, “The Hāshimīyāt of al-Kumayt and Hāshimī Shī‘ism,” *SI*, 70 (1989).

Margoliouth, D. S., *Lectures on Arab Historians* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1930).

Marsham, Andrew, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy, Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

Martensson, U., “Discourse and Historical Analysis: The Case of al-Ṭabarī’s History of the Messengers and the Kings,” 16 (2005).

Mattson, I., *JR*, 78, 2 (1998).

Miles, G. C., "Early Islamic Inscriptions Near Ṭā'if in the Ḥijāz," *JNES*, 7 (1948).

Millward, W. G., "Al-Ya'qūbī's Sources and the Question of Shī'ī Partiality", *Abr Nahrain*, 12 (1971-1972).

Modarressi, Hossein, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shī'ite Islam: Abū Ja'far b. Qība al-Rāzī and His Contribution to Imāmite Shī'ite Thought* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1993).

———, *Tradition and Survival: A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shī'ite Literature* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2003).

Montgomery, J., "al-Jāḥiẓ" in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 311: *Arabic Literary Heritage 500-925*, ed. S.M. Toorawa and M. Cooperson (Detroit: Layman, Brucoli & Clark, 2005).

———, "Jāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-Bayan wa-l-Tabayin*," in Julia Bray (ed.), *Writing and Representation*: (London: Muslim Horizons, 2006).

———, "Of Models and Amanuenses: The Remarks on the Qaṣīda in Ibn Qutaybah's *Kitāb al-Shi'r wa-l-Shu'arā*," in R. Hoyland and P. Kennedy (ed.), *Islamic Reflections, Arabic Musings: Studies in Honour of Alan Jones* (Oxford: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004).

Morony, M., trans., *History of Ṭabarī: Between Civil Wars: The Caliphate of Mu'āwiyah*, vol. 18 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987).

———, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton: N.J.; Princeton University Press, 1984).

———, *NES*, 59, 2 (2000).

Motzki, H., *The Biography of Muḥammad: The Issue of the Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

———, *Ḥadīth: Origins and Development* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

———, "The *Muṣannaḥ* of 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Ḥammām al-San'ānī as a Source of Authentic *Aḥadīth* of the First Century AH," *JNES*, 50 (1991).

Mubarak, Z., *al-Nathr al-Fannī* (Cairo, 1934).

Muir, W. *The Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline and Fall* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1891).

al-Najjar, M., *al-Dawla al-Umawīyya fi al-sharq* (Cairo, 1962).

Nallino, C. A., “Appunti sulla natura del ‘Califatto’ in genere e sul presunto ‘Califatto ottomano’,” in *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti* (Rome, 1941) as cited in Watt, W. Montgomery, “God’s Caliph: Qur’ānic Interpretations and Umayyad Claims,” *Iran and Islam*, ed. C. E. Bosworth (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971).

Noth, A., and L. Conrad, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1994).

Ostrogorsky, George, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968).

Palmer, A., S. Brock, and R. Hoyland, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993).

Pellat, C., *The Life and Works of Jāhīz Translation of Selected Texts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

Petersen, E., “Alī and Mu‘āwiya: The Rise of the Umayyad Caliphate 656-661,” *Acta Orientalia*, 23 (1955).

———, *Alī and Mu‘āwiya* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1964).

Poonawala, Ismail K., *Al-Qaḍī al-Numān and his Urjuza on the Imāmate* (University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.d. dissertation, 1970).

al-Qaḍī, Wadād, *Bishr b. Kubar al-Balawī; Namūdhaj min al-nathr al-fannī al-mubakkir fī al-Yaman* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islamī, 1985).

———, “al-Raka’iz al-fikrīyyah fī nazrat Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī ilā 1-mujtama,” *al-Abḥāth*, 23 (1970).

———, “The Religious Foundation of Late Umayyad Ideology and Practice,” *Saber Religioso y Poder Politico en el Islam: Actas del Simposio Internacional*, Granada, 15-18 octubre 1991 (Madrid, 1994).

———, “The Term ‘Khalīfa’ in Early Exegetical Literature,” *DWI*, 28 (1988).

Quṭb, Sayyid, *Social Justice in Islam*, tr. John Hardie (New York: Octagon Books, 1970).

Quṭbuddin, T., “*Khuṭba*: The Evolution of Early Arabic Oration,” in *Classical Arabic Humanities in their Own Terms: Festschrift for Wolfhart Heinrichs on his 65th Birthday*, ed. Beatrice Gruendler (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2008).

