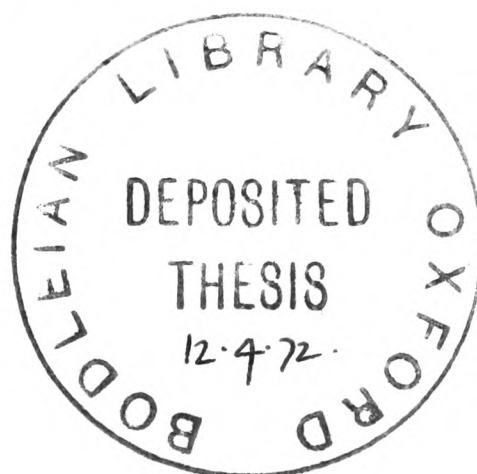


THE ATTITUDE OF THE IMĀMĪ-SHĪ'ĪS
TO THE
COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET

A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Oxford

by

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ABSTRACT

It is a commonly held view among non-Shi'is that the Imāmi-Shi'i attitude towards the Companions of the Prophet is characterised by hatred and contempt. In fact, the picture is far more complex and diverse. There are certain basic beliefs which are common to all Imāmi-Shi'is, such as the belief that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was the only rightful successor to Muḥammad. But in their attitude to individual Companions, as well as to the Ṣaḥāba as a whole, there are considerable differences between scholars of various periods, schools and geographic centres, and also between official Imāmi theology and popular Shi'ism.

The aim of the present study is to examine the Imāmi-Shi'i attitude to the Companions from two complementary angles: first, the Imāmi view of the Companions as Muslims; secondly, the Imāmi view of the Companions as authorities. The first point is directly connected with the Imāmi interpretation of events in the early period of Islam; the second involves doctrinal considerations which spring out of the Imāmi belief in an Imam in whom all authority is vested.

Imāmi statements on most subjects have to be placed in the context of polemics against the Sunna. This is especially true for the Imāmi attitude to the Companions, since this is a subject about which both Sunnis and Shi'is held strong, often contradictory, views. In the present study, therefore, the investigation of Imāmi views is preceded by a chapter which examines Sunni attitudes to the Ṣaḥāba. This chapter is followed by a discussion of Mu'tazilī views on the Companions, so that these views may be compared and contrasted with the

official Imāmi attitude. The third chapter examines the doctrinal questions involved in the Imāmi attitude toward the Ṣaḥāba; it is followed by two chapters dealing with the Imāmi view of the rejected and the accepted Companions, respectively. ^{In} ~~The~~ the sixth and last chapter it is attempted to show that although Imāmi-Shi'is regard the Imam as the supreme authority after the Prophet, the Companions are not entirely devoid of authority. The first appendix deals with biographies of some of the better known among the accepted Companions; in the second appendix the main views of the Zaydiyya on the subject of the Ṣaḥāba are summarised.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in this study.

AIUON	Annali del Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli
<u>Baṣā'ir</u>	aṣ-Ṣaffār, <u>Baṣā'ir ad darajāt</u>
<u>Bihār</u>	Al-Majlisī, <u>Bihār al-anwār</u>
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
<u>Darajāt</u>	Ibn Ma'sūm, <u>Ad-darajāt ar-raff'a</u>
<u>Dharī'a</u>	Āghā Buzurg aṭ-Ṭihrānī, <u>Adh-dharī'a ilā taṣānif ash-shī'a</u>
EI ¹	The Encyclopaedia of Islam, first edition
EI ²	The Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition
GAL	Brockelmann, C., <u>Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur</u>
GALS	Brockelmann, Supplement
Ibn Sa'd	Ibn Sa'd, <u>K. aṭ-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr</u>
<u>Istighātha</u>	'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī, <u>Al-istighātha fī bida' ath-thalātha</u>
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
MFO	Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale
MO	Le Monde Oriental
<u>Muh. Stud.</u>	Goldziher, I., <u>Muhammedanische Studien</u>
MW	Muslim World
<u>al-Qāsim</u>	Madelung, W., <u>Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm</u>
<u>Rawḍa</u>	al-Kulīnī, <u>Ar-rawḍa min al-kāfi</u>
REI	Révue des Etudes Islamiques
Sezgin	Sezgin, F., <u>Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums</u>
<u>Shāfi</u>	al-Murtaḍā, <u>Ash-shāfi fī 'l-imāma</u>
SI	Studia Islamica
<u>Sīra</u>	Ibn Hishām, <u>Sīrat rasūl Allāh</u>

<u>Tahdhīb</u>	Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, <u>Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb</u>
WZMG	Wiener Zeitschrift der morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft

INTRODUCTION

One of the most outstanding features of Sunnī Islam is the central position held by the Companions of the Prophet, known collectively as the Ṣaḥāba. These men and women have been revered for centuries as the first Muslims, who followed Muḥammad and served his cause with devotion, and who became after his death the vital link through which his teachings were transmitted to later generations. Hence their significance is twofold: firstly, they are held up as the most excellent of all pious believers, whose actions, inspired by the living example of the Prophet, are to be admired and imitated. Secondly, their role as transmitters of Muḥammad's sayings places them in a position of authority second only to that of the Prophet himself.

Whereas the basic facts about the Sunnī attitude to the Companions are generally well-known, the same cannot be said of the attitude of the Imāmī-Shī'īs to the Ṣaḥāba. Until fairly recently, indeed, Shī'ism as a whole received less than its due share of attention. Interest among scholars focused mainly on the Sunnīs, who for several centuries have comprised roughly ninety per cent of the world's Muslim community. But the present numerical inferiority of the Shī'īs is no guide to their importance in the formative early centuries of Islam. It is impossible to write about the period during which Sunnī doctrine and law took their definitive form without continually taking into account Shī'ī influences of many kinds. During this period--say up to the end of the 5th/11th century--Shī'īs and their sympathisers formed a very large proportion of the community, and their beliefs are therefore also inherently of

great interest for the historian of medieval Islam.

The neglect of Shi'ism was also due to contingent factors: most original Shi'i material (except that which reached European libraries through the efforts of individual collectors) was located in areas lying outside the more accessible Islamic centres of learning (for instance, Imāmi-Shi'i works were to be found predominantly in Iran and 'Irāq, Zaydī works in the Yemen, Ismā'īlī works in India and the Yemen). Until quite recently this material consisted almost entirely of MSS and lithographs which were not readily available because they were produced only in small numbers. As a result most of the information about the various branches of Shi'ism had to be culled from non-Shi'i sources. These sources were for the most part inaccurate, either because they were not directly based on original Shi'i material, or else because they were written from a hostile point of view. This gave rise to numerous mistaken ideas about the nature of Shi'ism.

Goldziher, one of the few scholars who devoted many important studies to Shi'ism,¹ found it necessary to correct in

¹ Cf. the bibliography. Goldziher is one of the very few scholars who showed an active interest in early Imāmi-Shi'i tradition and doctrine, which is the general field of the present study. In addition to works by Goldziher, the following studies on Imāmi-Shi'i doctrine may be mentioned: I. Friedlaender, "The heterodoxies of the Shiites in the presentation of Ibn Ḥazm", in JAOS 28, 1907, pp. 1-80, 29, 1908, pp. 1-183 (contains useful information about Imāmi-Shi'ism, although it is mainly concerned with other Shi'i sects); E.G. Browne, A history of Persian literature, London etc. 1902-24, IV, pp. 354ff (contains a general account of Imāmi-Shi'i doctrine and literature); R. Strothmann, Die Zwölfer-Schi'a, Leipzig 1926 (a study of Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) and 'Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266)); id., the article "Shi'a" in EI¹, IV, pp. 350-358 (an admirable survey of the main facts and problems of Shi'ism); D.M. Donaldson, The Shi'ite religion, London 1933 (helpful as an introduction to the subject, though uneven in standard and not always accurate); A. Iqbal, Khāndān-e Nawbakhtī, Tehran 1311S. (an important investigation into the early Shi'a, with special emphasis on the role of the influential Banū Nawbakht family). A few important Imāmi-Shi'i works have been translated

his Vorlesungen¹ three misconceptions about the Shī'a which were current in his day. Yet Goldziher himself, despite his extensive knowledge of Shī'i sources, helped to spread at least one particular misconception by accepting the claim of anti-Shī'i polemicists that the Imāmī attitude to the Ṣaḥāba is characterised by hatred and contempt.² As will be shown in this study, the Imāmī attitude to the Companions is in fact far more complex and diverse than Goldziher's statement indicates. One source of diversity is that the views held by Imāmī scholars on various doctrinal matters underwent significant changes during successive periods of Imāmī-Shī'i history. From a chronological point of view one can speak in general of four major phases in the growth of early Imāmī doctrine:³

(a) The Umayyad period (41/661-132/750), which is characterised by a proliferation of Shī'i sects, many of which were to

and commented upon, e.g. Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, Al-bābu 'l-hādī 'ashar, trans. W.M. Miller, London 1928; Ibn Bābawayhi, Risālat al-i'tiqādāt, trans. A.A.Fyze, A Shī'ite creed, London 1942. Various aspects of Imāmī doctrine are discussed by contributors to Le Shī'isme Imāmīte, Colloque de Strasbourg (6-9 mai 1968), Paris 1970. Investigations into Shī'i doctrine were also undertaken by L. Massignon (whose interest lay mostly outside Imāmī-Shī'ism; cf. the bibliography), H. Corbin (who is chiefly interested in the philosophy of the Ismā'iliyya and of the later Imāmī-Shī'ism; cf. especially his Histoire de la philosophie islamique, I, Paris 1964), H. Laoust (e.g. in his Les schismes dans l'Islam, Paris 1965), M.G.S. Hodgson and W. Montgomery Watt (cf. the bibliography). This list is by no means comprehensive, and does not include works dealing mainly with historical or social aspects of Imāmī-Shī'ism.

¹ 2nd ed., 1925, pp.230ff.

² Cf. below, p.77.

³ Only towards the end of the 3rd/9th century do the Imāmiyya emerge as an independent Shī'i sect (though the term Imāmiyya is found also in earlier literature); from this time on they are also known as the Ithnā-'Ashariyya. Ithnā-'Asharī doctors, however, project their doctrine backwards and claim that Imāmī-Shī'ism existed already during 'Alī's lifetime, and that all other Shī'i sects deviated from it. In this study I have followed the terminology of Ithnā-'Asharī scholars by describing as "Imāmī" those doctrines and beliefs of the early Shī'a which were subsequently incorporated into the Imāmiyya.

be called by later heresiographers ghulāt ("extremists"). It is also the period in which it is possible to discern the beginnings of what was later to become the independent Zaydī and Imāmī branches of Shī'ism. Though "proto-Imāmī" scholars of the time held similar views on a number of subjects, they disagreed on many important issues and had not yet formulated their common beliefs in a well-developed and systematic form.

(b) The middle and the latter half of the 2nd/8th century. This appears to be the first time in which a particularly Imāmī view on a number of central doctrinal matters is crystallised. The beginnings of an independent Imāmī school of law can also be traced back to this period. These developments are usually connected with the name of the sixth Imam Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765).

(c) The 3rd/9th century. For the greater part of this century the Imāmī-Shī'ī community was ruled by Imams who were the ultimate source of authority. There appears to be no evidence that the views of these Imams on basic doctrinal issues differed appreciably from those formulated in the previous century. The utterances attributed to the Imams appear mainly in Shī'ī collections of traditions, of which most Imāmī-Shī'ī literature of that period consisted. Hardly any Imāmī theologians of the 3rd/9th century are known to have discussed questions of doctrine in works clearly attributed to them. This may have been due to a belief that the infallible Imam was the only person entitled to pronounce on doctrinal matters, and that others had no right to express any independent views relating to doctrine. It is also possible that Imāmī scholars did not wish to antagonise the 'Abbāsīd rulers, especially when the Shī'ī community was being persecuted by fanatically anti-Shī'ī caliphs such as

al-Mutawakkil (ruled 232/847-247/861).

(d) The first half of the 4th/10th century and the Buwayhid period (334/945-447/1055). This is by far the most important period in the early history of the Imāmiyya. The benevolent rule of the Buwayhids gave the Imāmis a golden opportunity to consolidate their doctrine and establish it along clear lines. The disappearance of the twelfth Imam (in 260/874 or 264/878) placed Imāmi scholars in a position of greater authority, from which they could express their own views on doctrinal questions. It is not surprising, therefore, that an impressive number of works on historical, legal and doctrinal subjects was written during that time by such outstanding figures as ash-Shaykh al-Mufid (d. 413/1022), ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) and Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067).

Within each period, there are further elements contributing to the great diversity of Imāmi views. One of these elements is the technique of writing a work with a particular audience in mind; thus views expressed in works intended for a small circle of trusted Shi'i scholars may differ from views expressed on the same subject in works intended for a larger Shi'i audience or for a primarily non-Shi'i readership. Secondly, the political situation in which an author found himself affected his degree of outspokenness: the need to conceal one's true beliefs (taqiyya) is clearly greater where the Shi'is are persecuted or where the danger of such persecution is imminent. Thirdly, there were sometimes striking differences in views between Shi'i centres in various parts of the Muslim world. Another very important factor is the distinction between official theology and the more outspoken, unsophisticated view of popular Shi'ism, often expressed in poems and anecdotes. Finally, from

the 4th/10th century onwards, the influence of Mu'tazilism and the conflicting views of Imāmi doctors as to the sources of authority following the disappearance of the twelfth Imam gave rise to further diversification of views. The Imāmi attitude to the Companions, as indeed to any other subject, must be examined with all these factors in mind.

For the student of Imāmi doctrine it is essential to view Imāmi statements in the context of polemics against the Sunna. This is especially true for the Imāmi attitude to the Companions, since this is a subject about which both Sunnis and Shi'is held strong, often contradictory, views. In the present study, therefore, the first chapter examines Sunni attitudes to the Ṣaḥāba. It is followed by a discussion of Mu'tazili views on the Companions, so that these views may be compared and contrasted with the official Imāmi attitude. In order for the Imāmi attitude to be placed in its proper perspective it must be seen in relation to the whole of Imāmi doctrine, in which the theory of the imamate forms the essential part. This is the main subject dealt with in the third chapter. Of the various elements in the theory of the imamate, two points in particular were laid down as items of faith: firstly, that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who was the first of the series of twelve Imams, was the only rightful successor to Muḥammad; secondly, that every Imam is an infallible and omniscient guide to the community. In discussing the question of the Companions, Imāmi scholars were faced with the task of solving two major problems directly connected with these items of faith: the problem of how to judge the Companions as Muslims, i.e. how to present and interpret their behaviour towards 'Alī; and the problem of how to reconcile the authority vested in the Imams with the authority which the

Companions enjoyed in Sunnī Islam. The first of these problems is discussed in general terms in the third chapter, and in detail in the fourth and fifth chapters; the second problem, that of authority, is dealt with in the sixth and last chapter.

This study is concerned with Imāmi-Shī'i attitudes to the Ṣaḥāba up to the end of the Buwayhid period. The main sources used are therefore Imāmi works of the third, fourth and fifth centuries A.H. At the same time, some works of later periods have also been consulted. This was done because these works often include material from the early period and also because it has often seemed useful to give a brief account of the developments in later Imāmi-Shī'i doctrine and in modern times.

The Imāmi sources which have been consulted fall into several categories:

(a) Collections of ḥadīth. These form the earliest layer of Shī'i literature. Imāmi authors have often contended that their literature is the most ancient in Islam, and that its beginnings can be traced back to 'Alī himself. They claim, for example, that the K. as-sunan wa'l-aḥkām wa'l-qadāyā (now lost), which they consider to be their oldest juridical work, was written by the Companion Ibrāhīm Abū Rāfi', who died during 'Alī's imamate.¹ The earliest extant Imāmi works are collections of ḥadīths known as uṣūl (sing. aṣl). An aṣl is a collection of a particular kind: in contrast to other collections of ḥadīths, which are known as kutub (sing. kitāb), it consists exclusively of utterances of an Imam which are committed to

¹ Sezgin, I, p.525, and the bibliography given there, to which should be added Darajāt, pp. 373-375. Abū Rāfi' is also said to have been the first who collected traditions of the Prophet; see aṣ-Ṣadr, Ta'sīs ash-shī'a li-'ulūm al-islām, al-Kāẓimiyya 1951, p.278.

writing for the very first time. In some cases the author of an asl reports traditions which he himself has heard directly from the Imam, in others he relies on the authority of a traditionist who transmits what he heard the Imam say. Imāmi traditionists apply stringent rules when they examine the authenticity of a tradition which is included in an asl.¹ A mark of the high esteem in which compilers of the uṣūl were held is the fact that special biographical works were written which dealt exclusively with them.² These compilers, said to have numbered 400 or 4,000, were mostly disciples of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq. They are reported to have compiled 400 uṣūl which comprised answers given by their master to various questions.³ According to ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd as quoted by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d.588/1192),⁴ uṣūl continued to be written until the death of the eleventh Imam al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (d. 260/873). Only a relatively small number of uṣūl have survived; they are known by the names of their respective compilers.⁵ In this study, the MS which is referred to as Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a includes 13 separate uṣūl. Another work which is considered to be an asl, and which has survived in several recensions, is the K. Sulaym b. Qays (or K. as-saqifa), named after its alleged author, the pro-'Alid Successor (tābi'i) Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī al-'Āmirī, who died

¹ Cf. Dharī'a, II, pp. 125-127.

² One author of a work of this kind is Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Ghadā'irī, a contemporary of Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī (cf. Dharī'a, IV, p.289 (on margin)). In the preface to his Fihrist (Calcutta 1853, p.2), aṭ-Ṭūsī feels obliged to justify himself for not following in al-Ghadā'irī's footsteps. He explains that the reason why he does not distinguish between the aṣḥāb al-uṣūl and other authors is that he wishes to avoid repetition.

³ Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, I'lām al-warā, Najaf 1970, p. 284; Dharī'a, II, p.129.

⁴ Ma'ālim al-'ulamā', Tehran 1353H., p.1.

⁵ Cf. Sezgin, I, pp. 532-534, 537.

during the governorship of the Umayyad al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714). This work deals mainly with events shortly before and after Muḥammad's death. It includes direct quotations from 'Alī and some of his companions. Ibn an-Nadīm (d. 385/995 or 388/998), who was himself an Imāmī,¹ regards it as the first Shi'i work.² Later Imāmī authors, however, take a much more sceptical view of its authenticity and some openly declare it to be a fabrication.³ This sceptical view was shared by Goldziher.⁴ The K. Sulaym b. Qays was printed in Najaf in 1326H., but efforts to obtain a copy of this edition have proved unsuccessful. All references in the present study are therefore to quotations of this work in later sources, particularly in the K. al-ihtijāj by Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib aṭ-Ṭabarsī (d. beginning of 6th/12 century).

Various uṣūl were incorporated at a later stage into larger works known as jawāmi', which in turn served as the basis for the four fundamental Imāmī works of jurisprudence: Al-kāfi by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulīnī (or Kulaynī) (d. 329/941), Man lā yaḥḍuruhu 'l-faqīh by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn Bābawayhi (d. 381/991), Tahdhīb al-aḥkām and Al-istibṣār, both by Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī.⁵ The first two volumes of al-Kulīnī's Al-kāfi, which deal with the foundations (uṣūl) of religion, are particularly important for the study of Imāmī doctrine, since they include a large number of traditions on such subjects

¹ Cf. the article on him by J.W. Fück, in EI², III, p.895.

² Fihrist, Leipzig 1871, p.219.

³ Cf. Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, Rijāl, Najaf 1961, p.83; Ibn Dāwūd, Rijāl, Tehran 1963, p. 460.

⁴ Muh. Stud., II, pp.10-11.

⁵ Cf. E.G. Browne, op.cit., IV, pp. 358-359; aṣ-Ṣadr, op.cit., p.288; A. Falaturi, "Die Zwölfer-Schia", in Festschrift Werner Caskel, Leiden 1968, pp. 64-65.

as the imamate and the nature of belief and unbelief. Much useful information on these subjects may also be found in the last of its eight volumes, known as Ar-rawḍa min al-kāfi. Another important collection of traditions dealing exclusively with the position and virtues of the Imams is the Baṣā'ir ad-darajāt by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣaffār al-Qummī (d. 290/903).¹ This work, which is even earlier than Al-kāfi, exists in two recensions, one of which may be an abridgement of the other. The lithographed edition referred to in the present study (Persia 1285H.) contains the fuller version.² Imāmī tradition has it that aṣ-Ṣaffār copied many of the utterances which he included in the Baṣā'ir from a document (ṣahīfa) which the Prophet had dictated to 'Alī.³

Imāmī traditions were often transmitted by shaykhs who would dictate to their pupils, relying either on their memory or on written sources. Such works, known as Amālī ("dictations"), were regarded by Imāmī traditionists as very reliable, particularly when the shaykh was an eminent scholar. The Amālī were usually dictated on successive sessions (Majālis); hence the same work may sometimes be referred to both as Amālī and as Majālis.⁴

¹ Another work bearing the same title is ascribed to Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī (d. 301/914); cf. ar-Rāwandī, K.al-kharā'ij, Persia 1888, p. 247; Strothmann, Die Zwölfer-Schī'a, p. 101; Sezgin, I, p. 538.

² Cf. Dharī'a, III, p. 125. The untimely death of L. Billig prevented him from completing a critical edition of the Baṣā'ir on which he had been working.

³ Cf. aṣ-Ṣadr, op.cit., p. 279.

⁴ In his introduction to the Majālis of the Kūfīphilologist Abu 'l-'Abbās Tha'lab (d. 291/904) (Cairo 1948, p. 23), 'Abd as-Salām Muḥammad Ḥārūn makes a slight distinction between these two literary forms. In his view the Amālī include only that which was dictated by the shaykh or by someone dictating from him in his presence (the mustamlī); in the Majālis, on the other hand, a full recording is preserved not only of the dictation itself, but of everything else that went on at the meeting, such as questions of the students and the shaykh's answers. This distinction, however, does not seem to hold for the Imāmī Amālī.

Works of this genre were composed by all the most prominent Imāmi scholars of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, including Ibn Bābawayhi, ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī. The traditions included in the Amālī are not grouped around one particular theme; instead they comprise a variety of historical, doctrinal and legal issues.

A special branch of tradition literature deals with the virtues of 'Alī. Such works are not confined to Imāmi authors, for there are also numerous Sunnī works on 'Alī, e.g. the Khaṣā'is amīr al-mu'minīn by Aḥmad b. Shu'ayb an-Nasā'ī (d. 303/916) or the Kifāyat aṭ-ṭālib fī manāqib 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib by the Shāfi'ī scholar Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ganjī (d. 658/1260). Works which are specifically Imāmi deal with the virtues of all twelve Imams and attempt to prove that they were divinely appointed. An early example of a work of this nature is the Kifāyat al-athar fī 'n-nuṣūṣ 'ala 'l-a'imma 'l-ithnay 'ashar ("A sufficiency of traditions concerning the designation of the twelve Imams"), usually ascribed to Ibn Bābawayhi's pupil 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Khazzāz ar-Rāzī al-Qummī (d. 381/991).¹

Finally it is worthwhile mentioning the 'Ilal literature, in which the reasons ('ilal) behind various Imāmi laws and tenets are explained, usually by referring to the relevant Imāmi traditions. The K. al-maḥāsin by Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī (d. 274/887) contains a special chapter on 'Ilal.² Much valuable material concerning Imāmi beliefs is preserved in Ibn Bābawayhi's 'Ilal ash-sharā'ī. Ibn Bābawayhi is also the author of the Ma'ānī 'l-akhbār, in

¹ Cf. Sezgin, I, p.544.

² pp. 242-280 in the Najaf 1964 edition.

which the meanings of difficult traditions and of obscure expressions and words are elucidated.

(b) Doctrinal works. One of the earliest formulations of Imāmi doctrine is to be found in the Creed of Ibn Bābawayhi, known as Risālat al-i'tiqādāt or I'tiqādāt al-imāmiyya.¹ Some points in Ibn Bābawayhi's Creed were criticised or refuted by ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd in his Sharh 'aqā'id as-Ṣadūq, also known as Taṣḥīh al-i'tiqād(āt).² Al-Mufīd himself describes the main doctrinal differences between the Imāmiyya and other Islamic sects in his Awā'il al-maqālāt. Al-Mufīd's style is polemical and steeped in the tradition of kalām. Unlike Ibn Bābawayhi, he relies only to a limited extent on arguments based on ḥadīths and the Qur'ān.³ Works which summarise the main points of Imāmi doctrine include the Risāla fī 'ilm al-kalām by ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and the K. al-muqaddima (or al-khulāṣa) fī 'l-kalām by Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī. Of the later doctrinal works, perhaps the best known is Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī's Al-bāb al-ḥādī 'ashar.

(c) Polemical works. The central issues discussed in Imāmi polemical works are those which relate to the Imāmi interpretation of history. Attacks on the first three caliphs are especially common. This is the subject, for instance, of the K. al-istighātha fī bida' ath-thalātha (also known as Al-bida' al-muḥdatha) by Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī (d.352/963), who was initially an Imāmi faqīh, theologian and Qur'ān

¹ Trans. A.A.Fyzee, A Shi'ite creed, London 1942.

² For an analysis of the major points of difference between Ibn Bābawayhi and al-Mufīd cf. A.A. Fyzee, "The Creed of Ibn Bābawayhi", in Journal of the University of Bombay 12, Sept. 1943, pp. 70-86.

³ For a discussion of the Awā'il al-maqālāt cf. D. Sourdél, "Les conceptions imāmites au début du XI^{ème} siècle d'après le Shaykh al-Mufīd", lecture given at the Colloquium at Oxford in July 1969 (to be published).

commentator, but who later joined the "extremist" Mukhammisa sect.¹ In the first half of the Istighātha 'Alī b. Aḥmad mentions the various harmful innovations of which Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān are alleged to have been guilty. In the second half he refutes Sunni traditions in their favour. His polemics display great versatility and knowledge. Although he is clearly reproducing long-standing Imāmī views, his trenchant expressions often show a streak of originality. In the Istighātha he does not go beyond the accepted Imāmī arguments against the first three caliphs, and it is clear that when he wrote it he was still a loyal adherent of the Imāmiyya.²

Shī'ī accusations against the first three caliphs prompted the Mu'tazilī qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār (d.415/1025) to come to their defence in his Al-mughnī fi 'l-imāma. It was in answer to this book that ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā wrote the K.ash-shāfi fi 'l-imāma, the most comprehensive work of the Buwayhid period on the Imāmī theory of the imamate and the role of the various Companions. Ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā often relies for his historical data on distinctly non-Shī'ī sources such as the Ansāb al-ashrāf of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892)³ and the Ta'rikh of Muḥammad b. Jarīr at-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923).⁴

¹ Cf. Sezgin, I, pp. 542-543 and the bibliography given there, to which should be added 'Abbās al-Qumī, Safinat al-bihār, Najaf 1936, II, pp.242-243.

² In addition to the two MSS of the Istighātha mentioned by Sezgin (I, p. 543), there exists a third one in the Vatican library. Levi della Vida drew attention to this MS in his article "Un'antica opera sconosciuta di controversia šī'ita", in AIUON N.S. 14, 1964, pp. 233-244. The author's name does not appear in the Vatican MS and Levi della Vida tentatively attributed the work to the "extremist" Shī'ī Ibn Abī 'l-'Adhāqir ash-Shalmaghānī (executed 322/934). But having read the MS in question I can state that it is in fact the Istighātha of 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī.

³ The K.ash-shāfi appears to be the earliest known source in which the Ansāb al-ashrāf is explicitly referred to and quoted. Cf. Goitein's introduction to the fifth volume of the Ansāb, Jerusalem 1936, p.24.

⁴ On the polemical use of non-Shī'ī sources cf. also below, p.xviii.

Al-Murtaḍā's style is forceful and impressive, although his arguments are at times long-winded and difficult to follow. A useful summary (Talkhis) of al-Murtaḍā's work was composed by Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī.

One of the few known sources of Sunni-Shi'i polemics from the Saljuq period is the K. an-naqd (or Ba'd mathālib an-nawāṣib fī naqd ba'd faḍā'ih ar-rawāfiḍ), written about 565/1170 by 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī (d. c.586/1190). This is a rebuttal of an anti-Shi'i work by a Shi'i convert to Sunnism, whom al-Qazwīnī derisively refers to as "the new Sunni (naw-sunni)". This source is of special importance because it mentions various popular Shi'i beliefs which appear to have been widespread at that period.¹

'Abd al-Jalīl's defence of Shi'ism may be contrasted with the much later An-nawāqid li-bunyān ar-rawāfiḍ (or An-nawāqid fī 'r-radd 'ala 'r-rawāfiḍ), an anti-Shi'i work written at the beginning of the Ṣafawid period by Mu'in ad-Dīn Mīrzā Makhdūm (d.995/1587), who claims to have personally known Shah Ismā'īl II (d.985/1577) and to have gained a first-hand knowledge of Shi'ism through extensive reading of Shi'i works. Mīrzā Makhdūm gives a lengthy description of what he claims to be Shi'i beliefs and practices in his day, and attempts to prove that these beliefs and practices go against the tenets of Islam.² The Nawāqid exists in several MSS.³

Finally two works of Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī may be

¹ For further details cf. A. Bausani, "Religion in the Saljuq period", in The Cambridge history of Iran, V, Cambridge 1968, pp. 283ff; below, pp.123-125.

² On Mīrzā Makhdūm cf. now the dissertation of Elke Eberhard, Osmanische Polemik gegen die Ṣafawiden im 16. Jahrhundert nach arabischen Handschriften, Freiburg 1970.

³ Cf. GAL, II, p.587, GALS, II, p. 658. The Brit. Mus. MS no. Or. 7991, which is the one I have used for this study, should be added to Brockelmann's list.

mentioned, both of which provoked counter-attacks from the Sunni camp. The first is the Minhāj al-karāma, in which al-Ḥillī gives a brief description of Imāmī beliefs and attacks the first three caliphs, the Umayyads, the 'Abbāsids and the Ash'arīs.¹ A lengthy refutation of this work, entitled Minhāj as-sunna an-nabawiyya, was written by Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). Al-Ḥillī's second major polemical work is the K. kashf al-ḥaqq wa-nahj as-sidq wa's-sawāb (or for short, Nahj al-ḥaqq). A refutation of this work was written in 909/1504 by the Shāfi'i scholar ^{Allāh} ~~al-~~ Faḍl b. Rūzbihān ash-Shīrāzī under the title K. ibtāl nahj al-bāṭil; and this was in turn refuted by the Shī'i Nūr Allāh b. Sharīf al-Mar'ashī at-Tustarī (d. 1019/1611) in his Iḥqāq al-ḥaqq wa-izhāq al-bāṭil.² Another refutation of ^{Allāh} ~~al-~~ Faḍl b. Rūzbihān was composed by the Najafī scholar Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Muẓaffar (born 1301/1884) in his Dalā'il as-sidq fī nahj al-ḥaqq.³

(d) Historical works. Most Shī'i and pro-'Alid sources which deal with the early period of Islam are well-known and need not be dwelt upon here.⁴ One source, however, which is often neglected, and which has proved of considerable importance for the present study, deserves more than a perfunctory mention. It is the K. al-jamal, also known as An-naṣra fī ḥarb al-Baṣra, by ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd. This is the earliest full account of the Battle of the Camel from the Imāmī point of view which is known to have survived. In his introduction al-Mufīd explains

¹ Cf. H. Laoust, "La critique du sunnisme dans la doctrine d'al-Ḥillī", in REI 34, 1966, pp. 35-60.

² Cf. Goldziher, "Literaturgeschichte", pp. 472ff.

³ Cf. Dharrī'a, VIII, p. 251.

⁴ For an analysis of the attitudes of pro-Shī'i historians such as Naṣr b. Muẓāḥim al-Minqarī and al-Ya'qūbī cf. for instance E.L. Petersen, 'Alī and Mu'āwiya in early Arabic tradition, Copenhagen 1964, index.

that every book hitherto written on that battle (which took place in 35/656) contains traditions whose meanings are obscure to the great majority of people. He contends that all the authors who describe the Battle of the Camel present the facts in a confused fashion which makes it impossible to get a clear picture of the events. Al-Mufid sees his task as twofold: to ascertain the succession of events, and to arrive at a correct judgment on the participants in the battle.¹ The latter aim reveals the polemical character of this work. In order to gain acceptance with the non-Imāmi readers for whom this work is largely intended, al-Mufid declares repeatedly² that all the sources and traditions which he quotes are accepted as reliable by Sunnis and non-Sunnis alike. His main sources are:

(1) Harb al-Basra, also known as the K. (waq'at) al-jamal, by Abū Mikhnaḥ Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā al-Azdī (d. 157/774).³ Abū Mikhnaḥ is considered as moderately pro-Shi'i,⁴ although Shi'i authors often deny that he belonged to the Shi'a.⁵ Abū Mikhnaḥ's Harb al-Basra is partially preserved in quotations by later authors, such as al-Mufid and Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd.⁶

(2) K. maqtal 'Uthmān by Abū Ḥudhayfa Ishāq b. Bishr al-Qurashī al-Bukhārī (d. 206/821),⁷ one of the early historians of the Muslim conquests.⁸ Ibn an-Nadīm⁹ does not mention a

¹ Al-jamal, Najaf 1368H., pp.2-3.

² E.g. ibid., p.190.

³ Quoted e.g. ibid., pp. 29,43,47,74,205,208.

⁴ Cf. the article on him by H.A.R.Gibb, in EI², I, p.140.

⁵ Cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha, Cairo 1964, I, p. 147.

⁶ Cf. Sezgin, I, p.309 (al-Mufid is not mentioned).

⁷ Quoted al-Mufid, op.cit., pp.52ff, 83.

⁸ Cf. F. Rosenthal, A history of Muslim historiography, 2nd edition, Leiden 1968, pp.188, 403 n.7; Sezgin, I, pp.293-294.

⁹ Fihrist, p.94.

K. maqtal 'Uthmān, only a K. al-jamal which may or may not be the same work. Ishāq b. Bishr is said to have been unreliable in the transmission of tradition.¹ Al-Mufīd, however, describes him as "one of the foremost traditionists belonging to the Sunna and opposing the Shi'a."²

(3) Harb al-Baṣra, also known as the K. (yawm) al-jamal, by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī (d.207/823).³ For obvious polemical reasons al-Mufīd argues that al-Wāqidī was an adherent of the 'Uthmāniyya⁴ and was therefore presumably rabidly anti-Shi'i.⁵ This statement need not be taken at face value. Petersen, for example, refers to al-Wāqidī's work as "not Shiite--though admittedly pro-'Alī",⁶ and believes that al-Wāqidī "advocated a reconciliation with the moderate Shiism."⁷ Even the Imāmī Ibn an-Nadīm says that al-Wāqidī was favourably inclined towards the Shi'a but had to practise taqiyya.⁸

(4) Among the authors less frequently referred to are Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'īnī (d. c.235/850; other dates are also given), whose pro-'Alid tendencies are well-known;¹⁰ 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869);¹¹ the traditionist 'Isā

¹ Cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, Cairo 1931ff, VI, p.327; Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-udabā', Leiden etc. 1907-26, II, p.231.

² K. al-jamal, p.52.

³ Quoted e.g. *ibid.*, pp.37,49,108,122,131,140-190. On al-Wāqidī cf. the article by J. Horowitz, in *EI*¹, IV, pp.1195ff; Petersen, *op.cit.*, index; Sezgin, I, pp.294-297.

⁴ On whom cf. below, pp.51-52.

⁵ Cf. K. al-jamal, p.38.

⁶ 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, p.88.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.89.

⁸ Fihrist, p.98.

⁹ Quoted e.g. al-Mufīd, *op.cit.*, pp.60,84,131.

¹⁰ Cf. Petersen, *op.cit.*, p.98; and in general Sezgin, I, pp.314-315; Rosenthal, *op.cit.*, pp.69-71.

¹¹ Quoted pp.92-94 for polemical purposes.

b. Yazīd b. Da'b al-Kinānī (fl. c.134/750), whose attitude is markedly pro-Shī'ī,¹ and 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī (d.345/956),² regarded by many as an Imāmī.³ It should be mentioned finally that al-Mufīd does not always identify his sources.⁴

(e) Rijāl works. Imāmī Rijāl works give biographical details and assess the reliability of traditionists who transmitted from the various Imams. In the later period it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between these works and Imāmī tarājim literature, which deals with the lives of Imāmī scholars in general. Of the numerous surviving Rijāl works, the earliest seems to be the K. ar-rijāl by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī (mentioned above⁵ as author of the K. al-mahāsīn). The other Rijāl works which have been used in the present study are discussed by B. Scarcia Amoretti in the article "'Ilm al-rijāl", in EI², III, pp.1150-2.

(f) Qur'ān commentaries. Early Imāmī Qur'ān commentaries vary considerably in both style and content. In some commentaries stress is laid mainly on Imāmī traditions which describe the reasons for the revelation of particular verses (the asbāb an-nuzūl). This is the case for example in the Tafsīr attributed to the eleventh Imam al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, which exists in the recension of Ibn Bābawayhi.⁶ A Tafsīr which includes much historical material relating to the Sīra is that of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (d. 307/919), who was one of al-Kulīnī's

¹ Cf. Petersen, op.cit., pp.96,100,178.

² Quoted al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.206.

³ Cf. now Ch. Pellat, "Mas'ūdī et l'imāmisme", in Le Shī'isme Imāmīte, pp.69-90.

⁴ E.g. wa-qad dhakara ba'd al-'ulamā' (K. al-jamal, p.30); fa(wa)-min dhālika mā rawāhū kāffat al-'ulamā' (ibid., pp.65,66).

⁵ p.xiii.

⁶ Cf. Dharī'a, IV, pp.285ff.

teachers. This Tafsir is imbued with a radical anti-Sunni spirit. Because of its basically polemical character, hardly any attention is paid to linguistic problems, and there are many difficult Quranic passages which it ignores entirely.

Al-Qummi based his entire commentary on utterances attributed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq. The first transmitter of al-Qummi's Tafsir, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim,¹ incorporated into the work traditions from the Tafsir Abi 'l-Jārūd, i.e. the Qur'ān commentary which Abu 'l-Jārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir transmitted from the fifth Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir.²

Another Tafsir which is largely based on Imāmi traditions is that of the Samarqandī scholar Abu 'n-Naḍr Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-'Ayyāshī as-Sulamī (d. 320/932), who was a prolific Sunni writer before joining the Imāmiyya.³ Al-'Ayyāshī's Tafsir survives in several MSS, all of which contain only the first half of the work, up to the end of the 18th Sura ("The cave").⁴ It is also possible that the work was never completed. Many of the traditions in it appear also in al-Kulīnī's Uṣūl al-kāfi.

The Qur'ān commentary of Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī, known as At-tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān, reflects the greater sophistication of Imāmi writers in the later Buwayhid period. Aṭ-Ṭūsī is mainly concerned with legal, linguistic and doctrinal problems. He adopts a much less radical attitude than, say, 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummi, and often quotes opinions of Mu'tazilī and other non-Shī'ī scholars. Al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭabarsī (d.548/1153)

¹ For whom cf. ibid., IV, pp. 307-308.

² Cf. ibid., IV, pp.251,303; below, p.212.

³ Cf. Sezgin, I, p.42, and the bibliography given there.

⁴ Cf. Dharī'a, IV, p.295, to which should be added the India Office MS referred to in this study.

seems to have been greatly influenced by aṭ-Ṭūsī, since his authoritative Majma' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān has much in common with the Tibyān.

(g) Compilations. Much important material from the early Imāmi period is preserved in the encyclopaedic works of later Imāmi scholars. The most famous of these works is the voluminous Bihār al-anwār by Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī (d.1110/1700), which is an incomparable mine of valuable information on Imāmi history, religion and tradition.¹ Al-Majlisī uses a vast range of Imāmi sources; he scrupulously mentions the source of each report which he quotes, and his quotations are always accurate. Al-Majlisī died before he had completed the Bihār. The last nine volumes were written by his disciple, Mirzā 'Abd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, who used al-Majlisī's drafts. A new edition of the Bihār is now in progress in Iran. But since most of the material relevant to the present study is included in the volumes which are not yet available in print, the references here are to the lithographed edition (Persia 1305-15H). A useful index to the Bihār was compiled by 'Abbās al-Qummi under the title Safinat al-bihār wa-madīnat al-ḥikam wa'l-āthār. This work contains some information which is not to be found in the Bihār.

¹ Cf. GALS, II, p. 573.

CHAPTER I

THE SUNNĪ ATTITUDE TO THE COMPANIONS

1.

Introductory Remarks

The success of Islam as a new religion depended not only on Muḥammad's personal qualities, but also on the attitude of the people among whom he lived and on the support which they were prepared to give him. The first Meccan converts, who were subjected to incessant harassment by their hostile neighbours, the Medinese who joined forces with Muḥammad and offered him loyal support in the first crucial years--these people constituted the new Islamic community and were instrumental in bringing about the final triumph of Islam in Arabia.

These early supporters, however, were not a homogeneous group, and an impressive and significant aspect of Muḥammad's achievement lay in his largely successful efforts to weld the disparate, often mutually hostile tribes into a new egalitarian society based on a common religious bond. Attempts to unite the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār in a bond of brotherhood (mu'akhāt, lit. "fraternisation")¹ reflect his preoccupation with this idea. Yet even during Muḥammad's lifetime there were signs that a new hierarchy was gradually being formed. Those Muslims who had been at the Prophet's side from the earliest days felt entitled to special rights. It is hardly surprising that in the power struggle which reportedly took place between the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār immediately after Muḥammad's death, Abū Bakr's supporters based their claims on the privileged position acquired by the Muhājirūn. This position was given an

¹ Cf. Ibn Hishām, Sīra, Göttingen 1859-60, pp. 344-346.

official stamp of approval by 'Umar, who allotted the biggest financial rewards from the public treasury to the families of those who had been most closely associated with Muḥammad.¹

But as the years passed and as Islam grew in numbers and complexity the distinctions between the various elements in the original community were partially superseded by a more monolithic view of the first Islamic generation.² "A Muslim who accompanied the Prophet or saw him belongs among his Companions", says al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870)³ in a classical definition of a Ṣaḥābī. The common denominator thus formulated brought together the various groups of which Muḥammad's community consisted. Muḥammad himself cannot have had such a concept in mind. It is noteworthy that neither the generic form "Ṣaḥāba" nor the derived form "Ṣaḥābī" occurs in the Qur'ān.⁴ The only explicit references in it are to the two main groups, the Muhājirūn (e.g. Qur'ān 24/22, 33/6, 59/8) and

¹ Cf. the article "Dīwān" by A.A.Duri, in EI², II, p.323.

² For the subdivisions among the Companions as adopted by Sunni Islam cf. below, pp.14-16.

³ Saḥīḥ, Leiden 1862-1908, II, p.416 (heading of chapter 62). This definition underwent certain modifications in later generations; cf. I. Goldziher, Muhammedanische Studien, Halle 1889-90, II, pp.240-241; below, pp.20-22.

⁴ The word "ṣāḥib" appears in the Qur'ān in the meaning "associate", "friend", as in, "So he said to his friend in discussion with him" (Qur'ān 18/34(32)) or, "He was saying to his companion, 'do not grieve'" (Qur'ān 9/40). It is used by Muḥammad in referring to himself, as in, "Your friend has not gone astray nor has he erred" (Qur'ān 53/2); "Your friend is not mad" (Qur'ān 81/22); "There is no madness in your friend" (Qur'ān 34/46(45)). The feminine form "ṣāḥiba" has the additional meaning of "a wife" (literally "a female companion"), as in, "He (sc.God) has had no female companion" (Qur'ān 6/101); "And his wife and his brother" (Qur'ān 70/12); "He has taken for Himself neither wife nor offspring" (Qur'ān 72/3). "Ṣāḥib", and especially the plural form "aṣḥāb", often appear in the status constructus in the meaning of "owners of", "people of", e.g. in eschatological references to aṣḥāb an-nār, aṣḥāb al-janna, aṣḥāb as-sa'ir, and as in aṣḥāb Madyan (Qur'ān 9/70(71), 22/44(43)), aṣḥāb ar-Rass (Qur'ān 25/38(40), 50/12), aṣḥāb al-qarya (Qur'ān 36/13(12)).

the Anṣār (Qur'ān 9/100(101), 117(118)), but they are dealt with as two distinct categories. Though it is difficult to ascertain when the term "Ṣaḥāba" in its technical sense became prevalent, the significance of the Companions for the development of Muslim tradition and law can be traced back as far as the first Islamic century.¹

In the following pages an attempt will be made to assess the place of the Companions in Sunnī doctrine. The vast variety of often conflicting ideas and beliefs inherent in Sunnī Islam is reflected in the different Sunnī attitudes towards the Companions. The discussion here will be limited to those aspects of the Sunnī attitude which are relevant to an understanding of the Imāmī view of the Ṣaḥāba. This discussion may be conveniently undertaken from three points of view: the Companions as Muslims; as transmitters of Muḥammad's sayings; and as authorities in their own right. These aspects are closely related to each other: the virtue of the Companions as Muslims must be established before they can be admitted as transmitters; their personal excellence and reliability as transmitters from Muḥammad are a precondition for accepting them as independent authorities.

2. The Companions as Muslims

The Companions in Tradition

In Sunnī Islam the notion that Muḥammad's generation is the most excellent of all took root at a fairly early period. It is attested not only by the exegetical literature which tried to interpret various Quranic passages as referring to the Companions, but also by numerous traditions in which the merits of the Companions are stressed. Such traditions are sometimes

¹ See below, pp. 25ff.

scattered throughout the various compilations of hadīth; often they can also be found under a general heading, such as al-Bukhārī's faḍā'il aṣḥāb an-nabī or Muslim's (d. 261/875) faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥāba. Among the most often quoted traditions in favour of the Companions is the one in which the Prophet is quoted as declaring, "My Companions are like lodestars; by imitating anyone among them you will find the right path".¹ The authenticity of this tradition was questioned by Sunnī and non-Sunnī scholars alike;² but it is significant because of the very clear reference it makes to the Companions as authorities and guides to the community.³ Another tradition, using a similar metaphor, stresses the role of the Companions as supporters and defenders of the community, whose absence would cause as much upheaval as the disappearance of the stars.⁴ In

¹ Aṣḥābī ka'n-nujūm bi- ayyihim iqtadaytum ihtadaytum (Al-Khaṭīb at-Tibrīzī, Mishkāṭ al-maṣābīḥ, Damascus 1961-2, III, p. 219; cf. L. Gardet, Dieu et la destinée de l'homme, Paris 1967, p. 420). See the interpretation of this tradition in as-Sarrāj, Kitāb al-luma', Leiden 1914, p. 120.

² Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Amr Al-Bazzār (d.292/905) is quoted as declaring, "This tradition cannot have been truthfully reported on the authority of the Apostle of God, and does not occur in reliable collections of tradition" (See the (anonymous) Sharḥ al-'aqīda at-ṭahāwiyya, Damascus c. 1960, p. 468). See also adh-Dhahabī, Mizān al-i'tidāl, Cairo 1963-5, I, p. 413; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Qurṭubī, Mukhtaṣar jāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa-fadliḥ, Cairo 1320 H., pp. 151-152; Ibn 'Aqīl, An-naṣā'ih al-kāfiya li-man yatawallā Mu'āwiya, Najaf 1966, pp. 180-181. Al-Majlisī (Bihār, IX, p. 77) mentions other Sunnī authors who attacked the validity of this tradition. Schacht argues (in his Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence, Oxford 1950, p. 19) that it was formulated only in the 3rd/9th century. For the Shī'ī objections to this tradition see below, pp. 96-97.

³ It is no coincidence that this tradition is quoted (by as-Samarqandī in his Bustān al-'ārifīn, Cairo n.d., p. 7) in a chapter about the writing down of knowledge (kitābat al-'ilm). See also below, pp. 26ff.

⁴ Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, Istanbul 1929-33, VII, p. 183, (on the authority of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī). In his commentary (ibid. on margin) an-Nawawī explains that the upheaval refers to the political and religious strife which manifested itself in the apostasy (ridḍa) and in subsequent events.

yet another tradition it is said that "my Companions are [in relation to my community] like salt in the food, since without salt the food is not fit [to be eaten]."¹ The Ṣaḥāba are said to have been designated by Muḥammad as his Companions in the next world as well.² According to words put in the Prophet's mouth, the presence of a Companion or a Successor (tābi'ī) is a guarantee of military success in the battlefield.³ Muḥammad is also said to have exhorted the community to imitate the incessant striving of the Companions for knowledge.⁴ The respect for past generations, coupled with the general belief that the human condition deteriorates with time, can be observed in the following declarations attributed to Muḥammad, "The most excellent [persons] are my generation, then the following [generation], then the following [generation]."⁵ He is also quoted as saying, "Blessed be those who saw me and blessed by those who saw those who saw me."⁶ God Himself is said to have preordained the special rank of the Companions: "God has chosen my Companions

¹ Aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ar-riyāḍ an-naḍira, Cairo 1372H, I, p.18; al-Baghawī, Maṣābiḥ as-sunna, Cairo 1935, II, p.268; al-Khaṭīb at-Tibrīzī, op.cit., III, p.219; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Majma' az-zawā'id, Cairo 1933, X, p.18 (quoting from Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Amr al-Bazzār and from the Al-musnad al-kabīr of Aḥmad b. 'Alī Abū Ya'lā (d. 307/919): mathalu aṣḥābī ka'l-milh fi't-ta'ām lā yaṣluḥu 't-ta'ām illā bi'l-milh). Goldziher (Muh. Stud. II, p. 391) points to the influence of New Testament imagery (in this case, the Sermon on the Mount) on this and other traditions.

² Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad, Cairo 1313H., V, pp.325-326.

³ Al-Bukhārī, op.cit., II, p.416 (chapter 62, section 1); Muslim, op.cit., VII, p.184.

⁴ Cf. Al-Bukhārī, op.cit., I, p.30 (chapter 3, section 15).

⁵ Khayr an-nās garnī thumma 'lladhīna yalūnahum thumma 'lladhīna yalūnahum (Muslim, op.cit., VII, p.185; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī ('Alī b. Abī Bakr), Majma' az-zawā'id, X, p.19 (with variants)). The word garn is interpreted by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad) (Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muḥriqa, Cairo 1375H., p.212) as referring to the Companions.

⁶ Tūbā li-man ra'ānī wa-tūbā li-man ra'ā man ra'ānī (aṭ-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971), Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr, cit. (with other versions) Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Majma' az-zawā'id, X, p.20).

above all others except the prophets and the apostles",¹ are the words put in Muḥammad's mouth.

The Companions in Doctrine

The veneration of the Companions, to which so many traditions bear witness, had direct doctrinal implications. With the composition of the first Sunnī creeds two interrelated points whose origins could be traced back to these traditions were raised to the level of an article of faith. The first was that all the Companions are righteous persons of high morals ('udūl)² who could do no wrong.³ The second was that one should not attempt to interpret the historical events of early Islam in a manner which might shed an unfavourable light on any of its adherents. This last point is mentioned already in Al-fiqh al-akbar, which is probably an authentic reflection of the views of Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767);⁴ but it was in the Ḥanbalī

¹ Inna 'llāha 'khtāra aṣḥābī 'ala 'l-'ālamīn siwa 'n-nabiyyīn wa'l-mursalīn (ibid., X, p.16). Similarly the Companions are said to have been chosen by God to act as Muḥammad's helpers (wuzarā') since they were the best men after the Prophet himself. See Ibn Ḥanbal, op.cit., I, p.379; (anonymous), Sharh al-'aqida at-ṭahāwiyya, p.469.

² See Ibn Ma'sūm, Ad-darajāt ar-rafi'a, Najaf 1382H., p.29. Ash-Shāfi'i does not give a precise definition of 'adāla, but the Shāfi'i jurist al-Māwardī describes it as a state of moral and religious perfection. See M. Khaddūrī, Islamic Jurisprudence, Baltimore 1961, pp.28-29. In discussions concerning the reliability of those who transmit ḥadīth, 'adl is defined as an adult Muslim who is in full possession of his intellectual faculties and who is without vices or defects. See an-Nawawī, Tagrīb, with as-Suyūṭī's commentary (Tadrīb ar-rawī, Cairo 1307H., p.109), cit. G.H.A. Juynboll, The authenticity of the tradition literature, Leiden 1969, p.12. For further observations on the 'adāla of the Companions as transmitters see below, pp.22-25. The antonym of 'adl is fāsiq. Cf. in general Th.W. Juynboll, Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes, Leiden etc. 1910, pp.316-318; the article "'Adl" by E. Tyan in Et, I, p.274.

³ The expression "even if his acts were like the acts of the Companions", which occurs in al-Khayyāṭ's Kitāb al-intiṣār (Beirut 1957, p.64), implies that no virtuous deeds can surpass those of the Companions.

⁴ See Wensinck, The Muslim creed, Cambridge 1932, p.104. Cf. also D.B. Macdonald, Development of Muslim theology, jurisprudence and constitutional theory, Lahore 1903, p.19.

movement that it gained particular prominence.

(a) Hanbali views

In their belief that any derogatory mention of the Companions should be avoided the Hanbalis could rely on Prophetic traditions such as the one in which Muḥammad is said to have told his community to refrain from discussing fate, astrology and the Companions.¹ Muḥammad is also quoted as saying, "When my Companions are mentioned, refrain (sc. from referring to their disagreements)."² In this context the contribution of Ibn Ḥanbal (d.241/855) is of major significance; many stories are recorded of his strong views on the subject. Thus it is reported that whenever traditions dealing with the defects of various Companions (mathālib, as opposed to faḍā'il, traditions) were read out, he would retire or put his fingers in his ears so as to avoid the possibility of hearing them.³ He used to copy the chains of transmitters (asānīd) of such traditions, omitting the text itself, since in his opinion traditions ought to be written down only if they dealt with the life and behaviour of the Prophet, or with matters of religious law.⁴ He is quoted as mentioning approvingly the action of Abū Sa'id Sallām b. Abī Muṭṭi'⁵ who burnt a book by Abū 'Awāna⁶ in which the author

¹ Idhā dhukira 'l-qadar fa-amsikū wa-idhā dhukira 'n-nujūm fa-amsikū wa-idhā dhukira aṣḥābī fa-amsikū (aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ar-riyād an-naḍira, I, p.22).

² Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muḥriqa, p.214.

³ Al-Khallāl, Musnad, f81a.

⁴ Ibid., ff75a, 82a. Ibn Ḥanbal may have needed the asānīd to verify the authenticity of these traditions and to examine the reliability of the transmitters.

⁵ A Baṣrī traditionist, d.173/789. See Ibn al-'Imād, Shadharāt adh-dhahab, Cairo 1350-1 H., I, p.282.

⁶ I.e. al-Waḍḍāh b. Khālīd (or b. 'Abd Allāh), a mawlā of Yazīd b. 'Aṭā'; d.176/792. See Ibn Sa'd, Kitāb at-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr, Leiden 1905-40, VII/ii, pp.43-44; adh-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-huffāz, Haydarabad 1955-8, I, pp.236-237; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb, Haydarabad 1325-7 H., XI, pp.116-120; Ibn al-'Imād, op.cit., I, p.287.

had recorded traditions depicting the faults of the Companions.¹ Ibn Ḥanbal is said to have been particularly incensed by works in which the role of the Companions during the wars following 'Uthmān's murder (the fitna) was discussed. He disapproved of the plan of his cousin Ḥanbal² to copy the Kitāb Ṣifḥīn wa'l-Jamal of Khalaf b. Sālim³ and would not even let him read it.⁴ He refused to condemn either 'Alī or Mu'āwiya (a position known as imsāk, "refraining") and instead concentrated all his attention on the virtues of the Companions in general.⁵

The central importance which Ibn Ḥanbal attached to the correct attitude towards the Companions may be seen from one of the definitions of faith (īmān) attributed to him. He lays it down as an item of faith that one should believe in the excellence of all the Companions and refrain from mentioning any disagreements which may have existed among them.⁶

The basic concepts evolved by Ibn Ḥanbal were adopted

¹ Al-Khallāl, op.cit., ff83a-83b.

² I.e. Abū 'Alī Ḥanbal b. Ishāq b. Ḥanbal ash-Shaybānī; d. 273/886. See F. Sezgin, Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, I, Leiden 1967, p.510, and the bibliography there.

³ I.e. Abū Muḥammad al-Mukharramī al-Muhallabī; d.231/846. See adh-Dhahabī, op.cit., II, p.481; Tahdhīb, III, pp.152-154. He is said to have collected traditions in which the Companions were criticised (masāwī' as-sahāba); see Tahdhīb, III, p.153.

⁴ Al-Khallāl, op.cit., ff74b-75a.

⁵ Ibid., f.74a; Ibn al-Jawzī, Manāqib al-imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Cairo 1930, p.164. Cf. also Ibn Abī Ya'lā, Mukhtaṣar ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila, Damascus 1350H., p.213 (quoting from Ibn Ḥanbal's Risāla fi 's-sunna). The attitude of neutrality, of leaving to God the fate of the participants in the battles of the Camel and Ṣifḥīn, was characteristic of those groups in early Islam who accepted the validity of individual traditions, and whose opponents referred to them by the derogatory term "ḥashwiyya". See an-Nāshī' al-Akbar, Masā'il al-imāma, Beirut 1971, pp.65-66; an-Nawbakhtī, Firaq ash-shī'a, Istanbul 1931, p.15; W. Madelung, Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen, Berlin 1965, p.29, n.117.

⁶ Ibn Abī Ya'lā, loc.cit. For a further discussion of īmān cf. below, pp. 100-105.

and strengthened by later Ḥanbalī authorities. The traditionist and lawyer Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d.311/923-4), who was the first to collect the responsa of Ibn Ḥanbal in his Kitāb al-jāmi',¹ mentions the punishment which will be meted out to those who transmit traditions in which the Companions are attacked.² The Ḥanbalī Ibn Baṭṭa al-'Ukbarī (d. 387/997) says that one should not stress the differences between the Companions, nor should one read or recopy books such as Kitāb Siffin or Waq'at al-jamal which deal with such differences.³ Muwaffaq ad-Dīn Ibn Qudāma (d.620/1223) echoes the same sentiment when he points out that the memory of the Companions should be glorified and their quarrels enveloped in pious silence.⁴

(b) Sūfi views

The same views are found in ascetic and Sūfi circles. As Laoust has shown,⁵ both Ḥanbalism and Sūfism were born in the same atmosphere of profound impregnation by the spirit of the Qur'ān. Ibn Ḥanbal himself led an ascetic way of life and sought the company of famous ascetics of his day.⁶ It is not surprising that in ascetic circles, too, it was thought proper for the believers to remain aloof from any controversy surrounding the Companions. As early a figure as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110/728)

¹ See H. Laoust, La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa, Damascus 1958, p.xxiv; id., "Le hanbalisme sous le califat de Bagdad", in REI 27, 1959, pp.79-80; id., the article "Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal" in EI², I, p.274. The Brit. Mus. MS known as the Kitāb al-musnad (see in the bibliography) is the only part of al-Khallāl's Kitāb al-jāmi' which is known to have survived.

² H. Laoust, La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa, p.121 n.1.

³ Ibid. (Arabic text), pp.63-64; id., Les schismes dans l'Islam, Paris 1965, p.429. Cf. also al-Barbahārī (d.329/940-941) in Ibn Abī Ya'lā, Tabaqāt al-ḥanābila, Cairo 1952, II, p.34.

⁴ H. Laoust, Le Précis du droit d'Ibn Qudāma, Beirut 1950, introduction, p.xxxiv.

⁵ "Le hanbalisme sous le califat de Bagdad", pp.70-71.

⁶ Ibid., p.71.

is reported to have said when the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffin were mentioned in his presence, "This is a blood from which God has cleansed our swords [so] we should not soil our tongues with it."¹ A very similar statement is ascribed to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (reigned 99/717-101/720), often depicted as the most pious of the Umayyad rulers.² The attitude of respect for all Companions was also characteristic of the early mystic al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d.243/857).³ The Ḥanafī faqīh and Māturīdī theologian and mystic Abu 'l-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad as-Samarqandī (d.373/983)⁴ says, "It behoves the discerning person to speak well of the Companions and not to speak ill of any of them, so that his religion may remain unimpaired."⁵

(c) Ash'arī views

The influence of Ḥanbalī views on the question of the 'adāla of the Companions spread in other directions as well: Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d.324/935-6), who stresses his adherence to the beliefs of Ibn Ḥanbal,⁶ declares that the "people of the

¹ Tilka dimā' ṭahhara 'llāh minhā asyāfanā fa-lā nulaṭṭikhu bihā alsinatānā (Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha, Cairo 1959-64, XX, p.11; Darajāt, p.11). On Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's views cf. in general the article by H. Ritter in EI², III, pp.247-248.

² See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Qurṭubī, Mukhtaṣar jāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa-faḍliḥī, p.154.

³ See J. Van Ess, Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī, Bonn 1961, p.7.

⁴ See Sezgin, I, p.445, and the bibliography there.

⁵ Yanbaghī li'l-'āqil an yuḥsina 'l-qawl fi 'ṣ-ṣaḥāba wa-lā yadhkura ahādan minhum bi-sū' li-yaslama dīnuḥū (as-Samarqandī, Bustān al-'ārifīn, p.186). Al-Mufīd refers disparagingly to those who hold such views as "a feeble group of hashwiyya (cf. above p.8, n.5) whose views are accepted by many of the common people ('amma) and are propagated by those who feign piety, asceticism, and long periods of silence, [who pretend to] search for [spiritual] well-being and to be proper in their speech; they are [in fact] far removed from knowledge and the possessors of knowledge [and expose themselves as] ignorant fools" (Al-jamal, Najaf 1368H., p.6).

⁶ See Al-ibāna 'an uṣūl ad-diyāna, Cairo 1348H., p.9. This is not to say that al-Ash'arī's views were unreservedly accepted by the Ḥanbalīs of his generation. He was attacked by them for

truth and the sunna" (ahl al-haqq wa's-sunna) believe in loving, praising and supporting all the Companions, and in refraining from discussing their disagreements.¹ The same idea is elaborated by the Ash'arī mutakallim Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī (d.478/1085)² and recurs in the works of his illustrious pupil al-Ghazzālī (d.505/1111). In the first section of the second book of the Ihyā', which deals with the foundations of the articles of faith (gawā'id al-'aqā'id), al-Ghazzālī exhorts the believer to "think well of all the Companions and praise them, just as God and His Apostle praised them."³

In addition to believing that all Companions were 'udul, Ash'arī theologians also maintained that the Companions were mujtahidūn. This term is derived from a verb meaning "to exert oneself", hence "to arrive at a conclusion by independent logical reasoning".⁴ A well-known hadīth has it that if a mujtahid arrives at the correct conclusion he will receive two rewards in the next world, and that even if he errs he will receive one reward.⁵ It seems that the first person who applied the concept of ijtihād directly to the Companions was the early engaging in scholastic theology and, more particularly, for his manner of employing reasoning by analogy (qiyās). See M.Allard, "En quoi consiste l'opposition faite à al-Ash'arī par ses contemporains hanbalites?", in REI 28, 1960, pp.93-105.

¹ Al-Ash'arī, op.cit., pp. 9,11.

² See his Kitāb al-irshād, Cairo 1950, pp.432-433; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., XX, p.11; as-Suyūṭī, Tadrīb ar-rāwī, p.204.

³ Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn, Constantinople 1871, I, p.100.

⁴ See in general the article "Idjtiḥād" by J.Schacht and D.B. Macdonald, in EI², III, pp.1026-7.

⁵ See ash-Shāfi'ī, Risāla, Cairo 1969, p.215; Schacht, Origins, p.96.--Ibn Ḥazm explains (Al-fiṣal, Cairo 1317-21H., III, p.258) that a Muslim who uses personal interpretation (man ta'awwala) and errs without proof having been brought to show him that he is in error is excused and receives one reward for searching for the truth; his error is forgiven since it was unintentional. If he is right (muṣīb) he receives two rewards, one for finding the right answer and one for searching for the truth. See also al-Bāqillānī, Al-inṣāf, Cairo 1963, pp.67-68.

"orthodox" mutakallim al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Karābīsī (d.248/862).¹ Al-Ash'arī himself, writing almost a century later, took over this idea.²

At the same time, some Ash'arī theologians stressed that veneration of the Companions should not be carried to extremes. Al-Ghazzālī, for instance, warns against any exaggeration, such as the attribution of infallibility to the caliphs; he stresses that in praising the Companions one ought to choose the middle course and follow the dictates of reason and of tradition.³ A similar attitude is adopted by the Ḥanbalī Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyya (d.728/1328), who was very familiar with Ash'arī ideas. He declares that the Companions were not infallible and may have committed sins; yet they are pardoned because they possessed many virtues and because they were mujtahidūn.⁴ While blaming the Khārijīs and the Mu'tazilīs for criticising and defaming the Companions, he also rebukes the Murji'īs for going to the other extreme of blind adoration. Ibn Taymiyya speaks against both trends and in favour of an attitude of moderation.⁵

(d) Dissenting views

The belief that all the Companions were good Muslims is so deep-rooted in Sunnī Islam that few were willing to challenge

¹ Al-Karābīsī's views on the Companions are recorded in an-Nāshi' al-Akbar, op.cit., p.67 (where al-Karābīsī is erroneously identified as the Mu'tazilī Walīd b. Abān al-Karābīsī; see Van Ess, Frühe Mu'tazilitische Häresiographie, p.52), and are also referred to in al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn, Istanbul 1929-33, p.457.

² See al-Ash'arī, Al-ibāna 'an uṣūl ad-diyāna, p.73 (wa-kulluhum min ahl al-ijtihād).

³ Al-iqtisād fi 'l-i'tiqād, Cairo n.d., pp.108-109; cf. L. Gardet, Dieu et la destinée de l'homme, p.421. Al-Ghazzālī's comments are aimed chiefly at the Ḥanbalīs. Cf. below, pp.31-32.

⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, Al-'aqīda al-wāsiṭiyya, Cairo 1346H., pp.32-33, whence Laust, La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa, p.121, n.2.

⁵ See Gardet, op.cit., pp.422-423.

it. Yet some dissenting voices, influenced no doubt by non-Sunni arguments, can be detected. Some Shāfi'is are said to have maintained that those who fought 'Alī during his caliphate were grave sinners (fussāq).¹ Others did not go so far but were prepared to admit that there were individual Companions who ought to be severely criticised for some of their actions.² Perhaps the most outspoken representative of this school of thought within Sunnism is the Ḥanafī (or, according to others, Shāfi'i) Sa'd ad-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar at-Taftāzānī (d.792/1390). In one passage of the Sharḥ al-maqāṣid (which is at-Taftāzānī's commentary on his own work, the Maqāṣid at-ṭalibīn fī uṣūl ad-dīn)³ he declares:

The obvious construction one might put on the quarrels between the Companions as told in the history books . . . is that some of them acted in a disgracefully unjust and ungodly way, out of malice, out of obstinacy, out of envy, out of aggressiveness, out of lust for control and power, and out of a proclivity for sensual pleasure; after all, not every Companion is sinless nor is everyone who met the Prophet distinguished by the mark of virtue.⁴ The 'ulamā', however, were led by their predisposition in favour of the Companions of the Apostle of God to give convenient explanations and interpretations of these quarrels and to maintain that the Companions were divinely protected against any action which would lead to error and sin. The 'ulamā' wanted to protect the beliefs of the Muslims from deviation and error with regard to the leading Companions--particularly the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār and those who were promised the reward in the hereafter. The injustice which was inflicted on the family of the Prophet after the death (sc. of the leading Companions)⁵ is too evident to be concealed and too repellent to allow of equivocation. The evil of their deeds will persist

¹ See al-Maḥallī, Al-badr at-ṭālī', Būlāq 1285H., II, p.148. As-Suyūṭī contends (Tadrīb ar-rāwī, p.204) that this is an erroneous view held only by the Mu'tazila.

² See below, p.204, n.1.

³ See GAL, II, p.280.

⁴ Laysa kullu ṣaḥābī ma'sūman wa-lā kullu man laqiya 'n-nabī bi'l-khayr mawsūman.

⁵ The Arabic text has wa-ammā mā jarā ba'dahum, which is somewhat ambiguous.

for ever.¹

It would be wrong to assume from this passage that at-Taftāzānī permitted or encouraged a critical attitude towards the Ṣaḥāba as a whole.² In fact, he shared the Ash'arī view that any discussion of the disagreements among the Companions is harmful.³ He also attacked the "extreme" Shī'īs for their alleged hatred of the Companions.⁴ What is unusual about this passage is the explicit and frank manner in which at-Taftāzānī acknowledges that some Companions behaved in a disgraceful manner. This frankness accounts for the popularity which this particular section of the Sharḥ al-maqāṣid achieved among later Shī'ī polemicists.⁵

The Relative Merits of the Companions (tafāḍul aṣ-ṣaḥāba).

A question directly related to the entire issue of the place of the Companions in Islam concerns the putative differences between degrees of excellence accorded to groups or individuals among the Companions. The tendency to arrange the Ṣaḥāba in a hierarchical order points to the different views which have existed in Islam from its inception, according to which all Companions are good, but some are better than others.⁶ Traditionists have not been unaware of this difficulty. In addressing himself to this question, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī

¹ At-Taftāzānī, Sharḥ al-maqāṣid, f240a, cit. ash-Shirāzī, Sharḥ uṣūl al-kāfī, Tehran 1865, p.232b; see also Nūr Allāh at-Tustarī, Iḥqāq al-ḥaqq, Tehran 1376-8H., II, p.391; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Nafas ar-raḥmān fī faḍā'il Salmān, Tehran 1865, p.77a.

² His critical remarks at the end of this passage seem to be directed against Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya and his helpers, rather than against 'Alī's opponents in the battles of the Camel, Ṣiffin and an-Nahrawān.

³ See Sharḥ al-maqāṣid, f239a.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ See the references in n.1 above. Cf. also below, p.99.

⁶ See above, pp.1-2.

(d.852/1449) maintains¹ that there are two main views on the matter: first there are those who believe that all the Companions hold the same rank of excellence. They base themselves on traditions such as "My generation is the best of my community"² and, "My community is like rain of which one does not know whether the beginning or the end is better."³ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d.463/1070) is mentioned among the traditionists holding this view. The second group, to which most Sunnis may be said to belong, believes that some Companions are more excellent than others. They quote in support of their claim the Quranic verse, "There is no equality among you; those who expended before the conquest [of Mecca] and fought are higher in rank than those who expended afterwards and fought."⁴

In literary terms the idea of distinguishing between different kinds of Companions is expressed by the division of the Companions into classes (ṭabaqāt) which are generally arranged according to well-defined criteria. The relevant points by which to judge the merits of a Companion are how early he became a Muslim, how many battles he took part in, whether he was on good terms with Muḥammad, and so forth. In the words of one author,⁵ "He who accompanied the Prophet, fought with him or was killed while fighting under his standard is more meritorious

¹ In his Fath al-Bārī (a commentary on al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ), Cairo 1325H., VII, pp.4-5.

² See above p.5.

³ Mathalu ummati mathalu 'l-maṭar lā yudrā awwaluhū khayr am ākhiruhū (ibid., quoting from at-Tirmidhī, Ṣaḥīḥ).

⁴ Qur'ān 57/10. The verb anfaqa ("to expend") is taken by the commentators to mean here "to believe", or "to emigrate", or "to participate in a holy war". Cf. at-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, Cairo 1321H., XXVII, p.113.

⁵ Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Himmāt (zāde) ad-Dimashqī (d.1175/1761), Sharḥ nukhabat Ibn Hajar (cf. GALS, II, p.423), cit. Muḥammad Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Qāsimī, Qawā'id at-taḥdīth, Cairo 1961, p.200.

than he who neither accompanied him nor witnessed a battle with him and [more meritorious than] he who spoke or walked with him only for a little while or saw him [only] from afar or as a child; [that is so] even though they all share the honour of companionship." The number of classes varies. Thus Ibn Sa'd (d.230/845) divides the Companions into five,¹ al-Hākim an-Naysābūrī (d.405/1014) into twelve² and 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d.429/1037) into seventeen classes.³

(a) Traditions in favour of groups among the Companions

The broadest and earliest division of the Companions is into Muhājirūn and Anṣār, two terms mentioned already in the Qur'ān.⁴ The six canonical books of traditions contain chapters in which each of these two groups is praised and its virtues extolled. While the Qurayshīs naturally wished to stress the merits of the Muhājirūn, of whom they regarded themselves as worthy successors, Medinese circles which traced their origins to the Anṣār may have had a special interest in propagating pro-Anṣār traditions, especially since they may quite justifiably have felt that their influence was gradually declining within the Islamic community. "But for the hijra I would have been a man of the Anṣār", Muḥammad is quoted as having declared.⁵

¹ See as-Suyūṭī, Tadrib ar-rāwī, pp.206-207.

² Ibid., p.207.

³ Uṣūl ad-dīn, Istanbul 1928, pp.298-303; cf. Wensinck, The Muslim creed, p.152. More unusual is the division of the Companions into seven classes to correspond to the number of the planets. Such a division was carried out by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn 'Arrāq (d.933/1526) in his work Nahw al-qulūb. The inclusion of the ahl as-suffa (cf. below, p.314, n.1) as a separate category shows the author's sympathy with Ṣūfī ideas. See Ahlwardt, Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, I, Berlin 1887, p.163, no.427.

⁴ See above, pp. 2-3.

⁵ Lawla 'l-hijra la-kuntu rajulan min al-anṣār (Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Majma' az-zawā'id, X, p.32; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, Kanz al-'ummāl, Haydarabad 1364-85H., XIII, p.10).

The Anṣār are also described in various traditions as the repository of Muḥammad's secrets¹ and as people whom Muḥammad would follow even if all others took a different road.²

One particularly important group, which appears later in this work,³ is known as al-'ashara al-mubashshara or al-mubashsharūn, i.e. the ten Companions to whom Paradise was promised. Although there are some differences in the names of the Companions included in the list⁴ they invariably include the first four caliphs. Traditions in their praise were compiled into independent works.⁵

(b) The relative merits of the first four caliphs

The prevalent Sunni doctrine on the relative merits (tafdīl, tafāḍul) of the first four caliphs is that their order of excellence is the same as the historical order in which they reigned.⁶ In Ḥanafī and Māturidī circles Abū Bakr and 'Umar are often given the first rank and 'Uthmān and 'Alī the second rank in excellence without further tafdīl. This view is ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa himself.⁷ There seem to have been some isolated groups who maintained that 'Umar was more excellent than Abū Bakr, but these were definitely an exception.⁸ According to

¹ Ūṣṭikum bi'l-anṣār fa-innahum kirshī wa-'aybatī (Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., X, p.35; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, op.cit., XIII, p.2).

² Wa-law anna 'n-nās salakū wādiyan wa-salakāt al-anṣār shu'batan la'ttaba'tu shu'bat al-anṣār (Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., X, p.32).

³ See below, pp. 97, 190-191.

⁴ See aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ar-riyāḍ an-naḍira, I, pp.30-31; the article "al-'Ashara al-mubashshara" by A.J.Wensinck, in EI², I, p.693.

⁵ In addition to aṭ-Ṭabarī's Ar-riyāḍ an-naḍira there is also the work of Maḥmūd b. 'Umar az-Zamakhsharī (d.538/1144) called Khaṣā'is al-'ashara al-kirām al-barara.

⁶ See al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt, p.294; al-Bāqillānī, Manāqib al-a'imma (unpaginated MS).

⁷ I thank Prof. Madelung for this information.

⁸ Al-Jāḥiẓ (in Kitāb al-'uthmāniyya, Cairo 1955, p.140) quotes

Ibn Taymiyya,¹ while all Sunnis agree that Abū Bakr and 'Umar are the most meritorious Companions, there is no such unanimity with regard to 'Uthmān and 'Alī. Some Medinese maintained an attitude of neutrality (tawagquf) on the question; this attitude is sometimes ascribed to Mālik b. Anas. Some Kūfis preferred 'Alī.² Sufyān ath-Thawrī (d.161/778) is said to have held this view but to have changed his mind after meeting Abū Bakr Ayyūb b. Abī Tamīma as-Sakhtiyānī (d.131/749)³ who reportedly told him, "Whoever prefers 'Alī over 'Uthmān has shown contempt for the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār."⁴ Ibn Taymiyya's moderation comes to the fore when he contends that although the ahl as-sunna have

the tradition, "The most excellent of the people of God is 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb", but explains that it refers to a particular situation (khāṣṣ) and should not be interpreted as a statement of general truth ('āmm). According to al-Jāḥiẓ (ibid.), no one claims that 'Umar is the best of men; those called 'Umariyyūn believe in the precedence of Abū Bakr. Yet al-Jāḥiẓ seems to be contradicting himself, since he is reported (in 'Abd al-Jabbār, Al-mughnī, XX/ii, Cairo c.1966, p.113) to be the author of Ar-risāla al-khaṭṭābiyya (not mentioned by Ch. Pellat in his "Essai . . . gāḥiẓienne", Arabica, 3, 1956, pp.147-180) which discusses the views of those who uphold the superiority of 'Umar to all others. The Khaṭṭābiyya are also mentioned by al-Bāqillānī in his Manāqib al-a'imma (unpaginated MS). They are not to be confused with the "extremist" Khaṭṭābiyya sect, the followers of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. Abī Zaynab (d.138/755) (on which see al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt, pp.10-11; Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī al-Qummī, Kitāb al-maqālāt wa'l-firaq, Tehran 1963, pp.50-51; al-Kishshī, Kitāb ar-rijāl, Najaf c.1964, pp.246-260).

¹ Minhāj as-sunna an-nabawiyya, II, Beirut 1964, pp.51-52.

² See an-Nāshī' al-Akbar, op.cit., p.65; cf. below, p.71, n.3.

³ On whom cf. Ibn Sa'd, VII/ii, pp.14-17; Tahdhīb, I, pp.397-399.

⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, op.cit., II, p.52. The same phrase is reported to have been used by Ibn Ḥanbal; see Ibn Abī Ya'lā, Tabaqāt al-hanābila, I, p.173; cf. Ibn Abī Bakr, At-tamhīd wa'l-bayān fī maqāl ash-shahīd 'Uthmān, Beirut 1964, p.172. The special esteem in which some Sunni scholars held 'Alī is reflected in Ibn al-Jawzī's observation (Tadhkira, f165a) that 'Alī was the last of the four rightly-guided caliphs, just as Muḥammad was the last of the prophets. Ibn al-Jawzī believed that had it not been for explicit traditions in which Abū Bakr and 'Umar are ranked as the most excellent Companions, that honour would have gone to 'Alī.

agreed that 'Uthmān is more excellent than 'Alī, this is not a matter of fundamental belief, and those who disagree are not to be considered as erring.¹

Ibn Ḥanbal, following the original pro-Umayyad party known as the ahl as-sunna wa'l-jamā'a, recognised at first only Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān as legitimate caliphs. In this he relied on the ḥadīth of Ibn 'Umar, "When the Prophet was still alive and his Companions were many we used to count: ' Abū Bakr, then 'Umar, then 'Uthmān,' then we were silent."² Later Ibn Ḥanbal acknowledged 'Alī as a legitimate caliph and himself transmitted many traditions on 'Alī's virtues.³ The later Ḥanbalī view is identical in general with that of the other Sunni madhāhib in identifying the order in which the first four caliphs reigned with their order of excellence.⁴ In their polemics against Shi'ī opponents, Sunni traditionists and theologians strove to show not only that the first three caliphs had been elected by unanimous consent, but also that they had possessed the necessary personal qualities required of the ruler.

¹ Laysat min al-uṣūl allatī yuḍallalu 'l-mukhālif fihā (Ibn Taymiyya, Al-'aqīda al-wāsiṭiyya, p.31). Ibn Ḥazm (Al-fisal, IV, p.147) expresses similar views on that subject. Cf. in general al-Baghdādī, Uṣūl ad-dīn, p.304.

² Ibn Abī Ya'lā, op.cit., I, p.243. Cf. an-Nāshī' al-Akbar, op.cit., p.66.

³ See W. Madelung, "Die Ahl as-sunna wa'l-jamā'a und die Nābita", in al-Qāsim, pp.223-228; cf. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ganjī, Kifāyat at-tālib fī manāqib 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, Najaf 1970, p.253. The Ḥanbalī attitude of respect for 'Alī and his family often went hand in hand with a strong hostility to political Shi'ism; see H. Laoust, "Le hanbalisme sous le califat de Bagdad", p.91.

⁴ See H. Laoust, Le précis du droit d'Ibn Qudāma, introduction p.xxxiv. Not all later Ḥanbalīs, however, shared this view. According to al-Khallāl, Ibn Ḥanbal counted 'Alī as a caliph, but did not include him in the tafdīl, in accordance with the ḥadīth of Ibn 'Umar. This view is also supported by al-Khallāl himself. 'Alī is then included among al-'ashara al-mubashsharūn, but he is not given the fourth rank in excellence among the Companions. Cf. the discussion in al-Khallāl, op.cit., ff56a-62b.

It is in this context that the emphasis placed upon the merits of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān gains particular significance.¹

3 The Companions as Transmitters

Further Definitions of the Term Companion

The role of the Companions as transmitters of Muḥammad's words explains more than any other single factor the prominence which they acquired in Sunni Islam. With the development of the science of ḥadīth it became firmly established that the chain of transmitters (isnād) of any given tradition had to go back to a Companion on whose authority the tradition would be related.² This in turn raised the need for a more precise definition of a Companion.³ The following definitions

¹ The Shi'i arguments against the first three caliphs are discussed in chapter IV.

² The role of transmitters which is allotted to the Companions in Sunni Islam has no parallel in either of the two other great monotheistic religions. In Judaism no notion exists of a first generation of "founding fathers". The Jewish view relating to the transmitters of authority is contained in the opening passage of the Pirke Avot: "Moses received the Law from Sinai and committed it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the Prophets; and the Prophets committed it to the men of the Great Synagogue" (The Mishnah, trans. H. Danby, London 1933, p.446). The situation in early Christianity appears at first sight to bear a greater affinity to Sunni Islam: Jesus, like Muḥammad after him, had his disciples who followed him. But only a special circle among these disciples, i.e. the apostles (hawāriyyūn; cf. below, p.229, n.6), were commissioned to practise his gospel (cf. the articles "Apostle", "Disciples", by M. L. Held, in New Catholic Encyclopedia, New-York etc. 1967, I, p.679, IV, p.895 respectively). Moreover, no science developed in Christianity which is comparable to the science of ḥadīth in Islam. With the consolidation of the gospels the New Testament became the only authoritative source for the life of Jesus, and oral traditions as well as other written sources (the Apocrypha) gradually lost their importance for Christian doctrine (Cf. R.P.C. Hanson, Traditions in the early Church, Bristol 1962, pp.9ff, 44, 50; J. Daniélou, The theology of Jewish Christianity, trans. and ed. by J.A.Baker, London 1964, p.46; H. Chadwick, The early Church, London 1967, pp. 42-43).

³ Cf. al-Bukhārī's definition, quoted above, p.2.

reveal the extent of agreement or lack of it among Sunni traditionists:¹

(i) A Companion is a person who met Muḥammad as a believer, even if he did not transmit from him or prolong his stay with him.² Al-Maḥallī (d.864/1459) explains³ that even an uncouth Bedouin, if he is a believer, will have pronounced words of wisdom upon coming into the Prophet's presence. The wording of this definition is also meant to ensure that the actual seeing of Muḥammad with the eyes should not be a necessary prerequisite; thus a blind man such as Ibn Umm Maktūm⁴ could also qualify as a Companion.⁵ As early an authority as al-Wāqidī (d.207/823) includes among the Companions those from whom no tradition is known to have been transmitted. He explains that these Companions may have been reluctant to transmit,⁶ or that their transmission was not needed because there were so many other Companions, or that they were preoccupied with performing the religious duties and fighting for Islam and so died without transmitting anything.⁷

(ii) A Companion is a person who met Muḥammad as a believer,

¹ See al-Bannānī's supercommentary on as-Subkī's Jam' al-jawāmi', II, p.146; as-Suyūṭī, Tadrib ar-rāwī, p.202; cf. 'Alī b. Muḥammad ash-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, Kitāb at-ta'rīfāt, Beirut 1969, p.137; Mīrzā Makhdūm, An-nawāqid li-bunyān ar-rawāfiq, f46a.

² "Stay with him for an extended period" would be a more faithful rendition of the Arabic aṭāla which is used here. But since this verb appears a few times in the next paragraphs I have preferred to retain the verb "prolong" for the sake of brevity.

³ See as-Subkī, loc.cit., in margin.

⁴ I.e. 'Abd Allāh (or 'Amr) b. Qays b. Zā'ida b. al-Aṣamm, who was the mu'adhḥin of the Prophet in Medina together with Bilāl b. Rabāḥ. See Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, pp.150-156.

⁵ See as-Suyūṭī, loc.cit.; Goldziher, Muh. Stud., II, pp.240-241.

⁶ At-tawaqqi fi 'l-ḥadīth. On this subject see Goldziher, "Kämpfe um die Stellung des Hadīth im Islam," in ZDMG 61, 1907, pp.860ff.

⁷ Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, pp.127-128.

transmitted from him and prolonged his stay with him. This definition lays stress on the most important function of the Companions from the Sunni point of view, namely transmitting Muḥammad's sunna to later generations, an achievement that--according to the proponents of this definition--could only be the result of a prolonged and intimate knowledge of the Prophet.

(iii) A Companion is a person who met Muḥammad as a believer and either transmitted from him or prolonged his stay with him.

(iv) A Companion is a person who participated in at least one of Muḥammad's campaigns or stayed with him for no less than a year.

While there is general agreement that someone who died after having apostatised cannot be considered a Companion, there are differences of opinion concerning an apostate who returned to Islam and died as a Muslim: while the Shāfi'is consider such a person as a Companion, the Mālikis refuse him the honour.¹

The 'adāla of the Companions as Transmitters

Most of the ahl al-ḥadīth agree that the term 'adāla, when applied to the Companions, is not limited to their high morality as individuals² but extends also to their reliability

¹ See al-Bannānī, op.cit., II, p.147; as-Suyūṭī, loc.cit. The two examples most often cited are those of 'Abd Allāh b. Khaṭal of the Banū Taym, who apostatised and was therefore executed on Muḥammad's orders after the capture of Mecca; and 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ who returned to Islam after having apostatised and lived to become a governor under 'Umar and 'Uthmān. Cf. Sira, pp.818-819. Another example of an apostate who returned to Islam is al-Ash'ath b. Qays who was reportedly pardoned by Abū Bakr after leading a revolt of his clan, the Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiya. See Darajāt, p.10; cf. in general below p. 204, with n.7. For further discussions on the definition of a Companion consult Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Fath al-bārī, VII, pp.2-3; Ibn Ḥazm, Al-ihkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām, Cairo 1345-7H., II, pp.82-86.

² See above, p.6.

as transmitters. In their view no investigation is needed to ensure the existence of 'adāla in each individual Companion; hence the science of estimating the trustworthiness of transmitters ('ilm al-jarḥ wa't-ta'dīl) is irrelevant in the case of the Companions. This is clearly stated by Ibn Abī Ḥātim ar-Rāzī (d.327/938) in his work dealing with that subject.¹ The same general principle is adopted by Ibn Taymiyya. While denying any infallibility in the Companions he contends that no Companion lied deliberately when quoting the Prophet and that unlike some Kūfī Successors, all Companions are trustworthy in the transmission of hadīth.²

(a) Dissenting views

Not everyone was ready to accept the transmission of hadīth by the Companions as automatically binding without reference to the identity of the particular Companion in question. Some argued that the Companions cannot be accorded a special privileged position and that their 'adāla, both as transmitters of Muḥammad's sayings and as witnesses to his actions, must be subjected to careful scrutiny--the only exception being Companions such as Abū Bakr and 'Umar, whose 'adāla is so well established that it stands in no need of further proof.³ A similar argument is that automatic 'adāla may be accorded only to those who prolonged their stay with the Prophet, helped and supported him.⁴ Especially well-known is the case of Abū Hurayra, whose detractors questioned his 'adāla by pointing to

¹ Kitāb al-jarḥ wa't-ta'dīl, Haydarabad 1952-3, I, p.14, trans. G.H.A. Juynboll, op.cit., p.13. See also al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Kitāb al-kifāya fī 'ilm ar-riwāya, Haydarabad 1357H., p.46.

² As-ṣaḥāba kulluhum thiqāt (Minhāj as-sunna an-nabawiyya, II, p.363).

³ Al-Maḥallī, Al-badr at-tālī', II, p.148 (on margin).

⁴ Al-Bannānī, op.cit., II, p.148.

various deficiencies in his character, as well as to the unusually large number of traditions reported on his authority (5374 according to as-Suyūṭī)¹ even though he knew Muḥammad for only a relatively short period of time.² Abū Ḥanīfa is quoted as saying that he followed the opinions of the Companions³ except in the case of Anas b. Mālik, Abū Hurayra and Samura b. Jundab. Asked about this he explained, "Anas became confused later in life; when he was asked for legal advice he gave it while relying on his intellect ('aqlihī), and I do not trust his intellect. As for Abū Hurayra, he used to transmit everything he heard without reflecting on the sense and without being able to distinguish the abrogating (nāsikh) from the abrogated (mansūkh)."⁴

In contrast to those who contend that one should not discuss the disagreements among the Companions, as well as to those who maintain that the 'adāla applies to all the Companions, some scholars hold the view that no Companion who was alive at the time of 'Uthmān's murder can automatically be accepted as

¹ Tadrib ar-rāwī, p.205.

² Most of the relevant material on this subject may be found in Juynboll, op.cit., pp.62-99. H. Hemgesberg's thesis on Abū Hurayra (Frankfurt, 1965) has not been seen by me.

³ What is presumably meant here are opinions based on traditions of the Prophet; but perhaps Abū Ḥanīfa is referring to the Companions as independent legal authorities. Cf. in general below, pp.25-32.

⁴ Abū Shāma, Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-mu'ammal li'r-radd ila 'l-amr al-awwal, in Majmū'at ar-rasā'il, Cairo 1328H., p.32, trans. Juynboll, op.cit., pp.91-92; (I have slightly altered Juynboll's translation). No explanation is given in that source for the inclusion of Samura b. Jundab in the list. See also Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., IV, p.68; Goldziher, Die Zāhiriten, Leipzig 1884, p.79. The Zaydī Ṣāliḥ al-Maqbālī (for whom see al-Qāsim, p.164, n.77) refers to a pejorative statement supposedly made by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī on the 'adāla of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (see Al-'alam ash-shāmikh, Cairo 1328H., p.306). In fact Ibn Ḥajar declares (Hady as-sārī, Cairo 1347H., II, p.164) that once it is demonstrated that Marwān saw the Prophet, no notice need be taken of his critics.

'adl, and that from that time on no tradition can be accepted without first putting the transmitter to a test.¹

(b) The abrogation of traditions

Once the theory had been established that the Prophet could abrogate (nasakha) an earlier tradition and replace it by a new one, it became the task of the traditionists to distinguish between these two kinds of traditions. According to the theory which they evolved, if the first caliphs acted in accordance with a particular tradition, that tradition must have been in force when the Prophet died and had therefore not been abrogated at any time. Whenever a discrepancy between two traditions occurred, Malik b. Anas is reported to have compared the dates in which the Companions on whose authority the traditions were related last saw Muḥammad; the closer to the period of the Prophet's death, the less likely the risk of the tradition having been subsequently abrogated.²

4 The Companions as Independent Authorities

The role of the Companions as transmitters of Muḥammad's utterances was well-established in Sunni Islam by the 3rd/9th century. Although debates continued on issues such as the reliability and moral probity of individual Companions,

¹ See al-Bannānī, loc.cit.; cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, op.cit., p.49.

² See ash-Shāṭibī, Kitāb al-ī'tisām, Cairo 1913-4, I, pp.104-105. This principle would explain the prominence of traditions related on the authority of Companions such as Abū Hurayra, who first met Muḥammad relatively late in his career and could not therefore have related many abrogated traditions. Often such Companions are used automatically in the isnād in order to increase the trustworthiness of a particular tradition (my thanks to Dr. J. Wansbrough for these observations). A different chronological problem has to do with the number of traditions transmitted by various Companions. Only a few traditions are transmitted on the authority of Abū Bakr since he died two years after the Prophet; 'Alī, on the other hand, lived for 29 years after Muḥammad, so numerous traditions go back to him. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, pp.126-127; as-Suyūṭī, Al-itqān, Calcutta 1856, p.908.

no Sunni theologian could henceforth challenge the basic historical-religious view of the Companions as the vital link between Muhammad and subsequent generations. This view, however, did not provide an adequate answer to an important related problem: can the Companions be regarded as authorities in their own right, or should their contribution be seen strictly in the context of the transmission of the Prophet's words? Thus stated, this question belongs within the sphere of the science known as the "roots" of jurisprudence (uṣūl al-fiqh), which deals with the legitimate sources from which religious law is derived. At the same time it cannot be divorced from the historical problem of the extent to which the Companions shaped Islamic traditions and customs.

The vast and rapid expansion of Islam in the century after Muhammad's death, which brought it into contact with a variety of cultures and religions, raised numerous legal problems to which the Qur'ān provided no adequate answer. According to the theory put forward by Schacht,¹ the basis for the law that was applied in the first two generations of Islam was local custom, and this is reflected in the ancient schools of law. With the spread of Islamic religious consciousness, lawyers increasingly felt the need to establish their doctrines on a firm theoretical footing. The first major step in this direction was taken when the doctrines of the various schools were retrospectively attributed to famous Companions who had lived in the areas where these schools flourished.² At that stage opinions of a Companion were accorded more authority than what the same

¹ In his Origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence.

² See Schacht, "Law and justice", in The Cambridge history of Islam, Cambridge 1970, II, p.554.

Companion reported as having been said by the Prophet.¹ The only knowledge ('ilm), al-Awzā'i (d.157/774) is said to have declared, is that which has come down from the Companions.²

The second decisive step was taken in 'Irāq in the early 2nd/8th century when, in Schacht's words, "the term 'sunna of the Prophet' was transformed from its political and theological into a legal context, and identified with the sunna, the ideal practice of the local community and the corresponding doctrine of its scholars."³ Henceforth the authority of the Companions began to be gradually superseded by that of the Prophet. Already Abū Ḥanīfa (d.150/767) is alleged to have viewed the relation between a tradition of the Prophet and a saying of a Companion in the light of the new theory. He is quoted as declaring, "We go first according to the Qur'ān, then the sunna,⁴ then the legal decisions of the Companions (aqdiyat

¹ See Schacht, Origins, pp.24,29. Al-Wāqidī distinguishes between Companions who transmitted from the Prophet and those who gave their own responsa. See Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, pp.127-128. Some Companions were famous for their wide range of knowledge or for their expertise in a particular field. Thus it is reported that all the knowledge of the Companions after the Prophet's death came from six men: 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Mu'adh b. Jabal, Ubayy b. Ka'b, and Zayd b. Thābit (ibid., p.110); Ibn Mas'ūd is considered as the ultimate authority in the interpretation of the Qur'ān, while Zayd b. Thābit was reportedly praised by Muḥammad as "the most skilled of you in questions relating to inheritance" (afraḍukum) (see as-Suyūṭī, op.cit., p.900; cf. Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, pp.115-117, 119-120).

² Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Mukhtaṣar jāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa-faḍlihi p.83. For details about al-Awzā'i and his legal system see Schacht, op.cit., index, s.v.

³ "Law and justice", loc.cit.

⁴ Used here in the technical sense which it was to acquire later, viz. the practice of the Prophet. The Shāfi'i jurist Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Āmidī (d.631/1233) explains in his work on the "roots" of jurisprudence (Al-ihkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām, Cairo 1332H., II, p.140) that there exists a sunna of the Prophet as well as a sunna of the "rightly-guided caliphs" (al-khulafā' ar-rāshidūn); when a Companion speaks about a sunna without further elaboration, it is likely that he is referring to the sunna of the Prophet (ibid.). It is very doubtful, however, whether these distinctions were already known to Abū Ḥanīfa; the words put in his mouth are probably a projection backwards from a later period.

aṣ-ṣaḥāba)."¹ The secondary rank accorded to the Ṣaḥāba is reinforced by another saying attributed to him, "What is reported on the authority of the Prophet is to be honoured more than one's eye and head (fa-'ala 'r-ra's wa'l-'ayn), as we are not allowed to disobey him; what is reported on the authority of his Companions is left to our choice (takhayyarnā) (sc. whether to follow it or not); as for what is reported on the authority of [persons] other [than the Companions]--they are men and we are men [i.e. they have no special authority]."²

Schacht has pointed out the great importance of ash-Shāfi'ī (d.204/820) as the first who formulated in a coherent theory the relationship between the sunna of the Prophet and that of the Companions. According to al-Ghazzālī,³ ash-Shāfi'ī's doctrine passed through two stages: in his older theory he permitted adherence to the saying of a Companion if it was widely known and not disputed; in the absence of a ruling from the Prophet he acknowledged the validity of the opinions of the Companions because of their status in Islam.⁴ Later ash-Shāfi'ī

¹ Ash-Sha'rānī, Al-mīzān, Cairo 1306H., I, p.58. The whole passage aims to show that Abū Ḥanīfa used analogy (qiyās) only when there was no alternative, e.g. to solve problems resulting from disagreements among Companions (ikhtilāf aṣ-ṣaḥāba). Elsewhere Abū Ḥanīfa is said to have advised against the use of analogy on the basis of traditions of the Prophet (khābar ar-rasūl) or sayings of a Companion (qawl aṣ-ṣaḥābī). He did, however, permit the use of analogy in the case of sayings by Successors, since unlike the Companions they had not been eye-witnesses to the life and actions of the Prophet. See Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-ʿĀmirī, Al-i'lām bi-manāqib al-islām, Cairo 1967, pp.119-120. An important source for Abū Ḥanīfa's views on the uṣūl al-fiqh would seem to be the Kitāb al-ʿālim wa'l-muta'allim of his disciple Abū Muṭīʿ al-Balkhī (not seen).

² Ash-Sha'rānī, loc.cit.; Abū Shāma, Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-mu'ammal, p.31; al-Khuwārizmī, Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa, Haydarabad 1321H., I, pp.77,80. Cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, op.cit., p.145.

³ In Al-mustaṣfā min ʿilm al-uṣūl, Cairo 1322-4H., I, p.268.

⁴ Schacht, Origins, p.18; see also al-Qāsimī, Qawā'id at-taḥdīth, p.274. Ash-Shāfi'ī is reported to have said that the Companions are distinguished from the rest of mankind by three things: perfect understanding, true knowledge and irreproachable behaviour (al-fahm at-tāmm wa'l-'ilm aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ wa'l-'amal aṣ-ṣāliḥ); see as-Suyūṭī, op.cit., p.88f.

stated that a scholar may not accept automatically the opinion of another person, even if that person happens to be a Companion. In the Kitāb ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth¹ his position is stated as follows:

The only criterion for the reliability of a tradition is its transmission from the Prophet by reliable men; the fact that some Companions have agreed with it does not strengthen it, nor does the fact that Companions have acted against it warrant its rejection, because they are themselves, together with all Muslims, dependent on the words of the Prophet, and not qualified to confirm them or detract from them by their concurring or dissenting opinions . . . As to opinions which are not transmitted from the Prophet, nobody may regard them as going implicitly back to him, because some Companions were unaware of the orders of the Prophet. Such opinions must therefore be quoted only as their private opinions, as long as the Companion does not relate them from the Prophet.

Ash-Shāfi'i collected a number of traditions in which Companions and Successors are shown as deferring to traditions from the Prophet.² He also used utterances of Companions as additional evidence supporting traditions from the Prophet.³

The success of ash-Shāfi'i's insistence that only traditions going back to the Prophet should carry authority can be deduced from the relatively negligible attention paid to utterances of Companions and later authorities by the authors of the canonical collections of traditions; this is in striking contrast to the great number of traditions from Companions and Successors found in earlier works.⁴

This diminished role of the Companions was not, however, universally recognised. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, although he studied under ash-Shāfi'i and had a great admiration for him, did not see

¹ Trans. Schacht, op.cit., p.17 (I have slightly altered Schacht's translation for the sake of clarity).

² Ibid., p.54.

³ Ibid., p.18.

⁴ Cf. ibid., p.22.

eye to eye with him on the question of the Companions. The views which he held, and which were elaborated upon by generations of Ḥanbalī jurists, are based on a deep veneration for the Ṣaḥāba. Ibn Ḥanbal and his followers believed that the Companions possessed a vast and profound understanding of the Qur'ān which other generations lacked; no one knew as much as they did about the life of the Prophet; they knew more about the words and actions of Muḥammad than subsequent generations; there is no subject which they failed to discuss.¹ It follows that the true and binding consensus (ijmā') is that of the Companions of the Prophet.² It follows, too, that the responsa of the Companions ought to be recognised as a legitimate third source of doctrine, after the Qur'ān and Muḥammad's sunna.³ The Ḥanbalī principle as formulated by the famous theologian Abū Muḥammad al-Barbahārī (d.329/941)⁴ in his Kitāb as-sunna is, "religion is only imitation (taglīd), imitation of the Ṣaḥāba."⁵

In their attempts to justify their position the Ḥanbalīs relied on a literal interpretation of the "lodestar tradition",⁶ as well as on a variation of that tradition in the form of a "holy tradition" (ḥadīth qudsī) related on the authority

¹ Ibn Taymiyya, Ma'ārij al-wuṣūl, trans. H. Laoust, Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie de Takī-d-dīn Aḥmad b. Taimiyya, Thèse, Cairo 1939, p.110.

² Cf. H. Laoust, La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa, p. lxv. The ijmā' of the Companions formed an important element in Sunni political theory. The manner in which the Companions supposedly elected the first three caliphs after Muḥammad's death was later held up as a prototype of the correct procedure for electing a new ruler, thus providing Sunni jurists with a counter-argument to Shī'ī nass-theories (on which cf. below pp.79-80).

³ See the article "Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal" by H. Laoust, in EI², I, p.275.

⁴ See the article on him by H. Laoust, in EI², I, pp.1039-40.

⁵ Cit. Ibn Abī Ya'lā, op.cit., II, p.29. The term taglīd as referring to the opinions of the Companions was also used by ash-Shāfi'ī; see Schacht, op.cit., p.18.

⁶ See above, p.4.

of 'Umar, in which God is said to have told Muḥammad, "Your Companions are regarded by me in the same way as the stars in the sky: Some of them are brighter than others, but all of them have light. Whoever follows their teaching on anything, including matters on which they have disagreed, is considered by me to be on the right path."¹ Such a tradition is in line with Ibn Ḥanbal's wish to sidestep any issue which might entail an investigation into the difference between the various sayings ascribed to the Companions (ikhtilāf aṣ-ṣaḥāba), for fear that this would inevitably lead to an investigation of their conflicts and wars.²

In opposition to the Ḥanbalis, the majority of the dogmatic theologians rejected the responsa of the Companions as a source of law.³ Al-Ghazzālī in particular is quite explicit on this point.⁴ He stresses that the Companions are not infallible and are known to have disagreed with one another, so that their opinions cannot be relied upon.⁵ Al-Ghazzālī maintains that the traditions in favour of the Companions should be understood as an exhortation to love and respect them, not as a command to imitate them blindly. Thus he contends that the "lodestar tradition" was addressed by Muḥammad to the ignorant masses of his generation and was meant as advice to follow any

¹ Inna aṣḥābaka 'indī bi-manzilat an-nujūm fi 's-samā' ba'duhā aqwā min ba'd wa-lī-kullīn nūr fa-man akhadha bi-shay' minnā hum 'alayhī min ikhtilāfihim fa-huwa 'indī 'alā hudan (Mīrzā Makhdūm, An-nawāqid li-lunyan ar-rawāfiq, f25a; see also al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Kitāb al-kifāya, p.48; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Nafas ar-raḥmān, p.76a, quoting from al-Khaṭīb at-Tibrizī, Mishkāt al-maṣābih).

² See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.146. Cf. above, pp.7-8.

³ See H. Laoust, Schismes, p.429.

⁴ Id., La politique de Ghazālī, Paris 1970, p.164.

⁵ Al-Ghazzālī, Al-mustasfā, I, p.261. These arguments are probably derived from the Shi'i polemics against the Companions. Cf. below, pp. 88ff.

Companion whom they might choose. Muḥammad did not say that the Companions, or any particular Companion, had to be followed; he was merely pointing out that this was one way of reaching the right path.¹ While the common people should follow the words of a Companion, the scholar should do so only when he has proof of the validity of these words.² Al-Ghazzālī interprets in a similar way the tradition "Follow my sunna and the sunna of the rightly-guided caliphs"³ and the tradition "Follow the two who will come after me: Abū Bakr and 'Umar"; these traditions mean simply that one ought to accept their caliphate and follow their just ways.⁴

5. Vilification of the Companions

Traditions against the Vilification of the Companions

The problem of whether one Muslim may curse another became a subject of lively debate within the Islamic community. Those who advocated the use of the curse supported their view by quoting traditions attributed to Muḥammad as well as by citing historical events that occurred during Muḥammad's life. Their opponents could point to other, conflicting traditions, in which the Prophet seemed to disavow the use of the curse. These opponents also held the view that it was best to refrain from vilifying a Muslim even if one suspected his integrity; having a good opinion (ḥusn az-zann) of all Muslims was to their

¹ Ibid., I, p.262.

² Ibid., I, p.267. This is in agreement with ash-Shāfi'i's later doctrine; see above, pp.28-29.

³ Ash-Shāṭibī, Al-i'tisām, I, p.103 (on the authority of al-'Irbād b. Sāriya, d.75/694 (for whom see Tahdhīb, VIII, p.174)). See also Abū Dāwūd as-Sijistānī, Masā'il al-imām Ahmad, Cairo 1353H., p.277; Ibn Abī Ya'lā, op.cit., I, p.236.

⁴ Al-Ghazzālī, op.cit., I, pp.263-265.

minds a more moral and pious attitude.¹

The problem has a special relevance with regard to the Companions. An obvious corollary of the demand that all Companions should be held in high esteem is that no defamatory statements should be made about any of them. This attitude, which is the consequence of the way in which most Sunnis interpreted the historical role which the Companions played in early Islam, had to be constantly reiterated and insisted upon in the face of challenges from outside the Sunni camp. Hence the proliferation of traditions in which the Muslims are warned against making impious remarks about the Companions. In an often quoted tradition the Prophet is said to have declared, "Do not defame my Companions; for even if one of you were to spend [an amount of] gold equal in size to the mountain of Uhud, this would not bring him the reward they are given for spending the price of a bushel of wheat--or even their reward for spending the price of half a bushel."² The Prophet is said to have expressed his

¹ For details see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha, XX, pp.10-35, cit. Darajāt, pp.12-28; cf. below pp.208-209. See also al-Ghazzālī, Al-iqtisād fi 'l-i'tiqād, p.109. In pious circles it was considered commendable to suppress one's anger (kaṣm al-ghayz) even when subjected to extreme provocation. Abū Hurayra is made the authority for the following anecdote: a man vilified Abū Bakr in Muḥammad's presence; both Abū Bakr and Muḥammad remained silent. When the man finally stopped talking Abū Bakr began to speak, at which the Prophet rose and left the room. Abū Bakr overtook him and asked, "Oh Apostle of God, he vilified me and I remained silent, but when I spoke you rose [and left. Why?]" To which Muḥammad replied, "An angel answered him in your stead while you were silent; when you spoke the angel went away and the devil sat down [in his place]; and I did not wish to sit in the same place as the devil" (As-Samarqandī, Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn, Cairo n.d., p.75).

² Lā tasubbū aṣḥābī fa-law anna aḥadakum anfaqa mithla Uhud dhahaban mā balagha mudd aḥadihim wa-lā naṣīfahū (Al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, II, p.423 (chapter 62, section 5) (on the authority of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī). Cf. also al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, Kanz al-'ummāl, XII, p.145; Wensinck, A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition, Leiden 1927, s.v. "Companions").

solidarity with the Companions by warning, "Whoever harms them has harmed me; whoever has harmed me has harmed God; whoever has harmed God will be punished by Him."¹ Muḥammad is said to have proclaimed that whoever vilified the Companions would incur the curse of God² and would not benefit from the Prophet's intercession on the Day of Judgment.³ "The worst of my community are those who are most insolent to my Companions" is yet another declaration put in the Prophet's mouth.⁴

The disastrous consequences which would follow the defanation of the members of Muḥammad's original community are stressed in the words attributed to 'Ā'isha, "You have been ordered to ask [God's] pardon for the Companions of Muḥammad⁵ but instead you have vilified them; I have heard your Prophet say, 'This community will not pass away until the last generation curse the first generation'."⁶ When told that people were

¹ See as-Samarqandī, Bustān al-'arīfīn, p.186; al-Khaṭīb at-Tibrīzī, Mishkāṭ al-maṣābiḥ, III, p.219; Ibn al-Jawzī, Tadhkira, f.168b.

² Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs Iblīs, Cairo 1340H., p.106; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Majma' az-zawā'id, X, p.21.

³ See al-Munāwī, Kunūz al-ḥaqā'iq, Cairo 1903, II, p.3.

⁴ Shirār ummatī ajra'uhum 'alā ṣaḥābatī (*ibid.*, quoting from Abū Nu'aym, Ḥilyat al-awliyā').