Reinink, G.J., “The Beginnings of Syriac Apologetic Literature in Response to Islam,” *Oriens Christianus*, 77 (1993).

Richards, D. S., “Ibn al-Athīr and the Later Parts of the *Kāmil*: A Study for Aims and Methods” in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. D.O. Morgan (London: SOAS, University of London, 1982).

Rippin, A., “Literary Analysis of the Qur’ān, *Tafsīr* and *Sīrah*: The Methodologies of John Wansborough” in *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies*, ed. Richard C. Martin (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985).

Robinson, C., ‘Abd al-Mālik: *Makers of the Muslim World* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2007).

———, *Islamic Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Robson, J., “The *Isnād* in Muslim Tradition,” *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, 15 (1953-4).

Rosenthal, F. A., *Knowledge Trimphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1970).

———, *History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 1968).

———, *The History of Ṭabarī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989).

Rubin, Uri, “The Eye of the Beholder: The Life of Muḥammad As Viewed By the Early Muslims, A Textual Analysis,” *Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, 8 (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1995).

al-Sāmarrā’ī, Ibrāhīm, *Fī al-Muṣṭalah al-Islāmī* (Beirut: Dār al-Hadāthah, 1990).

Scheeler, G., *The Oral and the Written in Early Islam*, tr. Uwe Vagelpohl (London: Routledge, 2006).

Serjeant, R. B., "The Caliph 'Umar's Letters to Abū Mūsā and Mu'āwiya," *SS*, 24 (1984).

Sezgin, F., *Geschichte des Arabesque Schriftums, Band I: Qur'ān Wissenschaften, ḥadīth, Geschichte, Fīqh, Dogmatik, Mystik bis ca. 430 H*, tr. H. Berg (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967).

Sezgin, U., *Abū Mikhnaf: Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie des umayyadischen Ziet* (Leiden: Brill, 1971) as cited in C. Robinson.

Shaban, M. A., *The Abbasid Revolution* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

———, *Islamic History: A New Interpretation A.D. 600-750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

Shahid, Irfan, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library Collection, 1989).

———, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* (Washington D.C. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library Collection, 1995).

———, *Byzantium and the Arabs in Late Antiquity* (Bruxelles: Byzantion, 2005).

Sharon, Moshe, "Notes on the Question of Legitimacy of Government in Islam," *IAO*, 10 (1980).

———, "The Umayyads as Ahl al-Bayt", *JSAI*, 14 (1992).

Shepard, W., "The Development of the Thought of Sayyid Quṭb as Reflected in Earlier and Later Editions of 'Social Justice in Islam'," *DWI*, 32 (1992).

———, "Sayyid Quṭb's Doctrine of *Jahīlīyya*," *IJMES*, 35 (2003).

Schacht, J., *Origins of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950).

Shackle, Christopher, and Stefan Speri, "Qaṣīda Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa," 2 vols., in *Studies in Arabic Literature*, vol. 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

Silverstein, A., *Postal-Systems in the Pre-Modern Islamic World: Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

- Speight, M., "A Look at Variant Readings in the *Hadīth*," *DI*, 77 (2000).
- Stetkevych, Jaroslav, *Arabic Poetry and Orientalism* (Oxford: St John's College Research Centre, 2004).
- Stetkevych, S., *Early Islamic Poetry and Poetics: The Formation of the Classical Islamic World* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Variorum, 2009).
- , *The Mute Immortals Speak: Pre-Islamic Poetry and the Poetics of Ritual* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993).
- Stewart, Devin, "Saj' in the Qur'ān: Prosody and Structure," *JAL*, 21 (1990).
- Stroumsa, S., "The Blinding Emerald: Ibn al-Rawandī's *Kitāb al-Zumurrud*", *JAOS*, 114 (1994).
- , "Ibn al-Rawandī's *Su'adab al-mujadala*: The Role of Bad Manners in Medieval Disputations" in H. Lazarus-Yaffe, et al. (eds.), *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam, Studies in Arabic Language and Literature* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1999).
- Taqqush, M. S., *Tārīkh al-dawla al-Umawīyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Nafā'is, 1996).
- Thompson, Willie, *Postmodernism and History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
- Tyan, E., *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* (Paris, 1938-1943; 2nd edition, Leiden, 1960) in Watt, W. Montgomery, "God's Caliph: Qur'ānic Interpretations and Umayyad Claims," *Iran and Islam*, ed. C.E. Bosworth (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971).
- ‘Uways, Abd al-Ḥalīm, *Banū Umayyah bayn al-suqūt wa al-intihār; dirāsah ḥawl suqūt Banū Umayyah fī al-mashriq* (Cairo: Dār al-Sahwa, 1987).
- al-Wakīl, Muḥammad al-Sayyid, *al-Umawīyun bayna al-sharq wal-gharb: dirāsah waṣfiyah wa-tahlīlīyah lil-dawlah al-Umawīyah* (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1995).
- Walmand, M. R., *Toward a Theory of Historical Narrative* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1980).