⁵ The underlying idea is that the virtues of the Companions far outweigh any misdeeds which they may have committed; therefore it is incumbent upon the community to forgive them both individually and as a group. The basis for this argument, as Ibn Taymiyya points out (Aṣ-ṣārim al-maslūl, Haydarabad 1322H., p.579) is the Quranic verse "So pardon them and pray [to God] that they may be forgiven" (Qur'ān 3/159(153)). Asking for forgiveness for them and vilifying them are mutually exclusive activities.

⁶ Umirtum bi'l-istighfār li-aṣḥāb Muḥammad fa-sababtumūhum; samī'tu nabīyyakum yaqūlu: lā tadḥḥabu ḥādhihi 'l-umma ḥattā yal'ana ākhiruhā awwalahā (Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr, cit. Mīrzā Makhdūm, *op.cit.*, f21a). The following somewhat different version is given by aṭ-Ṭabarānī (d.360/971) and quoted in Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, *loc. cit.*; Umirtum bi'l-istighfār li-salafikum fa-shatamtumūhum; amma innī samī'tu rasūl Allāh yaqūlu: lā tafnā ḥādhihi 'l-umma ḥattā yal'ana ākhiruhā awwalahā. Cf. also 'Abd al-Jabbār, Tathbīt dalā'il an-nubuwwa, Beirut 1966, p.297; Ibn 'Asākir, Tabyīn kadhīb al-muftarī, Damascus 1347H., p.421;

vilifying the Companions 'Ā'isha is reported to have said, "God has put an end to their [i.e. the Companions'] [good] works [in this world by their death], so he wished that they should not cease to be rewarded [in the next world]."¹ The commentators take this to mean that God will subtract from the good deeds of the curser and add them to those of the cursed one, or that He will subtract from the evil deeds of the cursed one and add them to those of the curser.²

Punishment for Vilification of the Companions

With the consolidation of the main Sunni schools of jurisprudence the question of the defamation of the Companions began to be discussed by lawyers. The need to formulate the appropriate punishment of the vilifier was dictated by the conviction that religious law must pronounce on every aspect of Muslim life; moreover, the jurisconsults had to contend with actual cases of such offences.³ In Sunni works of jurisprudence the punishment for vilifying the Companions is often discussed immediately after a discussion of the punishment for vilifying the Prophet. There is a general agreement among Sunnis and non-Sunnis alike that cursing the Prophet is tantamount to disbelief. In the view of many jurists such an offence deserves the death penalty.⁴ The problem of the vilification of the Companions, however, is not so clear-cut. In order to clarify the issue two closely interrelated aspects may be

¹ Qaṭa'a 'illāh 'anhum al-'amal fa-aḥabba an lā yuqṭa'a 'anhum al-ajr (Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir, Balāghāt an-nisā', Cairo 1908, p.11; cf. (anonymous) Sharḥ al-'aqīda at-ṭahāwiyya, p.468; Ibn Taymiyya, Minhāj, II, p.14).

² See the commentary in Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir, loc.cit (on margin).

³ Cf. below, pp.218ff.

⁴ See the discussion in Ibn Ḥazm, Al-muḥallā, Cairo 1932-3, XI, pp.408-418. For the Imāmī view cf. below, p.209, n.4.

distinguished: the one has strong theological connotations in that it deals with the position in Islam of the offender; the other involves legal issues concerning the punishment for such an offence. The connection between the two is stressed by al-Ghazzālī when he declares that any investigation as to whether or not a person is a sinner or an unbeliever ought to be undertaken from a legal point of view (hukm shar'ī) since the results of such an investigation have a direct bearing on the personal status of that person in the community, as well as on his position in the eyes of God after his death.¹

(a) The theological aspect

The Ḥanbalīs, who go further than most in their veneration of the Companions, are, not surprisingly, quite outspoken in their attacks on any detractors of the Companions. The views of Ibn Ḥanbal himself on the subject are quoted on more than one occasion. Thus he is reported to have said, "Whoever vilifies, denigrates, criticises, or implies a fault in the Companions (as a whole) or in any one of them is an innovator (mubtadi'), a transgressing, wicked Rāfiḍī from whom God will accept neither repentance nor ransom (on the Day of Judgment)."² He is also quoted as declaring, "If you see a man speaking ill of one of the Companions of the Apostle of God, you should have doubts concerning his [belonging within] Islam (fa'ttahimhū 'ala 'l-islām)."³ Speaking about the vilifier to

¹ See Goldziher, Streitschrift des Ḡazālī gegen die Bāṭiniyya-Sekte, Leiden 1916, p.66; Laoust, La politique de Ḡazālī, p.343. Cf. Al-Ghazzālī, Fayṣal at-tafrīq, Cairo 1319H., p.61; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muḥriqa, p.252: at-takfir hukm shar'ī.

² Ibn Abī Ya'lā, op.cit., I, p.30. Cf. also ibid., I, pp.245, 311. For the term "Rāfiḍī" cf below, p. 70, n.1.

³ Ibn al-Jawzī, Manāqib al-imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, p.130; Ibn Abī Bakr, At-tamhīd wa'l-bayān, p.171.

his son 'Abd Allāh, Ibn Ḥanbal is quoted as asserting, "I do not think that he belongs within Islam (mā arāhū 'ala 'l-islām)."¹ It would appear from the last two statements as if Ibn Ḥanbal did not wish to commit himself in an irrevocable manner on the point. Indeed, there are two accounts of his view: according to the one the vilifier of the Companions is an unbeliever and according to the other he is a grave sinner (fāsiq).² Ibn Ḥanbal's apparent reluctance to take an unambiguous stand on the question of the vilifier may be attributed to his general conviction that no Muslim should be branded an unbeliever for any sin, except where there is a specific Quranic injunction or Prophetic tradition which demands that this be done.³

Further elaborations on the problem were made by Ḥanbalī jurists of subsequent generations. The Ḥanbalī qādī Abū Ya'lā (d.458/1066)⁴ is reported to have maintained that according to the jurists, if a man thinks that his vilification of the Companions is legal, he is an unbeliever; if he vilifies the Companions but does not think it legal, he is a grave sinner (fāsiq) but not an unbeliever, even if he claims the Companions to be unbelievers or attacks their faith.⁵ Abū Ya'lā and other jurists also used another criterion in that they directed their attention to the contents of the vilification; thus a man is

¹ Ibn Taymiyya, Aṣ-ṣārim al-maslūl, p.572. Cf. also al-Khallāl, op.cit., f79a; Ibn al-Jawzī, Tadhkira, f169a.

² Ibn Taymiyya, op.cit., p.576. Ibn Taymiyya (ibid) attempts to harmonise the two views.

³ See Laoust, op.cit., p.344; W. Madelung, "Early Sunni doctrine concerning faith as reflected in the Kitāb al-īmān of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d.224/839)", in SI 32, 1970, p.243, citing Ibn Abī Ya'lā, op.cit., I, p.329; cf. also ibid., II, p.303.

⁴ For his biography see ibid., II, pp.193-230.

⁵ Ibn Taymiyya, op.cit., pp.574-575; as-Subkī, As-sayf al-maslūl, f85b; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muhriqa, p.256.

an unbeliever if he curses the Companions in a manner which casts doubts on their faith and their moral integrity, but not if he restricts himself to making taunting or insulting remarks without calling their faith in question.¹ A different distinction between various stages of vilification was made by the Ṣāḥirī 'Alī b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm (d.456/1064) who declares, "He who vilifies one of the Companions in ignorance of the offence involved is excused; if it is proved to him that this is an offence and he persists but without wishing to separate himself from God (ghayr mu'ānid) he is a grave sinner, like him who fornicates or steals; if he separates himself from God and His Apostle in this, then he is an unbeliever."²

The Mālikī view on the vilifiers of the Companions is practically identical with that of the Ḥanbalī madhhab. Ibn Ḥanbal himself is reported to have quoted Mālik b. Anas (d.179/795) as saying, "Whoever vilifies the Companions of the Prophet has no share in Islam."³

According to the view attributed to ash-Shāfi'ī, defamation of the Companions is a major offence.⁴ Ash-Shāfi'ī is also quoted as saying that whoever hates the Companions also hates the Prophet and is thus an unbeliever.⁵ Al-Ghazzālī, considered by his contemporaries as one of the greatest scholars of the Shāfi'ī madhhab, adopts a more sophisticated attitude.

¹ Ibn Taymiyya, op.cit., p.576; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.254.

² Ibn Ḥazm, Al-fiṣal, III, p.257; cf. the comments by al-Mūsawī in his Al-fuṣūl al-muhimma, Najaf c.1964, p.35.

³ Al-Khallāl, op.cit., f79a; Ibn Taymiyya, Minhāj, II, p.12. See also ash-Shāṭibī, Al-i'tisām, II, pp.261-262. According to Ibn Taymiyya (op.cit., p.13), Mālik's view was shared by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām and others.

⁴ See al-Maḥallī, op.cit., II, p.139; cf. R.Levy, The social structure of Islam, Cambridge 1965, p.203.

⁵ See Ibn Abī Ya'lā, op.cit., I, p.13.

His attempts to reduce to a minimum the number of cases in which a person may be called an unbeliever are reflected in his comments on the vilifier. In his view, whoever declares the first caliphs or the other Companions to be sinners or unbelievers is guilty of slander (qadhif) against fellow Muslims and should accordingly be flogged. A person may be considered an unbeliever only if, in the process of declaring the Companions unbelievers, he also contends that the Prophet's words in their favour are false.¹ The Shāfi'i Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī argues² that cursing either the entire Ṣaḥāba or one Companion qua Companion is unbelief because it entails lack of respect for Muḥammad.

The Ḥanafī doctrine is only slightly less severe than that of the other Sunnī madhāhib. In the Creed ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa the believer is called upon to "disavow none of the Companions of the Apostle of Allāh."³ According to at-Taftāzānī's commentary on the Creed of Abū Ja'far 'Umar an-Nasafī (d.537/1143),⁴ only the good concerning the Companions should be mentioned; vilifying and reviling them is an innovation and an evil action. In another Ḥanafī work⁵ the act of vilifying

¹ See Goldziher, Streitschrift, p.68 (Arabic text, pp.43-44).

² In his Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muḥriqa, p.254.

³ Trans. A.J. Wensinck, The Muslim creed, p.104. This tenet is directed as much against the Khārijīs as it is against the Rāfiḍīs; see ibid., p.109. On the theme of disavowal or dissociation (tabarru') the following saying is quoted on the authority of several Companions, "Declaring (any Muslim to be an unbeliever) is a (sinful) innovation, and dissociating oneself (from any Muslim) is (likewise) a (sinful) innovation (ash-shahāda bid'a wa'l-barā'a bid'a)"; see (anonymous) Sharḥ al-'aqīda at-ṭahāwiyya, p.470. For Ibn Ḥanbal's interpretation of this saying see al-Khallāl, op.cit., f77b. Barā'a is an important concept in Khārijī religious law; cf. the second part of the article "Barā'a", by R. Rubinacci, in EI², I, pp.1027-8; Schacht, "Law and Justice", p.543.

⁴ Trans. E.E.Elder, A Commentary on the creed of Islam, New York 1950, pp.153-154.

⁵ The Radd al-muḥtār by the Ḥanafī jurist Muḥammad Amin Ibn 'Abidin (d.1252/1836), quoted by al-Mūsawī, op.cit., p.150. See also Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.255.

or hating the Companions is regarded as error (dalāl) rather than as unbelief.

(b) The legal aspect

On the question of punishment there seems to be only one tradition of the Prophet on which the jurists could base their views, "Whoever vilifies a prophet is to be killed and whoever vilifies his companions is to be flogged."¹ Even this tradition--usually related on the authority of 'Alī (sometimes of Ibn 'Abbās)--is not always accepted as reliable.² Hence the decisions of reliable authorities had to be followed in the matter. One of these authorities, Mālik b. Anas, is reported to have expressed himself in a manner similar to that of the tradition quoted above, "Whoever defames the Prophet is to be killed and whoever vilifies his Companions is to be chastised."³ The punishment of flogging is said to have been decreed by Ibn Ḥanbal.⁴ He is quoted as asserting that he who vilifies the Companions should be punished and called upon to repent; if flogging proved of no avail he should be imprisoned for life or until he repents.⁵ A similar view was adopted by many Ḥanbalīs.⁶

¹ Man sabba nabiyyan qutila wa-man sabba aṣḥābahū julida (Ibn Taymiyya, Aṣ-ṣārim al-maslūl, p.92). A somewhat different version runs as follows, "Kill whoever vilifies a prophet and flog whoever vilifies my Companions" (ibid.; as-Subkī, op.cit., f11b). A third version is, "Whoever vilifies a prophet is to be killed and whoever vilifies my Companions is to be flogged" (as-Subkī, loc.cit.; aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ar-riyāḍ an-naḍira, I, p.22).

² Cf. Ibn Taymiyya, as-Subkī, loc.cit.

³ Man shatama 'n-nabī qutila wa-man sabba aṣḥābahū uddiba (Ibn Taymiyya, op.cit., p.574); see also Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.256.

⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, op.cit., p.572.

⁵ Ibn Abī Ya'lā, op.cit., I, p.30; Ibn Taymiyya, loc.cit. This is different from the case of the vilifier of the Prophet, where repentance is not accepted and the death penalty is mandatory. Cf. above, p.35 with n.4.

⁶ Cf. Ibn Taymiyya, op.cit., pp.573-574.

Most jurists shied away from imposing the ultimate penalty. In the words of Ibn al-Mundhir,¹ "I know of no one who decrees the death penalty for those who vilify anyone who comes after the Prophet."² In buttressing their argument against the death penalty in such cases jurists often cite what they consider as a historical precedent. According to a story reported by Abū Barza al-Aslamī³ a man once cursed Abū Bakr to his face. When Abū Barza suggested that the offender should be executed Abū Bakr answered, "This [punishment] is not inflicted on [him who curses] anyone after [i.e. who died after, or who occupies a lesser rank than] the Apostle of God."⁴ Another example is taken from the Umayyad period. The caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz is reported to have written to his governor in Kūfa concerning a possible death sentence for a man who had vilified 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, "It is not permitted to kill a Muslim for cursing anyone, except [in the case of] a man who vilifies the Apostle of God."⁵ Some Kūfī jurists, however, are said to have decreed the death penalty for vilification of the Companions since they considered this offence to be proof of unbelief.⁶ One particular case, in which

¹ Possibly the Shāfi'ī jurist Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir an-Naysābūrī (d. c.310/922); see as-Subkī, Tabaqāt ash-shāfi'iyya, Cairo 1323-4H., II, p.126.

² Ibn Taymiyya, op.cit., p.574; as-Subkī, As-sayf al-maslūl, ff85b; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.253.

³ I.e. Nadla b. 'Ubayd; see Tahdhīb, X, pp.446-447; cf also below, p.259, n.1.

⁴ Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, Kitāb ash-shifā' bi-ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā, Constantinople 1873, II, p.214, cit. al-Mūsawī, op.cit., p.36; Ibn Taymiyya, op.cit., p.92, as-Subkī, op.cit., ff6a-6b (both quoting from the ḥadīth collections of an-Nasā'ī and Abū Dāwūd).

⁵ Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, loc.cit., cit. al-Mūsawī, loc.cit.

⁶ See Ibn Taymiyya, op.cit., p.575; as-Subkī, op.cit., ff85b-86a. This attitude on the part of the Sunnī jurists may be explained by the predominance of the Shī'ī element in Kūfa and may be a reflection of the bitterness which often characterised relations between the Shī'īs and the other inhabitants of the town.

the Shāfi'i jurist Tāj ad-Dīn as-Subkī (d.771/1369) ordered the execution of such a vilifier,¹ must have aroused opposition since Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī (or al-Haytamī; d.974/1567) devotes the entire concluding section of his Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muhriqa² to a defence of as-Subkī's decision.

Other jurists advocated a policy of social ostracism towards such vilifiers. In this they could rely on a tradition quoted on the authority of Anas, "God has chosen me, and has chosen for me my Companions and my relatives; [certain] people will come who will vilify them and slight them; do not associate with them, do not eat or drink with them and do not marry them."³

One specific mode of punishment has to do with the distribution of the booty (fay').⁴ The issue was reportedly raised by Hārūn ar-Rashīd who asked Mālik b. Anas whether he who vilified the Companions was entitled to a share of the fay'. Mālik is reported to have based his answer on the Quranic verse⁵ which speaks of "a seed that puts forth its shoot and strengthens it and it grows stout and rises straight upon its stalk, pleasing the sowers that through them He may enrage the unbelievers." This metaphor is often interpreted as referring to Muḥammad and his Companions.⁶ In Mālik's view, the idea embodied in it is that the unbeliever exposes his unbelief by vilifying the

¹ See below, p. 225.

² pp.251-261.

³ Al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, Kanz al-'ummāl, XII, p.146, quoting from al-'Uqaylī, Ad-du'afā' (the "weak" or unreliable traditions). See also al-Khallāl, op.cit., f78b; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, op.cit., p.48.

⁴ For the various meanings which this term acquired in Islam see the article "Fay'" by F. Løkkegaard, in EI², II, pp.869-870.

⁵ Qur'ān 48/29.

⁶ See e.g. al-Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr, Leipzig 1846-8, II, p.272.

Companions and thus expressing his anger and frustration at the success of Islam. Since only believers may partake of the fay', this right is denied to the vilifiers of the Companions.¹

The Vilification of Individual Companions

The tendency in Sunni Islam to ascribe particularly excellent qualities to specific individuals among the Companions² has a direct bearing on the severity with which their defamation is regarded. Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī makes the point³ that the punishment for vilifying the Companions varies according to the importance of the injured Companion; punishment should be harsher if the Companion in question is one of the caliphs or someone who distinguished himself in battle or in any other way. Not surprisingly, it is considered a greater offence to curse Abū Bakr or 'Umar than it is to curse 'Uthmān. This may be deduced from the statement of 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥabīb,⁴ "A Shi'i who goes to the extreme of hating 'Uthmān and of dissociating himself from him must be severely chastised; whoever adds to that a hatred of Abū Bakr and 'Umar receives a severer punishment: he is to be flogged repeatedly and to be imprisoned for life."⁵

In a spurious tradition Muḥammad is quoted as declaring that

¹ See ash-Shāṭibī, Al-i'tisām, II, pp.261-262; cf. al-Khallāl, op.cit., f77a; Ibn Taymiyya, Minhāj, II, p.12; Ibn al-Jawzī, Tadhkira, f169a. For a somewhat different version see al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, op.cit., II, p.293, Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.250. As-Subkī (op.cit., f86a) mentions Mālik's deduction of that principle as one of his more interesting interpretations. Cf. also az-Zamakhsharī, Rabī' al-abrār, f131b. Ibn Taymiyya, too, stresses (Aṣ-ṣārim al-maslūl, p.580) that forgiving the Companions is a necessary condition for sharing in the fay'.

² See above pp.16ff.

³ Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muhriqa, p.259.

⁴ I am not certain who is meant (two persons of that name are mentioned in Tahdhīb V, p.183, but it is unlikely that either of them is the person mentioned by Ibn Taymiyya).

⁵ Ibn Taymiyya, Aṣ-ṣārim al-maslūl, p.574; Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.256.

those who vilify Abū Bakr or 'Umar are to be killed without being given a chance to repent, while those who vilify 'Uthmān or 'Alī are to be given the number of lashes prescribed by law (hadd).¹ The Shāfi'is could not agree on whether or not vilification of Abū Bakr and 'Umar was unbelief.² The traditionist al-Faryābī³ said that it was.⁴ This is also the Ḥanafī view.⁵ Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is said to have labelled the vilification of 'Uthmān as heresy (zandaqa).⁶

'Ā'isha is held in special reverence because of her close relationship with Muḥammad; in the anonymous Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanifa, which is imbued with the spirit of Ḥanbalī theology, she is mentioned as the most excellent of women after Khadija.⁷ Hence the very strong feelings aroused by any attacks on her. According to the Ḥanbalī jurist Ibn Abī Mūsā, he who defames 'Ā'isha has veered away from the true faith and cannot marry a Muslim woman unless he repents publicly.⁸ The Ḥanafīs claim that defaming 'Ā'isha is unbelief since it "contradicts the absolute proof (sc. of religion)."⁹ Mālik is said to have

¹ As-Suyūṭī, Al-la'ālī al-maṣnū'a, Cairo c.1959, I, p.309; 'Abbās al-Qummī, Safīnat al-bihār, Najaf 1936, I, p.233, quoting from aṣ-Ṣan'ānī, Ad-durar al-multaqaṭa (on aṣ-Ṣan'ānī cf. GAL, II, p.552, GALS, II, p.530 (the work in question is not mentioned)). Cf. also Ibn al-Jawzī, op.cit., ff168a-168b.

² Wa-li-ashāb ash-Shāfi'i khilāf fī takfīr ar-rāfiḍa 'lladhīna yasubbūna Abā Bakr wa-'Umar (As-Subkī, op.cit., f86a); see also Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.255.

³ Or al-Firyābī (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, Al-lubāb, Cairo 1356-9H., II, p.211), Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Abū 'Abd Allāh, d.212/827; see Tahdhīb, IX, pp.535-537.

⁴ See al-Khallāl, op.cit., f80b.

⁵ Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.258.

⁶ As-Subkī, loc.cit.; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.253.

⁷ See Wensinck, op.cit., p.130; quoted below, p.193, n.5.

⁸ Ibn Taymiyya, op.cit., p.574; cf. as-Subkī, op.cit., f84b.

⁹ At-Taftāzānī, Sharḥ 'aqā'id an-Nasafī, trans. E.E.Elder, p.154; cf. Ibn Kathīr, Al-bidāya wa'n-nihāya, Cairo 1351-8H., VIII, p.92.

considered 'Ā'isha as more immune to slander than her father; he is quoted as declaring, "Whoever vilifies Abū Bakr is to be flogged and whoever vilifies 'Ā'isha is to be killed."¹ Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī mentions two views on the vilifier of 'Ā'isha: according to the one he is to be killed, according to the other he is to be treated like the vilifier of any other Companion and flogged.² A man who vilified 'Ā'isha in Kūfa is reported to have been flogged eighty times, to have had his hair shaven and to have been handed over to the cuppers.³

While the Ḥanafīs agree with the other Sunnī madhāhib in prohibiting the cursing of Mu'āwiyā and his allies, they do allow the cursing of Mu'āwiyā's son Yazīd for his part in the Karbalā' massacre.⁴

Some Popular Views

Finally it seems worthwhile to refer briefly to some popular views relating to vilifiers of the Companions. Many anecdotes deal with the horrible fate which befell persons who vilified various Companions, and especially the first two caliphs. Thus a man who vilified Abū Bakr and 'Umar was set upon by

¹ Ibn Ḥazm, Al-muḥallā, XI, p.415; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.256; cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, op.cit., f170a. Mālik is also said to have prescribed the death penalty for the vilifier of either Abū Bakr or 'Ā'isha (Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.257).

² Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muḥriqa, p.257. For the Zaydī practice cf. below, p. 351.

³ Al-Qāḍī 'Iyād, op.cit., II, p.292. Public hair-shaving was presumably a stigma; cupping (hiḡana), on the other hand, was often recommended on medical grounds (see e.g. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Makārim al-akhlāq, Tehran 1956-7, pp.81-86). I do not know of any instance in which it was applied as a form of punishment; hence it is not clear to me what the reference to cupping in this context is supposed to signify.

⁴ At-Taftāzānī, op.cit., pp.154-155. This is in contrast to Ibn Ḥanbal's view that no judgment should be passed on Yazīd's behaviour. See Ibn Abī Ya'lā, op.cit., I, p.246. It is noteworthy however, that in Ibn al-Jawzī's Risāla fī jawāz al-la'n 'alā Yazīd, f4b, Ibn Abī Ya'lā himself is quoted as declaring that Yazīd deserves to be cursed.

hornets and died in great agony; when those who had witnessed his death tried to dig a grave for him the earth hardened so that they had to leave him unburied after placing a stone over his body.¹ Another man died after he had been enticed by some Kūfis to vilify Abū Bakr and 'Umar; as his body was being prepared for burial he suddenly sprang up, bemoaned his fate and warned others not to fall into the same trap; he then returned to the state of death.² Some vilifiers were transformed into pigs, either in their lifetime³ or when already in their graves,⁴ while others were turned into dogs⁵ or monkeys.⁶

¹ Ibn al-Jawzī, Tadhkira, ff176a-176b.

² Ibid., ff176b-177a.

³ Ibid., ff177a-177b.

⁴ Ibid., ff177b-178a.

⁵ Ibid., f178b.

⁶ Ibid., f179b.

CHAPTER II

SOME MU'TAZILĪ VIEWS ON THE COMPANIONS

1. Introductory Remarks

Much light has been shed in recent years on the origins of the Mu'tazila and their relationship with the 'Abbāsids, as well as with the Sunni and Shi'i branches of Islam.¹ In the context of the present study, the chief purpose in surveying the main Mu'tazilī views on the Companions is to provide a basis for comparison between Mu'tazilī and Imāmī beliefs on this question.² The discussion here will be concerned mainly with attitudes of prominent Mu'tazilīs which differed appreciably from the views prevalent among the majority of the Sunnis.

2. The Companions as Muslims

The Relative Merits of Abū Bakr and 'Alī

Mu'tazilī scholars are known to have disagreed on the question of the tafdīl. They were divided into two major schools of thought: that of the Baṣrīs, who initially preferred Abū Bakr, and that of the Baghdādīs, who often preferred

¹ See the article "Mu'tazila" by H.S. Nyberg, in EI¹, III, pp.787-793, as well as his introduction to the Kitāb al-intiṣār of al-Khayyāṭ (Beirut 1957, pp.xv-xliv). Nyberg's theory that the early political Mu'tazila was a direct forerunner of the later theological school of Mu'tazilism has been convincingly refuted by W. Madelung in the first chapter of his book on al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (al-Qāsim, pp.7-43). See also W. Montgomery Watt, "The political attitude of the Mu'tazilah", in JRAS 1963, pp.38-57, which discusses the relevance of the theoretical debates in Mu'tazilī circles to the contemporary political issues; W. Madelung, "Imāmism and Mu'tazilite theology", in Le Shi'isme Imāmīte, pp.13-30.

² On the relationship between Mu'tazilī and Imāmī views see below pp.112-113. On Mu'tazilī influence on the Zaydiyya cf. below, appendix B.

'Alī.¹ The Baṣrī attitude presumably reflects a pro-'Abbāsid tendency, in contrast to the pro-'Alid Baghdādī line.²

Early Baṣrī Mu'tazilīs who preferred Abū Bakr include, beside their leader 'Amr b. 'Ubayd b. Bāb (d.144/761), well-known figures such as Abū Bakr 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Kaysān al-Aṣamm (d. c.200/816); Thumāma b. Ashras (d.213/828); Hishām b. 'Amr al-Fuwaṭī (d. before 218/833); Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār b. Hānī' an-Naẓẓām (d. c.221/836); Abū Sahl 'Abbād b. Sulaymān aṣ-Ṣaymarī (or aḍ-Ḍaymarī) (d. c.250/864);³ Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ (d.255/869);⁴ and Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh ash-Shaḥḥām (fl. second half of 3rd/9th century). Among the Baghdādī Mu'tazilīs who preferred 'Alī specific mention is made of Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir al-Hilālī (d. between 210/825-226/840);⁵ 'Isā b. Ṣubayḥ al-Murdār (d.226/840); Ja'far b. Mubashshir al-Qaṣabī (d.234/848-849); Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far b.

¹ For the details (which are discussed in this section) see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, I, pp.7-9; Ch. Pellat, "L'imāmat dans la doctrine de Gāḥiẓ", in SI 15, 1961, pp.32-33; and cf. the relevant articles in EI under the names of the individual Mu'tazilīs.

² Baṣra, the rival city of Kūfa, was traditionally anti-Shī'ī, while Baghdād had always a large Shī'ī community. This probably influenced the attitudes of the Baṣrī and Baghdādī Mu'tazilīs respectively.

³ Aṣ-Ṣaymarī is the author of a work called *Fī tafḍīl Abī Bakr*, which was refuted by another Baṣrī Ma'tazilī, Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī; see Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Tabaqāt al-mu'tazila*, Wiesbaden 1961, p.84; cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Al-mughnī*, XX/ii, Cairo c.1966, p.60; C. Van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'imāmat Zaidite au Yémen*, Leiden 1960, p.24, n.3.

⁴ Al-Jāḥiẓ was accused by his opponents of inconsistencies, in that he sometimes supported the Sunnī line while on other occasions he seemed to espouse the Zaydī cause. See al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1356-64H., I, pp.7,11; Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1966, pp.59-60.

⁵ Bishr was incarcerated for his allegedly pro-Shī'ī views. In prison he composed a poem in which he acknowledged the superiority of Abū Bakr and 'Umar over the other Companions; consequently he was released by order of Hārūn ar-Rashīd. See Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *op.cit.*, pp.52-53; cf. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, London 1947, p.95.

Ḥarb (d.236/850);¹ Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Iskāfi (d.240/854)² and his son Abu 'l-Qāsim Ja'far b. Muḥammad;³ Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāṭ (d.319/931);⁴ Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Ka'bī al-Balkhī (d.319/931) and his disciples.

It is difficult to reconcile these pro-'Alid views with the information given by the Mu'tazilī 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad an-Nāshī' al-Akbar (d.293/906)⁵ according to which the great majority ('āmma, jumhūr) of the Baghdādī Mu'tazilīs believed that it was impossible to identify the most excellent Companion since the available information on that subject was too contradictory. One possible explanation of an-Nāshī's account is that it refers to the situation in the very beginning of the 3rd/9th century, when Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir and his pro-Shī'ī followers were still a small minority; if that is

¹ "As regards the caliphate, Dja'far held, in common with Dja'far b. Ḥarb and al-Iskāfi, that 'Alī was the most meritorious of men after the Prophet, but that the appointment of his less meritorious predecessors before him was valid; he and the other Mu'tazila of Baghdād are therefore regarded as a branch of the Zaydiyya" (from the article "Dja'far b. Mubashshir" by A.N.Nader and J. Schacht, in EI², II, p.373; see also al-Malaṭī, At-tanbīh wa'r-radd, Istanbul 1936, p.27).

² In addition to his Naqd al-'uthmāniyya (see below, p.51) he is also credited with a Kitāb al-maqāmāt fī tafḍīl 'Alī 'alayhi 's-salām; see J.W. Fück, "Some hitherto unpublished texts on the Mu'tazilite movement from Ibn al-Nadīm's Kitāb al-fihrist", in Professor Muhammad Shafi' Presentation Volume, Lahore 1955, pp.66-67.

³ He is credited with a book called Al-mi'yār wa'l-muwāzana fī tafḍīl 'Alī 'alā Abī Bakr; see Ibn al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., p.84. The title is also given as Kitāb al-mi'yār wa'l-muwāzana fī 'l-imāma; see J.W. Fück, op.cit., p.67.

⁴ Al-Khayyāṭ is quoted as saying that 'Alī was the most meritorious among the Companions because the virtues of all other men were combined in him. See Ibn al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., p.86. This argument may already have been included in the Kitāb al-imāma of Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir; see Van Ess, Frühe Mu'tazilitische Häresiographie, Beirut 1971, pp.47-48.

⁵ Masā'il al-imāma, pp.58, 61.

the case, then one could speak of a significant shift to a pro-'Alid attitude within Baghdādī Mu'tazilism during the first half of the 3rd/9th century. Another explanation might be that an-Nāshī' was referring to the views of the Mu'tazilī masses, as opposed to those of the leaders; tempting though such a suggestion may sound, it is very unlikely that the words al-jumhūr min al-mu'tazila could be interpreted in this fashion.

From the 3rd/9th century onwards, a gradual shift to a more pro-'Alid position can be discerned among Baṣrī Mu'tazilīs.¹ A clear sign of this shift is their changing attitudes to the question of the relative merits of Abū Bakr and 'Alī. Thus Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Jubbā'ī (d.303/915-916) initially adopted an attitude of neutrality (tawagquf) but later changed his mind in favour of 'Alī;² his son Abū Hāshim (d.321/933) kept to a neutral attitude on that question.³ After some hesitation, the famous qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī (d.415/1025) came down in favour of 'Alī,⁴ and was followed in this by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Mattawayhi

¹ Cf. below, p. 113.

² See Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., I, p.7; cf above, p.48 n.3.

³ See 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/ii, pp.118-120. An attitude of tawagquf is said to have also been adopted by the alleged founder of the Mu'tazila, Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' (d. c.131/748-749); see Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., I, p.8. According to al-Jāḥiẓ, Wāṣil placed Abū Bakr and 'Umar above 'Alī (see al-Qāsim, p.25 n.91); this may, however, reflect al-Jāḥiẓ's own views. The Baṣrī Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf (d. between 226/840-235/850) reportedly maintained that 'Alī and Abū Bakr had both the same degree of excellence; see al-Malaṭī, op.cit., p.33. Both Wāṣil and Abu 'l-Hudhayl are said to have placed 'Alī above 'Uthmān--an attitude regarded by some as pro-Shī'ī (cf. below p.71, n.3); see 'Abd al-Jabbār, Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa, Cairo 1965, p.766; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., p.48.

⁴ See 'Abd al-Jabbār, loc.cit.; id., Al-mughnī, XX/ii, pp.134-144; al-Qāsim, p.186. 'Abd al-Jabbār recorded his preference for 'Alī in the (presumably lost) work Ad-darajāt fī tafḍīl amīr al-mu'minīn; see Ibn Shahrāshūb, Ma'ālim al-'ulamā', Tehran 1353H., p.122.

(fl. beginning of 5th/11th century). 'Abd al-Jabbār's teacher, the Baṣrī Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d.367/978), was known for his pro-'Alid views.¹

Detailed information about the discussions among early Mu'tazilīs on the question of the relative merits of Abū Bakr and 'Alī may be found in the Kitāb al-'uthmāniyya by al-Jāḥiẓ² and in the refutation (naqd) of that work by Abū Ja'far al-Iskāfī, who was known as one of the leaders of the pro-Shī'ī Mu'tazila.³ Parts of al-Iskāfī's work are preserved in the Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha of Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd (d.656/1258).⁴ The term "'Uthmāniyya" referred originally to persons who were related to 'Uthmān's family by marriage or clientage (walā'). After 'Uthmān's murder it was applied to those Muslims who were convinced that 'Uthmān had died as a martyr (shahīd) and who sought to avenge his death. Most of them declared that 'Alī was unfit to rule over the community. During the period following Mu'āwiya's triumph the term "'Uthmānī" acquired the

¹ See 'Abd al-Jabbār, Al-mughnī, XX/ii, p.120. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī is credited with a Kitāb at-tafḍīl, in which he probably expounded his arguments in favour of 'Alī; see Ibn al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., p.107.

² Ed. 'Abd as-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo 1955.

³ See al-Khayyāṭ, op.cit., p.76.

⁴ XIII, pp.215-295. This has been reprinted at the end of the Kitāb al-'uthmāniyya and will be quoted from there. An Imāmī refutation of al-Jāḥiẓ's work is attributed to ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, who is credited with a Kitāb ar-radd 'ala 'l-Jāḥiẓ wa'l-'uthmāniyya (or Kitāb ar-radd 'ala 'l-'uthmāniyya li'l-Jāḥiẓ) (see an-Najāshī, Kitāb ar-rijāl, Bombay 1317H., p.284; al-Kantūrī, Kashf al-ḥujub wa'l-astār, Calcutta 1914-35, p.441; Āghā Buzurg aṭ-Ṭihrānī, Adh-dharī'a ilā taṣānīf ash-shī'a, Najaf 1936ff, X, p.192). Other works on the same subject are Ar-radd 'ala 'l-'uthmāniyya by Abū 'l-Aḥwāṣ al-Baṣrī (fl. middle 3rd/9th century) (see Ibn Shahrāshūb, Ma'ālim al-'ulamā', p.127; Dharī'a, X, p.211; cf. 'Abbās Iqbāl, Khāndān-e Nawbakhtī, Tehran 1311S., p.83); Naqd kitāb al-'uthmāniyya li'l-Jāḥiẓ by Abū 'l-Jaysh al-Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad al-Balkhī (d.367/978) (see Ibn Shahrāshūb, op.cit., p.110; cf. Iqbāl, op.cit., pp.28,105); Kitāb binā' al-maqāla al-fāṭimiyya fī naqd ar-risāla al-'uthmāniyya by Jamāl ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Ṭāwūs (d.673/1274-5) (see Dharī'a, III, p.150; cf. Dānish-Puẓhūh, Catalogue of the MSS in the Tehran University Law Faculty, Tehran 1961, pp.261ff).

meaning of a devoted partisan of the Umayyad dynasty, one who insisted on 'Uthmān's superiority over 'Alī.¹ An important aspect of the 'Uthmānī argument consisted of proving to the 'Alids (and perhaps also to the Khārijīs) the legitimacy of 'Uthmān's rule. One method of doing this was to show that all the three first caliphs had been legitimately elected; hence the interest which the 'Uthmānīs had in proving first of all the legitimacy of Abū Bakr's rule.² While it is doubtful whether al-Jāḥiẓ regarded himself as an adherent of the 'Uthmāniyya in the strict political sense,³ he was clearly in sympathy with their views on Abū Bakr, which he presents approvingly in his work. Abū Bakr's excellence is proved by interpreting Quranic verses as referring to him, by pointing to his virtuous deeds both before and after Muḥammad's death, and by quoting traditions put in the Prophet's mouth, in which Abū Bakr's virtues are extolled.⁴

The salient points in al-Jāḥiẓ's argument may be summed up as follows: Abū Bakr was the first person after Muḥammad to adopt Islam;⁵ he was honoured by Muḥammad with the title "aṣ-Ṣiddīq" ("he who speaks the truth" or "he who always accepts, or approves, the truth")⁶ and "al-'Atīq" ("he who has

¹ See Goldziher, Muh. Stud., II, pp.119-120; Lammens, Études sur le règne du calife Omayyade Mo'āwiya Ier, Paris etc. 1908, pp.119-125 (= MFO II, pp.11-17).

² Cf. the introduction by 'Abd as-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn to the Kitāb al-'uthmāniyya, p.5; Pellat, op.cit., p.31.

³ Cf. Goldziher, op.cit., II, pp.120-121. It is hard to believe that al-Jāḥiẓ, who worked in the service of the 'Abbāsids, should at the same time have expressed pro-Umayyad views.

⁴ This method became the trade-mark of most Sunni-Shi'i polemics. Cf. below, pp.137ff.

⁵ Al-Jāḥiẓ, Al-'uthmāniyya, pp.3ff.

⁶ Ibid., pp.51, 122ff. Cf. A. Jeffery, The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān, Baroda 1938, p.194.

a beautiful face", or "he whose genealogy is free of any defect", or "he who is freed from the fire of Hell");¹ he participated in all the major battles and distinguished himself by his bravery and devotion to Muḥammad;² he was Muḥammad's companion on the journey from Mecca to Medina and hid with him in the cave;³ during Muḥammad's last illness he led the prayers with the Prophet's full approval.⁴ Abū Bakr's personal qualities are also stressed: his generosity,⁵ his courage,⁶ his piety and simple ways.⁷ He is presented as the model for the entire community.

In his answer, al-Iskāfī is mainly concerned with showing that 'Alī's virtues outstrip those of Abū Bakr. This is done both negatively--by refuting traditions favourable to Abū Bakr, and positively--by proving 'Alī's superiority to all other Companions. Long passages are devoted to showing that 'Alī was the first Muslim after Muḥammad.⁸ His generosity reportedly manifested itself both publicly and in private; while praying he is said to have donated his ring (khātam) to a poor man, an act to which reference is supposedly made in the Quranic verse, "Those who perform the prayer and give alms while kneeling down."⁹ He suffered much for the cause of Islam and

¹ The title itself is not mentioned by al-Jāḥiẓ, who merely speaks of Abū Bakr's beautiful face (ibid., p.28; cf. al-Iskāfī's answer, pp.312-313); it appears e.g. in at-Tirmidhī, Saḥīḥ, Cairo 1350-2H., XIII, pp.141-142; al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj adh-dhahab, Paris 1861-77, IV, p.177; as-Suyūṭī, Ta'rikh al-khulafā', Cairo 1351H., pp.19-20.

² Al-Jāḥiẓ, op.cit., pp.53ff. Cf. below, pp. 145-146.

³ Ibid., pp.101-109. Cf. below, pp.145-146.

⁴ Ibid., pp.130,164ff. Cf. below, pp. 138-139.

⁵ Ibid., pp.35,97.

⁶ Ibid., pp.53ff.

⁷ Ibid., pp.97-98; cf. al-Mas'ūdī, op.cit., IV, p.178.

⁸ Naqd al-'uthmāniyya, pp.286ff.

⁹ Qur'ān 5/55(60); Naqd al-'uthmāniyya, p.319.

was ready to risk his life on many occasions in order to ensure Muḥammad's safety. Especially well-known is the story which tells how 'Alī slept on Muḥammad's bed on the eve of the hijra so as to mislead the Prophet's enemies as to his real whereabouts.¹ His courage is attested to by many reports of his exploits in various battles.²

Despite his pro-'Alid views, al-Iskāfī makes a clear distinction between his own party and the Imāmiyya by declaring, "We do not deny the virtues of the Companions and their privileged position as the first Muslims (sawābiqahum); we are not like the Imāmiyya whose pernicious religious passion (hawan)³ leads them to deny things well known to be true. We only reject the idea of preferring any Companion over 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and nothing else."⁴ This statement expresses the limit of the agreement between the most pro-'Alid Mu'tazilīs and the Imāmīs on the attitude to the Companions.

The Verdicts on the Participants in the Battles of the Camel and Ṣiffin

The Mu'tazilīs did not present a united front on the issue of the relative merits of 'Alī and the other three "rightly-guided" caliphs; but in their basic acceptance of the Companions as good Muslims they found themselves in agreement with Sunni Islam. As al-Khayyāṭ puts it, "There is no great disagreement among the Mu'tazilīs, the Murji'īs and the aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth on the matter of the Companions and the [need to show] loyalty to their memory. The differences among them are limited

¹ Ibid., pp.321-322,326.

² Ibid., pp.327ff.

³ On this term see Laoust, La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa, p.5, n.3.

⁴ Naqd al-'uthmāniyya, p.318.

to the [issue of] preferring some of the just Imams (al-a'imma al-'ādila, meaning the first four caliphs) to others. But there is no disagreement as to the [need to show] loyalty to the memory of all [Companions], to plead for God's mercy upon them, and to seek His favour by loving them."¹

Yet al-Khayyāṭ's statement may be accepted at face value only if applied to the period preceding 'Uthmān's murder. In their verdict on the Companions who participated in the battles which followed that event the Mu'tazilīs do not always share the Sunnī tendency to whitewash both camps. Of the early Mu'tazilīs, Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' and 'Amr b. 'Ubayd are said to have believed that one of the two parties in the Battle of the Camel must have been in error, but since they could not establish which party was guilty they left the solution to God and declared their loyalty to both parties because of their virtuous deeds prior to the Battle.² Al-Jāḥiẓ reports in his Kitāb faḍilat al-mu'tazila³ that Wāṣil placed 'Alī, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr in the position of the married couple in the oath of condemnation (manzilat al-mutalā'inayn). Such an oath is administered when each partner denies having committed adultery while accusing the other side of this crime, and when it is known that one of the partners is lying. No investigation is carried out to discover who the guilty person is, and both are regarded as not guilty. Their testimony against each other is

¹ Al-Khayyāṭ, op.cit., pp.101-102. Al-Khayyāṭ is also reported to have justified the action of the Companions in passing over 'Alī and electing others instead. See Ibn al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., p.86; an-Najrī, Mirqāt al-anẓār, f130b (quoted also below, p. 345 with no.5).

² Al-Khayyāṭ, op.cit., pp.73-74.

³ Cit. al-Mufīd, Kitāb al-jamal, pp.8-10; ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, Ash-shāfi fi 'l-imāma, Tehran 1884, p.14.

not accepted.¹ Similarly, Wāṣil accepted the reliability for testimony of each side in the Battle of the Camel, but not of both sides together. He is also reported to have declared his solidarity with each side separately, but not with both sides together. 'Amr b. 'Ubayd is said not to have recognised their reliability for testimony, whether separately or together. In an Imāmī work² 'Amr is reported to have maintained that 'Alī was more justified than his enemies in the Battle of the Camel.³ According to the same source, Wāṣil believed that the testimony of 'Alī, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr against each other would not be accepted after the battle even if it referred to one dirham only, but would be accepted if pitted against the testimony of other persons.⁴ The anti-Mu'tazilī 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (who often bases himself on Ibn ar-Rāwandī) claims that Wāṣil believed that one of the two parties must have been grave sinners (fussāq); according to al-Baghdādī, 'Amr b. 'Ubayd went even further and declared both sides in the Battle of the Camel to be guilty of fisq.⁵

Other Mu'tazilīs who passed a rather harsh judgment on the two parties were Ḍirār b. 'Amr (d. c.200/815) and his

¹ Cf. Th.W. Juynboll, Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes, p.192; the article "Li'an" by J. Schacht, in EI, III, pp.24-26.

² An-Nawbakhtī, Kitāb firaq ash-shī'a, pp.11-12.

³ W. Madelung has pointed out (al-Qāsim, p.26) that even if 'Amr did in fact hold the view ascribed to him by an-Nawbakhtī's source, this does not mean that he accepted 'Alī's testimony against Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr.

⁴ An-Nawbakhtī, op.cit., p.12. Cf. the discussion in al-Qāsim, pp.26-27. See also an-Nāshī' al-Akbar, op.cit., p.54; ash-Shahrastānī, Al-milal wa'n-niḥal, London 1842, I, p.34.

⁵ Al-Baghdādī, Al-farq, pp.119-121; cf. al-Isfarā'īnī, At-taḥṣīr fi 'd-dīn, Cairo 1955, pp.64-66. The views of Wāṣil and 'Amr on this subject were said to have been shared by their pupil Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf; see al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.10, quoting Ibn Yahyā (possibly the Baghdādī Mu'tazilī Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Munajjim (d.327/939); cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., p.100); cf. an-Nawbakhtī, op.cit., p.13; al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt, p.457.

pupil Ḥafṣ al-Fard. They reportedly maintained that under no circumstances could any of the participants in the Battle of the Camel be trusted. Moreover, they argued that either party might be guilty of unbelief; they therefore refused either to declare their solidarity with or to dissociate themselves from the two parties.¹

A somewhat different view was held by the Mu'tazilīs Hishām b. 'Amr al-Fuwaṭī and 'Abbād b. Sulaymān aṣ-Ṣaymarī. They reportedly believed that 'Ā'isha, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr went to Baṣra for the legitimate purpose of discovering 'Uthmān's murderers; 'Alī decided to meet them there so that they should agree on a united policy and avoid bloodshed. But when the two camps met, the unruly mob on each side rushed into battle against the wish of the leaders. For that reason the leaders of both camps are exonerated from any blame while their followers are condemned.²

Possibly the most anti-'Alid position among the Mu'tazilīs was held by Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm, whom Ibn al-Murtaḍā mentions in the sixth generation of the Mu'tazilīs.³ He is reported to have attacked 'Alī's policies, to have expressed doubts as to the legitimacy of his election and to have recognised Mu'āwiya from

¹ See an-Nāshi' al-Akbar, op.cit., pp.54-55.

² Al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.11; see also al-Jāḥiẓ, op.cit., p.246. The information given by an-Nāshi' al-Akbar (op.cit. p.55) is somewhat different. He reports that Hishām al-Fuwaṭī and al-Qāsim b. al-Khalīl ad-Dimashqī (not 'Abbād aṣ-Ṣaymarī) expressed loyalty to 'Alī, Ṭalḥa, az-Zubayr and 'Ā'isha, but did not dissociate themselves from their followers. According to al-Khayyāṭ (op.cit., p.50), Hishām al-Fuwaṭī and other mutakallimūn believed that 'Uthmān was murdered suddenly, and that neither 'Alī nor the great majority of the community had any inkling of the imminent assassination. Hishām is attacked by al-Baghdādī (op.cit. p.163) for claiming that 'Uthmān was not subjected to a siege.

³ Tabaqāt al-mu'tazila, p.56. Not surprisingly, al-Aṣamm was for a time an adherent of the 'Uthmāniyya party. Cf. Watt, op.cit., p.50.

the time he came to power. He also cast doubts on the need for an Imam.¹ On the specific issue of the Battle of the Camel he is quoted as declaring:

I hold a neutral position and I do not declare either party to be in the right or in the wrong . . . But I say: if the aim of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in fighting 'Ā'isha, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr was to stop discord, prevent civil war in the land and keep them from seizing power and attacking [God's] servants, then he was right and will be rewarded [in the next world]. But if his motive was to seize power himself without consulting the jurists ('ulamā'); [if he wanted] to force the people to accept him as a ruler, then he was in error himself and led others into error, and belongs with the inhabitants of Hell . . . This is also my view of the other party; I say: if the aim of 'Ā'isha, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr in fighting 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his followers was to prevent him from seizing power without the consent of the jurists; if they wanted to avenge 'Uthmān's blood and to retaliate upon those who had wronged him by referring the [question of the] succession back to a shūrā so that the Muslims might elect [him] whom they considered [suitable] --then they were righteous, just, and deserving of reward [in the next world]. If [however] their actions were designed to further their own worldly interests, [to stir up] tribal fanaticism, to undermine the government and to seize power without the consent of the jurists, then they were in error and deserved damnation and eternal Hell-fire.²

Al-Aṣamm's views do not seem to have been shared by other leading Mu'tazilīs,³ many of whom, especially among the Baghdādīs, adopted a decidedly pro-'Alid line. In their view, 'Alī was right and his enemies mistaken and it was therefore incumbent upon all Muslims to fight on 'Alī's side.⁴ According to al-Mufīd,

¹ See al-Ash'arī, op.cit., pp.456,460; al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.12; cf. an-Nāshī' al-Akbar, op.cit., pp.59-60; Goldziher, "Hellenistischer Einfluss auf mu'tazilitische Chalifats-Theorien", in Der Islam 6, 1916, pp.173-177; al-Qāsim, pp.42-43.

² Al-Mufīd, op.cit., pp.10-11. This may be a quotation from the Kitāb al-imāma or the Kitāb iftirāq al-umma wa'khtilāf ash-shiya', both ascribed to al-Aṣamm; cf. J.W. Fück, op.cit., p.68.

³ Ibn an-Nadīm says of him, "He was criticised for his bias against the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī and was [therefore] removed by the Mu'tazilīs from the body of the true [Mu'tazilīs]" (J.W. Fück, loc.cit.); cf. Also Ibn al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., p.57.

⁴ An-Nawbakhtī, op.cit., p.13 (where an-Nazzām and Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir are mentioned as holding this view); al-Ash'arī, op.cit., p.456.

these Mu'tazilis¹ held that 'Alī's enemies had strayed from the path of truth,² were grave sinners and were therefore condemned to eternal Fire.³

Despite their different views on the participants in the Battle of the Camel, it seems that all Mu'tazilis agreed that 'Ā'isha, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr had repented after the battle.⁴ An exposition of this view is given by 'Abd al-Jabbār in Al-mughnī.⁵ He begins by contending that when a particular person commits a crime, his deed is manifest to all and he can therefore be condemned. But when this person subsequently declares that he has repented, it is impossible to determine with absolute certainty whether his repentance is genuine, since this would require knowing his innermost thoughts. The best one can hope for, says 'Abd al-Jabbār, is to be able to conclude that in all probability repentance has taken place (tarīq ghālib az-ẓann).⁶ This conclusion must be based on an examination of reports transmitted on the authority of reliable men (thiqāt), whether or not these reports are mutawātir (i.e. authenticated by many different chains of transmitters).⁷ Applying this theory

¹ Among whom he mentions Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir, Abū Mūsā al-Murdār, Ja'far b. Bishr al-Iskāfi, al-Khayyāṭ, ash-Shaḥḥām, Ibn Mujālid al-Balkhī and al-Jubbā'ī; see Kitāb al-jamal, p.12.

² Ibid.

³ Al-Mufīd, Awā'il al-maḡālāt, Tabriz 1371H., p.10. Al-Mufīd's description of the Mu'tazilī views in the Awā'il is less detailed and precise than his exposition in the Kitāb al-jamal. Thus he attributes in the Awā'il the views of Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir and his followers to all the Mu'tazilis with the exception of Wāṣil and 'Amr b. 'Ubayd. For a similar description of Mu'tazilī views see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., I, p.9.

⁴ Cf. al-Mufīd, Kitāb al-jamal, loc.cit.

⁵ In the chapter entitled, "Proof of the repentance of Ṭalḥa, az-Zubayr, 'Ā'isha and others" (XX/ii, pp.84-92).

⁶ For the term ghalabat az-ẓann as it is used in fiḥ cf. J. Van Ess, Die Erkenntnislehre des 'Aḡudaddīn al-Īcī, Wiesbaden 1966, p.242.

⁷ 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/ii, pp.84-86. For a Zaydī refutation of this argument cf. below, p.349, n.3.

to the specific case in question 'Abd al-Jabbār proceeds to quote traditions which prove, in his view, the repentance of the three main participants in the Battle of the Camel. According to one tradition, 'Alī convinced az-Zubayr just before the battle began that it would be wrong to fight him. When az-Zubayr thereupon returned to his camp and expressed his misgivings his own son accused him of cowardice and was therefore cursed by az-Zubayr. Afterwards¹ az-Zubayr set out on his journey back to Medina and behaved like someone who was perplexed and who knew that he had been mistaken.² As for Ṭalḥa, he is reported to have expressed regret just before he died of his wounds.³ 'Abd al-Jabbār declares that 'Ā'isha's repentance is well-known since she used to refer to it on various occasions.⁴ In support of his claim he quotes a statement ascribed to the fifth Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir to the effect that 'Ā'isha is forgiven because of her subsequent repentance.⁵ As for those who refrained from joining 'Alī's camp but did not oppose him, no guilt attaches to them.⁶ 'Alī himself allegedly showed his understanding of those who felt that they could not fight their fellow Muslims. Moreover, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, who was among those who refrained from fighting, is reported to have later

¹ I.e. after the battle, or after the confrontation with his son.

² Ibid., p.87.

³ Ibid., p.88.

⁴ Ibid., p.89.

⁵ Ibid., p.90. Al-Murtaḍā claims (Shāfi, p.294) that the authenticity of this saying is dubious or that al-Bāqir may have been using precautionary dissimulation (taqiyya); he is known to have made many statements to the contrary. The existence of markedly pro-'Ā'isha tendencies among some Mu'tazilīs may be deduced from the nickname "'Ā'isha's camel" (jamal 'Ā'isha) by which the Mu'tazilī Abū Bakr al-Bukhārī was known; see Ibn al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., p.109.