Watt, W. Montgomery, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973).

———, “God’s Caliph: Qur’ānic Interpretations and Umayyad Claims,” *Iran and Islam*, ed. C.E. Bosworth (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971).

———, *Muḥammad at Mecca* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953).

———, “Shī‘ism under the Umayyads,” *JRAS* (1960).

Wansborough, J., *Qur’ānic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

Weber, Max, *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers*, ed. S.N. Eisenstadt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

Wellhausen, J., *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, tr. Margaret Weir (Beirut: Khayats, 1963).

———, *The Religio-Political Factions of Early Islam*, ed. R.C. Ostle, trans. R.C. Ostle and S.M. Waltzer (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing, 1975).

White, Hayden, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

Wolfson, H., *The Philosophy of the Kalam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976).

APPENDIX

عن مخشي بن حجر بن عدي عن أبيه أن نبي الله (ص) خطبهم، فقال: أي يوم هذا؟ فقالوا: يوم حرام. قال: فأأي بلد هذا؟ قالوا: بلد حرام، قال: فأأي شهر هذا؟ قالوا: شهر حرام، قال: فان دماءكم وأموالكم وأعراضكم حرام عليكم كحرمة يومكم هذا، كحرمة شهركم هذا، كحرمة بلدكم هذا، ليلبغ الشاهد الغائب، لا ترجعوا بعدي كفاراً يضرب بعضكم رقاب بعض.

المستدرک، ج 3 / ص 470 : Source

شعيب بن حرب عن شعبة عن أبي بكر بن حفص عن حجر بن عدي رجل من اصحاب النبي (ص) عن النبي (ص) قال: ان قوماً يشربون الخمر يسمونها بغير اسمها

الاصابة، ج 1 / ص 313 : Source

حجر بن عدي الكندي قال: «قلت لحجر: اني رايت ابنك دخل الخلاء ولم يتوضأ، قال: ناولني الصحيفة من الكوة. فقرأ: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، هذا ما سمعت علي بن ابي طالب يذكر: أن الطهور نصف الايمان»

الطبقات، ج 6 / ص 220 : Source

عن حجر انه قال: «سمعت علي بن ابي طالب يقول: الوضوء نصف الايمان» وروى ابن عساكر ايضاً باسناده إلى حجر بن عدي قال: «سمعت شراحيل بن مرة يقول: سمعت النبي (ص) يقول لعلي: ابشريا علي، حياتك وموتك معي»

Source : 85 ص / 4 ج تاريخ ابن عساكر،

شريك قال: اخبرنا عبدالله بن سعد عن حجر بن عدي قال: قدمت المدينة فجلست الى ابي هريرة، فقال: ممن انت؟ قلت: من اهل البصرة، قال: ما فعل سمرة بن جندب؟، قلت: هو حي، قال: ما احد احب اليّ طول حياة منه، قلت: ولمّ ذاك؟ قال: ان رسول (ص) قال لي وله ولحذيفة بن اليمان: «أخركم موتاً في النار»، فسبقنا حذيفة، وانا الان أتمنى ان اسبقه، قال: فبقى سمرة بن جندب، حتى شهد مقتل الحسين

Source : 74 ص / 4 ج شرح نهج البلاغة،

... al-Jabalah b. 'Adi b.
... al-Akrasim
... Mu'awiyah b. Thawab
... Kindiy.

... Mujib al-Kharys - the good one
... father was 'Adi al-Adbar (the sore
...), thus nicknamed because he had
... stabbed after having turned his back
... enemy.

... 'Adi lived both in pre-Islamic
... and Islamic times. Some scholars
... mentioned that he came to the Prophet
... together with his brother Hani b. 'Adi.
... was the one who conquered Mary
... Adha.

... Mujib's pension was 2,500 dirhams per
... year. He was a companion of 'Ali b.
... al-Qalib and fought by his side in the
... battles of the Camel and Siffin.

ISBN 9781500441050



9 781500 441050

90000 >



UK £11.99
US \$ 14.99

SAYED AMMAR PRESS

www.sayedammar.com