⁶ 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/ii, p.91 (quoting the view of al-Jubbā'ī).

expressed regret for his abstention.¹

There is no unanimity among the Mu'tazilis concerning the verdict on the participants in the Battle of Šiffin and the arbitration (tahkim) which followed it: while an-Naẓẓām and Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir maintained that 'Alī had been right in fighting Mu'āwīya and in agreeing to the arbitration, al-Aṣamm is said to have declared that 'Alī had been wrong in both cases.² In a somewhat modified account of al-Aṣamm's views³ it is stated that if 'Alī's aim in agreeing to the arbitration was to secure his own rule, then he was mistaken; if he agreed to it in order to enable the people to come to a peaceful agreement concerning the next ruler, he was right.⁴ Most Mu'tazilis are said to have judged both 'Alī and Mu'āwīya according to the principle that everyone who uses individual reasoning is right (kullu mujtahid muṣīb).⁵ According to one report⁶ they maintained that both 'Alī and Mu'āwīya had been equally right; according to another⁷ they said that 'Alī had been the one who had used his individual reasoning correctly. Al-Khayyāṭ asserts⁸ that

¹ Ibid. Cf also below, p.188, n.1. For the Imānī view of the participants in the Battle of the Camel see below pp. 185-197. The pro-'Alid Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd does not think that 'Abd al-Jabbār's arguments in defence of Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr are convincing (see Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha, IX, pp.317-318).

² An-Nawbakhtī, op.cit., p.14; cf. al-Ash'arī, op.cit., p.453.

³ Al-Ash'arī, loc.cit.

⁴ This seems to be a more exact rendering of al-Aṣamm's view. Al-Aṣamm did not believe that the inner thoughts and intentions of other people could be revealed by learning about their outward actions (cf. al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.10). This scepticism, which shaped his views on the Battle of the Camel (cf. above p. 58), is very likely to have also influenced his view of the participants in the Battle of Šiffin. But cf. an-Nāshī' al-Akbar, op.cit., p.60.

⁵ Cf. above p.11, below, pp. 344-345.

⁶ Al-Ash'arī, op.cit., p.454.

⁷ An-Nawbakhtī, op.cit., p.15.

⁸ Al-intiṣār, p.102.

the Mu'tazilīs strongly disagree with the nābita¹ who declare their solidarity with the Syrians. Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī accuses the nābita of inconsistency: while transmitting traditions in which Muḥammad declares his full support for 'Alī and his opposition to his enemies, they also announce their loyalty to Mu'āwiya.² The verdict of some Mu'tazilīs on Mu'āwiya is that he was a grave sinner (fāsiq) and may even have been an unbeliever.³

3. An-Nazzām's Views on the Companions as Authorities

A problem which occupied Mu'tazilī thinkers was how to reconcile the authority which Sunnī doctrine vested in the Companions with rational criteria. Two prominent early Mu'tazilīs in particular occupied themselves with this problem. The first is 'Amr b. 'Ubayd, who was accused by his Sunnī adversaries of adopting a disrespectful attitude towards the Companions.⁴ Some of his critics attempted to find in his views

¹ These were the supporters of the Umayyads, who made themselves felt from the time of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, and who developed the "cult of Mu'āwiya". Their aim was to weaken the 'Abbāsīd link with the Shī'īs by a rehabilitation of the Umayyads. See al-Qāsim, pp.224-225; cf. also Ch. Pellat, "Le culte de Mu'āwiya au troisième siècle de l'hégire", in SI 6, 1956, pp.53-66.

² Ibn al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., p.82.

³ Cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/ii, pp.70-72, 93-94; below, p.201, n.1. On the question of the imamate of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn some of the later Mu'tazilīs held views which are much closer to the Zaydī than the Sunnī position. 'Abd al-Jabbār maintains (ibid., p.145) that al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were entitled to the imamate after 'Alī's murder. The same view was held by 'Abd al-Jabbār's first teacher, Abū Ishāq b. 'Ayyāsh, who is credited with a book called Fī imāmat al-Ḥasan wa'l-Ḥusayn wa-faḍlihimā (Ibn al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., p.107), as well as by al-Jubbā'ī, whom 'Abd al-Jabbār quotes in his discussion. 'Abd al-Jabbār argues (Al-mughnī XX/ii, p.146) that al-Ḥasan was forced to relinquish his rights when threatened by Mu'āwiya's forces. Al-Ḥusayn, too, refrained from claiming his rights as long as Mu'āwiya was in power. He arrived at this decision by the method of individual reasoning (ijtihād) to which every Imam is entitled, and for which no Imam may be faulted (ibid., p.148). The close affinity with the Zaydiyya is shown by 'Abd al-Jabbār's recognition of the imamate of Zayd b. 'Alī (ibid., p.149).

⁴ See adh-Dhahabī, Mizān al-i'tidāl, Cairo 1963-5, III, p.274,

on the main participants in the Battle of the Camel¹ proof of his rejection of all the Companions,² not merely as authorities but also as Muslims. 'Amr reportedly refused to acknowledge the authority of 'Uthmān³ and did not even shrink from challenging the veracity of words which he accepted as having been spoken by the Prophet himself, when he felt that these words contradicted the principle of God's justice.⁴

The second important Mu'tazilī who expressed his views on this question is an-Nazzām. Of the works ascribed to him there survive, it would seem, only some fragments of his Kitāb an-nakth which are preserved in quotations by later authors.⁵ His views also appear in the Kitāb al-akhbār of al-Jāhiz (which in turn forms part of the Kitāb ghāyat al-afkār wa-nihāyat al-anzār of the Zaydī Ibn al-Murtaḍā (d.840/1437))⁶ and in the Kitāb al-futyā, also by al-Jāhiz.⁷ An-Nazzām rejects the notion of an ijmā' aṣ-ṣaḥāba. He argues that many of the leading Companions erred or misjudged at one point or another, and that

cit. J. Van Ess, Traditionistische Polemik gegen 'Amr b. 'Ubaid, Damascus 1967, p.41. 'Amr is also reported to have been accused by Abū Ḥanīfa of having "opened to the people the door to the 'ilm al-kalām" (Ibn Abi 'l-Wafā', Al-jawāhir al-muḍī'a fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanafīyya, Haydarabad 1332H., I, p.31).

¹ See above, p.56.

² See Van Ess, op.cit., p.34.

³ Ibid., pp.29,33.

⁴ Ibid., p.23.

⁵ Prof. Van Ess has collected and commented on the extant fragments of an-Nazzām's work in his forthcoming book, Das Kitāb an-Nakt des Nazzām und seine Rezeption im Kitāb al-Futyā des Jāhiz, Göttingen 1971. I am grateful to Prof. Van Ess for kindly letting me read the proofs of his book.

⁶ See Van Ess, "Ein unbekanntes Fragment des Nazzām", in Festschrift O. Spies, Wiesbaden 1967, p.170.

⁷ See al-Baghdādī, op.cit., p.177; cf. Ch. Pellat, "Inventaire", in Arabica 3, 1956, p.155. Extensive quotations from the Kitāb al-futyā are found in al-Muḥīd's Al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsin (ff.423b-427b in the Talkhīs of al-Murtaḍā).

there were many issues on which they could not agree.¹ Moreover an-Nazzām contends that it is impossible to know what the views of the large majority of the Companions were, since the only opinions on legal matters which were made public were those of men who held positions of power, such as 'Umar and 'Uthmān; the simple people ('awāmm) had to acquiesce in these opinions for reasons of precautionary dissimulation (taqiyya), and did not dare contradict the views of the rulers.² Al-Jāḥiẓ states in the Kitāb al-futyā that the essential point in an-Nazzām's argument is that the leading Companions were often mistaken when they gave their own opinion (ra'y) on religious matters.³ Al-Khayyāṭ, who repeats this information,⁴ adds that an-Nazzām did not think that in such cases the Companions were guilty of error (yaḍillūn)⁵ or deserved the enmity of the community. According to an-Nazzām's view as presented by al-Khayyāṭ, the Companions often attempted to clarify the truth embodied in the Qur'ān and in Muḥammad's sunna, or to reconcile differing opinions; and these were correct and commendable acts.⁶

¹ It is in order to counter such charges that Ibn Qutayba composed his Kitāb ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth, in which many of the specific points raised by an-Nazzām are refuted. Cf. Van Ess, op.cit., p.180.

² See Van Ess, Das Kitāb an-Nakt, pp.99-100 (in proofs).

³ Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., XX, pp.30-31, quoting an anonymous Zaydī theologian; Darajāt, p.26. Ibn ar-Rāwandī, probably basing himself on al-Jāḥiẓ, reports that an-Nazzām used to argue that "the entire community of Muḥammad could agree on an error (ḍalāl) in respect of [matters about which one found out by the use of] opinion (ra'y) and analogy (qiyās), but not in respect of that which is transmitted [to us] by the senses [i.e. khata' in an-Nazzām's terminology]" (al-Khayyāṭ, op.cit., p.44). For a discussion of the significance of this passage see Van Ess, op.cit., p.101 (in proofs).

⁴ Al-intiṣār, pp.74-75.

⁵ Used here in the religious sense, not in the technical sense used by an-Nazzām (cf. above n.3).

⁶ It must be stressed that an-Nazzām's views were not generally shared by later Mu'tazilīs (cf. M. Bernard, "L'iḡmā' chez 'Abd al-Ḡabbār et l'objection d'an-Nazzām", in SI 30, 1969, pp.27-38);

Al-Khayyāṭ's primary aim in presenting an-Naẓẓām's views was to repudiate claims that an-Naẓẓām regarded all Companions as sinners. Such claims were made both before and after al-Khayyāṭ's time. Ibn ar-Rāwandī, for example, ascribed to an-Naẓẓām the view that "all the principal Companions erred in questions of religious law and gave their own view on religious matters, considering as permissible what God prohibited and prohibiting what God declared as permissible; and he who acts thus is in an-Naẓẓām's eyes stripped of [true] religion."¹ 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, taking his cue from Ibn ar-Rāwandī, accused an-Naẓẓām of attacking all the Companions, including the most excellent among them.²

While such accusations are probably groundless,³ it is nevertheless true that an-Naẓẓām rejected the validity of statements made by the Companions acting as independent authorities. But did he also reject their authority as transmitters of Muḥammad's sunna? This is a much more difficult question to answer. Such a rejection necessarily involves negating the entire basis of Sunnī law. Later Mu'tazilī authors (who were mostly adherents of Sunnī madhāhib) would therefore

hence it is possible that al-Khayyāṭ, in wishing to play down the differences between an-Naẓẓām and other Mu'tazilīs, paints a more moderate picture of his views than may actually have been the case. According to al-Baghdādī, an-Naẓẓām contends that in using ra'y the Companions were either unaware that this was not permissible, or else they wished to make a name for themselves by giving independent opinions and thus becoming the head of a madhhab. See Van Ess, op.cit., pp.97-98 (in proofs).

¹ Al-Khayyāṭ, op.cit., p.74.

² Al-Baghdādī, op.cit., p.132; cf. al-Isfarā'īnī, op.cit., p.69; Laoust, Schismes, p.103. Al-Baghdādī does not, however, accuse an-Naẓẓām of attacking all the Muslim sects, as has been suggested by Laoust (ibid).

³ H.S.Nyberg describes 'Abd al-Qāhir's exposition as "a typical example of misrepresentation and deliberately false interpretation" (EI¹, III, p.892, s.v. "al-Naẓẓām").

probably have attempted to suppress any information about the existence of such a view among early Mu'tazilīs. Since an-Naẓẓām tried to follow rigid rationalistic criteria, it is quite conceivable that he did reject the authority of the Companions as transmitters.¹

Had an-Naẓẓām wished to be absolutely consistent and true to his intention of proceeding from logical, rather than textual, premisses, he would have had to reject the authority of the Qur'ān as well. But an-Naẓẓām, being a Muslim, could obviously not go that far. His definition of ijmā' reflects his belief that the Qur'ān and statements produced by logical reasoning are the only two valid sources of religious law. In his view, ijmā' is the result of a statement which can be shown to follow logically from the given premisses (hujja) and which must therefore be accepted by everyone, even if it is originally made by one person only. At the same time an-Naẓẓām attempted to prove that all such logical statements could and ought to be deduced from the Qur'ān.²

It is tempting to see in an-Naẓẓām's critical attitude to the Companions an indication of his pro-Shī'i views.³ The fact that he lived during the reign of al-Ma'mūn, when relations between the 'Abbāsids and the Shī'īs grew temporarily closer, could also be cited in support of this view.⁴ But this line of

¹ According to Schacht (op.cit., pp.40-41, 258-259), the early Mu'tazila did in fact reject most traditions, though they acknowledged the consensus of the community.

² See Van Ess, Die Erkenntnislehre des 'Aḡudaddīn al-Īcī, p.309; id., Das Kitāb an-Nakt, pp.123-124 (in proofs).

³ This was claimed by some of his Sunnī opponents. Ash-Shahrastānī (op.cit., I, pp.39-40) even accuses him of adopting the Shī'i doctrine of the imamate. Cf. also 'Abbās al-Qummī, Safināt al-bihār, II, p.597.

⁴ Cf. Van Ess, al-Īcī p.311; id., "Ein unbekanntes Fragment des Naẓẓām", pp.197ff. But see now id., Das Kitāb an-Nakt, p.121 (in proofs).

argument should not be pushed too far. It has been shown that an-Nazzām recognised the legitimacy of Abū Bakr's rule and considered him more excellent than 'Alī¹--both decidedly non-Imāmī views. Although supporting 'Alī's actions in the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffin he did not exempt him from criticism. This exposed him to attacks not only from the Sunni camp but--more significantly--from the Imāmīs as well, who regarded his critical investigation of 'Alī's actions as a denial of 'Alī's infallibility.² Al-Mufīd is particularly severe in his criticism of an-Nazzām's attitude to 'Alī: how could he consider 'Alī as just another ordinary human being, subject to the same errors and faults as Abū Bakr and 'Umar?³ Since he is opposed to the ijmā', how could he criticise the Shī'a for following the rulings of 'Alī, which are the "pillar and mainstay of the imamate?"⁴ While approving of an-Nazzām's critical view of the Companions, al-Mufīd brands him as an unbeliever and a heretic for--among other things--his negative attitude to Muḥammad's family (the ahl al-bayt).⁵

Al-Jāhīz states that an-Nazzām was at some stage even more critical of the Companions than the Rāfiḍīs;⁶ but this statement tends to obscure the entirely different premisses which led both sides to reach their conclusions. The Imāmī attitude to the Companions, which will be more fully discussed in the next chapters, is connected with the particular historical and doctrinal views of the Imāmiyya. An-Nazzām's attitude, on

¹ See above, p. 48; cf. also 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/ii, p.133; an-Nawbakhtī, op.cit., p.10.

² Cf. al-Murtaḍā, Tanzīh al-anbiyā', Najaf 1380H., pp.190ff.

³ See al-Murtaḍā, Talkhīṣ al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsin, f424a.

⁴ Ibid., f425b.

⁵ Ibid., f427b.

⁶ Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, Darajāt, loc.cit.

the other hand, sprang out of his rigidly intellectual and rationalistic examination of what constitutes a valid proof. His condemnation of the use of ra'y and his subsequent rejection of the 'adāla of all Companions were the logical outcome of his investigations. Those Shi'is who condemned the Companions were undoubtedly happy to be able to quote a concurring opinion from a person outside their circle;¹ but this identity of views cannot conceal the gulf which separated the two sides on many other issues.

¹ Cf below, p.99.

CHAPTER III

THE IMĀMĪ ATTITUDE TO THE COMPANIONS IN ITS DOCTRINAL SETTING

1. Imāmī Doctrine on the Companions as seen by Non-Imāmīs

Much of what is known outside the Shi'ī world about Imāmī-Shi'ī beliefs is based on the testimony of Sunni authors. Such testimony is largely polemical in character, hence its reliability cannot always be taken for granted. It is, however, instructive to trace the statements made by Sunni authors about particular Imāmī tenets, both in order to discover what the majority of the Muslims considered to be the Imāmī doctrine, and in order to see how few of these statements come out unscathed when juxtaposed with the views expressed by the Imāmīs themselves.

On the question of the Companions there is a large measure of agreement among Sunni authors that the Imāmīs--usually referred to by the abusive term "Rāfiḍa"¹--vilify the Companions and consider practically all of them as unbelievers. Sunni polemicists cite anti-Shi'ī traditions with the aim of substantiating this claim. In an often quoted hadīth Muḥammad tells 'Alī to fight the Rāfiḍa ("those who reject Islam"), whose distinguishing mark is their defamation of the first generation.²

¹ For a discussion of the various meanings of the term see I. Friedlaender, "The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Ḥazm", in JAOS 29, 1908, pp.137-159. The Shi'īs themselves, in reaction to attacks against them, stress that their designation as "Rāfiḍa" is a sign of special honour and merit; see al-Barqī, Kitāb al-maḥāsin, Najaf 1964, p.119; al-Kulīnī, Ar-rawḍa min al-kāfi, Tehran 1377H., p.34; Bihār, XV/i, p.127: bāb faḍl ar-rāfiḍa wa-madh at-tasmiya bihā.

² Wa-yat'anūna 'ala 'l-salaf al-awwal (aṭ-Ṭabarānī, Al-mu'jam al-awsaṭ, cit., Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Majma' az-zawā'id, X, pp.21-22; cf. Ibn Qutayba, Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth, p.81;

A saying ascribed to the early traditionist ash-Sha'bi (d. c.110/728),¹ which is said to have been included in the Kitāb al-latif fi 's-sunna by Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Aḥmad Ibn Shāhin (d.385/995), unfavourably compares the Rāfiḍis to members of other religions: "The Rāfiḍa are worse than the Jews and the Christians. The Jews were asked, 'Who are the best men?' [and] they said, 'the companions of Moses'; the Christians were asked, 'Who are the best men?' [and] they said, 'the companions of Jesus'; the Rāfiḍa were asked, 'Who are the worst men?' [and] they said, 'the Companions of Muḥammad'."²

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal defines the Rāfiḍa as "those who dissociate themselves³ from the Companions of Muḥammad the

as-Samarqandī, Bustān al-'ārifīn, p. 189; Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs Iblīs, p.108; Goldziher, "beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Sī'a und der sunnitischen Polemik", in Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften 78, 1874, p.44; Friedlaender, op.cit., p.146).

¹ On ash-Sha'bi see the article by F. Krenkow in EI¹, IV, pp. 242-243; E.L. Petersen, 'Alī and Mu'āwiya in early Arabic tradition, Copenhagen 1964, index. Ash-Sha'bi's attitude seems to have been much less anti-'Alid than that of the Umayyads. He is reported to have declared, "Love the family of Muḥammad but do not be a Rāfiḍī" (Ibn al-Murtaḍā, Tabaqāt al-mu'tazila, pp.130,139) and "I hate him who hates 'Uthmān and 'Alī" (adh-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-huffāz, I, pp.82-83. Petersen (op.cit., p.31 n.18) doubts whether ash-Sha'bi really said these words). Yet ash-Sha'bi is also quoted as saying, "If the Shī'a were birds, they would be vultures; if animals, asses" (Ibn Sa'd, VI, p.173, cit. Tritton, Muslim theology, p.52; see also Ibn Taymiyya, Minhāj, I, p.17; Ibn al-Jawzī, Kitāb al-mawḍū'āt, Medina 1966, I, p.338). According to Ibn Sa'd (loc.cit.), ash-Sha'bi was first a Shī'i but later turned against them when he heard about some of their beliefs and exaggerations. This may explain why the Imāmi ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (Shāfi, p.175) accuses ash-Sha'bi of anti-Shī'i bias (wa-ra'yuhū fī 'l-inḥirāf 'an ahl al-bayt ma'rūf); cf. also Friedlaender's remark (op.cit., p.135), "The Sunnites in protesting against the Shiite forgeries found no better spokesman than ash-Sha'bi, who was revered by the Sunna and at the same time known as a Shiite."

² Ibn Taymiyya, loc.cit.; Ibrāhīm b. 'Āmir al-'Ubaydī, 'Umdat at-tahqīq, Cairo 1315H., p.121 (on margin); Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān, Risāla fī kayfiyyat al-munāzara ma'a 'sh-shī'a wa'r-radd 'alayhim, Cairo 1323H., p.35. Cf. also Ibn al-Jawzī, op.cit., I, p.339; id., Tadhkira, f166a; (anonymous) Sharḥ al-'aqida at-tahāwiyya, pp.469-470.

³ On tabarru' cf. above, p.39, n.3.

Apostle of God, insult and disparage them, and declare as unbelievers the four great imams who are 'Alī, 'Ammār, al-Miqdād and Salmān. They do not belong at all to Islam."¹ In his Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth² Ibn Qutayba (d.276/889), too, denounces the Rāfiḍa in the strongest terms for considering the Companions as unbelievers. While holding 'Alī and his family in great respect, both Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Qutayba insisted on the greater excellence of the first three caliphs³ and were sharply critical of anyone who adopted a hostile attitude towards

¹ Ibn Abī Ya'lā, Tabaqāt al-ḥanābila, I, p.33. H. Laoust (La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa, p.44 n.1) points to the polemical character of this definition, given the fact that the four Companions who are mentioned in it are highly esteemed by the Imāmis (cf. below, appendix A).

² pp. 6,233.

³ See above p. 19. Cf. G. Lecomte's statement (EI², III, p.846, s.v. "Ibn Qutayba"), "although his attitude concerning the Companions is that which remained in later times the touchstone of the Sunna, he nevertheless retained a deep and reverent respect for the family and descendants of the Prophet, so far as they were politically neutral." The attitude to the first caliphs was often regarded by the Sunnis as the touchstone by which to judge whether or not a particular person was a Shī'i. The Ḥanbalī al-Barbahārī, citing Ṭu'ma m. 'Amr (d.169/786) (see Tahdhīb, V, p.13) and Sufyān b. 'Uyayna (d.198/813) (see Tahdhīb, IV, pp.117-122), claims that he who adopts an attitude of neutrality on the question of the relative merits of 'Alī and 'Uthmān is a Shī'i; he who prefers 'Alī over 'Uthmān is a Rāfiḍī who has thereby rejected the entire body of the sayings of the Companions (Kitāb as-sunna, cit. Ibn Abī Ya'lā, op.cit., II, p.41). Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (Hady as-sārī, II, p.179) is somewhat more moderate in his approach: he defines a Shī'i as someone who prefers 'Alī over the Companions. If that person prefers 'Alī over Abū Bakr and 'Umar he is a Rāfiḍī; if he explains why 'Alī is better or expresses hatred for Abū Bakr and 'Umar, he is an extreme Rāfiḍī. The distinction between a love for 'Alī and rafd was reportedly made by ash-Shāfi'i. In a verse ascribed to him it is stated, "If love for Muḥammad's family is rafd/then let the world [lit. the humans and the jinn] bear witness that I am a Rāfiḍī" (law kāna rafḍan hubbu alī Muḥammadin / fa'lyashhadi 'th-thaḡalānī annī rāfiḍī) (ash-Shāfi'i, Diwān, Beirut 1961, p.118; 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī, Kitāb an-naqd, Tehran 1952, pp.157,586; Ibn aṣ-Ṣabbāgh, Al-fuṣūl al-muḥimma, Persia 1302H., p.4).

the Ṣaḥāba.¹

Anti-Shī'i feelings also ran high in early Mu'tazilī circles. The attacks of al-Jāḥiẓ² are reiterated by al-Khayyāṭ, who ascribes to the Rāfiḍa a long list of heretical views.³ Even the most pro-Shī'i of the Baghdad Mu'tazilīs, Abū Ja'far al-Iskāfī, deems it appropriate to dissociate himself in no uncertain terms from the Imāmīs on the question of the attitude to the Companions.⁴

Some Mu'tazilīs attempted to place the supposed Imāmī hatred of the Companions in an historical perspective. Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ka'bī al-Balkhī, a disciple of al-Khayyāṭ,⁵ contends that the early Shī'a (ash-shī'a al-ūlā) preferred Abū Bakr and 'Umar to 'Alī. As proof he adduces statements by persons whom he claims to be well-known Shī'īs. Thus he quotes Abū 'Abd Allāh Sharīk b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kūfī (d.177/793) to the effect that anyone who did not acknowledge the superiority of Abū Bakr and 'Umar to 'Alī was not a real Shī'i since 'Alī himself had said, "The best among this community after its Prophet are Abū Bakr and 'Umar."⁶ Al-Balkhī's claims, which formed a

¹ Imāmī traditionists in their turn accuse Ibn Ḥanbal of a blind hatred of 'Alī, which they ascribe to the fact that 'Alī killed at an-Nahrawān the Khārījī Tamīmī leader Dhu 'th-Thudayya (often identified with Dhu 'l-Khuwayṣira and al-Mukhdaj)(cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh ar-rusul wa'l-mulūk, Leiden 1879-1901, I, p.3383; J. Wellhausen, Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, Berlin 1901, p.16 n.2; Van Ess, Das Kitāb an-nakt, pp. 77-79 (in proofs)) who was, according to the Imāmīs, an ancestor of Ibn Ḥanbal; see 'Abd al-Jalīl, op.cit., p.258; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Manāqib al Abī Ṭalīb, Najaf, 1376H., III, p.21; Bihār, XII, p.77 (quoting Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Ilal ash-sharā'i).

² Cf. Al-'uthmāniyya, p.180; al-Khayyāṭ, Al-intiṣār, p.100.

³ Al-intiṣār, pp.13,37,78,100,101,111,114.

⁴ See above, p.54.

⁵ See the article "al-Balkhī" by A.N.Nader, in EI², I, p.1002; cf. above, p.49.

⁶ Cf. adh-Dhahabī, Mizān al-i'tidāl, II, pp.271-274; Tahdhīb, IV, p.337. Although al-Balkhī's argument here would seem to indicate that he preferred Abū Bakr and 'Umar over 'Alī, the

part of his attacks on Ibn ar-Rāwandī,¹ are quoted approvingly by 'Abd al-Jabbār,² who adds his own elaborations. He maintains that the negative attitude to the Companions is foreign to the genuine Shi'i spirit, and that those who introduced it were anti-Muslim impostors who infiltrated the Shi'i ranks with the ultimate aim of destroying Islam. 'Abd al-Jabbār declares that although the learned among the Shi'is denounce these men, their views are widely accepted by the ignorant masses.³ Among the impostors named by 'Abd al-Jabbār the earliest is the well-known Imāmi mutakallim Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. c.183/799).⁴ 'Abd al-Jabbār's contention is that early Shi'ism, before being sullied by the sinful innovations of Hishām and his school, was characterised by a commendable love for 'Alī which did not, however, contradict the love and respect of its adherents for all other Companions. 'Abd al-Jabbār maintains that Hishām himself is known to have admitted that he was the one who introduced the hatred of the Companions into the Shi'a, and the one who started to vilify and to curse them; before his time, all the Shi'is had professed loyalty to the

reverse is in fact true (see above, p.49). He interprets 'Alī's words about Abū Bakr and 'Umar as meaning that 'Alī was referring to all the Companions except himself; see 'Abd al-Jabbār, Tathbit, pp.62,549.

¹ Cf. Nyberg's introduction to the Kitāb al-intiṣār, pp. xxiv-xxv.

² Tathbit, pp.62-63, 548-549, whence Ibn Taymiyya, op.cit., I, pp.7-9, II, pp.60-61.

³ 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., pp.128,231-232,528-529. Ismā'ilism in particular was commonly accused of originating in a plot to destroy Islam from the inside; cf. al-Ghazzālī, Fadā'ih al-Bāṭiniyya (ed. Goldziher, Streitschrift), pp.4-8 (Arabic text). Similarly Daḥlān (op.cit., p.46), quoting Ibn al-Athīr, argues that the leaders of the Fāṭimid dynasty (whom he calls the 'Ubaydis; cf. the article "Fāṭimids" by M. Canard, in EI², II, p.852) intended by disparaging the Companions to disparage the sharī'a which reached later generations through them.

⁴ Tathbit, pp.211,214,224-225. On Hishām b. al-Ḥakam see also below, pp.78-79.

first three caliphs and had denied that any injustice had been inflicted by these caliphs upon 'Alī.¹

The same approach is taken up a century later by al-Ḥakīm al-Jushamī (d.494/1101), a Mu'tazilī who adopted Zaydī views.² He argues that Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and his followers brought newfangled ideas into Islam, and adds, "Though sinful innovations (bida') when they first appear are accepted only by few, those [few] increase until they come into the open and become a sect (firqa)."³ Hishām is indeed the person most often singled out by non-Imāmīs as the main propagator of the theory of the ikfār aṣ-ṣaḥāba (i.e. declaring the Companions to be unbelievers).⁴

¹ Ibid., pp.224,447-448; cf. Ibn Kathīr, Al-bidāya wa'n-nihāya, VIII, pp.11-12. Likewise, the argument that the explicit designation theory (cf. below, p.79) was the invention of Hishām and his followers was often voiced by Sunnī and Mu'tazilī polemicists; cf. Iqbāl, Khāndān-e Nawbakhtī, p.75.

² See al-Qāsim, pp.186-191.

³ Al-Ḥakīm al-Jushamī, Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il, f32a. For al-Murtaḍā's refutation of such allegations cf. Shāfi, p.98.

⁴ Cf. al-Khayyāṭ, op.cit., p.37; al-Malaṭī, Kitāb at-tanbīh wa'r-radd, Istanbul 1936, p.19. This is just one of the charges brought against him; others include his supposed adherence to Manichaeism and materialism (dahriyya); cf. al-Malaṭī, loc.cit. Hishām was in fact the founder of a school within the Imāmiyya (called the Hishāmiyya) which held anthropomorphic views (tajsim). This school was later rejected by a majority among the Imāmiyya and finally became extinct; cf. al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt, pp.31-33; al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, V, pp.443-444, VII, p.232; the article "Hishām b. al-Ḥakam" by W. Madelung, in EI², III, p.497. In their attitude to Hishām a difference may be discerned between early and later Imāmīs. Early opponents of Hishām openly discussed his anthropomorphic views and attacked him for holding them; Hishām's own disciple Abū Yūsuf Muḥammad b. al-Khalīl as-Sakkāk (fl. first half of the 3rd/9th century) is reported to have disagreed with his master on many issues outside the theory of the imamate (see aṭ-Ṭūsī, Fihrist kutub ash-shī'a, Calcutta 1853, p.292); the Imāmī Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qummī wrote against Hishām and his pupil Yūnus b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān a Kitāb mathālib Hishām wa-Yūnus which probably dealt with their anthropomorphic views (see Dhārī'a, XIX, p.76; W. Madelung, "Bemerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literatur", in Der Islam 43, 1967, p.43 n.38). Later Imāmīs, wishing to present a united front to the non-Imāmī world, tried to tone down any differences between Hishām and themselves, by either denying that Hishām had ever held anthropomorphic views, or by insisting that he had repented and changed his attitude later in life (cf. Iqbāl, op.cit., p.80).

Sunni heresiographers often present a negative attitude to the Companions as one of the distinctive characteristics of the Imāmiyya. Al-Ash'arī, whose treatment of the various Islamic sects in the first half of his Maqālāt is relatively objective and free of polemics, distinguishes two Shī'ī attitudes to the Companions: some Shī'īs consider as unbelievers all the Companions who fought 'Alī, such as Ṭalḥa, az-Zubayr and Mu'āwiya, as well as all the Companions who did not follow 'Alī after Muḥammad's death; others consider those who fought 'Alī as grave sinners (fussāq), except when they were also rebelling against Muḥammad, in which case they are considered as unbelievers.¹ Later heresiographers often tend to consider all Imāmi-Shī'īs as one group as far as their attitude to the Companions is concerned. Thus Abu 'l-Muẓaffar al-Isfarā'īnī (d.471/1078-9) declares² that all Imāmi sects agree that the Companions are unbelievers. This view is echoed by the Sunni heresiographer Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad al-Kirmānī (lived before 525/1131) in his commentary on the tradition of the 73 sects,³ when he says, "The Imāmiyya consists of fourteen sects, all of which agree that . . . all but six of the Companions apostatised."⁴ Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm ash-Shahrastānī (d.548/1153)⁵ accuses the Imāmiyya of attacking the Companions and declaring them unbelievers as well as of

¹ Al-Ash'arī, op.cit., p.57.

² At-tabsīr fī 'd-dīn, p.43.

³ On the development of this tradition cf. Goldziher, "Literaturgeschichte", p.445. For Shī'ī versions of this tradition see Bihar, VIII, pp.2ff.

⁴ Quoted in S. Dederling, "Ein Kommentar der Tradition über die 73 Sekten", in MO 25, 1931, pp.39-40.

⁵ Al-milal, I, pp.123-124; id., Nihāyat al-aqdām, London 1934, p.487 (Arabic text).

forging traditions to suit their own views.¹ The Mālikī author Ibrāhīm b. 'Āmir al-'Ubaydī (d.1100/1688)² quotes a contemporary Shī'ī as stating that there are three groups of Rāfiḍīs: those who hate the Companions but do not vilify them,³ those who hate them and vilify them, and those who neither hate nor vilify them but leave judgment upon them to God. All three groups are united in condemning Mu'āwiya.⁴

Such distinctions usually escape modern Sunni writers. In a polemical tractate against the Shī'a, a Shāfi'ī muftī of Mecca, Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān (d.1304/1886), accuses them of

¹ Such accusations often appear in Sunni discussions of the reliability of traditionists. A typical comment is that on one Ja'far b. Aḥmad who was, according to Ibn al-Jawzī, "a Rāfiḍī and a liar who used to forge traditions about the vilification of the Companions of the Apostle of God" (see the discussion in Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Muḥaffar, Dalā'il as-ṣidq, Tehran/Najaf 1953-4, II, pp.226-229). At the same time many Sunni traditionists were ready to accept pro-Shī'īs as reliable in the transmission of ḥadīth, provided their probity was beyond doubt; see al-Mūsawī, Kitāb al-murāja'āt, Najaf 1963, pp.76,140 (quoting Sunni sources). Similarly, not all Imāmī authors insisted that the persons appearing in the isnād should themselves be Imāmīs. 'Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d.664/1266) says that were reliance on non-Shī'īs not prohibited, he would have quoted traditions transmitted by any Muslim known for his truthfulness (Falāḥ as-sā'il, Najaf 1965, pp.7-8). Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī and Imāmī scholars of subsequent generations had no qualms about quoting traditions transmitted by trustworthy persons, Imāmīs or otherwise; see Muḥammad Jawād Muḥniyya, "Al-'amal bi'l-ḥadīth wa-shurūṭihī 'inda 'l-imāmiyya", in Da'wat at-taqrīb, Cairo 1966, p.385.

² For whom see GALS, II, p.438.

³ The distinction between hating and vilifying was reportedly made by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz: when a man who had vilified 'Uthmān was brought before him he asked, "What made you vilify him?" The man answered, "I hate him"; to which 'Umar said, "If you hate a man, is that sufficient cause to vilify him?", and he ordered him to be flogged 30 times (Ibn Taymiyya, Aṣ-ṣārim al-maslūl, p.574; as-Subkī, As-sayf al-maslūl, f85a; cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, Tadhkira, f169a). The pro-Shī'ī traditionist Abū Sulaymān aḍ-Ḍabū'ī al-Baṣrī (d.178/794) is reported to have declared that he hated Abū Bakr and 'Umar but did not curse them. Ibn Ḥajar interprets this as meaning that Abū Sulaymān kept his beliefs to himself and did not attempt to win people over to his views (Tahdhīb II, p.97; cf. T. Andrae, Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde, Stockholm 1918, p.316).

⁴ 'Umdat at-tahqīq, p.122 (on margin).

attacking the Companions and of declaring that they apostatised after Muḥammad's death. In his view, holders of such beliefs deserve the death penalty since by attacking the Companions they also attack Muḥammad's sharī'a.¹ In a critique of Shī'i beliefs which the Sunnī theologian Mūsā Jār Allāh (d.1369/1949) addressed to the Shī'i 'ulamā' in an-Najaf² it is stated, "The spirit in the old and the new Shī'i books is alike; it consists of hostility towards the first generation, of cursing aṣ-Ṣiddīq and al-Fārūq (= Abū Bakr and 'Umar), and of declaring as unbelievers the entire Ṣaḥāba and the mothers of the faithful, especially 'Ā'isha and Ḥafṣa."

Finally, the position of many modern scholars is summed up by Goldziher, who states that the Shī'i attitude toward the Ṣaḥāba is marked by hatred, contempt and at times wild fanaticism, and "forms an outstanding peculiarity of the Shī'a in contrast to Sunnī Islam."³

To what extent can such statements be accepted as a genuine reflection of Imāmī thought? An attempt to discover the answer requires an examination of the Imāmī texts themselves. Following the discussion of Sunnī attitudes to the Companions, two major questions present themselves: do the Imāmīs consider the Companions as Muslims? and do they consider them as authorities? The answer to both questions is determined by two closely-related factors: firstly, the interpretation of the series of events which started with Muḥammad's death; secondly, the theory of the imamate. The Imāmī-Shī'i attitude to the Companions, as indeed to any other group or event in Islam,

¹ Daḥlān, op.cit., pp.35,46.

² Al-waṣhī'a fī naqd 'aḳā'id ash-shī'a, Najaf/Cairo 1935, p.fā'.

³ EI¹, I, p.478, s.v. "Aṣḥāb".

cannot be fully appreciated without a constant reference to the basic beliefs of the Shi'a, among which the doctrine of the imamate occupies a central position.

2. The Imāmi Theory of the Imamate

The Views of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam

The generation of the fifth Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d.117/735) and especially of his son and successor Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (d.148/765), who lived to witness the 'Abbāsid revolution, is probably the earliest period in which one can discern the rough outlines of what was to become Ithnā-'Asharī doctrine.¹ It is also the earliest period for which written evidence, probably authentic, has been preserved in the form of uṣūl.² In those years the various elements of the inchoate Imāmi theory of the imamate were crystallised into a coherent system by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq's young disciple.³ Hishām is praised by later Imāmīs as the man who "polished the [Imāmi] doctrine" and "rendered clear [notions about] the imamate"⁴ by a judicious use of the tools of kalām. These praises confirm that Hishām's importance derives from his putting together of ideas that had already become a part of the Shi'i heritage, rather than from his enunciation of any new doctrine.⁵

The theory of the imamate as it was formulated by

¹ The importance of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq has been demonstrated by Hodgson, "How did the early Shi'a become sectarian?", in JAOS 75, 1955, pp.1-13; but see al-Qāsim, p.46.

² See above, pp.ixff.

³ Cf. above, p.73.

⁴ Fatḥa 'l-kalām fi 'l-imāma (Ibn an-Nadīm, Kitāb al-fihrist, Leipzig 1871, p.175; aṭ-Ṭūsī, Fihrist, p.356).

⁵ Another early Imāmi theologian is Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ismā'il b. Shu'ayb b. Mitham at-Tammār, who is credited with being "the first to have engaged in theological discussions (awwal man takallama) according to the madhhab of the Imāmiyya" (aṭ-Ṭūsī, op.cit., p.212; see in general Iqbāl, op.cit., pp.75,76, 80-81).

Hishām may be briefly summarised as follows:¹ since the death of Muḥammad, the "seal of the Prophets", mankind has been in constant need of a guide who would lead it onto the right path and save it from error. Such a guide (or Imam), in order to fulfil this august mission, must be free from error, or else he might mislead others; he cannot commit sins, for sinning would render him unsuitable as an example to his followers. He is therefore ma'sūm--divinely protected from error and sin. Moreover, he must know the answers to all questions which might arise, most of which are mentioned neither in the Qur'ān nor in Muḥammad's sayings; hence he is endowed with a limitless knowledge ('ilm).² A person who combines in himself all these superhuman qualities cannot be discovered by ordinary mortals; no system of election (ikhtiyār) can select him. It is God who in His boundless mercy has appointed the Imam and his successors. God's will was conveyed to the community by an explicit, personal designation (nass jalī) announced by His apostle. The man thus appointed to become Muḥammad's successor and first Imam was 'Alī.³

¹ See in general the article "Hishām b. al-Ḥakam" by W. Madelung, in EI², III, p.497. Hishām's views are known from quotations by later authors. None of his writings seem to have survived. His work Ikhtilāf an-nās fi 'l-imāma probably served as the main source for an-Nawbakhtī's Firaq ash-shī'a; see W. Madelung, "Bemerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literatur", pp.40,43-44.

² On the nature of this knowledge cf. below, pp.262ff.

³ This exposition is typical of Imāmi-Shī'i thought in that it sees in the imamate an absolute necessity which can be proved logically, and which therefore belongs to the sphere of 'aqliyyāt. This view, shared by the Ismā'ilīs, is in opposition to the doctrine of the Sunnis, the later Zaydīs and most Mu'tazilīs, who teach that the obligatory nature of the imamate cannot be proved logically but is established in scriptural authority received ex auditu (sam'an). See 'Abd al-Jabbār, Al-mughnī, XX/i, p.38; Godziher, "Schī'itisches", in ZDMG 64, 1910, p.530; Strothmann, Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen, Strassburg 1912, pp.4,8; al-Qāsim, p.143; Gardet, Dieu et la destinée de l'homme, p.428. Some Mu'tazilīs argue that the necessity of the imamate can be proved both sam'an and 'aqīlān. See Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī,

Hishām's views were adopted by later Imāmī scholars, who added their own elaborations. The scriptural bases for this Imāmī theory are Quranic verses which are interpreted as referring to 'Alī, as well as traditions in which 'Alī's rights are defined. Such traditions are usually divided by the Imāmīs into those which include an explicit designation, and those which are to be interpreted as referring to 'Alī's rights to the imamate, even though this right is not explicitly mentioned. Traditions of the second kind belong within the category of implicit or concealed designation (nass khaffī); they often consist of accounts of 'Alī's virtues.¹ The most famous of the "explicit designation" traditions is known as Ghadīr Khumm, after a pool situated between Mecca and Medina at which the Prophet reportedly stopped on his way back from his last pilgrimage in the year 10/632.² In the presence of the many believers who had gathered there he is said to have raised 'Alī's hands, declaring, "Let whoever I have been a master to also accept 'Alī as his master."³ This tradition, which is prominently

Al-muḥaṣṣal, Cairo 1323H., p.176; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Hillī, Kitāb al-alfayn, Najaf 1969, p.19. This is also the view of the Imāmī Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī; see his Kitāb al-muqaddima fi 'l-kalām, ff22b-23a (in fact, no Imāmī would object in principle to this formulation). For a detailed argument between the Mu'tazilī 'Abd al-Jabbār, who sees the subject of the imamate as belonging to the ṣam'iyyāt, and ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā who defends the Imāmī line, see Al-mughnī, XX/1, pp.17-40, Shāfi, pp.2-24.

¹ It may be noted as a curiosity that isolated groups among the Imāmīs (shuḍḥdhādh min al-imāmiyya) in the 5th/11th century adopted the Zaydī view that 'Alī's imamate was sanctioned by a nass khaffī only; cf. Shāfi, p.114. For the Zaydī view see also below, p.344. Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, I'lām al-warā, p.163.

² According to some versions this happened four years earlier, during the time of the Ḥudaybiyya agreement; see the article "Ghadīr Khumm" by L. Veccia Vaglieri, in EI², II, pp.993-994.

³ Man kuntu mawlāhū fa-'Alī mawlāhū. The Sunnis argue that mawlā here means nothing more than "a friend" or "a helper", and that the entire tradition is therefore devoid of the significance which the Shī'īs wish to attach to it. See e.g. Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī, Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muhriqa, p.41. The Imāmī line is summarised by aṭ-Ṭūsī, Talkhīṣ ash-shāfi, Tehran 1884, pp.358-359.

quoted in every Shi'i manual of hadīth,¹ became in the Buwayhid period an object of special festivities (the 'īd al-ghadīr).²

The Place of the Walāya in Imāmi Doctrine

The fundamental significance of the imamate to Imāmi thought can be gauged by tracing the continuous efforts which were made to incorporate it among the "pillars" of Islam. The basic "technical" problem seems to have been that of fitting the principle of walāya (i.e. devotion to 'Alī and the other Imams)³ into the existing Sunni structure of five pillars, all of which were accepted by the Shi'a.⁴ This problem was tackled in various ways:

(i) One solution was to replace the "confession of faith" (shahāda), which was recognised in Sunni Islam as the first pillar, by the walāya. This is reported to have been done by the fifth Imam al-Bāqir who is quoted as declaring, "Islam is built on five [pillars]: prayer, alms-giving, the fast [of Ramaḍān], pilgrimage and walāya."⁵ Here walāya appears as the fifth pillar; its importance is underlined in some versions by the words attributed to al-Bāqir, "The walāya is the most

¹ See the voluminous compilation by 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad al-Amīnī, Al-ghadīr fi 'l-kitāb wa's-sunna wa'l-adab, Beirut 1967.

² See Goldziher, Muh.Stud., II, p.116; H. Busse, Chalif und Grosskönig--Die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055), Beirut 1969, p.423.

³ On walāya as distinct from wilāya cf. A.A. Fyzee's comments on Ibn Bābawayhi's Shi'ite Creed, London 1942, p.96, n.6 (where Ismā'īlī views on the subject are also presented). According to al-Majlisī (Bihār, XV/i, p.193) both wilāya and walāya are admissible readings when referring to the Imāmi "pillar".

⁴ On the development of the Sunni "pillars of Islam" see Wensinck, The Muslim creed, chapter 2. In the traditions quoted by al-Kulīnī in his Uṣūl al-kāfi the word used for pillars is da'ā'im, rather than arkān which is more frequently found in Sunni texts.

⁵ Al-'Ayyāshī, Tafsīr, f57a; al-Kulīnī, op.cit., II, p.18, cit. Bihār, loc.cit.; aṭṭūsī, Amālī, Najaf 1384H., I, p.124; cf. al-Barqī, Kitāb al-mahāsin, p.230; Ibn Bābawayhi, Amālī, Najaf 1970, p.237 (on the authority of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq).

excellent [of the pillars] since it is the key [to the rest of them]."¹ In some traditions the tendency to stress the central importance of the imamate is carried one step further by placing the walāya as the first pillar.² But the omission of the shahāda from the five pillars in order to accommodate the walāya was probably considered as an unsatisfactory and ultimately unacceptable proposition.

(ii) A second solution consisted of reducing the number of pillars to three. Thus Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is cited as author of the statement, "The three mainstays [lit. "the three stones supporting a cooking pot"] of Islam are prayer, alms-giving and walāya;³ each of them is valid only when [coupled] with the other two."⁴ But this formula, too, could not have been entirely satisfactory since it involved an arbitrary omission of the three remaining pillars.

(iii) Other formulas seem to have aimed at establishing the walāya among the pillars of Islam without, however, sacrificing any of the others. This was accomplished in one of two ways: by increasing by one the traditional number of five pillars in order to incorporate both the shahāda and the walāya within the articles of faith;⁵ or by amending the shahāda itself so that it should read, "I bear witness that there is no God but Allāh; I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Apostle of Allāh; I bear

¹ Al-Barqī (on the authority of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq), al-'Ayyāshī, al-Kulīnī, Bihār, loc.cit.

² Al-Kulīnī, op.cit., II, p.21 (on the authority of al-Bāqir).

³ Or, in a different version: confession of faith, alms-giving, walāya (ibid.).

⁴ Athāfi 'l-islām thalātha: aṣ-ṣalāt wa'z-zakāt wa'l-walāya, lā taṣihhu wāhida minhunna illā bi-ṣāhibatayhā (ibid., II, p.18; cf. also al-Barqī, loc.cit., on the authority of 'Alī).

⁵ See al-Barqī, op.cit., p.234; al-Kulīnī, op.cit., II, pp. 18,22; cf. also Ibn Bābawayhi, Al-hidāya, in Al-jawāmi' al-fiqhiyya, Tehran 1860, p.24b.

witness that 'Alī is the walī (friend) of Allāh."¹ This solution had the advantage of incorporating the principle of devotion to 'Alī while keeping to the original five pillars. Furthermore, since shahāda and walāya are declarations of faith, whereas the other arkān deal with works, it seems quite natural to combine shahāda and walāya in one "pillar". It is known that the formula 'Alī walī allāh' was engraved in coins printed in Mosul during the Buwayhid period.² The Imāmī 'Abd al-Jalīl b. Abī 'l-Ḥusayn al-Qazwīnī (d. c.586/1190) reports³ that the three-tenet shahāda was inscribed on the walls of the Ka'ba. It was officially adopted at the time of Ismā'īl I (907/1501 - 930/1524), the founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty.⁴ The central position of the imamate within the Imāmī faith was thus given a final stamp of approval. Its unparalleled importance is reflected in the view, attributed to the seventh Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d.183/799), that devotion to 'Alī (in addition to an acknowledgement of the shahādatān) is sufficient to guarantee forgiveness for all evil deeds. A loyal Shī'ī can never be

¹ J.N. Hollister, The Shī'a of India, London 1955, p.49, citing contemporary Ithnā-'Asharī practice. Although the three-tenet shahāda was condemned by Ibn Bābawayhi as an extremist policy (cf. J. Eliash, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in Ithnā-'Asharī Shī'ī belief' (unpublished) Ph.D. thesis, London 1966, pp.27-28) it seems to have had deep roots in Imāmī belief. In one tradition it is asserted that such a shahāda was proclaimed in this world immediately after its creation (see al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, p.441; cf. also id., Furū' al-kāfi, III, p.122). The following words, put in the mouth of the Prophet, may be seen as the Sunni reaction: "On the night in which I was transported [to Heaven] I saw on the Throne [the words], 'There is no God but Allāh, Muḥammad is His Apostle, Abū Bakr is aṣ-Ṣiddīq, 'Umar is al-Fārūq'" (as-Suyūfī, Al-la'ālī al-maṣnū'a, I, p.298; cf. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kāfi, Al-istighātha fī biḍa' ath-thalātha, f63a).

² Busse, op.cit., p.417.

³ Kitāb an-naqd, p.111.

⁴ See Ḥasan Rūmlū, Aḥsan at-tawārīkh, Baroda 1931, pp.60-61. For further details on the adoption of the three-tenet shahāda cf. Eliash, op.cit., Chapter 1; see also the revised version of that chapter, "On the genesis and development of the Twelver-Shī'ī three-tenet Shahādah," in Der Islam 47, 1971, pp.265-272.

considered as an evil sinner (fāsiq fājir); if he commits a grave crime he is referred to as evil in his actions but faithful in his heart.¹ Such a person may be punished before his death, but will die absolved of all sins and will benefit from the intercession of Muḥammad and the Imams on the Day of Judgment.²

3. The Imānī Attitude to 'Alī's Opponents

The Historical Background

The elevation of the principle of the walāya to the level of an essential element of faith was bound to focus attention on the problem of the status of those who refused to abide by it. The immediate and obvious solution is based on the assumption that a denial of the foundation upon which a doctrinal structure stands means a denial of that structure in its entirety. In other words, denial of the imamate of 'Alī and his descendants is tantamount to unbelief (kufṛ). This straightforward argument forms an essential part of Hishām's doctrine. Yet unlike other elements in his theory of the imamate, this particular aspect of it was subjected to considerable modifications, as it is hoped will be demonstrated in the following pages.³ First, however, it might be useful to attempt to point out very briefly some of the origins, in the years which preceded Hishām, of the idea that the Imam's enemies are unbelievers. The difficulties here, as in most endeavours to ascertain facts about the early stages of the

¹ Fājir al-'amal mu'min an-nafs khabīth al-fi'l ṭayyib ar-rūḥ wa'l-badan.

² Kitāb Zayd an-Narsī, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a, ff31a-32b. This view presupposes that belief in the heart is the most important element of faith; cf. below, pp. 100ff.

³ Below, pp. 109ff.

Islamic sects, are the scarcity of evidence and the often biased approach of later authors dealing with the subject. Hence only a very rough outline seems possible at present.

The battle of Šiffin and the ensuing rise to power of Mu'āwiya and the Umayyads left a bitter taste in the mouths of 'Alī's followers who refused to recognise the legitimacy of the new dynasty. The execution of the first Shi'i martyrs, Ḥujr b. 'Adī and his followers, by order of Mu'āwiya,¹ was followed during the reign of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya by the Karbalā' massacre (in 61/680). These actions raised Shi'i hatred of the Umayyads to a new pitch. At some stage in the early Umayyad period the belief in the justice of 'Alī's claims against Mu'āwiya must have been deepened into a conviction that 'Alī, as Muḥammad's kinsman, had been entitled by divine right to succeed to the caliphate immediately after the death of the Prophet, and not merely in the wake of 'Uthmān's murder. Whether such a view existed already during 'Alī's lifetime will probably never be known with any certainty. It is undoubtedly true, however, that in various Shi'i circles in the early Umayyad period the legitimacy of the rule of the first three caliphs, and not just of the Umayyads, was challenged. The rejection of their caliphate does not automatically mean that they are unbelievers. In order to prove their unbelief one would first have to show that opposition to 'Alī means opposition to Islam; and this was a tenet on which Shi'is were sharply divided at that time. Thus it is reported that the split between Zayd b. 'Alī and al-Bāqir was at least partially precipitated by Zayd's refusal to condemn Abū Bakr and 'Umar

¹ See below, pp.202, 259 n.9.

as unbelievers.¹ This split confirms that some Shī'īs were already firmly committed to the condemnation of the Shaykhān. Indeed, the famous poet Kuthayyir 'Azza (d.105/723), who was reputed to belong to the Kaysāniyya, dissociates himself in a poem from Ibn Arwā (-'Uthmān), from 'Umar and from 'Atīq (=Abū Bakr).²

A distinction seems to have been observed at first between those who actually usurped the power and the rest of the community. Hardly any of the early Shī'ī sects are on record as condemning the entire community.³ The claim that 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' was the first who publicly condemned and dissociated himself from the first three caliphs as well as from the entire Ṣaḥāba⁴ need not be taken at face value.⁵

¹ See aṭ-Ṭabarī, *op.cit.*, II, p.1700; Strothmann, *op.cit.*, pp.26-28; Van Arendonk, *op.cit.*, p.25; al-Qāsim, p.45.

² *Sharḥ diwān Kuthayyir*, Algiers 1928-30, I, p.269; al-Baghdādī, *Al-farq bayna 'l-firaq*, p.42; al-Marzubānī, *Akhbār shu'arā' ash-shī'a*, Najaf 1388H., p.64; *Darajāt*, p.589. Somewhat later examples are provided by some of the poems of the Kaysānī as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. c.173/789) (see the bibliography in Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Gāhiz*, Paris 1953, pp.202-205; cf. also al-Khayyāṭ, *op.cit.*, pp.103,107 (in his translation pp.129,135, Nader seems to have failed to identify the "as-Sayyid" of the text). Ibn Shahrāshūb (*Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'*, p.134) considers him as a disciple of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq). He is said to have called Abū Bakr and 'Umar "the two erring ones" (*al-ghawīyyān*) (see Van Arendonk, *op.cit.*, p.22; *Diwān as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī*, ed. Sh. H. Shukr, Beirut 1966, p.441), and is accused of having vilified the *ṣalaf* (the first generation) and Muḥammad's wives; cf. Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Cairo 1345-81H., VII, pp.229,237. According to al-Murtaḍā (*Shāfi*, pp.113-114), as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī in many of his verses mentions or at least alludes to an explicit and an implicit delegation for 'Alī (*kināya 'an an-naṣṣ al-jalī wa'l-khafī*).

³ One interesting exception is provided by the Kāmiliyya, on which cf. below, p.197, n.5.

⁴ See an-Nawbakhtī, *Kitāb firaq ash-shī'a*, p.19; Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh, *Kitāb al-maḡālāt wa'l-firaq*, p.20.

⁵ Cf. the article "'Abd Allāh b. Saba'" by M.G.S.Hodgson, in *EI*², I, p.51; and see below, p.206, n.4. As a counter-example to the views attributed to 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' one can cite the beliefs attributed to a certain "extremist" sect whose members followed 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya. They are reported to have given

Historically it would seem that the Khārijis preceded the Shi'is in condemning large sectors of the community (although they did so for altogether different reasons).¹

The transition from the phase of declaring the first three caliphs unbelievers to that of denouncing the entire community may have taken place during the later years of the Umayyad regime. With the emergence of an embryonic theory of the imamate it must have become clear that a rejection of the entire community was the logical outcome of the rejection of the first three caliphs, since it was with the support of the community that Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān came to power. The culmination of this phase can be seen in utterances such as the one attributed to al-Bāqir, "All the people apostatised after the Prophet (sc.died) except three (etc)."² Obviously, a community consisting of unbelievers cannot be accepted as an authority for Muḥammad's sayings. This led in turn to the development of an independent Shi'i legal system, based on the authority of the Imams.³

The fact that the original members of Muḥammad's community were becoming known in Sunnī Islam as Companions, with

themselves the names of various Companions and to have claimed that the souls of these Companions had transmigrated into their own bodies; see Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh, op.cit., p.48; an-Nawbakhtī, op.cit., p.35 (since these Companions are not identified by name, it is not inconceivable that only Companions who allegedly supported 'Alī are meant). The members of the Rizāmiyya sect are reported to have "attached themselves to earlier generations", which presumably means that they adopted a positive attitude towards the Companions; see al-Ash'arī, op.cit., p.22; cf. Tritton, op.cit., p.29.

¹ The Khārijī sect of the Azāriqa "recognized as believers only those who joined them in their camp . . . Those who 'sat still' and did not take part in the fighting were regarded as unbelievers even though in all other respects their views were those of the Azāriqah" (W. Montgomery Watt, "Khārijite thought in the Umayyad period", in Der Islam 36, 1961, p.220).

² For the references see below, p.228, n.3.

³ Cf. al-Qāsim, pp.46-47.

all the trappings of glory and authority which this term was gradually assuming, was not of any major doctrinal importance to the Imāmis. For them, 'Alī's opponents were in the same category as the opponents of any other Imam;¹ only the Sunnis stressed that those whom the Imāmis alleged to be 'Alī's opponents were in fact the venerated Companions. In Sunni circles the principle was laid down that to attack the Companions was to undermine an essential foundation of Islam; it was in answer to the charge implicit in this principle that the Imāmis had to elaborate their own theory about the precise place of the Companions in Islam. Their theory must therefore be viewed within its anti-Sunni polemical context.

The Polemical Background

The preliminary stage in the Imāmi theory is of necessity apologetic. It is designed to refute Ḥanbalī and Ash'arī claims that the Companions are beyond reproach. This is achieved by various methods, all of them aimed at showing that the Companions, like all other Muslims (with the exception of the Prophet and the Imams), belong to the category of normal, erring mortals. Four main methods may be discerned:

(a) Arguments from Quranic exegesis and from the Sīra

The most widely used approach consists of interpreting events during Muḥammad's lifetime which are echoed in the Qur'ān or in Tradition and which prove in the Imāmi view that at various stages many Companions disobeyed Muḥammad or revealed various defects of character.² The following are some examples

¹ It is no coincidence that in Imāmi traditions such as the one quoted above mention is made of the apostasy of "the people", rather than of the Companions.

² According to aṭ-Ṭabarsī (*I'lām al-warā*, Najaf 1970, p.158), all the Companions except 'Alī were often reproached by Muḥammad, either explicitly or implicitly (*immā taṣriḥan wa-immā talwīhan*). The various failings of the Companions (*mathālib aṣ-ṣaḥāba*)

from Imāmi traditions and Qur'ān exegesis:

(i) Some Companions urged Muḥammad, while he was still in Mecca, to declare war on the Qurayshīs, despite the Prophet's order to refrain from fighting at that stage. Yet after the emigration to Medina, when the Muslims were commanded to wage a holy war, they changed their minds and tried to put off the battle indefinitely. The Qur'ān says about them, "Have you not seen those to whom it was said, 'Restrain your hands [from battle] and perform the prayer and pay the alms'? Then, as soon as fighting was prescribed to them, there was a party of them fearing the people as [much as] they would fear God, or with an [even] greater fear. They say, 'Our Lord, why have you prescribed fighting for us? Why not give us respite yet a while?'"¹ Their dislike of the idea of a holy war made them oppose Muḥammad's plan to fight at Badr, as may be seen from the verse, "[You remember] how your Lord brought you forth from your house with the truth, while some of the believers were averse to it, and disputed with you concerning the truth after it had become clear, as though they were being driven into death with their eyes wide open."²

(ii) During the Battle of Badr (in 2/624) many Companions refused to slaughter the enemy and instead wished to set them free for a ransom. The Qur'ān says about them, "It is not for any Prophet to have prisoners [and to free them for a ransom] until he has made wide slaughter in the land. You desire the chance goods of the present world, but God desires [for you] the

formed the subject of a book attributed to Abū Muḥammad 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ṣāliḥ al-Azdī al-Kūfī (d.235/850); see adh-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, II, p.569, whence al-Mūsawī, *Kitāb al-murāja'āt*, p.110.

¹ *Qur'ān* 4/77(79); see al-Murtaḍā, *Kitāb at-ta'ajjub*, f261b.

² *Qur'ān* 8/5-6; see al-Murtaḍā, *loc.cit.*

world to come; and God is All-mighty, All-wise. Had it not been for a prior ordinance from God, an awful chastisement would have afflicted you, for what you took."¹

(iii) The preference of some Companions for worldly gains over prayer is recorded in the verse, "But when they see merchandise or [any other] diversion, they scatter off to it and leave you standing."² Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh³ is quoted as saying that that verse came down after the people who had been praying with Muḥammad on Friday rushed out when they heard of the arrival of a caravan, leaving only twelve Companions with Muḥammad.⁴

(iv) At the height of the Battle of Uḥud (in 3/625) the Prophet was forsaken by all save 'Alī and a few other Companions.⁵

(v) During the Battle of the Trenches (in 5/626-627) some Companions could not endure the hunger and the cold under conditions of siege and expressed their doubts concerning the promise of Allāh and His Apostle that the Muslims would emerge victorious. The Qur'ān says about them, "When they came against you from above you and below you, and when your eyes swerved and your hearts reached your throats, while you thought vain thoughts about God; there it was that the believers were tried, and shaken most mightily. And when the hypocrites, and those in whose hearts is sickness, said, 'God and His Apostle promised us only delusion'."⁶

¹ Qur'ān 8/67-68(68-69); see al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., f262a; cf. Sira pp.445-446,456; al-Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr, I, p.374.

² Qur'ān 62/11; see al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., f261b.

³ On whom cf. below, pp. 275ff.

⁴ Bihār, VI, p.684 (quoting from aṭ-Ṭabarsī).

⁵ See al-Iskāfī, Naqd al-'uthmāniyya (cf. above, p.51, n.4), p.339; 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummi, Tafsīr, Najaf 1386-7H., I, pp.113-116; cf. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., pp.158,192; al-Mūsawī, Al-fuṣṣal al-muḥimma, p.105.

⁶ Qur'ān 33/10-12; see al-Qummi, op.cit., II, p.186, cit. Bihār, VI, p.534; al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., f262a.

(vi) Many Companions, who had been certain that the conquest of Mecca was imminent, could not conceal their disappointment with the treaty which Muḥammad signed with the Meccans in 6/628.¹ 'Umar is reported to have been especially indignant, asking Abū Bakr, "Why should we agree to what is demeaning to our religion?"²

(vii) During the expedition against the Jews of Khaybar (in 7/628) many Companions turned back and fled from the battle, thus breaking the covenant with Muḥammad in which they had pledged to fight for Islam unto death.³ The Qur'ān says about them, "They had made covenant with God before that, that they would not turn their backs; and covenants with God must be answered for."⁴

(viii) The pagan Arabs had a great green tree called Dhāt Anwāt to which they used to come every year. They would hang their weapons on it, sacrifice beside it and devote themselves to it for a day. On the way to Ḥunayn some of the Companions asked Muḥammad to make them a similar tree. Muḥammad is reported to have reproached them for behaving like the Israelites who built the golden calf.⁵

¹ See Sīra, p.748; cf. al-Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr, II, pp.270-271 (ad Qur'ān 48/27).

² Sīra, p.747. According to Ibn Hishām (ibid) Abū Bakr advised 'Umar to rely on the Prophet's judgment; 'Umar later expressed regret for his outburst. Cf. also Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn, Damascus 1349H., pp.305-308; Bihār, VIII, p.279. Not surprisingly, in a Shī'ī version of those events 'Umar's remark is quoted as having been addressed to Muḥammad, not to Abū Bakr. He is quoted as saying that if he had forty men with him he would disobey Muḥammad; see al-Qummī, op.cit., II, pp.311-312 ('Umar is referred to as fulān; cf. below, p.213). According to a version recounted by Ibn Bābawayhi (in the (anonymous) Munāẓarat malik Rukn ad-Dawla ma'a 'ṣ-Ṣadūq, ff269a-269b), 'Umar and his followers did in fact attack the Qurayshīs, were roundly beaten and had to be rescued by 'Alī.

³ Cf. Sīra, p.746.

⁴ Qur'ān 33/15; see al-Murtadā, op.cit., f262a; (anonymous) Munāẓarat malik Rukn ad-Dawla ma'a 'ṣ-Ṣadūq, f269b.

⁵ See A.J. Wensinck and J.P. Mensing (ed.), Concordance et

(ix) During the Battle of Ḥunayn against the Hawāzin (in 8/629)¹ the Companions were put to flight and abandoned the Prophet; only 'Alī and nine (or seven) other Hāshimīs stayed with him. The Qur'ān says about this, "And on the day of Ḥunayn, when your multitude was pleasing to you, it availed you naught, and the land for all its breadth was strait for you, and you turned about, retreating."² After the battle some Companions argued with Muḥammad concerning the manner in which the spoils of war were to be distributed.³

(x) The ninth sūra, known as Sūrat barā'a, is also called al-Fāḍiḥa, "because it exposed the shameful acts of most Companions."⁴

The Imāmi argument is clear: if the Companions behaved in such reprehensible manner while Muḥammad was still alive, it is not surprising that they could relapse into grave sin or unbelief after his death.⁵

A somewhat different technique used by Imāmi polemicists consists of attempting to demolish Sunni interpretations of certain Quranic passages which are said to refer to the Companions. An example is Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī's commentary on the verse, "You are the best community that has been raised up

Indices de la tradition Musulmane, Leiden 1936-64, VII, p.39, s.v. nwt; Ibn al-Athīr, Jāmi' al-uṣūl, cit. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Nafas ar-raḥmān, p.76b; cf. Sīra, p.844.

¹ See Sīra, pp.840ff.

² Qur'ān 9/25; see al-Qummī, op.cit., I, pp.285-288, cit. Bihār, VI, p.608; al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., f262a.

³ See al-Mūsawī, op.cit., pp.110-112; cf. Wellhausen, Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, pp.15-16, with the references on p.16, n.2.

⁴ Al-Muḥaffar, Dalā'il aṣ-ṣidq, II, p.237. Al-Bayḍāwī (op.cit., I, p.376) explains that this term refers to the hypocrites (munāfiqūn) whose shameful acts are exposed.

⁵ See aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., p.76a. Most of the Quranic passages quoted above are also mentioned ibid., pp.75b-77b.

for mankind."¹ He rejects the Sunni interpretation of this verse as referring to the Muhājirūn, or to the Companions as a whole; instead he explains that the verse refers to those members of the community whose *essence* (*'isma*) has been proved.² Indeed, when the term *umma* is mentioned in the Qur'ān it is generally interpreted by Imāmi commentators as referring to 'Alī and his descendants, rather than to Muḥammad's community as a whole. One example is the expression *ummataṇ wasaṭaṇ*,³ variously translated as a "central", "just", "intermediate", or "moderate" (as opposed to "extremist") community. Al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭabarsī (d.548/1153) explains⁴ that this expression does not refer to every member of Muḥammad's community, but only to a particular group (*jamā'a*) in it. In a tradition which Sulaym b. Qays quotes from 'Alī, that group is identified as 'Alī and his descendants.⁵ A more radical method of reaching the same solution consists of contending that the correct, uncorrupted reading of the term in question is not *umma* but *a'imma*, the plural of *imām*. This method is often used by 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (d. c.307/919) in his *Tafsīr*.⁶

Imāmi commentators sometimes manage to imbue with a distinctly Imāmi colouring even those isolated Quranic passages in which the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār are specifically mentioned.⁷ Thus the Quranic reference to "those who led the way, the first

¹ *Qur'ān* 3/100(106).

² *At-tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Najaf 1376-83H., II, p.558.

³ *Qur'ān* 2/143 (137).

⁴ *Majma' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Beirut 1954-7, II, p.10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.11. See also al-Kulīnī, *op.cit.*, I, p.190, with ash-Shīrāzī's *Sharḥ*, p.243b.

⁶ See e.g. I, p.10, and in general Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, p.282.

⁷ See above, pp.2-3.

of the Muhājirūn, and the Anṣār"¹ is explained by 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī (d.352/963)² as referring not to Abū Bakr, 'Umar and their followers, but to the Banū Hāshim who moved out with the Prophet to the precincts of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and stayed there during the four-year siege which the Qurayshīs imposed on Muḥammad.³ That was the real first emigration (al-hijra al-ūlā).

(b) Arguments from ḥadīth

Imāmī traditionists assert that even Sunnis quote and accept traditions which speak of grave faults and sins of various Companions, and which prove that the theory of the 'adāla of the Companions as a whole does not hold water. One tradition often cited in this connection is quoted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās: "The Apostle said, '[on the Day of Judgement] men of my community will be brought forth and will be led to the left [i.e. to Hell]; and I will say, 'Oh my Lord, [these are] my Companions, my Companions!' And it will be said, 'you do not know what they have done since your death . . . they persisted in their apostasy after you left them' ".⁴ In a similar tradition Muḥammad is quoted as saying, "Men among my Companions will be driven back from my basin⁵ on the Day of Judgment, as strange camels are from the drinking place. I will say, 'Oh Lord, [these are] my Companions, my Companions!' I will be told, 'You do not know what they have done since your death'. They will be led to the left, and I will say,

¹ Qur'ān 9/100(101).

² Istighātha, f76a.

³ Cf. Sira, pp.230ff.

⁴ Wensinck, Concordance, III, p.182, s.v. shml. For a Sunni interpretation of that ḥadīth cf. below, p.204, n.1.

⁵ On the basin cf. the article "Ḥawḍ" by A.J.Wensinck, in EI², III, p.286.

'May they perish! may they be far off!'"¹ In another tradition of an eschatological nature Muḥammad is quoted on the authority of Umm Salama as declaring, "Among my Companions there are those who [after my death] will never see me [in Paradise] and whom I will never see after I die."²

A distinction is made between those Companions who died before, and those who died after, Muḥammad: in the Prophet's view, those already dead were more excellent than the ones still alive because the dead ones had not tarnished their faith with evil acts, whereas he did not know what sins the living Companions might commit after his death.³ In an eschatological Imāmī tradition related on the authority of 'Awf b. Mālik the Companions as a whole are placed on a lower rung than other Muslims: the Prophet is quoted as telling Abū Bakr and 'Umar that although they believed in him and emigrated with

¹ Ibn Bābawayhī, 'Uyūn akhbār ar-Riḍā, Qumm 1377H., II, p.87. See also Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, Kitāb al-fitan, cit. Ibn Ṭāwūs, Al-malāḥim wa'l-fitan, Najaf 1963, p.20 (on the authority of Abū Hurayra and al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī); an-Nu'mānī, Kitāb al-ghayba, Tehran 1318H., pp.20-21; Istighātha, f82a; al-Majlisī, Hayāt al-qulūb, Tehran 1377-8H., II, p.623. On the significance of the left as against the right side in Jewish and Islamic tradition see M. Plessner, "Ḥadashīm gam yeshanīm la-sūgiyya 'yamīn u-smōl'", in Studies of the Centre of Folklore Research, vol.I, Jerusalem 5730/1970, pp.259-274.

² Ibn Shayba as-Sadūsī (d.262/875), Musnad 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Beirut 1940, p.81; cf. also ibid., pp.75,77; al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., f261b; Shāfi, p.180. Ibn Qutayba argues (Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth, pp.233-235) that traditions of this nature refer only to a few Companions who apostatised after Muḥammad's death, such as 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn who joined the camp of Ṭulayḥa b. Khuwaylid (cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'riḥ, I, pp.1890-1). The Mālikī Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā ash-Shāṭibī (d.790/1388) explains this and similar traditions as referring to the "people of innovation" (ahl al-bida') who altered the Prophet's sunna and who are therefore not entitled to intercession by the Prophet, in accordance with the tradition, "My intercession on behalf of my community is permissible except (in the case of) an innovator" (Al-i'tisām, I, p.151; cf. ibid., I, pp.82, 160-161).

³ Abu 'l-Qāsim Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far Ibn Qūlawayhī (=Qūlūya) (d. 369/979) (Sezgin, I, p.544), Kāmil az-ziyāra, cit. Bihār, XXI, p.301.

him they are not as excellent as Muḥammad's brethren (ikhwān), i.e. the loyal Shī'is who would patiently await the coming of the Mahdī.¹ Elsewhere Muḥammad is quoted as informing his Companions that each of these loyal Shī'is would get a reward equalling that of fifty Companions.²

As in the case of Quranic exegesis so also in the field of hadīth the Imāmis do not content themselves with quoting traditions favourable to themselves, but attack those traditions quoted in defence of Sunnī arguments. The general Shī'i contention about pro-Ṣaḥāba traditions is that they were invented during the Umayyad period to curry favour with the anti-'Alid rulers.³ Mu'āwiya himself is said to have encouraged people to invent traditions in which the Companions would be extolled and the ahl al-bayt defamed.⁴

Among the traditions in praise of the Companions, the "lodestar tradition"⁵ comes in for particularly heavy attack. In his criticism of this tradition 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī argues⁶ that since the Prophet was addressing his Companions--and every Muslim addressed by Muḥammad was ipso facto a Companion--it is absurd to present him as referring to them in the third person and as urging them to follow their own example. Al-Murtaḍā⁷

¹ Al-Mufīd, Majālis, cit. Bihār, XIII, p.138.

² Bihār, XIII, pp.137-138 (quoting aṭ-Ṭūsī, Kitāb al-ghayba).

³ Ibn 'Arafa an-Niṣṭawayhi (d.323/935), Ta'rīkh, cit. Darajāt, p.8.

⁴ Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī (d. c.215/830 or 235/850), Kitāb al-aḥdāth, cit. Darajāt, pp.6-7, Ibn 'Aqīl, An-naṣā'ih al-kāfiya, pp.88-89; cf. also Murtaḍā Ḥasanī Ibn Dā'i, Kitāb tabṣirat al-'awāmm fī ma'rifat maqālāt al-anām, Tehran 1934, p.231; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., IV, pp.56-73; below, pp.201-202. For an Imāmī analysis of traditions in favour of the Ṣaḥāba which are acknowledged as authentic cf. below, pp.118-120.

⁵ See above, p.4.

⁶ Istighātha, f81b.

⁷ Shāfi, p.180, cit. Bihār, VII, p.34.

uses a different argument: in his view, if the tradition is authentic it would entail the infallibility of every single Companion--an impossibility, since some Companions are known to have sinned and disobeyed the Prophet and 'Alī; therefore the tradition must apply only to those Companions whose purity and infallibility are established, i.e. 'Alī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.¹ Moreover, the Companions disagreed and fought among themselves, so it is impossible to be led in the right path simply by following a Companion chosen at random.² Other traditions in favour of the Companions (faḍā'il) are interpreted as referring only to the believers among them, not to the hypocrites or the sinners who usurped the caliphate.³ Traditions about al-'ashara al-mubashsharūn⁴ are rejected as forgeries.⁵

(c) Linguistic arguments

Linguistic and logical arguments are adduced in support of the claim that there is nothing inherently special or virtuous in being a Companion. One of the earliest references to this question occurs in a discussion which allegedly

¹ Cf also below, pp.281-282. It is possible that al-Murtaḍā is repeating the arguments of his teacher al-Mufīd, who is credited with a treatise "On the meaning of the Prophet's words 'My Companions are like lodestars' (mas'ala fī ma'nā cawl an-nabī aṣḥābī ka'n-nujūm)" (an-Najāshī, op.cit., p.286).

² Al-Murtaḍā, Kitāb at-ta'ajjub, f262b; see also al-Muḥaqqiq ath-Thānī 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Alī, Nafahāt al-lāhūt, f270b (wa-hādha min al-aḥādīth al-bāṭila al-mufta'ala). Many Sunni traditionists are also known to have doubted the authenticity of this tradition; cf. above, p.4, n.2.

³ See al-Majlisī's commentary (Bihār, VI, p.745) on the tradition, "Blessed by those who saw me or saw those who saw me" (see above, p.5 with n.6). The eighth Imam ar-Riḍā reportedly accepted the validity of the "lodestar tradition", but insisted that it applied only to those Companions who had not altered or falsified Muḥammad's teachings; see Ibn Bābawayhi, op.cit., II, p.87.

⁴ Cf. above, p.17.

⁵ See Istighātha, ff71a-74b; cf. al-Ash'arī, op.cit., p.471.

took place between a Khārijī and Mu'min aṭ-Ṭāq.¹ The Khārijī mentioned as one of Abū Bakr's virtues the fact that he had been Muḥammad's companion in the cave on their way from Mecca to Medina;² in his reply Mu'min aṭ-Ṭāq quoted Quranic passages³ in which the word sāhib has either neutral or negative connotations. In other words, being a companion, of the Prophet or of anyone else, has no intrinsic positive value.⁴ The Imāmī 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī insists⁵ that a Companion, like any other Muslim, must distinguish himself by his acts and beliefs, not by having simply met Muḥammad. An anonymous Zaydī theologian takes this argument a step further by claiming that there is no obligation to honour Companions who veered from the teachings of Muḥammad;⁶ in fact, sins committed by Companions are more odious than those committed by others, since the Companions witnessed the signs and the miracles of Muḥammad so that they were bound to believe in him by necessity (darūra), whereas following generations had to base their belief on logical reasoning (nazar) only, so that their sins may be viewed with a greater leniency.⁷

The Ismā'īlīs, in conformity with their stress on the

¹ Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Nu'mān (nicknamed Shayṭān aṭ-Ṭāq by his opponents), a disciple of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq and one of the earliest Imāmī theologians (fl. middle 2nd/8th century); see Iqbāl, op.cit., pp.77-78, and the bibliography there.

² On this subject cf. below, pp.145-146.

³ E.g. Qur'ān 18/34(32), 81/22.

⁴ See al-Marzubānī, Akhbār shu'arā' ash-shī'a, pp.88-89. The same point is also made by 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī (Istighātha, f53b) and by al-Mufīd (as quoted by aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-iḥtijāj, Najaf 1350H., p.280). Cf. also aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Nafas ar-raḥmān, pp.75b-76a; al-Muḥaffar, Dalā'il aṣ-ṣidq, III/ii, p.11.

⁵ Kitāb an-naqd, pp.261-263.

⁶ Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., XX, p.18; Darajāt, p.17. Ibn 'Aqīl (op.cit., pp.158-189) adduces similar arguments, with the particular aim of showing that Mu'āwiya's shubha cannot be regarded as a virtue.

⁷ Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., XX p.22; Darajāt, p.20. Cf. below, pp.350-351.

bāṭin, differentiate between apparent and true companionship. Apparent companionship manifested in mere physical proximity is no virtue; only true companionship (ṣuhba ḥaqīqiyya) in thought and action is a praiseworthy attitude.¹

(d) Quotations from non-Imāmī sources.

The Imāmīs can often buttress their case by quoting non-Imāmī views which accord with their own. This is not a difficult task, considering the variety of views in Sunni Islam on the 'adāla of the Companions.² The arguments of the Mu'tazilī an-Naẓẓām, who rejects the authority of the Companions, are cited approvingly;³ later Imāmīs quote at-Taftāzānī's views on the Companions;⁴ and among modern Imāmīs Sharaf ad-Dīn al-Mūsawī (b. 1290/1873) has been able to compile a whole book on Abū Hurayra⁵ in which almost all the derogatory notices on this Companion are culled from Sunni sources.⁶

The Theological Background

Having established their case against the alleged inherent virtue of the Companions, the Imāmīs could proceed to give their own analysis of the position of the Companions. It has been shown⁷ that in the circles of al-Bāqir and aṣ-Ṣādiq the belief in the apostasy of the Ṣaḥāba was a logical conclusion from the theory of the imamate. Apostasy, however, is a term

¹ See al-Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, Ta'wīl ad-da'ā'im, Cairo 1967, p.70; cf. also below, p.282, n.5.

² Cf. above, pp.6ff.

³ Cf. above, pp.63ff.

⁴ See above, p.14, with n.1.

⁵ Abū Hurayra, Ṣayda c.1953.

⁶ In a similar manner Ḥāshim Ma'rūf al-Ḥusaynī has collected in his Dirāsāt fi 'l-kāfi li'l-Kulīnī wa's-ṣaḥīḥ li'l-Bukhārī, Ṣūr 1388H., pp.65ff, various arguments against the 'adāla of the Companions, taken mainly from Sunni sources.

⁷ Above, pp.84,87.

fraught with legal and religious connotations, to which subsequent generations of Imāmi scholars had to turn their attention.¹ There are other ways in which the state of belief or unbelief of the Companions is expressed. For example, al-Bāqir is quoted as declaring, "When the Apostle of God died all the people reverted to the customs of the jāhiliyya except four (etc.)."² The people are also said to have perished (halaka),³ passed away (dhahaba),⁴ and so on. These are vivid, plastic images with which to describe the sin attributed to Muḥammad's community. Yet these images do not always possess a precise theological meaning and may reflect a less sophisticated stage of scholastic terminology. The discussions about the nature of faith and unbelief in Murji'i, Mu'tazili and Sunni circles in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries were the main factor which induced Imāmi theologians to express their views with greater precision. By the beginning of the 4th/10th century, a clearer picture of the Imāmi thought on the subject may be discerned. Before discussing the Imāmi verdict on the Companions as it emerged at that period it will be useful to analyse briefly their views on the meaning of faith and unbelief, since these views had a direct bearing on their attitude towards the Companions.

(a) Imān and Islam

In Sunni Islam, two opposing doctrines concerning faith (imān) exist side by side: the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī line

¹ Cf. below, pp.117ff, 128-129.

² Rawḍa, p.296; see below, p.228.

³ Al-Mufīd, Kitāb al-ikhtisās, Tehran 1960, p.6. Halaka here has the meaning of spiritual perdition which does not leave any hope.

⁴ Al-Kulīnī, Uṣūl al-kāfi, II, p.244; al-Kishshī, Kitāb ar-rijāl, p.13.

whose proponents define imān as inner knowledge or assent (taṣḍīq)¹ and verbal confession (qawl, shahāda) to the exclusion of works (a'māl), and the Ḥanbalī-Ash'arī view according to which imān consists of works, assent and verbal confession.² Faith for the Mu'tazilīs consisted of works performed with the right intention; their rationalistic tendencies induced them to include knowledge as well in their definition of faith, albeit in a secondary position.³ According to al-Ash'arī⁴ there existed among Shī'īs three views concerning the nature of faith: most argued that imān consisted of knowledge (ma'rifa) of God, His Apostle and the Imam (sc. of every generation) and a verbal confession of that knowledge; others, described by al-Ash'arī as belonging to his own generation, claimed that faith consisted of the sum total of pious deeds (ṭā'āt);⁵ the third group, defined as the disciples of 'Alī b. Mitham at-Tammār,⁶ maintained that faith consisted of inner knowledge, verbal confession and pious deeds. It seems that various definitions of faith continued to coexist within Imāmī-Shī'ism well

¹ For a discussion of the meanings which the term taṣḍīq acquired in Muslim theology cf. Van Ess, Die Erkenntnislehre des 'Adudaddīn al-Īcī, p.112; W.C. Smith, "Taṣḍīq in Islamic theology", a communication read at the Harvard meeting in honour of Prof. H.A. Wolfson, April 1971 (to be published).

² See L. Gardet, "Le problème de la foi et des oeuvres en Islam", in SI 5, 1956, pp.62-78; W. Madelung, "Early Sunnī doctrine concerning faith as reflected in the Kitāb al-imān by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d.224/839)", in SI 32, 1970, p.233; cf. Goldziher, Die Zāhiriten, p.126.

³ See Wensinck, The Muslim creed, p.135; Gardet, op.cit., pp. 70-71. On this question an-Nāshī' al-Akbar held views which differed from those of other Mu'tazilīs; he argued that imān was identical with taṣḍīq and included neither knowledge (ma'rifa) nor works (a'māl al-jawāriḥ). See Van Ess, Frühe Mu'tazilitische Häresiographie, pp.139ff.

⁴ Maqālāt, pp.53-54.

⁵ Since this is also a common Mu'tazilī formulation, al-Ash'arī evidently means the group of which he says elsewhere that they combined the doctrine of i'tizāl and imāna. Cf. ibid., p.47; Madelung, "Imāmism and Mu'tazilite theology", p.14.

⁶ Cf. above, p.78, n.5.

after al-Ash'arī's time: while Ibn Bābawayhi (d.381/991) adopted the view of al-Ash'arī's third group, which is very close to the Ḥanbalī-Ash'arī line,¹ Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) believed that faith comprises knowledge in the heart (taṣdīq); works (af'āl al-jawāriḥ), though obligatory, do not form part of faith.² This is similar to the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī line. The Imāmis are united, however, in their view that true knowledge (ma'rifa) of God--which is essential to faith--consists of an inner belief and acceptance of God, of the Prophet and of the Imams.³

Unlike the Mu'tazilīs and most Ḥanafīs, and similarly to most Ḥanbalīs and Ash'arīs, the Imāmis distinguish between imān and Islam. Their doctrine on this question is summarised by the words attributed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, "imān includes Islam, but Islam does not include imān."⁴ But there is no agreement among Imāmī scholars as to what precisely constitutes the difference between a Muslim and a mu'min. Al-Ash'arī⁵ quotes the view of the majority of the Shī'a (jumhūr ash-shī'a) as being that whereas faith consists of the knowledge of God, of His Apostle and of the Imams and of verbal confession of that knowledge, Islam consists of verbal confession without knowledge. One possible interpretation of this statement is that belief in the Imams by verbal confession is a prerequisite not only for a believer but even for a Muslim. He who denies the imamate

¹ See Ibn Bābawayhi, Al-hidāya, p.24a; Madelung, "Early Sunni doctrine", p.254.

² At-tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān, II, pp.418-419.

³ Al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, p.180.

⁴ Ibid., II, p.25; cf. al-Mufīd, Awā'il al-maqālāt, p.15; Mirzā Makhdūm, op.cit., ff11a-12b. For the Ash'arī view cf. al-Bāqillānī's statement (Kitāb at-tamhīd, Beirut 1957, p.347), "Every imān is Islam, but not every Islam is imān".

⁵ Maqālāt, p.53.

cannot be considered a Muslim. This is in line with what is known about the doctrine of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, as well as with the position of the walāya as the most important of the pillars of Islam.¹ Such a view is reflected in the words attributed to the Prophet, "Those who abandon the walāya for 'Alī and die in that state have left Islam."² Yet the "verbal confession without knowledge" which al-Ash'arī mentions could also refer to the two-tenet shahāda, which in Islamic law was generally accepted as the basis for considering someone a Muslim. If this is the case, then according to the jumhūr ash-shī'a it is possible to be a Muslim even without believing in the Imams.

Ibn Bābawayhi seems to advocate a somewhat different approach. He defines Islam, on the basis of an Imāmī tradition, as an acknowledgement of God's unity and Muḥammad's prophethood (al-igrār bi'sh-shahādatayn), whereas imān involves an "affirmation by the tongue, belief in the heart, and work of the limbs."³ What is striking about this definition is that belief in the Imams is not mentioned at all as a prerequisite for either Islam or imān. The probable explanation for this omission is that for Ibn Bābawayhi acknowledgement of Muḥammad's prophethood implies acceptance of his message, and this in turn means an acknowledgement of his descendants the Imams.

The distinction imān/Islam assumes universal proportions in a saying ascribed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, according to which the world is divided into a dār al-imān, dār al-islām and dār al-kufr.⁴ This essentially Imāmī idea recurs in al-Mufīd's

¹ See above, pp. 81-83.

² At-tārikūn walāyat 'Alī khārijūn min al-islām man māta minhū 'alā dhālika (Kitāb Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Shurayḥ al-Ḥaḍramī, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a, f36a).

³ Al-hidāya, loc.cit. See also al-Kulīnī, op.cit., II, p.24.

⁴ Al-Kulīnī, op.cit., II, p.27.

writings, with the possible difference that the aforementioned saying refers largely to different spiritual states,¹ while al-Mufīd seems to be thinking in legal terms of the kind which Sunni jurists used when they divided the world into a dār al-islām and a dār al-ḥarb. Al-Mufīd speaks of the dār al-islām, which comprises the area under Muslim, non-Imāmī control, and of the dār al-imān, which comprises the area where the Imāmī faith prevails; both are set against the dār al-ḥarb, which comprises the area under the control of the infidels.² The significance of this tripartite division lies in the clear distinction which is made not just between a mu'min—that is, an Ithnā-'Asharī Shī'i--and a Muslim, but also between a Muslim --that is, a person who accepts the shahādātān--and a non-Muslim.

The problem of separating mu'min from Muslim continued to occupy the minds of Imāmī theologians in later generations. Some admitted that an inferior form of imān was possible without walāya, but considered that devotion to the Imam was a necessary precondition for true faith (al-imān al-ḥaqīqī).³ The modern Imāmī theologian Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (d.1373/1954), anxious not to ruffle Sunni sensibilities, says that he who believes in the imamate is a "believer in the strict sense" (mu'min bi'l-ma'na 'l-akḥṣṣ), while all other Muslims are "believer(s) in the broad sense" (mu'min bi'l-ma'na 'l-'āmm).⁴

¹ Thus a mu'min who has sinned and been lowered to the level of a Muslim may return to the dār al-imān upon repentance (ibid.).

² Awā'il al-maqālāt, pp.70-71.

³ See ash-Shīrāzī, Sharḥ uṣūl al-kāfi, p.240b. Ash-Shīrāzī explains (ibid., pp.241a-241b) that not everyone has the intellectual faculties required for a true knowledge of God--part of which consists of a true knowledge of the Imams. To demand true faith of the ignorant means imposing on him an obligation which it is beyond his power to fulfil (taklīf mā lā yuṭāq), and that is an injustice which may not be predicated of God.

⁴ Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', Aṣl ash-shī'a wa-uṣūluhā, Najaf 1950, p.98.

This is of course a much more moderate attitude than that of al-Kulīnī and his contemporaries.

(b) Kufr

Closely linked with the definitions of īmān and Islam are Imāmī attempts to analyse a concept diametrically opposed to both--that of unbelief (kufr). In an utterance ascribed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, five kinds of unbelief are said to be mentioned in the Qur'ān: unbelief by a denial of God's existence (kufr al-juhūd), either (i) out of ignorance of His existence or (ii) despite knowing that He exists ('alā ma'rifa); (iii) unbelief resulting out of ingratitude for favours bestowed (kufr an-ni'am or an-ni'ma); (iv) unbelief by failing to obey God's commands (al-kufr bi-tark mā amara 'llāh); (v) unbelief by dissociation (kufr al-barā'a), of which Iblīs was guilty when he dissociated himself from mankind by refusing to bow to Adam.¹ According to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, the unbeliever will go to eternal hell-fire; his only hope of salvation lies in repentance with the aid of which he returns to the fold of Islam (though not to īmān) and is spared severe punishment after death.²

(c) Intermediate stages

Judging by the five-fold division of unbelief attributed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, the kufr al-juhūd applies both to him who is ignorant of God's existence and to him who wilfully denies His existence despite his knowledge to the contrary. Since knowledge (ma'rifa) of God also means for the Imāmīs

¹ Al-Kulīnī, op.cit., II, pp.389-391; cf. al-'Ayyāshī, op.cit., f10a; an-Nu'mānī, Tafsīr (on this work cf. Dharī'a, IV, p.318), cit. Bihār, XV/iii, pp.6-7.

² Al-Kulīnī, op.cit., II, p.280. For Imāmī views on the believer who turned kāfir and died in the state of unbelief cf. below, pp.194-195.

knowledge of His Apostle and His Imams,¹ he who denies the imamate of 'Alī and his descendants, out of ignorance or design, is by definition an unbeliever.² Taken literally this would mean that all non-Imāmis are deprived not only of imān but also of Islam. Yet such a conclusion is incompatible with the clear distinction, made by al-Mufīd and others, between a non-Imāmi Muslim and a non-Muslim. This distinction had to be emphasised not only for theoretical, but also for political, reasons: after all, the Imāmi leadership must have been very conscious of the dangers inherent in the public adoption of extreme doctrinal positions, especially in areas under Sunni control. Hence the increasing interest which Imāmi doctors showed in solutions which would combine the basic belief in the principle of walāya with a less rigid attitude towards those who do not adhere to it. Of the various formulas which were worked out, two in particular are relevant to the discussion here:

(1) It is possible to be ignorant of the Imam for reasons which are unconnected with spite or malevolence. Persons belonging to this group are like travellers who have lost their way and must await the light of knowledge to shine and guide them on;³ they are the "erring ones" (dullāl, pl. of dāl). It is related

¹ See above, pp.101-103.

² This is the view expressed in many Shi'i traditions. The Prophet is quoted as declaring, "He who denies 'Alī his imamate after me has denied my prophethood (nubuwwa); and he who denies my prophethood has denied Allāh His divinity" (Ibn Bābawayhi, A Shi'ite creed, London 1942, p.107 (with slight alterations of Pyzee's translation)). Al-Murtadā stresses in his Ar-risāla al-bāhira fī faḍl al-'itra aṭ-ṭāhira (cf. Dhari'a, III, p.15) that of all the prophets only Muḥammad occupies the same rank as the Imams in that knowledge (ma'rifa) of him, as of them, is equivalent to the knowledge of God and is essential both to Islam and to imān, while ignorance (jahl) and doubt concerning them are tantamount to ignorance and doubt concerning God and constitute "unbelief and abandoning of faith" (kufr wa-khurūj min al-imān) (cit. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-iḥtijāj, p.282).

³ See ash-Shīrāzi, op.cit., p.241b.

on the authority of Sulaym b. Qays that 'Alī placed the dāll in a separate category lying between faith and unbelief and characterised among other things by ignorance of God's Proof (hujja, i.e. the Imam).¹ The same idea recurs in a saying attributed to al-Bāqir: "God has raised 'Alī as a way-mark between Himself and His creatures; whoever knows him [i.e. 'Alī] is a believer, whoever denies him is an unbeliever and whoever is ignorant of him is erring."² Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is said to have described the dullāl as "neither believers nor unbelievers nor polytheists."³ Al-Bāqir is said to have adopted the Murji'ī view on the dullāl by maintaining that it is God alone who would decide their fate in the next world.⁴ The state of dalāl is one in which a person may find himself without being conscious of it; it may be called a "passive" condition in that it involves a lack of the element of knowledge which is a constitutive part of faith, rather than any action on the part of the dāll.

(ii) Dalāl is not the only state which may be characterised as belonging to the no-man's-land between faith and unbelief. Another important term in this connection is nifāq, usually translated as "hypocrisy". In Imāmī literature it is often reserved specifically for those who did not follow Muḥammad on the matter

¹ Al-Kulīnī, op.cit., II, p.415.

² Inna 'llāh 'azza wa-jalla naṣaba 'Aliyyan 'alaman baynahū wa-bayna khalqihī fa-man 'arafahū kāna mu'minan wa-man ankarahū kāna kāfiran wa-man jahilahū kāna dāllan (Ibid., I, p.437; see also ibid., I, p.187).

³ Kānū dullālan kānū lā mu'minin wa-lā kāfirin wa-lā mushrikīn (al-'Ayyāshī, op.cit., f29a).

⁴ Al-Kulīnī, op.cit., II, p.403. Cf. also the statement ascribed to him, "'Alī is a door which God has opened. Whoever enters it is a believer and whoever leaves it is an unbeliever. Whoever neither enters nor leaves it belongs to the group about which God has said, 'Their fate will be decided by my will'" (Ibid., I, p.437).

of devotion to his legatee 'Alī;¹ it is said that the munāfiqūn could be identified during Muḥammad's lifetime only by their hatred of 'Alī.² They are described in a letter attributed to Mūsā al-Kāẓim as "neither unbelievers, nor believers, nor Muslims. They make an outward show of faith (yuzhirūna 'l-imān) but eventually reach the stage of unbelief and denial."³ From this definition it would seem that a munāfiq

¹ Ibid., I, p.432.

² Darajāt, p.284 (Ascribed to al-Bāqir). Cf. also below, pp.135-136.

³ Al-Kulīnī, op.cit., II, p.395. This definition raises the issue of the correspondence between the name by which a person is described and the legal status of that person in the community. This problem, known to theologians as al-asmā' wa'l-aḥkām, goes back to debates in early Islam on the subject of whether or not the grave sinner (ṣāhib al-kabīra) should be considered a believer (mu'min). The Khārijīs maintained that such a person was an unbeliever; the Murjī'is argued that he was a believer, and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī declared that such a person was a munāfiq. Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā', in refuting these views, argued that belief was divided into theory and practice, so that one could have knowledge and be a sinner at the same time; he described that state as al-manzila bayna 'l-manzilatayn. See Ibn an-Nadīm, in A.J. Arberry, "New Material on the Kitāb al-fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm", in I.R.A. Miscellany, Oxford Univ. Press 1949, p.30; ash-Shahrastānī, Al-milal, I, p.33; the article "Fāsiq" by L. Gardet, in EI², II, pp.833-834; al-Qāsim, pp.10-13. The sinning believer, who still belongs within the community, was later termed a fāsiq millī (cf. the views of al-Jubbā'ī as presented by al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt, pp.529-530). The Ash'aris argue that a fāsiq millī is a believer since there is no contradiction between sin and belief. Belief is in the heart, and sin is in the limbs (jawāriḥ), i.e. in action (see al-Bāqillānī, At-tamhīd, p.349). The Imāmī position, as described by al-Mufīd (Awā'il al-maqālāt, p.60), is that grave sinners (murtakibū 'l-kabā'ir) are believers because they believe in God and His Apostle and fāsiqūn because of their sins. They are called neither by the name of fisq nor of imān separately, but by both together; they are however called by the name of islām. Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī on the other hand, argues (Anwār al-malakūt fī sharḥ al-yāqūt, Tehran 1959, pp.179-180) that a sinning believer (mu'min fāsiq) is still a believer. According to aṭ-Ṭūsī (Al-khulāṣa fī 'l-kalām, ff24a-24b), the fāsiq who repents before his death is forgiven by God. If he does not repent and does not benefit from God's mercy he will suffer for his sins but will then go to Paradise. This view, which aṭ-Ṭūsī attributes to the ahl at-tafḍīl, reflects the consensus of the Imāmiyya; it is in contrast to the view of the ahl al-wa'id who condemned the unrepentant sinner to eternal damnation (and whose doctrine aṭ-Ṭūsī himself is reported to have upheld at first; cf. Madelung, "Imāmism and Mu'tazilite theology", p.28, n.1) as well as to the view of the proponents of the ihbāt theory, dealing with the mutual cancellation of good and evil acts (cf below, p.121, n.3).

comes as close to an unbeliever as it is possible to be without actually being called one.¹

Although a munāfiq is worse than a dāll in that he deliberately disobeyed Muḥammed when ordered to follow 'Alī, he is still not as evil as he who actively fought 'Alī and attempted to achieve his overthrow by violent means. In Sunni Islam the imamate is not an essential part of faith; he who rises against a lawful Imam, though a rebel, is still considered a Muslim. For an Imāmī, however, fighting against the Imam is the ultimate sign of unbelief. From the historical point of view, an uprising against an Imam means an uprising against 'Alī, since he was the only Imam to reach a position of power. All the discussions concerning opposition to the Imam, while theoretically applicable to any of the Imams, are primarily to be seen in terms of the Imāmī interpretation of events during 'Alī's reign.²

(d) Application to the Companions

The Ṣaḥāba are the first generation to whom the entire theoretical structure of belief and unbelief could be applied. The divergent views of early Imāmī theologians on that subject are reflected in their various verdicts on the Companions. The "maximalist" position is that Muḥammad's community apostatised en masse;³ a slight variation thereof consists of the claim that while the Companions committed apostasy by rejecting 'Alī, they retained a formal membership in Islam by not abandoning

¹ For further intermediate stages between belief and unbelief cf. al-Kulīnī, op.cit., II, pp.404-406 (bāb al-mustaḍ'af), 407 (bāb al-murjūn li-amr allāh), 408 (bāb aṣḥāb al-a'rāf); al-'Ayyāshī, op.cit., ff153b-154a.

² Cf below, pp.172ff.

³ See above, pp.99-100.

Muhammad's message, and may therefore not be regarded as unbelievers "in the sense of polytheism."¹ When al-Bāqir was asked why 'Alī did not call for active opposition to Abū Bakr he reportedly answered, "He preferred that they should be erring [persons] who did not forsake Islam rather than that he should call upon them and that they should refuse him and thereby become unbelievers."² In his commentary on al-Kulīnī's Rawḍa al-Majlisī explains³ that the reason 'Alī did not call on the people to give him the oath of allegiance was to prevent them from apostatising, i.e. abandoning the outward signs of Islam (the ẓāhir al-islām), manifested in the acknowledgement of the shahādātān; it was in the interests of the community that they should remain outwardly Muslims so that they might later acknowledge the truth and re-enter imān.⁴

A further distinction between apparent and real faith is made by 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qumī⁵ in his commentary on the verse, "Believers, why do you profess that which you do not practise?"⁶ He says, "[This is] addressed to the Companions of the

¹ Al-Muẓaffar, op.cit., II, p.275, III/ii, p.11. The author does not seem to be entirely consistent: in one passage he agrees with his Sunni adversary (al-Faḍl b. Rūzbihān) that most Companions are praiseworthy since they are the "pillars of faith", and states that the ones who are condemned are only those who apostatised after Muhammad's death--the implication being that such apostates are in the minority (ibid., I, p.81). But later he asks, "How can one say this[i.e. words of praise] about them, when they have fallen back into apostasy, and when they are all in the Fire, and only [a very small number among them] like untended camels will be saved?" (Ibid., II, p.41).

² Inna 'Aliyyan lam yamna'hū min an yad'uwa 'n-nās ilā nafsihī illā annahum an yakūnū ḡullālan lā yarjī'ūna 'an al-islām aḥabb ilayhī min an yad'uwahum fa-ya'baw 'alayhī fa-yaṣīrūna kuffāran kulluhum (Ibn Bābawayhī, 'Ilal ash-sharā'i', p.150).

³ Mir'āt al-'uqūl, cit. Rawḍa, p.296, n.1.

⁴ Both this and the former (note 2) argument form part of the Imāmī apologia for 'Alī's inactivity; cf. below, pp.196-197.

⁵ Tafsīr, II, p.365.

⁶ Qur'ān 61/2. In Sunni exegesis this verse is usually interpreted as referring to the Muslims who turned their backs to the enemy at Uhud; see e.g. al-Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr, II, p.330.

Apostle of God who promised that they would support him, would not disobey his orders and would not break his covenant with the Commander of the Faithful; [but] God knew that they would not keep their word . . . God called them believers because they acknowledged [verbally], even though they did not assent [in their hearts]."¹ This comes very close to the Imāmi definition of a munāfiq.²

4. Mu'tazilism and the Imāmi Attitude to the Companions

The more radical views, according to which the Companions were either apostates or at least qullāl or munāfiqūn, were held chiefly by those Imāmis who laid stress on the doctrinal importance of individual traditions.³ At the same time, a more moderate approach to the question of the Companions was gradually gaining ground in official Imāmi thinking. This is linked to the increasing interaction between Mu'tazilism and Shi'ism in the 4th/10th century--a significant process which has attracted the attention of scholars.⁴ A few observations of a general nature on the subject will be made here, which are relevant in the context of the present study.

¹ Wa-qad sammāhum allāh mu'minīn bi-igrārihim wa-in lam yuṣaddiqū.

² In his answer to al-Ḥillī's polemical exposition of the Imāmi faith in the Minhāj al-karāma, Ibn Taymiyya strongly attacks the Imāmi concept of nifāq and argues that the Companions, who were the most venerable among the believers, could not possibly have belonged to that category; the munāfiqūn mentioned in the Qur'ān are neither believers (mu'minūn) nor do they belong to the "people of the book" (ahl al-kitāb). Ibn Taymiyya declares that the Rāfiḍa are true munāfiqūn since by their profession of taqiyya they "say with their tongues that which is not in their hearts." See Minhāj as-sunna, II, pp.29-32.

³ Cf below, p.123.

⁴ The best recent study on the subject is Madelung's article "Imāmism and Mu'tazilite theology" (cf. above, p.47, n.1).

Preliminary Remarks

Both Imāmis and Mu'tazilis held some basic and some secondary beliefs. The basic beliefs are those without which one cannot be considered a member of a particular group or sect. Thus a Mu'tazili is sometimes defined as a person who adheres to the five principal tenets of Mu'tazilism known as al-uṣūl al-khamṣa, while an Imāmi Shī'i is one who believes in the imamate of 'Alī and the descending line of Imams which ends with the twelfth hidden Imam. But what is basic to the one may be secondary to the other. For example: in early Mu'tazilism the theory of the imamate was much debated and numerous, often widely divergent, views were admitted, including a belief--which to Imāmi ears was pure heresy--that under certain circumstances no Imam was needed at all.¹ Similarly, whereas the Imāmis regarded the belief in 'Alī's superiority to all other Companions as absolutely essential, the Mu'tazilis could afford to differ on that question: while most Baghdādī Mu'tazilis accepted the Imāmi view, many Baṣris argued, with the Sunnis, that Abū Bakr was the best Companion.² Conversely, some early Imāmis held anthropomorphic views about God for which they were attacked by fellow Imāmis holding opposing views on that subject;³ such a debate could not have taken place among the Mu'tazilis, who were united in their opposition to anthropomorphism.

It follows from this that Mu'tazilis and Shī'is could only hope to influence one another in spheres which did not infringe upon their respective fundamental beliefs. This is indeed the process which can be observed in the slow and only

¹ See above, p.58, with n.1.

² See above, p.48.

³ Cf. above, p.74, n.4.

partial convergence of views covering roughly the period between 260/874-447/1055 (the dates of the disappearance of the twelfth Imam and the downfall of the Buwayhids, respectively). Imāmi influence on the Mu'tazila may be detected in the fact that later Mu'tazilis accepted to a greater degree than early ones the belief in the superiority of 'Alī to other Companions.¹ The Mu'tazilī influence on the Imāmiyya is more striking. Not only did the Imāmis adopt Mu'tazilī concepts about God's unity and justice, to the extent of calling themselves al-'adliyya;² they were also profoundly affected by the Mu'tazilī stress on rational investigation. From the 4th/10th century onwards a noticeable shift can be observed in the methods by which Imāmi theoreticians demonstrate the validity of their doctrine: the former exclusive reliance on relevant Quranic passages, authenticated traditions and utterances of the Imams gives way to an increasing emphasis on reasoning. The scepticism of some Mu'tazilis--notably an-Naẓẓām--concerning the validity of individual traditions as a source of authority³ is perhaps reflected in the relatively restricted reliance on tradition by the Imāmi Mujtahidūn (or Uṣūliyyūn), to whom reference will be made later.⁴

Official Imāmi Doctrine on the Companions

It is now possible to turn to the question of the impact of Mu'tazilī thought on the Imāmi attitude to the

¹ Cf. above, pp.47ff.

² See the references to the 'adliyya and the ahl al-'adl in al-Mufīd, Awā'il al-maqālāt, pp.98,104,109. When he wants to make it clear that he is referring to the Shī'a rather than to the Mu'tazila, al-Mufīd uses expressions such as al-'adliyya min ash-shī'a (ibid., p.1) or ash-shī'a al-'adliyya (ibid., p.106). Cf. also Goldziher, Vorlesungen über den Islam, Heidelberg 1925, pp.225-226.

³ See above, pp.63-68.

⁴ Cf. below, p.123.

Companions. This attitude may be said to form part of the basic beliefs of the Imāmiyya, inasmuch as it enters into their theory of the imamate. A strict application of that theory to the Companions would result in a condemnation of the Ṣaḥāba, as has been demonstrated.¹ At the same time it is important to notice that there is no Imāmi tenet which explicitly stipulates such a condemnation; a basic work such as Ibn Bābawayhi's Shi'ite creed has no direct mention of the Companions.² It would not go against fundamental Imāmi doctrine to declare the Companions to be good Muslims, provided one could prove that such a statement is not contrary to the belief in the imamate of 'Alī. This is where Mu'tazilī scholasticism comes in.

(a) Ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā.

The earliest known analysis in Imāmi literature of the behaviour of the Companions after Muḥammad's death appears in a work called Kitāb al-inṣāf wa'l-intiṣāf written, significantly enough, by a Mu'tazilī convert to Imāmism, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Qubba ar-Rāzī (d. beginning of 4th/10th century).³ Aṭ-Ṭūsī⁴ and Ibn Shahrāshūb⁵ praise him as a skilled Imāmi theologian.⁶ The original Kitāb al-inṣāf is lost, but excerpts from it relating to the question of Abū Bakr's election are quoted approvingly by ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) in

¹ See above, pp. 109-111.

² The sole exception occurs in a saying of 'Alī (p. 122 in Fyzee's translation) dealing with the extent to which the Companions questioned the Prophet or tried to understand him. (Cf. below, pp. 269ff).

³ See Iqbāl, op. cit., pp. 94-95. Ibn Qubba's work is generally referred to as the Kitāb al-inṣāf. The full title appears for instance in Shāfi, p. 147.

⁴ Fihrist, p. 297.

⁵ Ma'ālim al-'ulamā', p. 85.

⁶ For an example of Ibn Qubba's arguments in favour of 'Alī's imamate see Ibn Bābawayhi, Ikmāl ad-dīn, pp. 35-38.

his Kitāb ash-shāfi fi 'l-imāma.¹ There seems to be no prospect of establishing whether the views quoted from Ibn Qubba's work represent an accepted Imāmī theory of the time, or whether--as seems more likely--they were introduced to the Imāmiyya when Ibn Qubba joined their ranks. Ibn Qubba maintains that most people at the time of Muḥammad's death were willing to accept 'Alī as their next ruler, in accordance with the explicit commands of the Prophet. Those who started the trouble were a group of Anṣārīs who envied 'Alī and conspired to meet in the Saqifa (roofed gallery) of the clan of Banū Sā'ida to elect one of their own number. When the others--who included the most respected among the Companions--heard about the Anṣārī plan, they assumed that it was based upon legitimate grounds, and inferred that deciding upon the new ruler by election was as valid a method as adhering to the nass. Consequently they went to the Saqifa and persuaded the Anṣārīs to agree to the election of their own candidate, Abū Bakr. This left a minority among the Companions who knew in their hearts that the nass to 'Alī was still valid. Their insignificant number prevented them from fighting for the rightful caliph, so they had to conceal their knowledge and content themselves with transmitting the nass - traditions to future generations.²

According to Ibn Qubba, the nass to 'Alī was pronounced by Muḥammad on several different occasions. In some cases only a few Companions were present, and they might have forgotten it;

¹ A refutation of Ibn Qubba's work was reportedly composed by his Mu'tazilī teacher Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī in the Al-mustarshid fi 'l-imāma. Ibn Qubba responded by writing the Al-mustathbit fi 'l-imāma, to which al-Balkhī wrote yet another refutation, called Naqd al-mustathbit. See an-Najāshī, op.cit., pp.265-266, cit. Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣadr, Ta'sīs ash-shī'a li-'ulūm al-islām, al-Kāzimiyya 1951, p.378; Iqbāl, loc.cit.

² Kitāb al-inṣāf, cit. Shāfi, p.100. Cf. below, pp.344ff.

but on other occasions--notably at Ghadīr Khumm¹--a great number of Companions heard the Prophet, so that it is absurd to argue that all of them forgot his words. Ibn Qubba attributes the error committed by the majority of the Companions to two main causes: first, they misunderstood Muḥammad's words, "The Imams are from Quraysh";² they thought that this general statement --which they took for a command--was more binding and more worthy of being followed than a particular directive such as the one given at Ghadīr Khumm. Secondly, they misinterpreted the Ghadīr Khumm tradition by assuming that where the community was threatened with imminent discord and anarchy it was permissible, despite the nass traditions, to elect an Imam.³

The main arguments in Ibn Qubba's analysis are accepted by al-Murtaḍā. There are two points, however, where al-Murtaḍā adopts a different position: first, his explanation of the behaviour of the Companions in the Saqifa is that most people who saw or heard the debate which took place there assumed that the Prophet had abrogated the nass traditions in favour of others of which they had not previously been aware; and that that was why they did not object to Abū Bakr's election.⁴ Secondly, al-Murtaḍā does not blame the Anṣārīs alone, but judges the Ṣaḥāba as a whole on the basis of their attitude

¹ Cf. above, p.80.

² According to a Zaydī interpretation, the preposition in this ḥadīth should be understood as min li't-taḥīd (cf. W.Wright, A grammar of the Arabic language, Cambridge 1967, II, p.137A) so as to give the meaning, "the Imams are a part of Quraysh" --referring to the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (see R. Strothmann, Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen, p.23, quoting aṣ-Ṣu'aytirī (d.815/1412)). This interpretation is also suitable for the Imāmīs, who could apply it to the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima.

³ Shāfi, pp.100,147; cf. aṭ-Ṭūsī, Talkhīṣ ash-shāfi, p.348.

⁴ Shāfi, p.100.

towards the nass traditions. Accordingly, he divides the Companions into three groups: (i) a small group which conspired to conceal the nass traditions¹ and which knowingly acted in violation of the commands included in them; (ii) the bulk of the Companions who acted in good faith but were led by events to believe that the nass to 'Alī had been superseded by a new nass; some of these Companions thought that it was therefore no longer permissible to quote the Ghadīr Khumm and other nass traditions. Others felt constrained to conceal the nass traditions because of threats from the new rulers;² (iii) a small group which remained loyal to 'Alī, in their hearts if not in their deeds.³ Al-Murtaḍā does not explicitly describe the degree of virtue or culpability of each of these groups; but he does state forcefully that it is wrong to ascribe to the Imānis the belief that all Companions are guilty of "apostasy, hypocrisy and wilful defiance of the Apostle."⁴

In his defence of the majority of the Companions al-Murtaḍā points to what he considers to be historical precedents. In his view, every prophet in past generations had his companions who used to disobey him and turn their backs on him. A typical example is that of the Israelites (qawm Mūsā) who turned almost to a man to worship the golden calf, despite the fact that Moses was still alive and had only recently been in

¹ Al-Murtaḍā's favourite term for this act is muwāṭa'a or tawāṭu' (collusion, conspiracy); see e.g. ibid., pp.105,112.

² This last argument is categorically rejected by al-Jāhiḡ, who maintains that the lack of any explicit, vocal opposition on the part of the Companions indicates their satisfaction with Abū Bakr's election, not their support for 'Alī. See Al-'uthmāniyya, p.183.

³ Shāfi, pp.101,112.

⁴ Al-irtidād wa'n-nifāq wa-'inād ar-rasūl (ibid., p.101).

their midst.¹

A problem which seems to have occupied al-Murtaḍā and other Imāmi theologians is how Muḥammad could have praised the Companions, some of whom acted against the nass.² Al-Murtaḍā offers various solutions to this problem:

(i) In his view, the fact that there were Companions who rejected the nass after Muḥammad's death does not necessarily mean that they had been guilty of hypocrisy (nifāq) during the Prophet's lifetime. Until his death these Companions might well have been loyal Muslims, and this would explain why Muḥammad praised them.³ Not all Imāmi theologians subscribed to this view. Some of them argued that the Companions had already been unbelievers during Muḥammad's lifetime. These theologians based their argument on the doctrine of the muwāfāt, which states that in God's sight a man has always been what he is when he dies.⁴

¹ Ibid., p.102. The comparison with the Israelites is quite common. It is said to have been made by Ibn Bābawayhi when the Buwayhid Rukn ad-Dawla asked him how it was possible for many Companions to have committed apostasy. See the (anonymous) Munāzarat malik Rukn ad-Dawla ma'a 's-Ṣadūq, f268a; cf. also the introduction by 'Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī to Ibn Bābawayhi's Ma'ani 'l-akhbār, Tehran 1379H., p.30. The poet al-Uzūrī (probably Kāẓim b. Muḥammad b. Murād al-Baghdādī (d.1211/1796); cf. Dharī'a, IX/i, p.69) says: ata'jabu min ashābi Ahmada idh raḍū / bi-ta'khīri dhi 'l-faḍli wa-taqdīmi dhi jahli // fa-ashābu Mūsā fī hayātihi / raḍū badalan 'an bāri'i 'l-khalqi bi'l-'ijli// "Do you wonder that the Companions of Muḥammad consented to hold back the virtuous one and advance the ignorant one// When the companions of Moses during his lifetime preferred the calf to the creator of mankind?" (al-Muẓaffar, op.cit., II, p.32). For an Ismā'īlī attack on the behaviour of the ashāb Mūsā see al-Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, Asās at-ta'wīl, Beirut 1960, p.361; Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, Kitāb al-kashf, London etc. 1952, p.31.

² By discussing this subject Imāmi theologians implicitly acknowledge that at least some traditions in favour of the Ṣaḥāba are authentic. Cf. above, p.96, with n.4.

³ See Shāfi, pp.103,262.

⁴ See Tritton, op.cit., pp. 108 (giving the views of the early "orthodox" theologian Ibn Kullāb (d. c.240/854)), 209 (giving the views of the Khārījī Mukramiyya sect). The Mu'tazilī Hishām b. 'Amr al-Fuwaṭī is also said to have believed in the doctrine of muwāfāt. See ash-Shahrastānī, Al-milāl, I, p.51.

Al-Mufīd, who defends this doctrine, defines it as follows, "Whoever has known God at any time during his life and has believed in Him for a period of his [allotted] span dies in [a state of] belief (imān) in Him; whoever dies in [a state of] unbelief in God, the exalted, has never believed in Him."¹ In the view of some adherents of the muwāfāt doctrine, the Companion died as unbelievers, and therefore had never been believers. In the Shāfi al-Murtaḍā carefully refrains from stating clearly whether or not he believes in the principle of the muwāfāt.² He does, however, seem to disagree with those adherents of the doctrine who wish to prove that the Companions were unbelievers at the time when Muḥammad was still alive. He maintains that the upholders of such a view would have to prove two things: first, that rejection of the nass constitutes unbelief and not merely a grave sin (fisq); and secondly, that the Companions did not repent before their death (because if they repented and died as believers this would mean that they were also believers before Muḥammad's death).³

(ii) According to al-Murtaḍā, the dictates of reason leave open the possibility (ghayr mumtani' 'aqlan) that the Prophet did not know the inner thoughts of his Companions. If this were the case his praise for them would have to be interpreted as referring to their external behaviour only.⁴

(iii) Al-Murtaḍā then turns to those who argue that it can be

¹ Awā'il al-maḡālāt, p.58. The Mu'tazila reportedly rejected this doctrine (ibid.); but cf. above, p.118 n.4.

² In a typically non-committal statement he declares, "Not all our friends who believe in the nass adhere to the [doctrine of] muwāfāt and [to the view] that it is impossible for someone who died in the state of unbelief to have been previously in a state of belief" (Shāfi, p.218). But cf. below, p.121, n.1.

³ See the reference above, p.118 n.3.

⁴ Ibid., p.103.

proved by reference to traditions (sam'an) that Muḥammad was aware of the inner thoughts of some Companions. The answer to this argument, says al-Murtaḍā, is that Muḥammad stopped praising these Companions as soon as he became aware of their evil designs.¹

(iv) Others may insist on the fact that the Prophet praised the Ṣaḥāba shortly before his death, at a time when he must have been aware of the existence of a plot against 'Alī. According to al-Murtaḍā, the answer here is that the Prophet praised those whose external conduct was impeccable even though he knew that they harboured secret and sinister designs. For example, although Muḥammad knew the identity of the munāfiqūn among the Ṣaḥāba, he continued to treat them as if they were still believers.²

It has been shown above³ that al-Murtaḍā denies that the Imāmis accuse all Companions of apostasy (ridḍa). His argument is that apostasy involves rejection of all former beliefs, including the belief in the unity of God. An apostate is punished for eternity, whilst a true believer is rewarded for eternity. It is therefore impossible for a true believer to commit apostasy, since this would involve both eternal punishment and eternal reward, a meeting of opposites (ijtimā' ad-diddayn) which is a logical absurdity. If someone who was considered a Muslim commits apostasy, the conclusion to be drawn is that his former faith was a sham. An apostate, then,

¹ Ibid. Similarly, al-Murtaḍā argues that Muḥammad married 'Ā'isha before he became aware of her involvement in the plot against 'Alī. See ibid., p.263; cf. below, pp.180-182.

² Ibid., p.103. The reason for the Prophet's behaviour may have been his wish to preserve the unity of the community. But cf. also below, p.136.

³ See p.117.

is someone who has concealed his unbelief only in order to bring it into the open at a convenient moment. Since it is inconceivable that all of Muḥammad's followers during his lifetime were merely apostates in disguise, it follows that no such accusation may be levelled against them.¹ It may be noted here that the principle according to which a true believer cannot apostatise was adopted by al-Murtaḍā's pupil Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī (d.460/1067)² and later by Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d.726/1325).

To sum up: al-Murtaḍā's view on the Companions is an elaboration of Ibn Qubba's exposition. It is not far removed from the position of the Batri Zaydīs⁴ who maintained that the

¹ See al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb an-naqd*, p.315 (where al-Murtaḍā's views are given). The following story is related by Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Wahīd b. 'Alī b. Burhān al-'Ukbarī (d.456/1064), who was a Baghdādī grammarian, traditionist and pro-Mu'tazilī theologian (cf. on him al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, XI, p.17; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-muntazam*, Haydarabad 1938-43, VIII, pp.236-237; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-bidāya wa'n-nihāya*, XII, p.92; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt adh-dhahab*, III, p.297): "I entered the presence of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā Abū 'l-Qāsim al-'Alawī during his [last] illness and found him with his face turned towards the wall. I heard him say, 'Abū Bakr and 'Umar ruled justly, asked forgiveness [from God] and were granted it; how could I have said [lit. whereas I say] that they apostatised after adopting Islam?' I rose and had just reached the doorstep when I heard a cry of lament [announcing al-Murtaḍā's death]" (Ibn al-Jawzī, *op.cit.*, VIII, p.126; Ibn Kathīr, *op.cit.*, XII, p.53). In view of the Imāmī verdict on Abū Bakr and 'Umar (cf. below, pp.137ff) it is doubtful whether al-Murtaḍā actually uttered the words ascribed to him. From the arguments which al-Murtaḍā adduces to refute claims that the Ṣaḥāba apostatised it may be deduced that at least at this stage of his life he adhered to the *muwāfāt* theory (cf. above, p.119, n.2).

² See for instance his *At-tibyān*, II, pp.358, 551.

³ See his *Anwār al-malakūt*, p.179. The opposing principle, known as *ihbāt* or *tahābuṭ* (i.e. the mutual cancellation of good and evil acts in the Last Judgment), was adopted by the Imāmī family Banū Nawbakht and by most Mu'tazilīs. It was rejected by the three leading Imāmī theologians of the Buwayhid period, al-Mufīd (*Awā'il al-maqālāt*, p.57), al-Murtaḍā (*Tanzīh al-anbiyā'*, p.4; *id.*, *Jumal al-'ilm wa'l-'amal*, pp.37-39) and aṭ-Ṭūsī (*Al-khulāsa fi 'l-kalām*, f24b (quoted above, p.108 end of n.3); *id.*, *At-tibyān*, II, pp.358, 424), as well as by al-Ḥillī (*Anwār al-malakūt*, *loc.cit.*).

⁴ On whom see the references below, appendix B, p.343, n.5.

community elected Abū Bakr as a result of an error in their use of individual reasoning (ijtihād), and that since that error was unintentional they are not guilty of any crime.¹ The importance of al-Murtaḍā's contribution to Imāmī thinking about the Companions lies in his skilful and judicious use of the techniques of Mu'tazilī scholasticism in order to reconcile belief in a divinely-appointed Imam with a conciliatory attitude towards the majority of the Companions. Particularly significant is the distinction which al-Murtaḍā made between those of the Companions who after Muḥammad's death were merely passive onlookers in a power struggle, and those individuals or groups --Companions and others--who actively fought 'Alī and denied his imamate. Al-Murtaḍā's verdict on such persons is unequivocal: "Those who fought the Commander of the Faithful are considered by us as unbelievers."² The doctrines evolved by al-Murtaḍā had a lasting effect on subsequent generations of Imāmī scholars.

(b) Some later Imāmī views

During the Buwayhid period Imāmī doctrine reached a definitive stage. Under this benevolent regime the Imāmis could devote their energies to consolidating their doctrine and to moulding it along clear and consistent lines. Paradoxical as it may seem, a major impetus was provided by the disappearance of the twelfth Imam.³ As long as the omniscient Imam lived

¹ Cf. al-Malaṭī, At-tanbīh wa'r-radd, p.27; below, pp.345-346. In general, however, Ibn Qubba was not sympathetic to the Zaydis. He is credited with a work entitled At-ta'rīf fī madhhab al-imāmiyya wa-fasād madhhab az-zaydiyya (see Ibn Shahrāshūb, Ma'ālim al-'ulamā', p.85; cf. aṭ-Ṭūsī, Fihrist, p.297).

² Tanzīh al-anbiyā', p.199; cf. also al-Murtaḍā's Risāla fī 'ilm al-kalām, in Nafā'is al-makhtūṭāt, Baghdad 1375H., p.71.

³ The so-called "small occultation" (ghayba ṣuḡhrā) occurred in 260/874 and was followed in 329/941 by the "great occultation" (ghayba kubrā). See the article "Ghayba" by D.B. Macdonald and

among his people, every important question had to be referred to his unerring judgment. Without his ever-present authority, other sources of knowledge and of religious law had to be discovered. This task was undertaken chiefly by the Uṣūliyyūn (or Mujtahidūn), whose activities may be traced back to the period immediately following the disappearance of the Imam. These Imāmi theologians and lawyers, some of whom had come under the direct influence of Mu'tazilī ideas, maintained, in opposition to the Akhbāriyyūn, that doctrine should be based on reason, not on adherence to individual traditions.¹

Al-Murtaḍā is an important representative of the Uṣūlī branch of the Imāmiyya. His analysis of the behaviour of the Companions is characteristic of the rationalistic approach favoured by that school. It is not surprising, therefore, that his followers, too, belong to the Imāmiyya Uṣūliyya. One of them is 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī ar-Rāzī, known chiefly for his polemical work Kitāb an-naqd. Al-Qazwīnī's Sunni opponent accuses the Shī'īs of regarding thousands of Muslims--Companions and others--as unbelievers.² Specifically, he accuses al-Mufīd of criticising the most excellent Companions and of vilifying 'Umar in his book Al-mufṣiḥ fi 'l-imāna;³ he also accuses

M.G.S.Hodgson, in EI², II, p.1026. For a discussion of the political background to the disappearance of the Imam cf. the article "Buwayhids" by C. Cahen, in EI², I, p.1352; W. Montgomery Watt, "The Rāfiḍites: A preliminary study", in Oriens 16, 1963, p.120.

¹ For details (relating mainly to the conflict between Uṣūliyyūn and Akhbāriyyūn in Ṣafawid times) see Muḥammad Bāqir al-Bihbihānī (d.1205/1790), Al-ijtihād wa'l-akhbār, Persia 1895, pp.2-17; A. Falaturi, "Die Zwölfer-Schia aus der Sicht eines Schiiten: Probleme ihrer Untersuchung", in Festschrift Werner Caskel, Leiden 1968, pp.83-85. Cf. Goldziher, Vorlesungen über den Islam, p.232, n.165; Madelung, "Imāmism and Mu'tazilite theology", pp.20-21.

² Kitāb an-naqd, pp.254-255.

³ Cf. Dharī'a, II, pp.258-259, s.v. Al-ifsāḥ fi 'l-imāna; Sezgin, I, p.551.

al-Murtaḍā of attacking the faith of the Companions in his book Al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsīn.¹ In his answer al-Qazwīnī resolutely rejects allegations that the Shī'īs condemn all the Companions. The Imāmiyya Uṣūliyya, says al-Qazwīnī, merely maintain that 'Alī is more excellent than Abū Bakr, al-Ḥasan more excellent than 'Umar, al-Ḥusayn more excellent than 'Uthmān etc. Abū Bakr and 'Umar were chosen by men, 'Alī and his descendants by a written text from heaven; but this does not imply enmity against Abū Bakr and 'Umar, or against the other Companions or the Successors.² The Imāmiyya Uṣūliyya do not accept individual traditions as binding in matters of religious doctrine; it is therefore quite possible that authors like al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍā could have included in their works traditions hostile to various Companions, without however regarding these traditions as a basis for drawing general conclusions about the Companions mentioned therein. Moreover, Imāmi authors often quote all the traditions relevant to a certain topic, without distinguishing the weak ones from the sound ones.³ While stressing that companionship per se is no virtue⁴ al-Qazwīnī affirms that many Companions rendered invaluable services to Islam, both before and after Muḥammad's death; those Companions who, for example, led the great conquests at the time of 'Umar and 'Uthmān will be rewarded.⁵ Following al-Murtaḍā, al-Qazwīnī firmly rejects the allegation that in

¹ The correct title of al-Murtaḍā's work is Al-fuṣūl al-mukhtāra min al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsīn, which is a summary of al-Mufīd's Kitāb al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsīn wa'l-majālis; cf. Iqbāl, op.cit., p.143; Dharī'a, XV, p.386.

² Kitāb an-naqd, pp.256,517.

³ Ibid., pp.261-263. On this question as related to al-Kulīnī's Al-kāfi see Hashim Ma'rūf al-Ḥusaynī, op.cit., pp.184-193..

⁴ Kitāb an-naqd, p.722; see also above, p.98.

⁵ Ibid., p.117.

Imāmi doctrine almost all the Companions are considered as apostates. He does this by arguing that no apostasy is possible after belief.¹

On some issues al-Qazwīnī goes even further than al-Murtaḍā in his moderation: he denies that the Imāmis heap abuse on Muḥammad's wives² and refers to his own book on the subject entitled Tanzīh 'Ā'isha.³ He also mentions that he wrote a book called Miftāḥ ar-rāḥāt wa-funūn al-ḥikāyāt, in which he proves that 'Umar was the fortieth person who adopted Islam and that he was a true believer.⁴ Al-Qazwīnī declares that hatred of the Companions is an act of rebellion against God (ma'siya).⁵ Such views may have contributed to the uncomplimentary observation by a later Imāmi author who, while praising the "noble expressions" and "gentle wording" of the book, accuses al-Qazwīnī of inserting in places words and expressions "from which the mind shrinks with aversion (tashma'izzu minhu 'l-'uqūl)"; he suggests that such words may have been used as a result of the necessity to practise precautionary dissimulation (taqiyya).⁶ Al-Qazwīnī himself stresses that his exposition of Shi'i views was written "without dissimulation";⁷ but precisely such protestations of sincerity may have been dictated by the need to conceal his true thoughts--particularly since he lived during the apogee of the Saljuq rule, and the Saljuqs were Sunnis.

A person of more widespread reputation than 'Abd

¹ Ibid., p.315; see the discussion above, pp.120-121.

² Ibid., p.82.

³ Ibid., pp.83,314. On the Imāmi attitude to 'Ā'isha cf. below, pp.180ff.

⁴ Ibid., p.145.

⁵ Ibid., p.283.

⁶ Al-Kantūrī, Kashf al-ḥujub, p.586, cit. Dharī'a, II, p.130.

⁷ Kitāb an-naqd, p.307.

al-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī is the Shī'ī astronomer, historian and politician Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī (d.672/1274). R. Strothmann¹ has drawn attention to the fact that Naṣīr ad-Dīn does not develop any new theories on the imamate and accepts the views expounded by al-Murtaḍā in the Shāfi. This may be seen for example in his dogmatic treatise Tajrīd al-'aḳā'id where he declares, "Those who fought 'Alī are unbelievers and those who disobeyed him are grave sinners."²

One of Naṣīr ad-Dīn's most illustrious students was Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥasan b. Yūsuf Ibn Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d.726/1325). In his authoritative commentary on his master's work (Sharḥ at-tajrīd) al-Ḥillī asserts: "He who fought 'Alī is an unbeliever . . . as for those who disobeyed him, there are different views among our scholars. Some have decreed that they are unbelievers since they reject the explicit delegation (nass jalī) which proves his imamate and belief in which is an established doctrine and has been transmitted continuously. Others believe that they are grave sinners, and that is the more correct opinion."³ In his Minhāj al-karāma⁴ al-Ḥillī says that after Muḥammad's death the Companions were guided in their behaviour by various, often conflicting motives: some sought to usurp power; most gave Abū Bakr the oath of allegiance in the hope of achieving thereby worldly gains (ṭalaban li'd-dunyā); others were not certain as to how they should act, but instead of using their own intelligence blindly followed the majority; then there was the minority who, disregarding worldly thoughts, dedicated themselves to serving God and to following the rightful

¹ Die Zwölfer-Schī'a, Leipzig 1926, p.63.

² Muḥāribū 'Alī kafara wa-mukhālifūhū fasaga (cit. Darajāt, p.33).

³ Cit. Darajāt, pp.33-34.

⁴ Quoted with Ibn Taymiyya's answer, Minhāj as-sunna, II, pp.3ff.

ruler. This four-fold division of the Companions clearly draws its inspiration from the earlier expositions of Ibn Qubba and al-Murtaḍā; yet al-Ḥillī seems to judge the majority of the Companions with greater severity: he accuses them of cupidity and contends that even those who merely followed the majority deserve punishment for their failure to discover the truth by exercising their powers of logical reasoning.¹ Al-Ḥillī provides an interesting historical and psychological explanation for the defection of so many Companions from the true path. He argues that the Companions were following a long-established pattern: after all, most people in past generations had disobeyed their prophets and worshipped other gods; the Israelites and the golden calf are just one example.² Any other behaviour on the part of Muḥammad's community would have been in contradiction to the customary course of things³ and in opposition to human nature which is characterised in part by disagreements on questions of faith.⁴

Despite his rather harsh judgment on most Companions, al-Ḥillī's attitude towards them was far from negative: he is reported to have called on the Shī'ī ruler Khudābanda (reigned 703/1304-717/1317) to love all the Companions.⁵

¹ Ibid., p.5.

² Cf. above, pp.117-118.

³ Al-Ḥillī uses the expression nāqīḍan li'l-'ādāt; this may be a deliberate allusion to the theological term for a miracle, kharg al-'āda (or al-'ādāt) (cf. al-Bāqillānī, At-tamhīd, ed. R.J. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, index, s.v.; Wensinck, The Muslim creed, pp.224-225).

⁴ Al-Ḥillī, Khulāṣa, cit. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Nafas ar-raḥmān, p.74b.

⁵ See ash-Shaybī, Al-fikr ash-shī'ī wa'n-naza'āt aṣ-ṣūfiyya, Baghdad 1386H., pp.115-116 (quoting from Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, Majma' at-tawārīkh). Ash-Shaybī sees in Ibn al-Muṭahhar's views the culmination of a long process of gradual Shī'ī moderation. This may also be connected with the relaxation of the bitter Sunni-Shī'ī conflict after the fall of the 'Abbāsīd empire; cf. C. Cahen, "Le problème du shī'isme dans l'Asie Mineure turque

Possibly the most detailed and elaborate exposition on the subject of the Companions is that of 'Alī Khān b. Aḥmad Ibn Ma'sūm (d.1120/1708). The following is a summary of his division of the Companions into rejected (mardūd) and accepted (maqbul):¹

A Companion belongs to one of two categories: he was either an infidel before becoming a Muslim, or else he was born as a Muslim (muslim fiṭrī); only a few Companions belong to the second category, such as 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr.

A Companion could either (I) spend much time with the Prophet or (II) not spend much time with him (and thus not hear him pronounce the nass jalī). These two categories are subdivided as follows:

(I) (1) He heard the nass jalī and

(A) acted accordingly--in which case he is completely accepted (maqbul qaṭ'an) (e.g. Salmān, al-Miqdād, Abū Dharr);

(B) did not act accordingly. This could have been the result of (a) obstinacy and haughtiness ('inād wa'stikbār)--in which case, if he was a muslim fiṭrī, he becomes (according to some doctors) a murtadd fiṭrī (an apostate who was born as a Muslim) and no repentance can be accepted from him (e.g. 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr);² if he was not a muslim fiṭrī and later

préottomane", in Le Shi'isme Imāmīte, Paris 1970, pp.118-119. On Khudābanda's conversion to Shi'ism see the article "Olčaitu Khudābanda" by J.H.Kramers, in EI¹, III, pp.974-975, and the references below, p.225, n.2.

¹ See Darajāt, pp.32-33.

² The distinction between an apostate who was born as a Muslim and one who was not born as a Muslim was already known to the Meccan theologian 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 115/733); cf. Goldziher, Muh. Stud., II, p.215, and in general the article on 'Aṭā' by J. Schacht, in EI², I, p.730.

acknowledges the validity of the nass and repents, he is accepted; if he does not repent he is considered a murtadd ghayr fiṭrī and as such is rejected, but is given another chance to repent;¹ (b) compulsion (ikrah wa-ijbār), in which case he is accepted if he fulfils the requirements of moral probity ('adāla);

(2) He did not hear the nass jalī and must therefore have had a proof of a different nature for its existence.² Thus he either

(A) believed that 'Alī was the only true caliph after Muḥammad and then (a) remained loyal to 'Alī, in which case he is accepted; (b) did not remain loyal to 'Alī, either because of compulsion, in which case he is accepted, or because of obstinacy, in which case, if he was not a muslim fiṭrī and repents he is accepted, and otherwise he is rejected. Or

(B) had doubts (shubha) concerning 'Alī's rights. He could either (a) be saved from his doubts at a later stage and thus be accepted; or (b) persist in his blindness and error. Some Shī'īs say that such a Companion is excused (ma'dhūr), but others declare

¹ The different attitude towards the two kinds of apostates is in accordance with Imāmī fiqh. A murtadd ghayr fiṭrī--otherwise known as a murtadd milli--is defined as someone who was an unbeliever at the age of discretion (bulūgh), who then adopted Islam and then apostatised. Such an apostate is dealt with less severely than a murtadd fiṭrī in that he is given a chance to repent and is spared if he does. See Muḥammad Jawād Mughniyya, Fiqh al-imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, Beirut 1965-6, VI, pp.310-314.

² This view is based on the assumption that Muḥammad's generation was of necessity (darūratan) bound to know about the nass. Only in later times, when the nass traditions had already been largely suppressed or concealed, did the knowledge of the nass depend on acquisition by personal effort (iktisāb) or on rational deduction (istidlāl). See Shāfi, pp.92,95; cf. al-Murtaḍā, Talkhiṣ al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsīn, f404b; above, p.98

him who refuses to acknowledge the self-evident truth concerning 'Alī's rights to be a fāsiq; but he is not said to have relapsed into unbelief or apostasy.

- (II) (1) He knew about the nass by other means and
- (A) acted accordingly, in which case he is accepted;
 - (B) did not act accordingly, out of (a) obstinacy, in which case, if he was a muslim fiṭrī, he becomes a murtadd fiṭrī and no repentance can be accepted from him; otherwise he is accepted after repenting;
 - (b) compulsion, in which case he is accepted.
- (2) He did not know about the nass, in which case he is either accepted or rejected (cf. § I (2) (B)).¹

This lengthy and rather artificial division of the Companions into various groups is the product of continuous Imāmī thinking about the Companions. Ibn Ma'sūm does not reveal the source from which he took this analysis of the Companions; he may indeed have composed it himself. Yet his indebtedness to earlier Imāmī theologians is beyond doubt.

Present-day Imāmī scholars follow in general the moderate line on the Companions laid down by their predecessors.² In his discussion of the events after Muḥammad's death the 'Irāqī scholar Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (d. 1373/1954) argues³ that some Companions may not have heard the proclamation of the nass to 'Alī or may not have understood its meaning. Other

¹ Cf. the statement attributed to al-Bāqir: fa-ammā man lam yaṣna' dhālika (i.e. whoever recognised Abū Bakr) wa-dakhala fīmā dakhala fihi 'n-nās 'alā ghayr 'ilm wa-lā 'adāwatan li-amīr al-mu'minin fa-inna dhālika lā yukaffiruhū wa-lā yukhrijuhū 'an al-islām (Rawḍa, p.296).

² As always, the possibility of taqiyya cannot be ruled out, especially in areas under Sunnī domination.

³ Aṣl ash-shī'a wa-uṣūluhā, pp.81-83.

Companions were opposed to 'Alī's election for reasons such as his youth at the time¹ and the feeling among the Qurayshīs that one should not let both the prophecy and the caliphate be invested with the Banū Hāshim to the exclusion of everyone else. Sharaf ad-Dīn al-Mūsawī² tackles the question from a somewhat different angle. He distinguishes two kinds of explicit pronouncements of the Prophet: the first concerns matters pertaining directly to the requirements of the Muslim religion and to the welfare of the Muslims in the world to come, such as the command to fast in Ramaḍān or to go on pilgrimage; the second deals with the affairs of state. Whereas most Companions always followed faithfully all pronouncements of the first kind, they allowed room for reasoning and discussion when it came to problems of rule. In the case of 'Alī the Companions were aware of his designation as Muḥammad's successor; yet they could not overlook the fact that 'Alī's virtues had aroused the envy of many among the newly converted, and that those men were also waiting for an opportunity to settle accounts with 'Alī for having killed many of their pagan relatives in the various battles. The Companions feared that under these circumstances the community would not obey 'Alī and that his accession would bring about bloodshed and strife. For these reasons they decided that the safest course lay in disregarding the nass and choosing the new ruler by election.

¹ According to some reports of the events following the Prophet's death, Abū 'Ubayda tried to persuade 'Alī to give up his claims to the rule by pointing out that Abū Bakr was much older and therefore more able to take upon himself the responsibilities of office; see (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, *Al-imāma wa's-siyāsa*, Cairo 1967, pp.18-19; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, *Al-iḥtijāj*, pp.46-47, cit. *Bihār*, VIII, p.37. 'Umar is reported to have stressed Abū Bakr's age in urging the people to give him the oath of allegiance; see Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, p.54: hādha Abū Bakr wa-dhū shaybat al-muslimīn fa-bāyi'ūhū.

² *Kitāb al-murāja'at*, pp.276-278.

The implicit assumption in the expositions of Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' and al-Mūsawī is that the Companions were within their rights when they used individual reasoning in trying to establish the identity of the next ruler.¹ Al-Mūsawī is therefore consistent when he declares² that the Shī'īs believe in the virtues of all the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār.

Conclusion

The various views on the Companions confirm that the line of thought which had its origins in Ibn Qubba became predominant in official Imāmi thinking³ from the Buwayhid period onwards; it was only interrupted for a relatively brief period at the height of Ṣafawid anti-Sunni fanaticism, marked by the ascendancy of the Akhbāriyyūn. On the whole, the picture is one of far greater sophistication and moderation on the question of the ṭakfīr aṣ-ṣaḥāba than is generally attributed to the Imāmis both by their opponents within the Islamic community and by modern orientalists.⁴

¹ Cf. also Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', op.cit., p.103; al-Mūsawī, Al-fuṣūl al-muḥimma, p.84.

² Kitāb al-murāja'āt, p.201.

³ As distinguished from popular Shī'ī beliefs. Cf. below, pp.206ff.

⁴ Cf above, pp.69-77.

CHAPTER IV

THE REJECTED COMPANIONS

1. Introductory Remarks

In the previous chapter an attempt has been made to show that most Imāmi doctors tend to avoid any generalised statements when they pass judgment on the Companions, and concentrate their attention instead on the behaviour of the various groups within the Ṣaḥāba. More specifically, it has been pointed out that al-Murtaḍā distinguishes between the majority of the community, whom he exonerates from any serious blame despite their failure to adhere to 'Alī after the Prophet's death, and two smaller groups: those who openly opposed 'Alī and those who remained faithful to him throughout.¹ The Imāmi attitude towards these two groups--whose members may be conveniently referred to as the rejected (or bad) and the accepted (or good) Companions respectively- forms the subject of chapters IV and V of this study.

2. The Plot of al-'Aqaba

A series of events which foreshadowed the actual usurpation of power by Abū Bakr is said to have taken place during Muḥammad's lifetime. These events are significant not only in setting the scene for the subsequent dramatic developments but also in that they serve to reveal the identity of those whom the Imāmis regard as 'Alī's fiercest foes. Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, a Companion known for his pro-'Alid sympathies as well as for his privileged position as the Prophet's confidant,²

¹ See above, pp.116-117.

² Cf. his biography below, pp.320-326.

is reported to have revealed the story shortly before his death. The following are the main points in it.¹

When Muḥammad realised that his end was approaching he informed his wife 'Ā'isha that 'Alī would be appointed his successor. Despite 'Ā'isha's promise not to divulge the news, she passed it on to 'Umar's daughter Ḥafṣa and to other enemies of 'Alī.² Meeting clandestinely, they agreed to try and forestall any attempt by the Prophet to hand down power to the ahl al-bayt.³ After some deliberation as to the best course of action it was decided to lay an ambush for Muḥammad at the mountain-road ('aqaba) of Harshā⁴ (hence the title ḥadīth al-'aqaba by which this story is known).⁵

While that plan was being hatched, the angel Gabriel commanded Muḥammad to announce publicly the designation of 'Alī

¹ See al-Majlisī, Kitāb al-arba'in ḥadīthan, Persia 1888, pp.92-97; Bihār, VIII, pp.21-24; Darajāt, pp.296ff; all quoting from ad-Daylamī, Irshād al-qulūb. Ad-Daylamī's work consists of two parts (cf. Dharī'a, I, p.517), of which only the first is included in the lithographed edition (Bombay 1315H.) available in the British Museum. I have been unable to find the second part, which must include the original story. That story is alleged to have already been included by the traditionist 'Alī b. Mujaḥid ar-Rāzī (d.182/798) (cf. Sezgin, I, p.312) in his Manāqib amir al-mu'minin wa-mathālib al-munāfiqin; see al-Qazwīnī, Kitāb an-naqd, p.268. Cf. also the remarks in al-Mūsawī, An-naṣṣ wa'l-ijtihād, Najaf 1964, p.370, n.2. A somewhat different version is recorded in aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-iḥtijāj, pp.30-33.

² Called here munāfiqūn, as often in Shī'i texts. See above, pp.107-108.

³ Cf. also al-Qummī, Tafsīr, II, pp.375-376; al-Kulīnī, Usūl al-kāfī, I, p.427; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Bishārat al-muṣṭafā, Najaf 1383H., p.196.

⁴ On the way to Mecca; see Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, Leipzig 1866-73, IV, p.960.

⁵ 'Umar is said to have been the driving force behind the scheme (cf. Darajāt, p.285). According to some accounts, this was not the first attempt of its kind. Already in the year 9/630 some munāfiqūn reportedly elected a certain Abū 'Āmir ar-Rāhib (d. 10/631; cf. Ibn Sa'd, III/ii, p.90; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Ta'rīkh, I, p.1740) as their leader and decided to kill Muḥammad on his way to Tabūk as well as plunder Medina and take all of Muḥammad's descendants and relations prisoner. That plot was foiled by God. See al-'Askarī, Tafsīr, Lucknow 1893, p.238.

as his successor. This Muḥammad did a few days later at Ghadīr Khumm. After the announcement every member of the community was asked to pay homage to 'Alī. Some Companions--including Salmān, Abū Dharr, Khuzayma b. Thābit, Abū 'l-Haytham b. at-Tayyihān, 'Ammār b. Yāsir and al-Miqdād b. 'Amr¹--complied without hesitation. Others--notably Abū Bakr and 'Umar--demanded to know first whether this was an order of God and His Prophet; only when Muḥammad answered in the affirmative did they pay homage.² On the following night, when Muḥammad reached the mountain-road of Harshā, the plotters were already lying in ambush. Muḥammad ordered 'Ammār b. Yāsir to urge on his she-camel from behind (sāqa), while Ḥudhayfa led her from before (qāda). When they reached the top of the road the plotters appeared at their back and rolled the crawling insects which they had brought along between the legs of Muḥammad's she-camel. The frightened beast was about to break loose; but the Prophet calmed her, and God made her speak and promise that she would not be diverted from the road as long as the Prophet was on her back. When the plotters attempted to push the she-camel, Ḥudhayfa and 'Ammār fended them off with their swords until they finally gave up and retreated. Muḥammad identified the assailants by name and declared that they belonged to the munāfiqūn. There followed a sudden flash of lightning which illuminated the area and remained miraculously fixed. By its

¹ The role of these Companions in Imāmī Shī'ism is discussed more fully in the next chapter.

² In other Imāmī traditions 'Umar is described on the contrary as showing great enthusiasm about 'Alī's appointment, and is quoted as telling him, "You have become the master (walī) of every believing man and woman" (aṭ-Ṭabarsī, I'lām al-warā, p.133). The purpose of such a tradition is probably to highlight 'Umar's subsequent treachery. Cf. also below, p.212. For the behaviour at Ghadīr Khumm of Mu'āwiya and other Companions see below, p.201.

light Ḥudhayfa could recognise for himself the fourteen plotters whom Muḥammad had just identified. Nine of them were Qurayshīs: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Ṭalḥa, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū 'Ubayda, Mu'āwiya and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ; the five others were Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, Aws b. Ḥadathān al-Baṣrī,¹ Abū Hurayra and Abū Ṭalḥa al-Anṣārī.² All of them with the exception of Aws and Abū Ṭalḥa figure prominently among the rejected Companions. To Ḥudhayfa's suggestion that the plotters should be executed Muḥammad answered that he did not wish people to claim that he had fought the enemies of Islam with the help of the munāfiqūn, only to turn against them after victory had been attained.³

Despite their failure to kill Muḥammad the plotters did not give up. With the collaboration of twenty additional Companions--not all of whom are identified in the sources--they drew up a document (ṣaḥīfa) in which they repudiated 'Alī's claims and reiterated their own right to the succession. Hence the fact that these 34 Companions are known as the aṣḥāb aṣ-ṣaḥīfa. The document was written by Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ and deposited with Abū 'Ubayda who buried it inside the Ka'ba, where it remained until 'Umar dug it out during his caliphate.⁴ The Imāmīs claim that this is the document to which 'Alī was referring when he said at 'Umar's funeral, "I would like to meet God [and contend with 'Umar before Him concerning] the document

¹ His name does not appear in the usual biographical works.

² Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Sahl b. al-Aswad b. Ḥarām, one of the "guarantors" (nuqabā'); see Tahdhīb, III, pp.414-415. He is said to have dug Muḥammad's grave (aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh, I, p. 1832; al-Kulīnī, Furū' al-kāfi, III, p.166).

³ See also Rawḍa, p.345.

⁴ Ad-Daylamī, Irshād al-qulūb, cit. Bihār, VIII, pp.23-24, Darajāt, pp.300-303; cf. Muḥsin al-Kāshānī, An-nawādir fi jam' al-aḥādīth, Tehran 1960, p.108.

of the man who lies here enshrouded."¹

3. Abū Bakr b. Abī Quhāfa

Heading the list of the rejected Companions are the first three caliphs. Their reign is denounced by the Imāmis as illegitimate and contrary both to the tenets of Islam and to the wishes of the community. In addition, a series of deeds is ascribed to Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān which is designed to prove their incapacity to rule over the community, and to show up their personal shortcomings, their sinful innovations and their deviations from Muḥammad's teachings. To the Imāmis, who believe in an omniscient, infallible Imam, such devastating accusations are more than sufficient to invalidate the rule of these caliphs. The Imāmi claims were formulated amidst incessant polemics with Sunni adversaries and must be viewed against the background of Sunni veneration for the three caliphs. The discussion between al-Jāḥiẓ and al-Iskāfi² provides many of the arguments for and against Abū Bakr and shows that these arguments were well-known as early as the first century of 'Abbāsīd rule.³

¹ Kitāb 'Abbād al-'Uṣfurī, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'uni'a, f11b; Shāfi, pp. 176-177; Bihār, VIII, p.26. According to the Sunni interpretation, 'Alī's words refer to the document (ṣahīfa) in which all of 'Umar's good deeds are registered. 'Alī was expressing the hope that his own good deeds would be as many as those in 'Umar's ṣahīfa. See 'Abd al-Jabbār, Al-mughnī, XX/i, p.289; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muḥriqa, p.97. Al-Bāqillānī says (Manāqib al-a'imma) that the Khaṭṭābiyya (cf. above, p.17, n.8) quoted these words in support of their claim that 'Umar was the most excellent Companion.

² See above, pp.51-54.

³ Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī summarised the main accusations against the three caliphs, as well as against the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids, in his Minhāj al-karāma (pp.132m ff). Cf. the analysis of this work by Laoust, "La critique du sunnisme dans la doctrine d'al-Ḥillī", in REI 34, 1966, pp.35-60. Large sections of 'Abd al-Jabbār's defence of the first three caliphs in Al-mughnī and of al-Murtaḍā's counter-arguments in Ash-shāfi

Abū Bakr's Role before Muḥammad's Death

(a) Abū Bakr's prayer

A major controversy between Sunnis and Shi'is concerns the nature and significance of Abū Bakr's prayer at the head of the congregation during Muḥammad's last illness. The doctrinal importance of this issue becomes clear when one recalls that a major task of the Imam in Sunni eyes is to conduct the public prayers.¹ According to Imāmi accounts, 'Ā'isha persuaded Bilāl, the Prophet's mu'adhdhin, to let Abū Bakr conduct the prayers when Muḥammad fell ill. When the Prophet heard the takbīr (i.e. pronouncing the exclamation allāhu akbar) being recited by Abū Bakr he rose from his bed and, supported by 'Alī and al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās,² entered the mosque. When he saw Abū Bakr in front of the mihrāb he pushed him aside, conducted the prayer himself, and in a subsequent speech advised the community to follow 'Alī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. He then called 'Alī to his bedside, disclosed to him secret knowledge, urged him to be patient and dictated to him his last wishes. In the Imāmi view, Abū Bakr's action not only went against the

are quoted in Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha, as follows: Abū Bakr: XVII, pp.154-225; 'Umar: XII, pp.195-289; 'Uthmān: II, pp.324-333, III, pp.4-69.

¹ Cf. E. Tyan, Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam, Paris 1938, pp.388-390.

² On whom cf. Tahdhīb, VIII, p.280. These two names appear in Istighātha, f49b; (anonymous) Munāzarāt al-Jarawī wa'l-imam al-Bāqir, f265b; al-Murtaḍā, Talkhīṣ al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsin, f415b; Shāfi, p.108; al-Ṭabarsī, I'lām al-warā, p.134. Other names which are mentioned in this connection are 'Alī and al-'Abbās (ar-Raḍī, Khaṣā'is amīr al-mu'minin, Najaf 1369H., p.44; al-Ḥillī, Anwār al-malakūt, p.218), al-'Abbās and an unidentified person (al-Ḥalabī, As-sira al-ḥalabiyya, Cairo 1320H., III, p.386), al-Faḍl and the boy Thawbān (ibid., p.388), Burayra and an unidentified person (al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, Kanz al-'ummāl, V, p.370) (Thawbān and Burayra were clients of Muḥammad and of 'Ā'isha, respectively; see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Al-istf'āb, pp.80,708). From these examples it becomes clear that Sunni accounts tend to suppress 'Alī's name so as to weaken Shi'i claims that he was constantly at the Prophet's side during his last days. See also below, pp.180-181.

Prophet's wish; it was also devoid of any real significance, since the duties of the Imam cover a much larger area than leading the community in prayer, and such an action cannot in itself be regarded as the mark of supreme authority.¹

(b) Usāma's army

A critical view is taken by the Imāmis of Abū Bakr's behaviour towards Usāma b. Zayd, whom the Prophet had entrusted shortly before his death with the command of an army which was to be sent on an expedition to Syria to avenge a defeat at Mu'ta three years earlier.² According to Imāmī accounts, Muḥammad placed Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān under Usāma's command with the aim of removing them from Medina, since he suspected that they were plotting against 'Alī and he wished to ensure that after his death no obstacles would be put in 'Alī's way. That this was his desire is also shown by the fact that 'Alī was not included in the expedition. The placing of Abū Bakr under Usāma's command is cited as proof that he was not being groomed for the role of an Imam, one of whose chief tasks is to conduct the holy war. When Abū Bakr became caliph he is said to have illegally replaced Usāma by Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān in a bid to win Abū Sufyān over to his camp. Usāma for his part adamantly refused to recognise the authority of a man who had been placed by the Prophet as his subordinate.³

¹ See Istighātha, f60b; Shāfi, p.108; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., pp.134-135. For the Sunni account see e.g. al-Jāḥiẓ, Al-'uthmāniyya, pp.130-132, 164.

² Cf. Sīra, pp.1006-7. On Usāma (d. c.54/674) see the article by V. Vacca, in BI¹, IV, pp.1048-9, and the bibliography given there.

³ See Istighātha, f15b; Shāfi, p.246, cit. (with other sources) Bihār, VIII, pp.256-259; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., pp.133,139. For the counter-argument cf. al-Jāḥiẓ, op.cit., p.169 (where it is denied that Abū Bakr belonged to Usāma's army); 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/1, pp.343-349.

Abū Bakr's Election

'Alī's inalienable rights are juxtaposed by Imāmī writers with a reading of historical events which points to a shocking injustice perpetrated against him. The imamate was treacherously wrested away from 'Alī in the initial confusion and bewilderment which followed Muḥammad's death; this is the epitome of the Imāmī view of the events which swept Abū Bakr to power. According to Imāmī accounts, while 'Alī and other members of Muḥammad's family were engaged in preparing the Prophet's body for burial, the Anṣār, concerned about their declining influence in the community,¹ gathered in the Saqifa of the Banū Sā'ida in order to elect their own leader, Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, as Muḥammad's successor. When news of this reached Abū Bakr, 'Umar and Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ,² they hastened with their supporters to the Saqifa where they managed by a combination of lies, deceit and threats of violence to turn the tide in their favour and to have Abū Bakr installed as caliph. 'Alī and his followers refused to abide by the fait accompli but were forced to give the oath of allegiance (bay'a) when threatened with imminent execution.³ The Imāmīs maintain that Abū Bakr's election was illegal because it went against the express wishes of the Prophet. In addition they claim that the election was invalid even by Sunni criteria because it did not fulfil the Sunni requirement of a voluntary and unanimous consent.⁴

¹ Or, in other versions, because of their envy of 'Alī; cf. above, p.115.

² On the central role which these three Companions played before and immediately after Muḥammad's death see H. Lammens, "Le 'Triumvirat' Aboū Bakr, 'Omar et Aboū 'Obaida", in MFO 4, Beirut 1910, pp.113-144.

³ Cf. below, p.149.

⁴ See in general Bihār, VIII, pp.35-79, where numerous early sources are quoted. Cf. also below, pp.248ff.

As proof of the correctness of their claims Imāmi polemicists quote words attributed to 'Umar, "The oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr was a falta."¹ The Sunnis interpret falta as meaning "an unusual event" or "a sudden and unexpected event."² They explain that the quick action by Abū Bakr and 'Umar was the only way of saving the community from destruction through internecine warfare and apostasy at the critical moments which followed Muḥammad's death. 'Umar is said to have added, "God has preserved [us] from its evil" (waqa 'llāh sharrahā) --which the Sunnis interpret as meaning the evil of disagreement and discord.³ Although Abū Bakr's action could, under different circumstances, have brought about negative results such as civil war and bloodshed, it gained God's approval in that particular case.⁴ The implication is that 'Umar did not see in the method of Abū Bakr's election a precedent which the community would necessarily have to follow in the future, but rather an exceptional procedure dictated by the unusual conditions of that time.⁵ The Imāmis, on the other hand, interpret 'Umar's words as follows: "The oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr was [the result of] a hasty and forcible action;⁶ may God preserve [us] from its evil [consequences]; whoever reverts to a similar [course of action]

¹ Inna bay'at Abī Bakr kānat faltatan (Sira, p.1014). Similar words are ascribed to Abū Bakr himself: "The oath of allegiance to myself was [only] falta" (al-Jāḥiẓ, op.cit., p.196).

² Al-Jāḥiẓ, op.cit., p.198; 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/i, p.339; al-Ḥalabī, op.cit., III, p.298; cf. Lane, I, p.2435, s.v. flt.

³ Al-Jāḥiẓ, loc.cit.; 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/i, p.340.

⁴ Cf. al-Ḥalabī, loc.cit.

⁵ Sunni doctors could not be satisfied with this explanation since it might be interpreted as an implied admission of the illegality of Abū Bakr's rule. One therefore finds that al-Māwardī (Al-aḥkām as-sultāniyya, Bonn 1853, p.6) cites the method of Abū Bakr's election as a model of correct procedure for future generations.

⁶ This is another possible meaning of falta; cf. Lane, s.v.

will be killed."¹ This proves that Abū Bakr had no delegation from the Prophet and reinforces the claim that the entire process of his election was nothing more than a seizure of power through brute force.²

The Imāmis point out that Abū Bakr himself repeatedly asked to be relieved of his duties³ and before his death expressed regret at not having asked the Prophet who should rule over the community.⁴

Events during Abū Bakr's Rule

(a) The "wars of apostasy" (ḥurūb ar-ridḍa)

In the Sunni view, Abū Bakr's finest achievement lay in routing the secessionist movements which threatened to destroy the young community. In contrast to this view, the Imāmis accuse Abū Bakr of being himself one of the major causes which precipitated the unrest, in that he forced himself on the unwilling community. The Imāmis maintain that the Banū Ḥanīfa, large numbers of whom were supposedly among the apostates,⁵ were right in refusing to pay the alms tax (zakāt) to a caliph whose legitimacy they challenged.⁶ Moreover, Abū Bakr is blamed for

¹ Shāfi, p.97.

² Ibid., and in general ibid., pp.241-244.

³ Ibid., p.240, cit (with other sources) Bihār, VIII, pp.268-270. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/i, pp.221, 338-339.

⁴ See Shāfi, p.97; cf. al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, IV, pp.184-185; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, op.cit., V, pp.368-369.

⁵ Cf the article "Ḥanīfa b. Luḍjāym" by W. Montgomery Watt, in EI², III, p.166.

⁶ Cf. the argument of Ibn Bābawayhi in the (anonymous) Munāzarat malik Rukn ad-Dawla ma'a 's-Ṣadūq, f267b; al-Mūsawī, An-naṣṣ wa'l-iftihād, pp.143-146. Al-Mufīd is said to have contended in his Kitāb al-īdāh (cf. Dharī'a, II, p.490, s.v. Al-īdāh fi 'l-imāma) that various tribes refused to recognise Abū Bakr whilst 'Alī was alive, and that this was the cause which induced Abū Bakr to embark on the so-called "wars of apostasy". See al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī, Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il, ff15a-15b.

sending against them one of the cruellest commanders at his disposal, Khālīd b. al-Walīd,¹ one of whose worst excesses was his order to kill the leader of the Banū Ḥanīfa, Mālīk b. Nuwayra, despite the fact that Mālīk professed loyalty to Islam. Khālīd was supposedly motivated by lust for Mālīk's beautiful wife Umm Tamīm bint al-Minhāl. Abū Bakr is accused of having permitted this atrocity to take place and to have subsequently treated Khālīd with unwarranted leniency, despite protests by 'Umar.²

(b) The affair of Fadak

This is often cited by the Shī'a as a major example of Abū Bakr's arbitrary behaviour towards 'Alī's family. The Imāmis maintain that Abū Bakr refused to hand over to Fāṭima the oasis of Fadak which had been bequeathed to her by her father, the Prophet. In justification of his decision Abū Bakr is said to have quoted the tradition, "We the Prophets do not bequeath [i.e. our estates do not fall into the category of ordinary estates which are divided among the relatives in specified proportions]; that which we leave behind is made into a charitable trust (nahnu 'l-anbiyā' lā nūrithu mā taraknā ṣadaqatun)."³ The Shī'is, however, basing themselves on a different version of the tradition, understand it to mean, "What we [the Prophets] leave behind as a charitable trust cannot be bequeathed [but everything else may be] (lā yūrathu mā taraknā ṣadaqatan)."³ Abū Bakr's decision is

¹ Khālīd's honorary title Sayf al-Islām was turned by some Shī'is into Sayf ash-shayṭān; see al-Qazwīnī, Kitāb an-naqd, p.308.

² Istighātha, f16a; Shāfi, pp.249-250, cit. (with other sources) Bihār, VIII, pp.264-268. The Imāmis, who do not wish for a moment to place 'Umar in a favourable light, are quick to add that he forgave Khālīd when the latter informed him that he had killed Sa'd b. 'Ubāda who had refused to recognise Abū Bakr (Bihār, VIII, p.268). For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit. XX/i, pp.354-355. See in general aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh, I, pp.1925-6.

³ See the discussion in Goldziher, Muh.Ṣtaḍ., II, pp.103-104. Cf. also Wensinck, Concordance, I, p.270b, s.v. trk.

presented as contrary to the Qur'ān, where various prophets are shown as bequeathing; thus Zachariah asked God for an offspring who would inherit from him,¹ and "Solomon was David's heir."² The rejection of Fāṭima's claim is put in an even worse light by accounts according to which Abū Bakr disregarded the evidence of Muḥammad's wife Umm Ayman and of 'Alī, both of whom testified in favour of Fāṭima. As a result, Fāṭima made an oath that she would never again speak to Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Before her death she ordered 'Alī to bury her at night and to prevent Abū Bakr, 'Umar and their followers from performing the prayer of the dead over her. The significance of Fāṭima's anger is underlined by the tradition in which Muḥammad is quoted as saying to her, "Your anger is also that of God; your satisfaction is also that of God." And also, "Fāṭima is a part of me; whoever harms her has harmed me and whoever harms me has also harmed God."³

Abū Bakr's Personal Shortcomings

(a) His ignorance

While the Sunnis praise Abū Bakr as one of the most knowledgeable men in matters of religious law, the Imānis point to his ignorance of many facets of that law. Abū Bakr is said to have ordered cutting off the left hand of a thief when it should have been the right hand.⁴ He made arbitrary decisions

¹ See Qur'ān 19/5-6.

² Qur'ān 27/16.

³ Istighātha, ff8a-11b; al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtiṣāṣ, pp.183-185; Shāfi, pp.228-239; al-Muḥaffar, Dalā'il al-aṣ-ṣidq, III/i, pp.22-45. A great number of details culled from various sources are recorded in Bihār, VIII, pp.91-141. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/i, pp.328-338; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muhriqa, pp.35-38. See in general the article "Fadak" by L. Veccia Vaglieri, in EI², II, pp.725-727, and the bibliography given there.

⁴ The Sunnis answer that this may have been the mistake of the person appointed to execute the punishment, or that it may have been a case of a third offence of the thief; cf. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.33.

in questions of inheritance, e.g. in cases of kalāla, where the deceased leaves behind neither descendant nor ascendant;¹ in the case of the share in the inheritance of the grandfather and other relatives he showed inexcusable indecisiveness by issuing numerous conflicting responsa. Due to an imperfect knowledge of Arabic he was ignorant of the meaning of certain words used in the Qur'ān, e.g. the word abb (meaning probably "pasture") in the verse "And fruits and pastures".² Abū Bakr himself admitted his fallibility by saying that all his right decisions were made with the help of God while his errors stemmed entirely from his own shortcomings.³

(b) His cowardice

One of the most famous events with which Abū Bakr is linked is his sojourn with Muḥammad in a cave on their way from Mecca to Medina.⁴ The Sunnis point to the Quranic allusion to that event⁵ and argue that Abū Bakr's fortitude and loyalty to the Prophet during these difficult times are among his greatest virtues.⁶ The Imāmis claim that the Quranic allusion does not imply any praise for Abū Bakr.⁷ On the contrary: Abū Bakr

¹ Cf. Lane, Supplement, p.3002, s.v. kll. See the discussion in Van Ess, Das Kitāb an-Nakt, p.39 (in proofs).

² Qur'ān 80/31. Cf. Van Ess, op.cit., pp.38-39 (in proofs).

³ Shāfi, pp.240-241, cit. (with other sources) Bihār, VIII, pp.270-272. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/i, pp.352-353. See also the polemics between an-Nazzām and Ibn Qutayba, in Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth, pp.20,24.

⁴ See Sīra, pp.328-329.

⁵ Qur'ān 9/40.

⁶ See al-Jāhiz, op.cit., pp.101-109; 'Abd al-Jabbār, Tathbīt, p.370; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.40; as-Suyūṭī, Ta'rīkh al-khulafā', p.33.

⁷ See Istighātha, ff53b-54a; (anonymous) Munāzarat al-Jarawī wa'l-imām . . . al-Baqir, ff264b-265a; cf. the analysis by al-Mufīd as quoted in aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-ihtijāj, pp.279-280, and a similar analysis by al-Murtaḍā in Shāfi, p.221; and in general Bihār, VI, pp.418-420.

joined Muḥammad in the cave because he was afraid of the unbelievers and, unlike 'Alī, was incapable of staying behind in Mecca and holding off Muḥammad's enemies.¹ Muḥammad knew of Abū Bakr's cowardice from the time before the hijra when Abū Bakr wanted to escape from Mecca and leave the Prophet.² While in the cave Muḥammad had to allay Abū Bakr's fears and distract his attention by miraculously conjuring up scenes of the Anṣār engaged in conversation and of Ja'far aṭ-Ṭayyār ('Alī's brother) and his friends crossing the sea to Abyssinia. Abū Bakr was convinced at that moment that Muḥammad was a sorcerer.³

It may be noted here that some Imāmī theologians (qawm min ahl an-naẓar) deduce from Abū Bakr's sojourn in the cave that he cannot be considered an Emigrant (Muhājir). Their reasoning is based on the verse, "Whoever leaves his home an emigrant to God and His Apostle and then death overtakes him, his reward from God is sure."⁴ They interpret this verse as indicating that Muḥammad's hijra was to God whereas the hijra of the believers was to Muḥammad. It was agreed by general consensus that no one might be considered a partner of Muḥammad in his hijra to God. So whoever makes the hijra to Muḥammad must make it after Muḥammad's own hijra. Abū Bakr went to Medina with Muḥammad; he was seeking Muḥammad's protection and the Prophet was acting as intermediary between him and God. Since Abū Bakr did not make the hijra to the Prophet he is not

¹ See 'Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs, Iqbāl al-a'māl, cit. Bihār, VI, p.423.

² See Bihār, loc.cit. I. Friedlaender ("The heterodoxies of the Shiites", 1908, p.59) brings various examples which illustrate the prominent part which the verse about the cave played in Sunni-Shī'ī polemics.

³ See Rawḍa, pp.262-263; al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisās, p.19, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.227.

⁴ Qur'an 4/100(101).

a Muhājir, and he lacks the virtues with which God endowed the Muhājirūn. He is merely a Companion, and that in itself does not imply any virtue.¹

Another example of Abū Bakr's cowardice during Muḥammad's lifetime is his alleged behaviour at the Battle of Badr. The Sunnis claim that Abū Bakr was chosen to stay with the Prophet in his hut ('arīsh) so that he might act as his personal bodyguard--a task which he fulfilled admirably.² The Imāmis explain that Muḥammad wanted to have Abū Bakr with him because he was familiar with his cowardice and did not wish him to mingle with the warriors and spread panic.³

(c) His niggardliness

The Sunnis quote traditions in which Muḥammad says that no one aided him materially as much as Abū Bakr, and that only God will be able to reward him fully for his generosity.⁴ Abū Bakr is said to have spent all his fortune--40,000 dinars (or dirhams)⁵--for Muḥammad.⁶ The Imāmis claim that whereas it is well known that 'Alī spent everything he had for the Prophet, nothing of the kind can be said with any certainty about Abū

¹ See Istighātha, ff54b-55a.

² See al-Jāhiz, op.cit., p.53; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.28 (quoting 'Alī); as-Suyūṭī, op.cit., pp.25-26; cf. Sīra, pp.439-440, 444.

³ See at-Tūsī, Talkhīṣ ash-shāfi, p.433; cf. al-Murtaḍā, Talkhīṣ al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsin, f406b (where the reference is both to Abū Bakr and to 'Umar). For a similar debate, this time concerning Abū Bakr's role in the battle of Uhud, cf. al-Jāhiz, op.cit., pp.62-63; al-Iskāfī, Naqd al-'ūthmāniyya, p.339.

⁴ See at-Tirmidhī, Saḥīḥ, Cairo 1350-2H., XIII, p.129; cf. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, op.cit., p.69.

⁵ Ibn Shahrāshūb (Manāqib al Abī Ṭalīb, I, p.345) capitalises on this ambiguity in the sources by remarking caustically that 40,000 dirhams are only 4,000 dinars.

⁶ Al-Jāhiz, op.cit., pp.35-36; as-Suyūṭī, op.cit., p.27.

Bakr.¹ 'Alī is said to have established the custom that whoever wished to have a private conversation with Muḥammad gave alms to the poor. Thereupon Abū Bakr reportedly avoided talking to Muḥammad so as not to be obliged to give alms.² His niggardliness supposedly manifested itself in his treatment of his father Abū Quḥāfa, to whom he lent no financial support.³ Even those Imāmis who are ready to acknowledge Abū Bakr's generosity towards Muḥammad maintain nevertheless that 'Alī was much more ready to make sacrifices of every kind in support of the Prophet's cause.⁴

4. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

'Umar's hatred of the ahl al-bayt

In Sunni and Shi'i literature detailed accounts are given of the manner in which Muḥammad in his last illness was prevented by 'Umar from writing down his last will. 'Umar is said to have claimed at the time that the Muslims were in no need of any document other than the Qur'ān.⁵ While Sunni polemicists try in various ways to justify 'Umar's action,⁶ the Imāmis contend that his sole aim was to prevent Muḥammad from producing an official written confirmation of 'Alī's appointment

¹ The Imāmi argument is that while in Mecca, Muḥammad was in no need of large sums of money since he had not yet declared war against the polytheists or begun raising an army; moreover, he was supported by his wealthy wife Khadija. In Medina Abū Bakr himself was in financial straits and had to engage in teaching and in mending and selling clothes to earn a living. See Istighātha, ff57a-58a; Shāfi, pp.220-221; (anonymous) Munāzarat malik Rukn ad-Dawla ma'a 'ṣ-Ṣadūq, ff270a-270b.

² Ibn Dā'i, Tabṣirat al-'awāmm, p.234 (ad Qur'ān 58/12-13(13-14)).

³ Ibn al-Kalbī, Kitāb al-mathālib, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.272; al-Iskāfi, op.cit., p.318; Ibn Dā'i, op.cit., p.233.

⁴ See Ibn Shahrāshūb, loc.cit., whence Bihār, IX, pp.513-515.

⁵ For references to Sunni traditions on this subject see Wensinck, Handbook, p.161.

⁶ See e.g. Goldziher, Die Zāhiriten, pp.95-96.

as the next ruler.¹

In the Imāmī view, this incident shows what lengths 'Umar was ready to go to in his hatred of 'Alī. Some of 'Umar's actions after the Prophet's death are cited as further proof of his implacable hostility to the ahl al-bayt. Thus he is described as acting with particular ruthlessness towards 'Alī and his followers when they refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of Abū Bakr's election. He is said to have given the order to burn down 'Alī's house unless all its occupants surrendered immediately;² when Fāṭima came out to protest he reportedly hit her with his sword and lashed at her arm with his whip.³ He then permitted a mawla of Abū Bakr called Qunfudh b. 'Umayr b. Jud'ān at-Taymī to push Fāṭima and break one of her ribs; as a result the child Muḥsin (some Imāmīs prefer the reading Muḥassin) whom she was carrying in her womb was stillborn, and Fāṭima herself never recovered and died six months later.⁴ It was 'Umar who threatened 'Alī and his followers with death unless they gave Abū Bakr the oath of allegiance;⁵ it was 'Umar, too, who spurred Abū Bakr to the most unjust acts against the ahl al-bayt.⁶ During his own reign he deprived 'Alī and his family

¹ See Bihār, VIII, pp.273-276, and the sources quoted there.

² See (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, Al-imāma wa's-siyāsa, I, p.19. Ibn Ṭawūs, Kitāb tarā'if 'Abd al-Mahmūd, Persia 1302H., p.64 (quoting non-Imāmī sources).

³ See aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-ihtijāj, p.53, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.53.

⁴ See aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., pp.53-54, cit. Bihār, loc.cit. Cf. al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisās, p.185; al-Qazwīnī, Kitāb an-naqd, p.317; Muḥsin al-Kāshānī, An-nawādir fī jam' al-aḥādīth, pp.119-120; L. Massignon, "Les origines shī'ites de la famille vizirale des Banu'l Furāt", in Opera Minora, Beirut 1963, I, p.485. Qunfudh is mentioned in Sīra, p.177. According to the pro-'Alid al-Ganjī (in his Kifāyat aṭ-ṭalīb, p.413), no information about Muḥsin exists in the works of Sunnī authors, with the exception of Ibn Qutayba. Even among Shī'ī authors there are those who do not mention Muḥsin; cf. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, I'lām al-warā, p.203. Cf. also Ibn aṣ-Ṣabbāgh, Al-fuṣūl al-muhimma, p.145.

⁵ (Pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., I, p.20; al-Mufīd, op.cit., pp.186-187.

⁶ Cf. below, pp.153, 161-162.

of the financial subventions to which they were entitled.¹

'Umar's Ignorance

'Umar is known in Sunni literature as "al-Fārūq", "he who can distinguish between truth and falsehood."² The Imāmis dispute the validity of this honorific appellation. In their view, the title "al-Fārūq al-Akbar" (as well as "aṣ-Ṣiddīq al-Akbar") belongs to 'Alī.³ 'Umar displayed nothing but malice and ignorance. Even before his accession, say the Imāmis, he betrayed his ignorance by not realising that Muḥammad would die like other prophets before him, although this is clearly stated in the Qur'ān.⁴ When told of Muḥammad's death he refused to believe it and threatened to cut off the limbs of anyone who repeated the news.⁵

¹ See below, p.153.

² See e.g. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, *op.cit.*, pp.91-92.

³ See e.g. Ibn Shahrāshūb, *op.cit.*, II, pp.285-288; Ibn al-Baṭrīq, *K. al-'umda*, Persia 1892, pp.112-114; cf. Ibn Bābawayhi, *'Uyūn akhbār ar-Riḍā*, II, p.13. In an Imāmi tradition, Salmān al-Fārisī is quoted as declaring that calling Abū Bakr "aṣ-Ṣiddīq" and 'Umar "al-Fārūq" is a case of plagiarism, since these titles belong to 'Alī alone (aṭ-Ṭabarsī, *Al-iḥtijāj*, p. 83). A different explanation is attributed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq. He is reported to have maintained that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were indeed named "aṣ-Ṣiddīq" and "al-Fārūq" respectively; these titles, however, were anything but honorific: Muḥammad called Abū Bakr "aṣ-Ṣiddīq" during their stay in the cave, when Abū Bakr believed (*saddaqa*) that Muḥammad was a sorcerer (see above, p.146); 'Umar became known as "al-Fārūq" "because he separated between truth and falsehood and then imposed falsehood upon the people" (Ḥasan b. Sulaymān, *Muntakhab al-baṣā'ir* (cf. on this work *Dharī'a*, III, p.124), *cit. Bihār*, XIII, pp.218-219).

⁴ *Qur'ān* 3/144(138).

⁵ See Shāfi, p.252, *cit.* (with other sources) *Bihār*, VIII, pp. 283-286; al-Muḥaffar, *op.cit.*, III/i, pp.72-74. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Al-mughnī*, XX/ii, pp.9-12. A clearer picture of 'Umar's behaviour is given in *Sīra*, p.1012, aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, pp.1815-6 (on the authority of Abū Hurayra): 'Umar is said to have believed that Muḥammad had gone to his Lord like Moses in Sinai, but that he would re-appear after forty days. Then Muḥammad would cut off the hands and feet of those who had announced his death. Cf. also al-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-'uthmāniyya*, pp.79-81, where 'Uthmān is said to have shared 'Umar's views on the matter.

According to the Imāmis, it was particularly as a ruler that his totally insufficient knowledge of the law became apparent. For example, 'Umar knew that Muḥammad had given Fāṭima in marriage for only 500 dirhams.¹ He wished to follow the Prophet's example by turning it into a general rule; he is therefore quoted as declaring, "Do not charge excessive [amounts] in respect of the dowries of women."² A woman had to point out to him the error of this decree by quoting the Quranic verse, "And if you desire to exchange one wife for another, and have given one of them a large sum of money (qintār), make no deduction from it."³

Particularly popular are references in Imāmi literature to various occasions on which 'Umar was forced to turn to 'Alī for advice since he did not himself know the correct way of applying the hadd (the punishment decreed by God for specific grave sins).⁴ On these occasions 'Umar is reported to have

¹ See Ibn Shahrāshūb, op.cit., II, p.127; cf. al-Irbilī, Kashf al-ghumma fī ma'rīfat al-a'imma, Tabriz 1381H., I, pp. 348-374.

² Lā tughālū fī ṣadaqāt an-nisā' (see Wensinck, Concordance, III, p.695, s.v. ṣdq).

³ Qur'ān 4/20(24). See Shāfi, p.254; Bihār, VIII, p.294; al-Muḥaffar, op.cit., III/i, pp.76-79. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/ii, pp.13-14. See also al-Barqī, K. al-mahāsin, p.256. The Quranic verse in question is taken by the commentators to mean that a man who had given his wife a large sum as dowry may not take any of it back if he wishes to divorce her (cf. e.g. aṭ-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, IV, pp.200-201). The implication is that it is permissible to charge a large amount as dowry.

⁴ The following cases are frequently mentioned: (a) 'Alī, by proving that women may give birth to a child after a six-month pregnancy, causes 'Umar to countermand his order to have a certain woman stoned for adultery. See al-Khuwārizmī, Manāqib, p.50; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Manāqib al Abī Ṭālib, II, p.187; Bihār, VIII, p.202, IX, p.483 (quoting from the Kanz jāmi' al-fawā'id, a collocation of two books, one by Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī al-Astarābādī (d.940/1534) and the other by 'Alī b. Sayf an-Najafī al-Hillī (fl. 10th/16th cent.)). (b) 'Alī tells 'Umar that the hadd may not be applied when a confession of guilt has been extracted by intimidation. See al-Khuwārizmī, op.cit.,

expressed his gratitude to 'Alī by declaring "But for 'Alī, 'Umar would have perished."¹

Unjust Decisions

Among the many examples of unfair and biased decisions reported in Imāmī works the affair of 'Umar's governor in Baṣra, al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba (d. 48-51/668-671), is given special prominence. While in Baṣra al-Mughīra, known for his predilection for women, established an adulterous relationship with a certain Umm Jamīl. The Baṣrīs sent men who spied on their governor and then reported to 'Umar that their suspicions of him had been confirmed. 'Umar, however, prevailed upon Ziyād b. Abīhī, one of the four witnesses, to refrain from giving damning evidence against al-Mughīra, and then ordered that the

p.39 cit. al-Irbilī, Kashf al-ghumma, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.296.
 (c) When 'Umar orders that an insane woman be stoned for adultery, 'Alī reminds him of the Prophet's words, "Responsibility [lit. "the pen (of responsibility)"] is lifted from three [persons]: the insane until he recovers, the boy until he attains to manhood, the sleeper until he awakes". See al-Khuwārizmī, op.cit., p.38, cit. Bihār, loc.cit.; Ibn Shahrāshūb, op.cit., II, p.188. Cf. Wensinck, Concordance, II, p.289, s.v. rf'. See also in general al-Mufīd, Al-irshād, pp. 108-110; Shāfi, p. 253; al-Muḥaffar, Dalā'il aṣ-ṣidq, II, pp. 340-341, III/i, pp.74-76. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/ii, pp.12-13.

¹ Lawlā 'Alī la-halaka 'Umar. This formula appears at the end of most cases mentioned in the preceding note. According to Ibn aṣ-Ṣabbāgh (Al-fuṣūl al-muhimma, p. 18), 'Umar said these words on seventy different occasions. Imāmī authors stress that traditions in which this utterance is ascribed to 'Umar appear in Sunnī works as well; cf. Ibn Shahrāshūb, op.cit., I, p.311; al-Aminī, Al-ghadīr, III, p.97, with n.6. 'Umar is also reported to have declared, "'Alī is the best among us as regards decisions on legal matters" (aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, I, p.256; al-Khuwārizmī, op.cit., p.47, cit. Bihār, IX, p. 468); "I seek God's protection from every difficult case for which there is no 'Alī" (al-Khuwārizmī, op.cit., p. 51; Ibn Shahrāshūb, op.cit., II, p.191; al-Ganjī, Kifāyat aṭ-ṭālib, pp.217-218; cf. Lane, p.2075, s.v. 'adl); etc. The fame and popularity which such traditions gained in pro-'Alid circles led to their being referred to in poems. See e.g. the poem by aṣ-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, in his Diwān, Baghdad 1965, p.110, cit. al-Khuwārizmī, op.cit., p.56; Ibn Shahrāshūb, op.cit., I, p.312; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ, Najaf 1383H., p.148. See also the verses by al-Khuwārizmī, quoted in his Manāqib, p.290, cit. Ibn Shahrāshūb, loc.cit.

other three should be flogged for slander.¹

One of the functions of the Imam, both in Sunni and Shi'i Islam, is to supervise over the equitable distribution of public funds. In this field, too, 'Umar is accused of acting in a wholly arbitrary manner. He is said to have allocated to the Qurayshī wives of Muḥammad, 'Ā'isha and Ḥafṣa, an annuity of 10,000 dirhams. Such a sum exceeded by far their legitimate needs and was also twice the amount given to Muḥammad's other surviving wives. At the same time 'Umar showed callous disregard for the rights of the Prophet's relatives (dhawī 'l-qurbā), even though these rights are specifically referred to in a Quranic injunction;² he did not grant them a fifth (khums) of the income of the Sawād, nor did he give them their share in the lands of Khaybar and in other property.³ In his distribution of the booty (ghanima) and the pensions ('aṭā') he is accused of showing partiality towards certain sectors of the community by preferring the Muhājirūn over the Anṣār, Quraysh over other tribes, Arabs over non-Arabs. He is also accused of having borrowed from the treasury for his own use the unacceptably large

¹ See Shāfi, pp. 255-256; Bihār, VIII, pp.291-294; al-Muḥaffar, op.cit., III/1, pp.85-92. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/ii, pp.16-18.

² Qur'ān 8/41(42).

³ According to Imāmī fiqh, the fifth is the tax due on land or property conquered by fighting. This tax belongs to the family of the Prophet. Half of it goes to the Imam and the rest is divided among the poor, the orphans and the wayfarers; see Kitāb 'Āṣim b. Humayd, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a, f22a; al-Kulīnī, Uṣūl al-kāfi, I, p.539-540. The Zaydīs rejected the Imāmī view of the khums (see al-Qāsim p.147). Cf. also the comments on this subject by al-Maqrīzī (who, according to Goldziher, Die Zāhiriten, pp.196-202, was an adherent of the Zāhirī madhhab) in his An-nizā' wa't-takhaṣṣum, Najaf 1386H., pp.21-22. 'Umar is reported to have advised Abū Bakr to deprive the ahl al-bayt of the fifth. In 'Umar's view, such an act would alienate many persons who were motivated in their support of 'Alī by the hope of gaining financial reward in return. See an-Najafī, Al-muntakhab fi'l-marāthī wa'l-khuṭab, Bombay 1311H., p.67.

sum of 80,000 dirhams.¹

Harmful Innovations (bida')

The list of sinful and harmful innovations (bida') attributed to 'Umar occupies a central place in the Imānī critique of his reign. The detailed and persistent manner in which the Imānīs deal with these alleged innovations may be explained by two factors. Firstly, the Imānīs claim to be the only Muslims who faithfully adhered to Muḥammad's original teachings. An effective method of substantiating this claim is by proving that the differences between the Imānī and the various Sunnī schools of law (madhāhib) were the result of changes which 'Umar and other early rulers made in Muḥammad's teachings, and which were subsequently adopted by the Sunnī doctors. Moreover, by deliberately stressing the differences--usually very minor--which separate them from the Sunnī madhāhib,² the Imānīs wish to highlight the independence of their own school of law. Secondly, the Imānīs had a long score to settle with 'Umar, in whom they saw the worst and most cruel oppressor of the ahl al-bayt;³ by attributing to him a long list of sinful innovations--whether or not historically verifiable is irrelevant in this context--they could add substantially to the charges against his character and undermine the image of an exemplary ruler so carefully nourished by the Sunnīs. It should be pointed out that Imānī theoreticians took a particularly grave view of harmful innovations. Unlike

¹ See Istighātha, ff20a, 21b; Shāfi, p.254; Bihār, VIII, pp. 303-306; al-Muḥaffar, op.cit., III/i, pp.83-85. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/ii, pp.15-16,18. See also al-Jāhiz's answer to the charge that 'Umar was biased against the non-Arabs, in Al-'uthmāniyya, pp.211-218.

² On this question see Y. Linant de Bellefonds, "Le droit imāmite", in Le Shi'isme Imāmite, pp. 183-199; for specific examples of peculiarities of Imānī fiqh cf. also Goldziher, "Literaturgeschichte", pp.521-524.

³ Cf. above, pp.148-149.

most Mu'tazilīs who argued that an innovator (sāhib bid'a) was a grave sinner (fāsiq), the Imāmīs declared him to be an unbeliever (kāfir).¹

The following are some of the more significant innovations which 'Umar is said to have introduced.

(a) Prohibition of the mut'atān

Contrary to what Muḥammad had decreed, 'Umar prohibited two customs which, though hardly related to one another, are both known by the term mut'a (enjoyment, pleasure). The first is the mut'at al-ḥajj (also known as tamattu'), which consists of performing the lesser pilgrimage ('umra) and the ḥajj during the same journey, while separating the two by a de-consecration.² The second is the mut'a fi 'n-nisā', the temporary marriage, which according to the Imāmīs was recognised during the time of the Prophet, throughout the caliphate of Abū Bakr, and in the beginning of 'Umar's reign, until he issued the decree

¹ See al-Mufīd, Awā'il al-maqālāt, pp.15-16; Bihār, VII, p.81 (quoting al-Mufīd).

² For a discussion of the origins of the mut'at al-ḥajj see Van Ess, Das Kitāb an-Nakt, p.34(?) (in proofs). It would be incorrect, however, to assume that the Sunnīs reject this form of pilgrimage. In fact they recognise, in addition to the tamattu', two other forms: the ifrād, which consists of performing the ḥajj and the 'umra at two different times of the year, and the qirān (or iqrān), which consists of performing the ḥajj and the 'umra together and in one state of ritual consecration (iḥrām). The discussion among Sunnī jurists centres around the issue of which is the best form: while Mālik and ash-Shāfi'ī reportedly preferred the ifrād, followed by the tamattu' and the qirān, Ibn Ḥanbal put the tamattu' first while Abū Ḥanifa preferred the qirān (see an-Nawawī, Sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Cairo 1349H., VIII, pp.134-135; cf. in general Juynboll, Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes, pp.146-147). Imāmī doctors prohibit both qirān and ifrād, except in special cases in which the pilgrim is unable to perform the mut'a; see aṭ-Ṭūsī, Al-istibṣār fima 'khtulifa min al-akḥbār, Najaf 1956-7, II, pp.152-153; cf. Istighātha, f22a; al-Murtaḍā, Jumal al-'ilm wa'l-'amal, p.104. For the Zaydī practice cf. Strothmann, "Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. 'Alī", in Der Islam 13, 1923, p.14.

outlawing it.¹

(b) Innovations in prayer

(i) 'Umar made it permissible to wipe the outer part of the shoes before the prayer (instead of wiping or washing the feet) (al-mash 'ala 'l-khuffayn).² The Shi'is forbade this practice. This relatively minor question became a symbol of the differences between Shi'is and Sunnis.³ (ii) He introduced the formula "Prayer is better than sleep" (aṣ-ṣalāt khayr min an-nawm), known as the tathwib, after the call to the prayer;⁴ at the same time he dropped the formula "Come to the best of the works" (hayya 'alā khayr al-'amal).⁵ (iii) He established the custom of saying "Amen" after the recitation of the first sūra (the fātiha).⁶ (iv) He introduced the supererogatory prayer

¹ See Kitāb 'Āsim b. Humayd, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a, ff14a, 18b-19a, 20b; Istighātha, ff22b-23a; Shāfi, pp. 256-257; Bihār, VIII, pp.286-291 (quoting numerous Sunnī works to prove that the mut'atān were approved by Muḥammad); al-Muḥaffar, op.cit., III/i, pp.96-113. Cf. also the list of Companions who accepted the legitimacy of temporary marriage, in Ibn Ḥabīb, Kitāb al-muḥabbar, Haydarabad 1361H., p.289. In a discussion on the temporary marriage 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umayr al-Laythī (possibly identical with the person mentioned in aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh, II, pp.752,1436) is reported to have asked al-Bāqir how he could permit something which 'Umar had forbidden. Al-Bāqir is quoted as answering, "You [adhere] to the words of your friend [i.e. 'Umar], and I [adhere] to the words of the Apostle of God" (al-Kulīnī, Furū' al-kāfi, V, p.449). For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, Tathbīt, pp.432-433; id., Al-mughnī, XX/ii, pp.19-20. And see in general W. Robertson Smith, Kinship and marriage in early Arabia, Boston 1903, pp.82ff; the article "Mut'a" by W. Heffening, in EI¹, III, pp.774-776.

² Cf. Bihār, VIII, pp.302-303.

³ Cf. al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt, p.470; al-Murtaḍā, Al-masā'il an-nāṣiriyyāt, in Al-jawāmi' al-fiqhiyya, Tehran 1860, p.111a; (anonymous) Brit. Mus. MS.Or. 10966, f55a; Goldziher, "Literaturgeschichte der Sī'a", pp.523-524; id., Vorlesungen über den Islam, pp.368-370; Wensinck, The Muslim creed, pp. 158-160; Schacht, Origins, p.263; al-Qāsim, p.47; and in particular Strothmann, Kultus der Zaiditen, Strassburg 1912, pp. 21-46 (my thanks to Prof. Madelung for the last reference). The question of al-mash 'ala 'l-khuffayn is also connected with the problem of abrogating and abrogated traditions. Cf. below, p.270.

⁴ Bihār, VIII, p.303; cf. Lane, p.361, s.v. thwb.

⁵ See Istighātha, f18a; cf. the article "Adhān" by Th. W. Juynboll, in EI², I, p.188.

⁶ Istighātha, f.18b; cf. Goldziher, "Literaturgeschichte der Sī'a", p.522.

known as the ṣalāt at-tarāwih,¹ to be performed in Ramaḍān at night after the usual night prayer.² (v) He reduced the number of takbīrāt (pronouncing the exclamation allāhu akbar) during the prayer over the dead from five to four.³

(c) Innovations in the laws of inheritance

(i) 'Umar introduced the method of 'awl, by which the common denominator of the fractional shares in an inheritance is increased, if the aggregate of those shares amounts to more than one unit.⁴ (ii) He introduced the ta'sīb, which is a method of dividing the parts of an inheritance which remain after the distribution of the farīda (primarily apportioned inheritance) among the male heirs who are not included in the farīda (i.e. the 'aṣaba). Thus if a deceased is survived only by a daughter or daughters, they must share the inheritance with the nearest male kin, even if he is only a distant relative, such as a paternal great-uncle.⁵

¹ Thus called because after every four rak'as (out of the twenty or more rak'as of which it consists) a pause for rest (tarwīha) is inserted; cf. Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-'arab, Beirut 1970, I, p.1250b, s.v. rwh; Juynboll, op.cit., p.123.

² See Shāfi, p.262; al-Qazwīnī, Kitāb an-naqd, pp.613-614; Bihār, VIII, pp.299-300. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, Tathbīt, pp.276-277. On the history of this prayer cf. Wensinck, The Muslim creed, pp.219-220. 'Alī is reported to have reversed 'Umar's decree; cf. Rawda, pp.62-63. F. Gabrieli (in his article "Imāmisme et littérature sous les Buyides", in Le Shi'isme Imāmite, p.106) has drawn attention to a curious passage in Badī' az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī's Rasā'il (Beirut 1890, pp.423-424) in which the Buwayhid 'Aḍud ad-Dawla warns the Shi'i inhabitants of Qumm and Kūfa that he would treat them as infidels if they persisted in their stubborn refusal to perform the ṣalāt at-tarāwih in Ramaḍān.

³ See Bihār, VIII, p.303. Cf. al-Barqī, Al-mahāsin, p.260; al-Kulīnī, Furū' al-kāfi, III, pp.181-182.

⁴ See Bihār, loc.cit. The Imāmis reject the 'awl and reduce the share of the daughter(s) or that of the full or consanguine sister(s) instead. See the article "'Awl" in EI², I, pp.764-765 (Ed.); cf. also Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Ilal ash-sharā'i, pp.567-570, and in general Juynboll, op.cit., p.252.

⁵ See Istighātha, ff26b-27a; Bihār, loc.cit. The law of inheritance ascribed to 'Umar has been accepted by all Sunnī jurists. As Coulson has pointed out, that law "rests upon a dual

Defects in His Genealogy

The fact that great importance was attached to a person's lineage in Arab society both before and after Muḥammad is too well-known to require further elaboration. The Imāmis, following a well-established custom, made special efforts to detect flaws in the ancestral line of their enemies. In the case of 'Umar they contend that his mother Ḥantama was the product of an incestuous relationship between 'Umar's father al-Khaṭṭāb and al-Khaṭṭāb's own mother, the Abyssinian slave Ṣaḥḥāk. 'Umar himself was supposedly born as a result of the incestuous relationship between al-Khaṭṭāb and his daughter Ḥantama.¹ In Imāmī literature 'Umar is sometimes abusively referred to as Ibn Ṣaḥḥāk. This is how Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb,

basis--the class of male agnate heirs whose rights derive from the pre-Islamic tribal law, and the class of Qur'ānic heirs whose rights were prescribed by the divine revelation" (Conflicts and tensions in Islamic jurisprudence, Chicago 1969, p.11). The Imāmis, by contrast, reject any rule of tribal law which was not explicitly ratified by the Qur'ān. The operative criterion for them is the nearness of the relationship with the deceased. Moreover, descendants, male or female, are considered as superior to collaterals; hence "the daughter of a deceased Shī'i Muslim will totally exclude his brother and, a fortiori, any more distant male agnate such as a cousin, from succession and will inherit the whole of her father's estate" (*ibid.*, pp.32-33). For the Imāmī view see ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, Al-masā'il an-nāṣiriyyāt, p.130a; and in general Ströthmann, "Das Problem . . . Zaid b. 'Alī", pp.38-40; Muḥammad Jawād Mughniyya, "Mirāth al-unthā bayna 's-sunna wa'sh-shī'a", in Da'wat at-taqrīb, pp. 464-469; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *op.cit.*, pp. 196-197.

¹ See Bihār, VIII, p.311, quoting from a work by an unknown author entitled 'Iqd ad-durar fī baqr baṭn 'Umar, which contains descriptions of the scenes of joy and happiness among the Shī'a at the news of 'Umar's assassination. The work has partially survived. See Tehran University, Fihrist-e kitābkhānē-e ihdā'i M. Mishkāt, Tehran 1951-6, III/iii, pp. 1415-20. The ninth day of Rabī' al-Awwal, the date generally accepted by Shī'i scholars as that of 'Umar's assassination, was regarded by many Shī'is as a day of festivities. Cf. Ḥasan b. Sulaymān (d. 854/1450), Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar, cit. Bihār, VIII, p. 315. Al-Majlisī also quotes (Bihār, VIII, p.311) a different account of 'Umar's genealogy taken from Ibn al-Kalbī's Kitāb al-mathālib. Ibn al-Kalbī is also the authority for the reference to Ṣaḥḥāk in the (anonymous) Brit. Mus. MS Or.10966, f113b. For 'Umar's genealogy as recorded in Sunni works cf. e.g. aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ar-riyāḍ an-naḍira, I, p.245; Tahdhīb, VII, p.438.

one of his opponents during the Battle of the Trenches, is said to have addressed him.¹ This is also how az-Zubayr supposedly called him when forced to swear allegiance to Abū Bakr.² 'Alī is said to have addressed 'Umar as Ibn Ṣaḥḥāk al-Ḥabashiyya³ and the same is reported of Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, the Anṣārī leader.⁴ 'Umar is probably the subject of a Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaḥḥākī, attributed to Abū Yaḥyā Aḥmad b. Dāwūd b. Sa'īd al-Fizārī (fl. 3rd/9th century).⁵

5. Abū Bakr and 'Umar

The first two caliphs are closely linked together, both in Sunnī and Shī'ī literature. Traditions in praise of both abound in Sunnī works. Especially famous is the tradition in which Muḥammad exhorts the community to "follow those who will come after me, Abū Bakr and 'Umar."⁶ Muḥammad is said to have called the two "the most excellent inhabitants of heaven and earth except for the prophets and the apostles,"⁷ and to have praised them as "my two helpers (wazīrāyā) from among the inhabitants of the earth"⁸ and as "the lords of the venerable inhabitants of Paradise."⁹ The Sunnīs maintain that an atmosphere

¹ See al-Qummi, Tafsīr, II, p.185, cit. Bihār, VI, p.534.

² Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays, cit. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-iḥtijāj, p.54, Bihār, VIII, p.54; cf. below, pp.245-246.

³ See Darajāt, p.214.

⁴ See Muḥsin al-Kāshānī, An-nawādir fī jam' al-aḥādīth, p.114.

⁵ See aṭ-Ṭūsī, Fihrist, pp.27-28. 'Umar is called "aṣ-Ṣaḥḥākī" in the (anonymous) Kitāb ar-rawḍa (on which cf. Dharī'a, XI, p.282), cit. Bihār, IX, p.142.

⁶ See e.g. al-Jāḥiẓ, Al-'uthmāniyya, p.135; above, p.32. For the Imāmī interpretation of that tradition see Istighātha, ff58b-60a, Shāfi, p.144.

⁷ Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Aṣ-sawā'iq al-muḥriqa, p.74.

⁸ At-Tirmidhī, Ṣaḥīḥ, XIII, p.142; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, op.cit., pp.75,76; as-Suyūṭī, Ta'rīkh, p.34.

⁹ Sayyidā kuhūl ahl al-janna (al-Jāḥiẓ, op.cit., pp.136,148; at-Tirmidhī, op.cit., XIII, p.131; 'Abd al-Jabbār, Al-mughnī, XX/ii, p.78; Ibn Ḥajar, loc.cit.; as-Suyūṭī, op.cit., p.32).

of friendly cooperation and mutual respect existed between Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Thus 'Umar was one of the most outspoken champions of Abū Bakr's candidacy, and throughout the two years of his reign stood unfailingly by his side as assistant and counsellor (to the extent, one suspects, of being the real power behind the scenes).¹ Abū Bakr in his turn nominated 'Umar as his successor. 'Umar is quoted as expressing his admiration for Abū Bakr in various ways: "I wish I were a hair on Abū Bakr's chest", he is quoted as saying;² and also, "Abū Bakr is our master, the best amongst us, and the one most beloved by the Apostle of God."³ Abū Bakr and 'Umar are often referred to in Sunnī literature as "ash-Shaykhān" or "al-'Umarān";⁴ they are even reported to have been created of the same substance.⁵

In stark contrast to this idyllic picture the Imāmīs depict Abū Bakr and 'Umar as the two arch-villains throughout the events leading to and following the seizure of power from 'Alī.⁶

"Kahl" is literally a middle-aged person, but the word also connotes a state of maturity which elicits respect; see the interpretation of this tradition in Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-'Arab, III, p.308a, s.v. khl. The Shī'īs argue that this tradition was forged during the Umayyad period in order to serve as a counter-balance to Muḥammad's words about al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, "They are the lords of the young inhabitants of Paradise (innahumā sayyidā shabāb ahl al-janna)". See Shāfi, p.174, Bihār, VIII, p.571; cf. an-Nasā'ī, Khaṣā'is amīr al-mu'minīn, Najaf 1369H., p.53; Istighātha, f60a. For Sunnī eschatological traditions about Abū Bakr and 'Umar see Ibn al-Jawzī, Al-wafā' bi-ahwāl al-mustafā, Cairo 1966, p.814.

¹ Cf. J. Wellhausen, The Arab kingdom and its fall, Beirut 1963, pp.34-35.

² Ibn Ḥajar, op.cit., p.82; as-Suyūṭī, op.cit., p.40.

³ Ibn Ḥajar, op.cit., p.66; as-Suyūṭī, op.cit., p.31.

⁴ See al-Jāhiz, Kitāb al-ḥayawān, Cairo 1356-64H., III, p.250; al-Khayyāt, Al-intisār, p.63; cf. Wright, A grammar of the Arabic language, I, p.190.

⁵ See al-'Ubaydī, 'Umdat at-tahqīq, p.135 (on margin); Lammens, "Le 'Triumvirat' Aboū Bakr, 'Omar et Aboū 'Obaida", pp.118ff; Andrae, Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde, p.319 (where reference is made to the belief that 'Umar was created from the light substance of Abū Bakr).

⁶ The belief in an anti-'Alid collusion between Abū Bakr and 'Umar dating back to Muḥammad's lifetime was also upheld by the "extremist" Mughiriyya sect. See ash-Shahrastānī, Al-milal, I, pp.134-135; Tritton, Muslim theology, p.25.

One story has it that after Abū Bakr's accession he and 'Umar came to an agreement with Khālīd b. al-Walīd that he (Khālīd) should kill 'Alī at the end of the morning prayer. At the last minute Abū Bakr thought better of the whole plan and told Khālīd not to go ahead with it.¹ Indeed, Abū Bakr is often depicted as possessing a modicum of humaneness² while 'Umar is cast in the role of the harsh and totally unscrupulous schemer.³ Two examples may be adduced to demonstrate their different characters. The first is taken from a pro-Shi'i account of the events which followed Muḥammad's death. According to that account, 'Alī was brought before Abū Bakr and ordered to give him the oath of allegiance. While 'Umar threatened to kill 'Alī unless he obeyed, Abū Bakr is quoted as declaring, "I will not force him to anything as long as Fāṭima is at his side."⁴ The second example is a report of an initiative taken by Abū Bakr after his accession. He is said to have come to 'Alī and to have assured him that he would readily renounce the caliphate provided 'Alī could prove

¹ See Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays, cit. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-iḥtijāj, p.58, Bihār, VIII, p.59. A different version has it that the plan was conceived by Abū Bakr alone; see Kitāb 'Abbād al-'Uṣfurī, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a, f11b; Istighātha, ff12a-12b; al-Kishshī, Rijāl, p.338. According to the version quoted by Ibn Bābawayhi ('Ilal ash-sharā'i', pp.190-192), the plan to assassinate 'Alī was conceived as a direct result of the affair of Fadak (cf. above, pp.143-144): when Abū Bakr refused to grant Fāṭima's request 'Alī convincingly showed to members of the community that this went against the commandments of the Qur'ān. Abū Bakr, realising the effect which 'Alī's words had on the people, decided to dispose of him before he would completely undermine his authority.

² This may be a reflection of Sunni accounts in which Abū Bakr is called "the sighing one" (al-awwāh), "because of his kind and merciful nature" (as-Suyūṭī, op.cit., p.40 (on the authority of Ibrāhīm an-Nakha'i, who died in 95-96/714-715)).

³ Cf. the assessment of Abū Bakr and 'Umar in aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., p.53: "Of the two men, Abū Bakr was gentler, kinder, meeker and more profound, while the other was ruder, coarser and harsher."

⁴ (Pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, Al-imāma wa's-siyāsa, I, p.20.

that he had really been designated by Muḥammad as the next ruler. Thereupon 'Alī took Abū Bakr to the mosque of Qubā'¹ where they met the Prophet who ordered Abū Bakr to transfer all authority to 'Alī or face eternal damnation. When Abū Bakr, who had been greatly impressed by the miraculous encounter with Muḥammad, informed 'Umar about it, the latter dismissed it as a case of sorcery and strongly advised Abū Bakr against withdrawing from office; it was only because of 'Umar's intervention that Abū Bakr chose to ignore Muḥammad's command.²

In refutation of the Sunnī claims about the friendship between Abū Bakr and 'Umar the Imāmīs quote 'Umar's son 'Abd Allāh as declaring that his father harboured a secret hatred towards Abū Bakr. 'Umar supposedly wished to gain power himself after Muḥammad's death and felt that he had been hoodwinked by Abū Bakr. According to that report, 'Umar referred to Abū Bakr as "the very stupid man (uḥaymiq) of the Banū Taym" and described him as more despicable than an "evil insect (duwaybbat saw')".³

The Sunnīs assiduously cite declarations by 'Alī and other members of the ahl al-bayt in favour of Abū Bakr and 'Umar;⁴

¹ Cf. Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, V, pp.23-25.

² See al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisās, pp.272-273, cit. Bihār, VIII, pp. 81-82, IX, p.563; ar-Rāwandī, Kitāb al-kharā'ij, Persia 1888, p.249. For other versions see al-Mufīd, op.cit., pp.273-274, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.87, IX, pp.563-564. Ar-Raḍī (Khaṣā'is amir al-mu'minin, pp.27-28) quotes a watered down version of this story in which--probably for reasons of taqiyya--Abū Bakr and 'Umar are not identified by name.

³ Shāfi, p.242; see also Ibn All 'l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha, XX, p.21; Darajāt, p.19. 'Umar's envy of Abū Bakr is also stressed in the Istighātha, f66a. Cf. also below, pp.348-349.

⁴ For declarations by 'Alī see e.g. al-Jāhiz, Al-'uthmāniyya, pp.84,235-237; cf. above, p. 72. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is said to have declared that he would dissociate himself from anyone who would mention Abū Bakr and 'Umar in a disparaging manner; see as-Suyūṭī, op.cit., p.83, whence Donaldson, The Shi'ite Religion, p.130. The Sunnīs stress that Ja'far was connected to Abū Bakr by two links: his mother Umm Farwa was the daughter of al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad and Asmā' bint 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, both grandchildren of Abū Bakr; see Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, Ḥilyat al-Awliyā', Cairo 1932-3, III, p.185; al-Muẓaffar, Dalā'il aṣ-ṣidq, I, p.82.

but such declarations are categorically rejected by the Imāmis as nothing more than forgeries or instances of taqiyya.¹ Indeed, the Imāmi verdict on the first two caliphs is anything but complimentary. This verdict is unambiguously stated in an utterance ascribed to the fourth Imam 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn: "They are the first who deprived us of our rights, who seized our inheritance and who sat in a seat to which we were more entitled than they; may God never forgive them; they are unbelievers, and so is he who shows loyalty to them."² When asked about them by the poet al-Kumayt b. Zayd, the fifth Imam al-Bāqir is reported to have answered, "All the blood which has been spilt,

¹ See al-Murtaḍā, Kitāb at-ta'ajjub, f261a. 'Umar's marriage to Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of 'Alī and Fāṭima (see aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh, I, pp.2716-20, 2733-4) deserves special mention in this connection. Sunni polemicists cite this event as proof that 'Alī and 'Umar were on friendly terms (see Mirzā Makhḍūm, An-nawāqid li-bunyān ar-rawāfiḍ, f62a; cf. al-Jāhiz, op.cit., pp.236-237). The pro-'Alid al-Ya'qūbī states (Ta'rikh, Leiden 1883, II, p. 171) that 'Alī initially objected to the marriage on the grounds that his daughter was too young (she is said to have been less than seven years old at the time; see Lammens, Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet, Rome 1912, p. 129); he relented, however, when 'Umar explained that his sole aim in seeking her hand was to establish family ties with the ahl al-bayt, since he had heard the Prophet declare that all connections through kinship or marriage (kullu nasab wa-sabab) would be severed on the Day of Judgment except those of his own family. Cf. also Ibn aṣ-Ṣabbāgh, Al-fuṣūl al-muhimma, p.12. The Imāmi 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī, noted for his moderate views (cf. above, pp.124-125), also maintains that 'Alī agreed to the marriage of his own free will (see his Kitāb an-naqd, pp. 278-279). But this is not the view shared by most Imāmis. They contend that after 'Umar's request had been turned down by 'Alī he summoned al-'Abbās and threatened to retaliate in the most horrible manner, to provide false evidence indicating that 'Alī was a thief and then cut off his right hand, and so forth. Thereupon al-'Abbās went to 'Alī and pleaded with him to accede to 'Umar's wish. 'Alī had no choice but to yield. See al-Kulīnī, Furū' al-kāfi, V, p.346; al-Murtaḍā, Tanzih al-anbiyā', pp. 179-180; id., Talkhīṣ al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsīn, f410a. Lammens (loc.cit.) believes that Umm Kulthūm may have been forced to marry 'Umar after she had been violated by him. After 'Umar's death 'Alī is reported to have taken Umm Kulthūm back to his house; see al-Kulīnī, op.cit., VI, p.115.

² Abu 'ṣ-Ṣalāḥ Ibn Najm ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (a contemporary of al-Murtaḍā and aṭ-Ṭūsī; see Dharī'a, IV, p.366), Taqrīb al-ma'ārif, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.248, XV/iii, p.14. Cf. also ash-Shīrāzī, Sharḥ uṣūl al-kāfi, p. 224b.

all the legal decisions which have been made and which do not correspond to the laws of God, of His Apostle and of 'Alī will be around their necks [on the Day of Judgment]."¹ Abū Bakr's son Muḥammad, one of the most ardent supporters of 'Alī,² is reported to have declared upon giving 'Alī the oath of allegiance, "I bear witness that you are the Imam whom one is bound to obey, and that my father is condemned to Hell-fire."³

According to a story told by Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qummi (d. 301/914) (the author of the Kitāb al-maqālāt wa'l-firaq), a Sunnī challenged him to say whether Abū Bakr and 'Umar had adopted Islam willingly or under duress.⁴ Finding himself in a quandary, Sa'd went to the eleventh Imam al-Ḥasan al-'Askari in search of an answer. Al-Ḥasan's son Muḥammad, who was to become the twelfth, hidden Imam, was present when Sa'd asked his question. He answered that Abū Bakr and 'Umar had adopted Islam hoping for personal gains in this world as a result of Muḥammad's victories; when these hopes were not realised they joined those who were plotting against the Prophet.⁵ Thus they were no better than Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr.⁶

It is indeed the generally held Imāmī belief that Abū Bakr and 'Umar never believed in Islam in their hearts, and that their adoption of it during Muḥammad's lifetime was purely formal and external (zāhir).⁷ Some Imāmīs claim that Abū Bakr

¹ Al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.180; see also Kitāb 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥakīm, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a, f59a.

² Cf. also below, pp.255,259-260.

³ Al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisās, p.70.

⁴ See aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., p. 257.

⁵ Cf. above, pp.134-136.

⁶ See Ibn Bābawayhi, Ikmāl ad-dīn, pp. 425-433; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., p. 260. On Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr see below, pp.176ff.

⁷ Cf. al-Murtaḍā, Talkhīṣ al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsīn, f405b.

and 'Umar reverted twice from belief to unbelief: first they professed belief in Muḥammad; then they disbelieved when they doubted the veracity of the Ghadīr Khumm tradition; when the Prophet reassured them that the tradition was genuine they gave 'Alī the oath of allegiance¹ and thus reverted to Islam. They again turned unbelievers after Muḥammad's death when they repudiated their oath of allegiance; their unbelief became even greater when they forced all of those who had recognised 'Alī's authority to give the oath of allegiance to them instead.²

The fact that both Abū Bakr and 'Umar were buried in the same place as the Prophet is regarded by the Sunnis as a mark of great honour.³ The Imāmis, however, argue on the basis of a Quranic verse⁴ that God has forbidden anyone to enter the

¹ See above, p.135.

² Al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, f86b, ad Qur'ān 4/137(136): "Those who believed, then became unbelievers, then believed, and again became unbelievers, and then increased their unbelief--God will neither forgive them nor guide them onto the right way." The same tradition appears in al-Kulīnī, *Uṣūl al-kāfī*, I, p.420, with apparent reference to Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān. The apologetic and moderate tone of some modern Imāmis, to which reference has been made before (cf. above, pp.130ff), comes out in their discussion of the first two caliphs. Al-Mūsawī, for example, attempts to play down the significance of the controversy which surrounds them: after all, he argues, their reign was a political affair (min ash-shu'ūn as-siyāsiyya) going back many centuries, so that there is no point in Muslims today disputing with one another, let alone declaring one another unbelievers, over such an outdated subject. The attitude towards their caliphate is a matter in which individual reasoning may be legitimately exercised (see his *Al-fuṣūl al-muḥimma*, pp. 142-143). The Imāmī *Kāshif al-Ghiṭā'* (*Aṣl ash-shi'a*, p. 103) veers even further from the early Imāmī doctrine by maintaining that 'Alī gave Abū Bakr the oath of allegiance of his own free will when he realised that Abū Bakr had the best interests of the community at heart.

³ A typical Sunni utterance on that subject is attributed to the fourth Imam 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (hence its additional polemical value). When asked about the position of Abū Bakr and 'Umar during Muḥammad's lifetime he is quoted as answering, "[Their position then was the same] as their position today, when they share the same resting place with him (ka-manzilatihimā 'l-yawm wa-humā ḍajī'āhū)" (az-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī' al-abrār*, f132a).

⁴ Qur'ān 33/53.

Prophet's house during one's lifetime without the Prophet's permission, a fortiori after one's death. Hence the instructions which Abū Bakr and 'Umar gave before their deaths that they should be buried together with the Prophet are nothing short of sacrilege.¹ According to a popular anecdote attributed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, Abū Bakr and 'Umar remained in their graves for only one night; then they were hauled off to a place in Hell called Wādī ad-Dūd (literally, "the wadi of the worms").²

Imāmi eschatology, which centres around such favourite subjects as the reappearance of the hidden Imam and the salvation of the just, is also concerned with the final and everlasting punishment which will be inflicted upon the enemies of Shi'ism, among whom Abū Bakr and 'Umar figure prominently. On the Day of Judgment, we are told, 'Umar will be even more harshly treated than the Devil (Iblīs): while Iblīs will be bound with 70 chains and 70 fetters, 'Umar will be bound with 120 of each kind.³ Abū Bakr and 'Umar will face a horrible fate: on the Mahdī's orders they will be taken out of their graves and crucified on a desiccated tree; the tree will thereupon come to life and put forth leaves. The community will be divided into two: those who will see in the revived tree a sign of favour and who will declare their loyalty to the two; and those

¹ See Istighātha, f16b; Shāfi, p.251; Bihār, VIII, pp.310-311; cf. the (anonymous) Munāzarat al-Jarawī wa'l-imām . . . al-Bāqir, f266a. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, Al-mughnī, XX/1, pp.356-357.

² Bihār, VIII, p.273 (quoting from 'Alī b. Yūnus al-Bayyādī, Aṣ-sirāt al-mustaqīm). This anecdote may be connected with the belief in the 70,000 angels known as Naqqāla ("transporters") who remove the dead from their graves and bury them again in the place which they deserve. Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Nafas ar-rahmān, pp. 81a-81b (where it is reported the Naqqāla placed Salmān and Abū Dharr in the graves of Abū Bakr and 'Umar).

³ Al-'Ayyāshī, Tafsīr, f192a.

who will dissociate themselves from them. Then a black wind will blow and turn Abū Bakr and 'Umar into the likeness of the stumps of bare palm trees. They will then be brought down and restored to life. The Mahdī will remind them of all their crimes, and those who had been wronged by them will take their revenge. Afterwards Abū Bakr and 'Umar will again be crucified on the same tree, a fire will burst out from below and consume them together with the tree, and finally a wind will carry away their remains and scatter them in the sea.¹

6. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān

'Uthmān's election

The Imāmis reject the validity of 'Uthmān's election and the legitimacy of his rule for the same doctrinal reasons which led them to reject the first two caliphs. In addition to their basic objection to any form of election of an Imam which disregards the nass,² Imāmi jurists find much to fault in the particular manner in which 'Uthmān was brought to power. They argue that the six electors whom 'Umar appointed shortly before his death and who constituted the famous shūrā (literally, "consultation")³ were not representative of the general public opinion. The mere act of assembling the shūrā must, say the Imāmis, be counted among 'Umar's harmful innovations even from the Sunni point of view. The Imāmis strongly object to the fact that 'Alī, in their view the most excellent of the electors (al-fāḍil), was not preferred over 'Uthmān, whose merits did

¹ Bihār, XIII, pp.203-204 (quoting from an anonymous Imāmi source (ba'd mu'allafāt aṣḥābinā)). For derogatory appellations of Abū Bakr and 'Umar cf. below, pp.211ff.

² For the detailed argument see Shāfi, pp. 70-85.

³ Those six were 'Alī, 'Uthmān, Ṭalḥa, az-Zubayr, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf.

not equal those of 'Alī (al-mafḍūl).¹ 'Umar himself criticised each member of the shūrā, although he wronged 'Alī by imputing to him a tendency to idleness and facetiousness.² 'Umar threatened the six members with death unless they reached a decision within three days--disregarding the fact that more time was often needed in such grave matters. In the Imāmī view, 'Uthmān was elected with the connivance of 'Alī's enemies within the shūrā, chief among whom was 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf. The community did not greet 'Uthmān's election with general approval; but as in the case of Abū Bakr's election, only very few persons--including al-Miqdād b. 'Amr and 'Ammār b. Yāsir³--were ready to offer 'Alī their unconditional support. Consequently, when 'Alī was ordered by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf to give 'Uthmān the oath of allegiance or face execution he had no choice but to comply with the order.⁴

'Uthmān's unjust or erroneous decisions

In their criticism of 'Uthmān's reign the Imāmīs can rely to a considerable degree on Sunni accounts which often include numerous examples of 'Uthmān's nepotism and his misuse of public funds.⁵ The Imāmīs reject the views of many Sunni

¹ For the theoretical discussion about the afḍal and the mafḍūl cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/i, pp.215-233; Shāfi, pp.79-85.

² The Imāmīs contend that 'Alī behaved in a light-hearted manner only in the company of pious men. See al-Irbilī, Kashf al-ghumma, I, p.133. Cf. also Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., VI, pp.280, 328-329.

³ See below, pp.319, 334.

⁴ See Shāfi, pp. 257-261; aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, II, p.320; Bihār, VIII, pp.306-310, 351-359; cf. also al-Mufīd, Amālī, Najaf 1351H., p.39. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/ii, pp.21-26.

⁵ Many accusations against 'Uthmān appear already in the letter (written probably in 76/695) of 'Abd Allāh b. Ibād to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. See R. Rubinacci, "Il califfo 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān e gli Ibāditi", in AIUON N.S. 5, 1953, pp.108-115.

jurists who justify 'Uthmān's actions by arguing that he was a man of high morals ('adl) who reached his decisions by the method of ijtihād.¹ Among the specific accusations which the Imāmis level against 'Uthmān the following more significant ones may be mentioned:

- (i) 'Uthmān brought back to Medina his paternal uncle al-Ḥakam b. Abi 'l-'Āṣ despite the fact that the Prophet had expelled him from the city and had forbidden him to return.²
- (ii) 'Uthmān appointed totally unsuitable persons as governors. Thus his governor in Kūfa, al-Walīd b. 'Uqba, used to drink wine and one day even conducted the prayers while in a state of inebriety. Only after 'Alī had protested vigorously did 'Uthmān belatedly apply the prescribed punishment.³ Al-Walīd's successor in Kūfa, Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ, behaved so badly that the inhabitants finally drove him out of town.⁴ In Baṣra 'Uthmān made a blunder by appointing as governor 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz who became notorious for his oppressive rule and his abuse of authority.⁵

¹ Cf. above, p.11. Those who admit that 'Uthmān was guilty of harmful innovations during the latter half of his reign maintain against the Khawārij that this is not a sufficient reason for removing him from office. See the discussion in 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/ii, pp.33ff.

² See Kitāb 'Abbād al-'Uṣfurī, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a, f12a; al-Mufīd, Kitāb al-jamal, pp.80-82; Shāfi, pp. 272-273; Bihār, VIII, p.322; al-Muzaḥḥar, op.cit., III/i, pp. 150-153. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/ii, pp.50-51; Ibn Abī Bakr, At-tamhīd wa'l-bayān fī maqāt al-shahīd 'Uthmān, pp.83-84.

³ See Bihār, VIII, p.320; cf. al-Mufīd, op.cit., p. 79; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Al-istī'āb, p.604. For the counter-argument cf. Ibn Abī Bakr, op.cit., pp.185-186. Although al-Walīd was 'Uthmān's brother on his mother's side he is reported to have adopted a neutral attitude in the conflict between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.605. In Imāmī tradition he is depicted as an implacable foe of 'Alī; cf. Bihār, VIII, p.728.

⁴ See Bihār, VIII, pp.320-321; cf. al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, IV, pp.261ff.

⁵ Cf. al-Mas'ūdī, op.cit., IV, p.257; al-Ḥillī, Minhāj al-karāma, p.141m; below, p.178, n.6.

(iii) 'Uthmān distributed among his relatives large sums of money taken from the public treasury.¹

(iv) He behaved in a ruthless and barbarous manner towards some of the most pious Companions, who were also known for their pro-'Alid sentiments. One of them was 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, who spoke out against some of 'Uthmān's sinful innovations and was therefore whipped and beaten by the caliph until some of his ribs were fractured; he later died of his wounds.² The other Companions who were similarly mistreated were Abū Dharr³ and 'Ammār b. Yāsir.⁴

(v) 'Umar's son 'Ubayd Allāh killed al-Hurmuzān, whom he suspected of complicity in 'Umar's murder. For this crime he was sentenced to death. 'Uthmān, however, revoked the death sentence, despite strong protests by 'Alī and other Companions. The Imāmis insist that the death penalty was mandatory in that case since al-Hurmuzān, who had been a Persian nobleman, had embraced Islam during 'Umar's reign.⁵

(vi) 'Uthmān forced the community to accept the Qur'ān in the recension of Zayd b. Thābit, and burnt all other copies.

¹ See e.g. al-Mufid, *op.cit.*, p.82; *Bihār*, VIII, pp.329-330. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, *op.cit.*, XX/ii, p.47.

² See *Bihār*, VIII, p.325; al-Muẓaffar, *op.cit.*, III/i, pp.160-164. Another reason given by the Imāmis for the punishment inflicted upon 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd is that he helped to bury Abū Dharr. See *Shāfi*, p.276; al-Muẓaffar, *op.cit.*, III/i, pp.165-169; cf. below, p.335, n.2. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, *op.cit.*, XX/ii, pp.52-53.

³ See below, pp.306-307.

⁴ See below, p.335.

⁵ See *Istighātha*, f33a; al-Mufid, *op.cit.*, pp.78-79; *Shāfi*, p.281; *Bihār*, VIII, pp.330-331; al-Muẓaffar, *op.cit.*, III/i, pp.183-187; cf. Abū Bakr al-Jawharī, *Kitāb as-saqifa*, cit. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, IX, pp.54-55; the article "al-Hurmuzān" by L. Veccia Vaglieri, in *BI*², III, pp.586-587. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar is said to have hated 'Alī ever since and to have therefore joined Mu'āwiya against him (al-Mufid, *Shāfi*, *loc.cit.*; below, p.203). For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, *op.cit.*, XX/ii, p.56; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, *Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muḥriqa*, p.113.

According to the Imāmis, 'Alī possessed the best version of the Qur'ān, which he had received directly from the Prophet. When Abū Bakr and 'Umar saw that it contained references to the disgraceful acts of some members of the community they ordered Zayd b. Thābit to prepare his own recension, omitting all such references. 'Uthmān merely brought to a conclusion the plan conceived by his two predecessors. In the Imāmī view, 'Uthmān's action is to be condemned on two counts: firstly, by destroying 'Alī's version he suppressed some of God's own words; secondly, by burning copies of the Qur'ān he showed disrespect for God and for the true religion.¹

(vii) When Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr came to Medina with his followers to complain about the governor of Egypt 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Sarḥ, 'Uthmān received him well and sent him back with a letter appointing him as the new governor of Egypt. Yet at the same time he dispatched a secret message to 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Sarḥ ordering him to kill Muḥammad on his arrival. The letter was intercepted by Muḥammad's men and was one of the main causes which precipitated 'Uthmān's murder.²

His Harmful Innovations

Most of 'Uthmān's bida' are said to have been connected with the performance of the prayer. Thus he is accused of having introduced a prayer of four rak'as at Minā,³ whereas all those before him had prayed two rak'as in accordance with the rules

¹ See Istighātha, ff30b-31b; Shāfi, p. 280; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-ihtijāj, pp. 81-83; Bihār, VIII, pp.327-329. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., pp. 53-54; Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī, loc.cit.

² See (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, Al-imāma wa's-siyāsa, I, p.39. For the counter-argument cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, op.cit., XX/ii, pp.47-48.

³ Cf. Wensinck, Handbook, p.153, s.v. "Minā".

governing prayers on journeys.¹ During the two canonical festivals (i.e. the 'id al-adhā and the 'id al-fiṭr) he is said to have reversed the existing custom by delivering the two parts of the sermon (khutba) before, instead of after, the public prayer.² He also introduced a third call to prayer on Friday (sometimes known as al-adhān ath-thālith) in addition to the two which Muḥammad had decreed.³

7. Companions Who Opposed 'Alī During His Caliphate 'Uthmān's Murder and 'Alī's Election

'Uthmān's murder and the civil war which followed it left an indelible mark on the community and became the subject of heated debates in following generations. Some pious Muslims, like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, did not wish to countenance any discussion of the internecine disputes in early Islam.⁴ Others argued that neither side in the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffin could be blamed since both had been using individual reasoning and fighting for what they believed to be a just cause.⁵ The Imāmīs, starting from entirely different premisses, reached different

¹ See Bihār, VIII, pp. 331-332; cf. al-Mūsawī, Al-fuṣūl al-muḥimma, pp. 113-114. 'Alī reportedly refused to follow 'Uthmān and adhered to the original two rak'as. That original form was restored when Mu'āwīya came to power; see Bihār, VIII, p. 371 (quoting from al-Kulīnī, Al-kāfī). Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī (loc.cit.) defends 'Uthmān on the ground that this is a question which can be left to individual reasoning (mas'ala ijtihādiyya). Cf. also Ibn Abī Bakr, op.cit., pp. 186-187, and in general Juynboll, op.cit., p. 70, n.1.

² See Istighātha, f32b; Bihār, VIII, p. 332. 'Uthmān is reported to have been unable to deliver the khutba because of a defect ('iy) in his speech; see Bihār, VIII, p. 333, quoting from the Rawḍat al-aḥbāb by Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Muḥaddith ash-Shīrāzī (d. first half of 10th/16th century) (cf. Dharī'a, XI, p. 285).

³ See Bihār, VIII, p. 332. For Shī'ī attacks on 'Uthmān's character, particularly his alleged cowardice and stupidity, cf. Goldziher, Muh. Stud., II, pp. 121-125.

⁴ See above, p. 7.

⁵ Cf. above, pp. 12, 54ff.

conclusions. To them the cardinal point is that 'Uthmān's rule was illegal from beginning to end, and that any attempt to unseat him and replace him by 'Alī, the rightful claimant, would have been laudable in God's eyes. Sunni historians often attempt to absolve the community of any responsibility for 'Uthmān's murder by attributing the deed to a few persons acting on their own initiative.¹ The Imāmis in general do not disagree with that view; they stress, however, that 'Uthmān's evil and corrupt rule aroused growing indignation and opposition not only from 'Alī's original supporters, but also among those who had helped 'Uthmān into power. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, the member of the shūrā who was instrumental in getting 'Uthmān elected,² is quoted as declaring that he no longer recognised 'Uthmān's rule;³ 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ warned 'Uthmān to mend his ways or resign;⁴ and many other Companions cursed the caliph and subsequently justified his murder.⁵ 'Alī himself is reported to have clashed repeatedly with 'Uthmān when he mistreated Abū Dharr and other Companions and when he introduced innovations in ritual.⁶

Most Imāmi doctors carefully refrain from stating

¹ See e.g. Ibn Abī Bakr, op.cit., pp. 134-140. The author argues that even those Companions who reproached 'Uthmān neither wished for his death nor believed that he would be killed (ibid., p.191). He gives various reasons why the Companions did not defend 'Uthmān more vigorously against his attackers (ibid., pp.194-195).

² Cf. above, p.168.

³ Bihār, VIII, p.340 (quoting al-Wāqidī and ath-Thaqafī).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Muḥammad b. Maslama (on whom cf. below, pp.185,188,206) is reported to have expressed great satisfaction at the news of 'Uthmān's death (ibid.). Al-Majlisī points out (ibid., p.342) that he had culled these facts from al-Wāqidī and ath-Thaqafī, and that many other non-Shī'ī historians give similar accounts.

⁶ For details see Bihār, VIII, pp.368-371.

unambiguously whether 'Uthmān's murder was justified or not;¹ they do stress, however, that 'Alī had nothing to do with it. Not only did he dissociate himself from 'Uthmān's attackers; during the siege of the caliph's home 'Alī sent him water, thereby taking considerable risks upon himself,² and he is even said to have dispatched his own son al-Ḥasan (and some say also al-Ḥusayn) to defend 'Uthmān against any attack.³ Mu'āwiyā's accusations that 'Alī was an accomplice to the murder⁴ are rejected by the Imāmīs as baseless.⁵

To Imāmī theologians, the nature of 'Alī's election and its doctrinal implications are of much greater consequence than the question of whether or not 'Uthmān was unjustly killed. The Imāmī position is lucidly and cogently presented by ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, the first Imāmī scholar to devote an entire work to the Battle of the Camel.⁶ Al-Mufīd stresses the difference between the election of 'Alī and that of his three

¹ Popular Shī'ī belief could afford to be less restrained. According to the anti-Shī'ī Ibn Abī Bakr (*op.cit.*, p.237), the Rāfiḍīs turned the day of 'Uthmān's assassination into an occasion for festivities. This statement should probably be accepted at face value and not dismissed as mere slander; after all, there are popular Shī'ī works in which accounts are given of the joy expressed at 'Umar's assassination (see above p.158, n.1), and there is no reason to suppose that 'Uthmān's case is essentially different.

² See aṭ-Ṭūsī, *Amālī*, II, pp.323-325, *cit. Biḥār*, VIII, p.374; below, p.176.

³ This appears in non-Imāmī works as well; cf. Ibn Abī Bakr, *op.cit.*, pp.122-123; as-Suyūṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'*, p.108 (quoting az-Zuhrī). After 'Uthmān's murder 'Alī is reported to have slapped al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn in the face for having failed to prevent the crime; cf. (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, *op.cit.*, I, p.45. See in general also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IV, pp.279-280. The Imāmī al-Muḥaffar (*op.cit.*, III/i, p.192) denies the authenticity of these traditions.

⁴ Cf. Ibn Abī Bakr, *op.cit.*, pp.178-182. According to al-Jāhiz (*Risāla fi 'l-ḥakamayn*, in *Al-mashriq*, 52, 1958, p.436), the Shī'īs and the Khārījīs maintained that 'Alī's murder of 'Uthmān was one of his greatest acts of obedience to God.

⁵ Cf. al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-jamal*, pp.96-103.

⁶ On al-Mufīd's *Kitāb al-jamal* see above, pp.xvii-xx.

predecessors in office: 'Alī was not only the first legitimate ruler, having been officially designated by Muḥammad; he was also the first caliph to be elected with the unanimous consent of the entire community.¹ According to al-Mufīd, 'Alī knew that he had enemies in the community, and refused to commit himself precipitously to a course of action which might provoke strife and discord. Only after repeated urgent appeals by many Companions was he induced to accept the duties of office.² His decision was enthusiastically acclaimed, and people vied with each other in offering him their fealty.³ All surviving Companions and all Successors gave him the oath of allegiance, with the sole exception of an insignificant group in 'Uthmān's entourage (man shadhḥa min biṭānat 'Uthmān) who had gone into hiding because they feared that the Muslims might kill them for their corruption.⁴ This unanimous acclaim gave a final stamp of legitimacy to 'Alī's rule and rendered any insurrection against him an odious and sinful deed.⁵ Al-Mufīd rejects as unreliable or false traditions (quoted from al-Wāqidi) in which it is claimed that some Muslims were forced to give 'Alī the oath of allegiance.⁶

'Alī's Opponents After His Election

Having established the legitimacy of 'Alī's rule, al-Mufīd turns to the leaders of the camp which fought 'Alī in

¹ Ibid., pp.24-38.

² Ibid., pp.24-25, 47-48. A similar pro-Shi'i account is given in aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh, I, pp.3066-7, on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās (cf. also Petersen, 'Alī and Mu'āwiya in early Arabic tradition, p.152).

³ Al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.25.

⁴ Ibid., p.71; see also below, p.178.

⁵ Ibid., p.26. A list of some of the Companions who gave 'Alī the oath of allegiance is given ibid., pp.34-37.

⁶ Ibid., pp.37-38. For further details cf. below, pp.179ff.

the Battle of the Camel. These are three Companions: Muḥammad's wife 'Ā'isha, Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh, and az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām. In non-Shī'i sources those three are depicted as heading a group which demanded that 'Uthmān's murderers be found and duly punished. When 'Alī failed to accede to these demands they dissociated themselves from him, an action which precipitated the clash between their forces and 'Alī's supporters. It is al-Mufīd's aim to refute this description of the events. He stresses that Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr pleaded with 'Alī to become ruler and were the first who gave him the oath of allegiance.¹ In al-Mufīd's opinion, the nature of their innermost thoughts at the time is irrelevant; what counts are their public acts which were carried out under no compulsion.² Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr are said to have alleged at the time of their revolt that they were forced to give the oath of allegiance; but al-Mufīd dismisses these allegations as false.³ He raises doubts as to the sincerity of the two in claiming that they wished to punish 'Uthmān's murderers. After all, he reminds his readers, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr were the ones who led the group which initiated the siege of 'Uthmān's house and who insisted that no food or water reach the caliph.⁴ When 'Alī intervened and demanded that water be sent to 'Uthmān, arguing that death through thirst was much more cruel than death in battle, it was Ṭalḥa who stubbornly refused to listen to him.⁵ Ṭalḥa was also the first who shot

¹ *Ibid.*, p.49; see also aṭ-Ṭūsī, *op.cit.*, cit. *Bihār*, VIII, p.395. According to other pro-'Alid versions, al-Ashtar an-Nakha'i was the first who gave 'Alī the oath of allegiance; cf. e.g. (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, *op.cit.*, p.47. On al-Ashtar cf. also below, pp.255-256.

² Al-Mufīd, *op.cit.*, pp. 38-39, 62.

³ *Ibid.*, p.39. For further details cf. below, pp.185ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.56.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.58.

an arrow in 'Uthmān's house.¹ Through these acts, contends al-Mufīd, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr became accomplices to the murder; hence their sanctimonious demand for a search for the assassins was sheer hypocrisy.²

'Ā'isha's attitude towards 'Uthmān, according to the reports quoted by al-Mufīd, was as hostile as that of Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr. She is reported to have labelled 'Uthmān "the Pharaoh of this community", to have accused him of falsifying Muḥammad's sunna and to have referred to him by the abusive term "Na'thal".³ 'Ā'isha decided to embark on a pilgrimage to Mecca when she realised that 'Uthmān would soon be killed. When Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ begged her to stay in Medina and wield her influence to save 'Uthmān's life she is reported to have answered, "By God, I wish that he (sc. 'Uthmān) were in one of my fodder bags so that when I passed by the sea I could throw him into it."⁴ Meeting Ibn 'Abbās on her way she reportedly warned him not to dissuade the people from killing 'Uthmān.⁵

Next al-Mufīd turns to examine what he believes to be the real motives which led to the abrupt about-face in the

¹ Ibid., p.59. Al-Mufīd's source for these reports is al-Qurashī's Maqtal 'Uthmān.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p.60. "Na'thal" is usually explained as meaning "an old, long-bearded man", and this is taken as a sign of stupidity. Cf. Goldziher, Muh. Stud., II, p.123, n.2.

⁴ Wa'llāhi la-wadidtu annahū fī ghirāra min gharā'irf hattā idhā marartu bi'l-bahr qadhaftuhū fihī (al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.61, quoting Ibn Ishāq, al-Madā'inī and al-Qurashī). In a different version related on the authority of al-Bāqir, 'Ā'isha is quoted as wishing that this fate should befall both 'Uthmān and Marwān; cf. 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Himyarī, Qurb al-isnād, Najaf 1369H., p.21, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.373. By contrast, 'Ā'isha's refusal to intervene in 'Uthmān's favour is explained in a different account as resulting from her fear for her own life; see Ibn Abī Bakr, op.cit., pp.123-124.

⁵ Al-Mufīd, loc.cit.

attitude of Ṭalḥa, az-Zubayr and 'Ā'isha, from convinced opponents of 'Uthmān to self-proclaimed avengers of his blood. Al-Mufīd maintains that in all their actions Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr were motivated by lust for wealth and power. He claims that their initial enthusiastic support for 'Alī was the result of calculated opportunism: by preceding all others in their protestations of loyalty they hoped to extract the maximum benefits for themselves.¹ But when they presented their requests--the governorship of 'Irāq for Ṭalḥa and the governorship of Syria for az-Zubayr²--'Alī rejected them. After a few days they returned and requested a subvention from the public coffers (the bayt al-māl);³ 'Alī refused to do so without first asking permission of the community which had entrusted him with its treasury. Two days later, according to this account, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr received details concerning the forces hostile to 'Alī. These forces included--in addition to 'Ā'isha--'Uthmān's governors who had escaped to Mecca because they feared that they would be punished for their embezzlement of public money.⁴ Prominent among them were 'Uthmān's cousin Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, 'Uthmān's governor in the Yemen Ya'lā b. Munyā at-Tamīmī,⁵ and 'Uthmān's governor in Baṣra 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz.⁶

¹ Ibid., p.71.

² According to (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., I, p.41, az-Zubayr expected to get the governorship of 'Irāq and Ṭalḥa of the Yemen.

³ Cf. also al-Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, Asās at-ta'wīl, p.367.

⁴ Cf. above, p.175.

⁵ Also known as Ya'lā b. Umayya b. Abī 'Ubayda. He was governor of Najrān under 'Umar and governor of al-Janād (the biggest district in the Yemen; see Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, II, p.127) under 'Uthmān. He is described as one of the main supporters of 'Ā'isha in the Battle of the Camel. It is disputed whether he died at Ṣiffīn or later. Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh, index; Tahdhīb, XI, pp.399-400.

⁶ 'Abd Allāh was a maternal cousin of 'Uthmān, who appointed him in 29/650 as governor of Baṣra. After fighting on 'Ā'isha's side in the Battle of the Camel he did not take part in the Battle of Ṣiffīn. He died in 57/677 or 58/678. Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., index; Tahdhīb, V, pp.272-274; above, p.169.

Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr decided to join the rebels. They asked for permission to leave Medina, ostensibly in order to perform the minor pilgrimage ('umra); 'Alī, however, saw through their designs and reportedly told them, "You do not wish [to perform] the 'umra but you wish [to commit] treachery."¹ In order to prepare the ground for their treachery, says al-Mufīd, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr produced the false claim that their oath of allegiance had been given under duress.² They knew, however, that this claim would not impress the members of the community;

¹ Mā turīdāni 'l-'umra walākinnakumā turīdāni 'l-ghadra (al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.73; see also aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-iḥtijāj, p.85; cf. (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, loc.cit.; al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'riḥ, II, p.209; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., X, p.248). A slightly different version is: mā turīdāni 'l-'umra wa-innamā turīdāni 'l-Baṣra (aṭ-Ṭabarsī, I'lām al-warā, pp. 169-170). This version is quoted as proof that 'Alī could foretell future events. When Ibn 'Abbās asked 'Alī why he did not have Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr arrested 'Alī is reported to have answered that he did not wish to punish anyone on suspicion alone (al-Mufīd, loc.cit.). This answer serves to stress 'Alī's sense of justice and his wish to preserve the unity of the community.

² Al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.61. The question of whether or not Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr recognised 'Alī of their own free will gave rise to conflicting reports in non-Shī'i sources. Aṭ-Ṭabarī quotes two contradictory versions. The pro-'Alid version, according to which the two men voluntarily gave 'Alī the oath of allegiance, is quoted (Ta'riḥ, I, p.3068) on the authority of 'Umar b. Shabba (d. c.264/877) (see the bibliographical references on him in Sezgin, I, p.345); not surprisingly, the pro-Shī'i al-Ya'qūbī quotes a similar version in his Ta'riḥ (II, p.206). According to al-Wāqidi, whom aṭ-Ṭabarī quotes somewhat later (Ta'riḥ, I, p.3072), Ṭalḥa was forced to recognise 'Alī; this is also the version to which al-Jāḥiẓ refers in his Al-'uthmāniyya, pp.168,173. In (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., I, p.47, both contradictory versions are mentioned. Further traditions quoted by aṭ-Ṭabarī (Ta'riḥ, I, p.3070) have it that both Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr paid homage to 'Alī under duress, or that az-Zubayr at no time acknowledged him as the ruler. Az-Zubayr is quoted as telling Ibn Jurmūz shortly before being killed by him (cf. below, p.190) that he gave 'Alī the oath of allegiance because he was afraid that he would otherwise be killed; see (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., I, p.69. A summary of the different accounts is also given in Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., IV, pp.7-11; cf. also an-Nāshī' al-Akbar, Masā'il al-imāma, p.15. Modern scholars seem to lend greater credence to the pro-'Alid version. Thus Wellhausen says (The Arab kingdom and its fall, p.52) that Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr "turned shamelessly against" 'Alī, and even Lammens, not noted for any pro-Shī'i sympathies, labels 'Ā'isha, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr as "ambitieux vulgaires" (Etudes sur le règne du calife Omayyade Mo'āwia Ier, p.190 (=MFO II, p.82)) and "intrigants vulgaires" (ibid. p.272 (=MFO II, p.164)).

therefore they changed their tune, feigned repentance for their attacks on 'Uthmān and claimed that this repentance could only be valid if they actively sought to discover 'Uthmān's murderers and to take vengeance on those who had wronged him (zālimūhū).¹ Al-Mufīd argues that even if their zeal to avenge 'Uthmān's murder were genuine they would still have no rights in the matter since they were not tied to 'Uthmān by bonds of kinship.²

The main reason which, in al-Mufīd's view, prompted 'Ā'isha to put herself in the vanguard of 'Uthmān's posthumous supporters was her implacable hatred of 'Alī. Al-Mufīd traces this hatred back to incidents which took place during the Prophet's lifetime. One of them, known as the ifk (falsehood) incident, occurred on the return from the expedition against the Banū 'l-Muṣṭaliq in Sha'bān 6/December 627. When rumours spread that 'Ā'isha was guilty of improper behaviour with Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'aṭṭal as-Sulamī, Muḥammad reportedly asked the advice of Usāma b. Zayd and of 'Alī. Whereas Usāma absolved both 'Ā'isha and Ṣafwān of any blame, 'Alī suggested that the matter should be looked into. Muḥammad agreed and 'Alī closely questioned 'Ā'isha concerning her actions. Afterwards 'Ā'isha is quoted as declaring, "I will never like 'Alī."³ Indeed, she is reported to have attempted on various occasions to suppress any information favourable to 'Alī. For example, in a tradition quoted on her authority 'Ā'isha says that during his last illness Muḥammad was supported in his walk by al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās and another man; when

¹ Al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.63. The allegation that 'Uthmān had been unjustly killed (mazlūman) became the battle-cry of 'Alī's opponents. Cf. e.g. ibid., p.105.

² Ibid., p.63.

³ Ibid., p.66. For further details of this incident cf. Sīra, pp.731-740, as well as Sunni commentaries on Qur'ān 24/11.

'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās heard 'Ikrima (d.105/723)¹ quote this tradition he is said to have immediately identified the other man as 'Alī--a fact which 'Ā'isha had wished to conceal.² Words are put in the Prophet's mouth which are intended to prove that he knew of 'Ā'isha's future behaviour. Thus he is reported to have explained to her that his words to 'Alī, "May God fight him who fights you and show enmity to him who shows enmity to you", referred to her and to those with her.³ Muḥammad is also reported to have told 'Ā'isha in the presence of his other wives, "I wish I knew which of you will be the mistress of the camel; she will journey until the dogs of Ḥaw'ab⁴ bark at her; many persons on her left and right [i.e. fighting on her side] will be killed and all of them [will find themselves] in hell; she herself will be saved [from death]⁵ after almost [being killed]."⁶ On his deathbed Muḥammad is reported to have asked for 'Alī.

¹ On whom cf. the article by J. Schacht, in EI², III, pp.1081-2.

² Al-Mufīd, op.cit., pp.66-67,212; see above, p.138.

³ Ibid., p.211.

⁴ A watering-place on the way to Baṣra; see Yāqūt, op.cit., II, p.352. According to various accounts of the Battle of the Camel, 'Ā'isha wanted to turn back when she reached Ḥaw'ab because she remembered the Prophet's words; her apprehensions were stilled when her companions falsely assured her that they had already passed Ḥaw'ab earlier in the day. See al-Ya'qūbī, op.cit., II, p.210; (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., I, p.60; al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, IV, p.306; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha, IX, pp.310-311 (on the authority of Abū Mikhnaḥ); Yāqūt, loc.cit.; cf. al-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp. 3108-10 (on the authority of al-'Urānī). That occasion is supposed to have been the first time in Islam in which false testimony (shahādat zūr) was given; see (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, loc.cit.

⁵ This is the Imāmī interpretation; according to the Mu'tazilīs the meaning is that 'Ā'isha will be saved from Hell. See Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., IX, p.311; cf. below, pp.191-192.

⁶ Al-Mufīd, op.cit., p. 214. Cf. Ibn Bābawayhi, Ma'ānī 'l-akhbār, p.305.

'Ā'isha and Ḥafṣa ('Umar's daughter and Muḥammad's wife) ignored this request and called instead for their respective fathers; for this they were reprimanded by the Prophet.¹ Another example of 'Ā'isha's bias against 'Alī is taken from the period of her father's reign when she, alone among Muḥammad's surviving wives, allegedly supported Abū Bakr against Fāṭima on the question of Fadak.² Al-Mufīd's conclusion is that her attitude to 'Alī prior to 'Uthmān's death fully explains her opposition to him when he was elected.

Al-Mufīd maintains that 'Ā'isha's candidate to succeed 'Uthmān was Ṭalḥa.³ Only when she heard of 'Alī's election did she publicly dissociate herself from 'Uthmān's murderers.⁴ According to al-Mufīd, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr persuaded 'Ā'isha to declare war on those whom they accused of being 'Uthmān's murderers, i.e. 'Alī and his followers.⁵ It was decided to raise an army and set out for Baṣra, a stronghold of 'Uthmān's supporters.⁶ Money for the expedition was lavishly donated by some

¹ Al-Mufīd, *op.cit.*, p.211. A Shi'i tradition has it that as punishment for her behaviour 'Ā'isha was prevented from taking part in the prayer over Muḥammad's body: while 'Alī led the prayers in the presence of Salmān, Abū Dharr, al-Miqdād, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, the angel Gabriel caused a temporary blindness in 'Ā'isha which made her unaware of the proceedings; see *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*, *cit.* at-Ṭabarsī, *Al-iḥtijāj*, p.52, *cit. Bihār*, VI, p.749. For the controversy about Abū Bakr's prayer during Muḥammad's last illness cf. above, pp.138-139.

² Al-Mufīd, *op.cit.*, p.212. See in general above, pp.143-144. When Fāṭima died, 'Ā'isha is said to have been the only surviving wife of Muḥammad who did not offer her condolences to the Banū Hāshim; she was even rumoured to be glad at the news of Fāṭima's death. See Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *op.cit.*, IX, p.198.

³ According to some accounts, 'Ā'isha's support for Ṭalḥa should be explained by her wish to see power return to the tribe of Taym, to which her father Abū Bakr as well as Ṭalḥa belonged; see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *op.cit.*, IX, p. 199 (on the authority of the Mu'tazilī Abū Ya'qūb, whom I was unable to identify further).

⁴ Al-Mufīd, *op.cit.*, pp.71, 104.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.106-107.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.109.

of 'Uthmān's corrupt governors, notably Ya'lā b. Munyā and 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Rabi'a.¹

When the Prophet's wife Umm Salama heard about these plans she is said to have rushed to 'Ā'isha (or to have written to her) in an attempt to dissuade her from turning against 'Alī. She is quoted as having said:²

You are the door between^{a)} the Apostle of God and his community;^{b)} his veil is drawn over his wives.^{c)} The Qur'ān has drawn together your skirt, therefore do not widen it [by moving about].^{d)} God has made your dwelling to be quietly settled, therefore do not remove it to the desert;^{e)} God^{f)} supports this community.^{g)} The Apostle of God knew what it is proper for you to do. If he had wanted to enjoin you [to act] he would have done so; but he prohibited you from going forth

¹ 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Rabi'a b. al-Mughira al-Makhzūmī was the father of the famous poet 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a. The Prophet appointed 'Abd Allāh as governor of al-Janād, where he remained until news reached him of the attack on 'Uthmān's house. On his way back to help 'Uthmān he is said to have fallen from his riding beast and to have died near Mecca. See aṭ-Ṭabarī, *op.cit.*, index; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op.cit.*, p.351; *Tahdhīb*, V, p.208. According to the account quoted by al-Mufīd (*op.cit.*, pp.107-108), one of 'Abd Allāh's last acts was to urge those around him to avenge 'Uthmān's death.

² The text of this speech in al-Mufīd seems to be corrupt in places. It has therefore been emended by consulting other versions in the following sources: M=Ibn Bābawayhi, *Ma'ānī 'l-akhbār*, pp.375-376, *cit. Bihār*, VIII, p.425; B=Ibn Abī Ṭayfūr, *Balāghāt an-nisā'*, pp.10-11; IH=aṭ-Ṭabarsī, *Al-ihtijāj*, p.89, *cit. Bihār*, VIII, p.424; (J= al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-jamal*, p.110).

- a) Reading *sudda bayna* with B, M, IH. J: *'idda*.
- b) This could mean either "a means of communication" (Lane, s.v. *sudda*) or that the relationship of 'Ā'isha to the Prophet is compared to that of a door of a house to its inhabitants: if one is abused, so will be the other (az-Zamakhsharī, *Al-fā'iq*, *cit. Bihār*, VIII, p.426).
- c) Reading *wa-hijābuhū* with IH. J: *wa-hijābuki*. The reference is to the "verse of the veil" (*Qur'ān* 33/53).
- d) Reading *fa-lā tandahīhī* with B, M, IH. J: *fa-lā tubaddinihī*, "therefore do not put on it a coat of mail." This seems less likely. The reference is to *Qur'ān* 33/33, "Remain in your homes and do not display your finery as did the pagans in the Jāhiliyya."
- e) Reading *wa-sakkana 'llāhu min 'uqayrāki fa-lā tuṣhirihā* with B. J: *wa-amlaka khafraki fa-lā tuḥīhā*.
- f) Repeated in J.
- g) Reading *al-umma* with B, IH. J: *al-āya*.

into the country.^{h)} The pillar of faith is not rectified by women when it is dented, nor is it repaired by them when it is split. The praiseworthy [qualities]ⁱ⁾ of women consist in the lowering of their eyes, the surrounding [with clothes] of the sides [of their bodies], the restriction of their steps [to a few only]^{j)} and the gathering up of their skirts. What would you have said if the Apostle of God had come across you in a desert [while you were] mounted on a young she-camel [going] from one watering-place to another, having rent his veil^{k)} and abandoned his contract [with you]? God sees [and knows] your final aim^{l)} and you will come before His Apostle [on the Day of Judgment].^{m)} [I swear] by God, if I had followed this road which you have taken, and had then been told, "enter Paradise", I would have been ashamed to meet the Apostle of God [there] while rending a veil with which he had covered me. [Therefore] make your home your castle and [turn] the floor of your house [into] your [future] grave, until you meet him (sc. God, or Muḥammad) in that [condition]; this is the greatest obedience to him as long as you adhere to it (sc. the contract; or "to him", meaning God or Muḥammad), and the biggest help to religionⁿ⁾ as long as you refrain from it (sc. from carrying out your plan).

In quoting this speech al-Mufīd wishes to stress that 'Ā'isha's action constituted not only a crime against a lawful ruler but also a violation of a specific Quranic injunction. Hence even if 'Ā'isha's claims against 'Alī were well-founded--as some of al-Mufīd's opponents might have argued--she nevertheless committed an unforgivable sin by leaving her home despite an explicit command to the contrary. This argument is a powerful weapon in the Imāmi attack on 'Ā'isha and may explain the popularity which this particular speech (or letter) gained with

h) Reading al-furṭa fi 'l-bilād with B, M. IH. J: al-farṭ fi 'l-balā'.

i) Reading humādā with IH. J: fa-ṣad'u.

j) Reading al-wihāza with M. J: al-wahāda, "a low place".

k) Reading sidāfatahū with M. J: ṣadāqatahū.

l) Reading inna bi-'ayni 'llāhi mahwāki with M. J: an yughīra 'llāhu (?) biki lihawāki.

m) Reading wa-'alā rasūli 'llāhi taridīn with M. J: 'alā rasūli 'llāhi atadrīn.

n) Reading wa-anṣaru mā takūnīn li'd-dīn with IH. J: wa-anzirī (?) bi-naw'i 'd-dīn.

Shi'i and pro-Shi'i writers.¹ In contrast to 'Ā'isha's behaviour 'Alī is reported to have observed the Quranic injunction about the Prophet's wives and to have rejected a suggestion of Ibn 'Abbās that Umm Salama should join his forces.²

The Imāmi View of the Participants in the Battle of the Camel

Many non-Shi'i authors take the view that throughout his reign 'Alī had to contend with considerable internal opposition. Al-Jāhiz, for example, gives an impressive list of Companions and Successors who were opposed to 'Alī's election as caliph after 'Uthmān's murder.³ Abū Mikhnaf is quoted as mentioning in his Kitāb al-jamal seven Companions who refused to recognise 'Alī: Muḥammad b. Maslama,⁴ 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar,⁵ Usāma b. Zayd,⁶ Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ (one of the six members of the shūrā), Ka'b b. Mālik,⁷ the poet Ḥassān b. Thābit,⁸ and 'Abd

¹ Al-Majlisī, who quotes a few versions of this speech (Bihār, VIII, pp. 424-429), stresses that it has been transmitted by many traditionists acknowledged as reliable by both Sunnis and Shi'is (ibid., p.426). According to al-Mufīd (op.cit., p.112) 'Ā'isha refused to listen to Umm Salama's admonitions and went ahead with her preparations to leave for Baṣra. Umm Salama thereupon warned 'Ā'isha that she was in danger of going to hell in punishment for her deeds.

² Al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.113.

³ See Al-'uthmāniyya, pp.173-174. Cf. also Ibn aṣ-Ṣabbāgh, Al-fuṣūl al-muhimma, p.52.

⁴ He was an Anṣārī. During the Prophet's absence he was charged with governing Medina. See Lammens, op.cit., p.116 (MFO II, p.8).

⁵ One of the sons of the second caliph; d.73/693. See the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri, in EI², I, pp.53-54, and the bibliography given there.

⁶ On Usāma cf. above, p.139, with n.2.

⁷ On whom see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., pp.216-217; Tahdhīb VIII, pp.440-441. Ka'b is reported to have initially taken a neutral attitude towards 'Alī but to have later joined his opponents; see Lammens, loc.cit.

⁸ See the article "Ḥassān b. Thābit" by W. 'Arafat, in EI², III, pp.271-273.

Allāh b. Sallām.¹ Lammens, basing himself on aṭ-Ṭabarī and other early historians, maintains² that contrary to Shī'ī claims, there were only few Medinese notables who supported 'Alī. His opponents included the sons of the first caliphs (with the exception of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr) and especially 'Aqīl, 'Alī's own brother.³ Even among the Anṣārīs, who generally supported 'Alī, three prominent figures may be regarded as 'Uthmānīs:⁴ Ḥassān b. Thābit, an-Nu'mān b. Bashīr,⁵ and Ka'b b. Mālīk.⁶ Similarly Hodgson argues⁷ that "it is hard to suppose that anyone thought of 'Alī as the logical candidate at the death of the Prophet; but even when under extraordinary circumstances he was elected at Madīna, many of the most prominent of Muḥammad's companions opposed 'Alī's rule, and others remained distinctly neutral."⁸

In attempting to refute such views, Imāmi authors have two aims in mind: firstly, to establish that 'Alī was elected with the unanimous consent (*ijmā'*) of the community;⁹

¹ 'Abd Allāh b. Sallām b. al-Ḥārith al-Isrā'īlī was a Jewish ally of the Anṣār who converted to Islam during the Prophet's lifetime and is therefore counted among the Companions. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op.cit.*, pp.383-384. The entire quotation from Abū Mikhnaḥ appears in Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, IV, p.9.

² Lammens, *op.cit.*, pp.110-116 (= MFO II, pp.2-8).

³ Cf. below, p.240.

⁴ For this term cf. above, pp.51-52.

⁵ An-Nu'mān b. Bashīr b. Sa'd b. Tha'laba al-Anṣārī was born eight years before Muḥammad's death. His father was reportedly the first Anṣārī who gave Abū Bakr the oath of allegiance (cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, *op.cit.*, I, p.1842). An-Nu'mān was Mu'āwīya's governor in Kūfa and then in Ḥimṣ. See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op.cit.*, pp.299-300; Lammens, *op.cit.*, p.116 (= MFO II, p.8), n.3.

⁶ Cf. also the list in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IV, pp.295-296.

⁷ "How did the early Shī'a become sectarian?", p.2.

⁸ Hodgson mentions (*ibid.*, n.7) that this is also the view expressed by Buhl in his book *'Alī som Praetendent og Kalif*, Copenhagen 1921.

⁹ Cf above, p.175.

because of the doctrinal significance of that ijmā' the Imāmis insist that there was no person of note from among the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār who did not voluntarily recognise 'Alī.¹ Secondly, to show that in the wars which he waged against his opponents, 'Alī had the wholehearted support of the large majority of the community.² The important point to the Imāmis is to show that even though some opposed 'Alī or refrained from supporting him in the various battles, none of those whose³ consent was required for the ijmā' opposed his election. Al-Mufīd, who places considerable emphasis on this point, contends that it is quite possible to believe in the right of a certain ruler to hold office while at the same time disagreeing with particular decisions or actions of that ruler.⁴

In turning to the Battle of the Camel al-Mufīd, basing himself on an anonymous source (ba'd al-'ulamā'), sets out to show that the real motives behind the decision of some persons to stay away from the battle were different from the reasons which they gave 'Alī. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, for example, told 'Alī that he did not wish to fight fellow Muslims, whereas in fact he

¹ See al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.32. This explains the importance attached by the Imāmiyya to showing that Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr recognised 'Alī of their own free will. A somewhat modified view ascribed to 'Alī is that the validity of his election was guaranteed by the ijmā' of the badriyyūn; their consent was sufficient, there being no legal requirement for the endorsement of the entire Ṣaḥāba. See Naṣr b. Muṣāḥim, Waḡ'at Ṣiffīn, Cairo 1382H., pp.189-190. For al-Jāḥiẓ's view cf. his Risāla fi 'l-ḥakamayn, p.443.

² For estimates of the number of Companions who supported 'Alī in his wars see below, pp.251ff.

³ An-Nāshi' al-Akbar distinguishes between two groups which refrained from taking part in the Battle of the Camel: the first, for whom he coins the term "Ḥulaysiyya", thought that under no circumstances should one Muslim fight another; the second, known also from other sources as the Mu'tazila, did not join because they were not certain which of the two camps had justice on its side. See Masā'il al-imāma, pp.16-17, with Van Ess's comments, Frühe Mu'tazilitische Haresiographie, p.27.

⁴ See al-Mufīd, op.cit., pp.28-29; cf. also Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., IV, pp.9-10.

was motivated in his decision by envy of 'Alī. Similarly, Usāma b. Zayd declared that he was only prepared to fight polytheists, when in fact he resented the fact that 'Alī, unlike his three predecessors in office, had not given him any preferential treatment. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar asked to be excused from participating in a war about which he knew nothing (lastu a'rifu fi hādhihi 'l-ḥarb shay'an), when in fact he had inherited his father's hatred of 'Alī, in addition to being dim-witted (da'if al-'aql);¹ Muḥammad b. Maslama had been 'Uthmān's friend and did not wish to fight 'Uthmān's supporters, yet he did not tell 'Alī that that was his real motive for wishing to abstain from fighting.²

¹ 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar is said to have repented before his death for not having fought on 'Alī's side; see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., pp.369-370, whence al-Irbilī, Kashf al-ghumma, I, p.169; above, pp.60-61.

² See al-Mufīd, op.cit., pp.29-31. A similar explanation for the behaviour of these Companions is attributed to 'Alī in (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., I, pp.52-53. There 'Alī is quoted as saying that Muḥammad b. Maslama disliked him because he had killed his brother, Marḥab the Jew, during the Battle of Khaybar (in 7/629). This does not tally with the information in the Sīra (pp. 760-761), according to which Marḥab killed Muḥammad b. Maslama's brother and was in turn killed by Muḥammad the following day. A similar version is recorded in aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.1577-8, on the authority of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī. According to Ibn Sa'd (II/i, p.81) it was 'Alī who killed Marḥab, thus bringing victory to the Muslims over the Jews of Khaybar. This account (which the Imāms insist is the correct one; cf. Ibn Shahrāshūb, Manāqib, I, p.5) also appears in aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.1579-81, on the authority of Burayda al-Aslamī. The anomaly in (pseudo-) Ibn Qusayba's account should be attributed to an omission in the original MS upon which both the Cairo 1967 and the Cairo 1904 (p.90) editions seem to be based. It would make more sense to read: li-annī qataltu [man qatala] akhāhū, "because I killed him who had killed his brother". On checking the paragraph in question in two MSS of Al-imāma wa's-siyāsa in the British Museum it has in fact been discovered that both have the reading annī qataltu qātīla akhīhī (Or. 104, f30a; Add. 23273, f24a). 'Alī's words, as they appear in this version, might thus be interpreted as follows: by killing Marḥab, 'Alī had deprived Muḥammad b. Maslama of the honour of avenging his brother's death himself; and that was the reason for Muḥammad's hostility towards him.

In addition to these Companions al-Mufīd singles out for special criticism the neutral attitude adopted by Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, 'Uthmān's governor of Kūfa.¹ Abū Mūsā's attitude made the task of 'Alī's followers especially difficult, since their plans called for aligning the support of the Kūfis against 'Ā'isha's army.²

In their description of events in 'Ā'isha's camp prior to the battle, Shi'i authors often quote traditions in which the wickedness and greediness of 'Alī's main enemies is brought to the fore. On their arrival in Baṣra Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr are said to have ended a bloody engagement with 'Alī's governor 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf by agreeing in a formal treaty to divide the city between their forces. 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf was to retain the governor's house, the public square, the mosque with the pulpit and the public coffers, in return for which Ṭalḥa, az-Zubayr and their followers could stay where they wished in Baṣra until 'Alī arrived. But Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr, committing what was to become known as "the first treachery in Islam", used an opportune moment to arrest the governor while he was praying in the mosque. He was severely beaten, his eyebrows, the edges of his eyelids and every hair on his head and face were plucked out, and he was saved from certain death only when he reminded his tormentors that his brother Sahl, the governor of Medina, would avenge his

¹ See al-Mufīd, *op.cit.*, pp.118ff. Abū Mūsā is said to have demurred at first when asked to give 'Alī the oath of allegiance (*bay'a*). Only when Sa'd's nephew, Ḥāshim b. 'Utba b. Abī Waqqāṣ, gave 'Alī the *bay'a* in front of Abū Mūsā did the latter relent and recognise 'Alī; in this he was followed by the other Kūfi notables. Cf. *Darajāt*, p.376 (on the authority of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim).

² The eighth Imam ar-Riḍā is quoted as declaring that it is a worse sin to abstain from helping 'Alī and not repent than it is to fight 'Alī but show repentance afterwards (*Bihār*, VIII, p.459, quoting from al-Mufīd, *Irshād*). This might well be a reference to Abū Mūsā and persons who followed a similar line to his.

death by executing many of their relatives. Having perpetrated this outrage, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr then quarreled with one another on the right to lead the prayers and shamelessly embezzled the public coffers.¹

The Battle of the Camel ended in victory for 'Alī's forces and death for Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr. According to one account, Ṭalḥa was spotted by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam as he was attempting to escape from the battlefield; Marwān then killed him in revenge for Ṭalḥa's participation in 'Uthmān's murder.² Other versions have it that Ṭalḥa was felled by a stray arrow.³ Az-Zubayr is said to have been killed by Ibn Jurmūz (who was later killed at an-Nahrawān while fighting against 'Alī)⁴ as he approached Medina.⁵

In some Shi'i traditions az-Zubayr is depicted in a more positive light than Ṭalḥa. He is reported to have expressed his reluctance to fight 'Alī, and to have changed his mind only under pressure from Ṭalḥa.⁶ Both Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr were reportedly warned by 'Alī that they would be cursed if they fought against him. When the two enquired how such a curse could be reconciled with Muḥammad's promise that they would reach

¹ See al-Mufid, Kitāb al-jamal, pp.135-137, quoting Abū Mikhnaḥ. Abū Mikhnaḥ's account is also quoted in Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., IX, pp.318-323; Darajāt, pp.385-388. Aṭ-Ṭabarī's authority for these events is Sayf, who gives a somewhat different account (see Ta'rikh, I, pp.3122ff). On 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf see also below, p.237, n.3.

² See al-Mufid, op.cit., pp.183-184. This tradition serves to shed light on Marwān's hypocrisy: whereas he ostensibly joined 'Ā'isha's camp in order to fight 'Uthmān's enemies he in fact knew all along that these enemies were to be found in her own camp. In fighting 'Alī Marwān was merely following his long-standing anti-'Alid policy. Cf. also aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-iḥtijāj, p.87.

³ Al-Mufid, op.cit., p.188.

⁴ Cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., I, p.236.

⁵ Al-Mufid, op.cit., p.191.

⁶ See aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, I, p.137. Cf. also below, p.246, n.3.

Paradise, 'Alī denied the veracity of the tradition of al-'ashara al-mubashsharūn¹ and quoted the Prophet as declaring that some of these ten would be "in a coffin [to be placed] in an abyss in a cistern in the lowest part of hell. The cistern will be covered by a rock which God will remove whenever he wishes to kindle the flames of hell."² When 'Alī discovered Ṭalḥa's body he is quoted as saying, "You enjoyed superiority [to many others] with the Apostle of God; but Satan entered your nostrils and transferred you to hell."³

These and similar traditions are the basis for an important conclusion which al-Mufīd draws, namely that Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr died unrepentant and are therefore to be considered as unbelievers.⁴ In making this statement al-Mufīd was merely reiterating a long-established Imāmī belief. Indeed, the question of Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr had already caused disagreements between Imāmīs and Mu'tazilīs⁵ at the end of the 2nd/8th century. A work ascribed to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam is entitled Ar-radd 'ala 'l-mu'tazila fi amr Ṭalḥa wa'z-Zubayr;⁶ Hishām's contemporary Mu'min aṭ-Ṭāq⁷ is said to be the author of a work called Fi amr Ṭalḥa wa'z-Zubayr wa-'Ā'isha.⁸ Al-Mufīd's main argument against

¹ Cf. above, p.17.

² Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays, cit. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., p.86.

³ Aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., p.87, on the authority of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim; see also Shāfi, p.290. Ṭalḥa was known for his heroic deeds during the battle of Uhud (see al-Jāḥiẓ, Al-ūthmāniyya, p.63). Muḥammad is said to have praised Ṭalḥa's generosity by calling him "Ṭalḥa al-Khayr", "Ṭalḥa al-Fayyāḍ", "Ṭalḥa al-Jūd" (see aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Ar-riyāḍ an-naḍira, II, p.335; and cf. in general ibid., II, pp.334-351, for Sunnī traditions about Ṭalḥa's virtues).

⁴ See al-Mufīd, op.cit., pp.190,209.

⁵ On the Mu'tazilī view as presented by 'Abd al-Jabbār cf. above, pp.59-60.

⁶ Ibn Shahrāshūb, Ma'ālim al-'ulamā', p.115; cf. an-Najāshī, Rijāl, p.305.

⁷ Cf. above, p.98, with n.1.

⁸ See Ibn Shahrāshūb, op.cit., p.84.

his Mu'tazilī opponents is that there can be no doubt that Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr sinned by rising against 'Alī; their alleged repentance, on the other hand, cannot be conclusively proved.¹ Ṭalḥa was killed fighting, which indicates that to all outward appearances he continued to the last to behave as a grave sinner; no one can claim to know what Ṭalḥa's innermost thoughts were during his last moments.² Az-Zubayr was killed as he was fleeing from the battlefield, but his attempted escape was not accompanied by any signs of repentance.³ Al-Mufīd claims that the only conceivable reason which could have induced such knowledgeable traditionists and mutakallimūn as the Mu'tazilīs to adopt a view which is so obviously at odds with established facts might have been their fear of the ignorant Sunnī masses and their wish to curry favour with the rulers of the time (umarā' az-zamān).⁴

Al-Murtaḍā follows in the main al-Mufīd's arguments. In his view the alleged repentance of 'Ā'isha, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr "is neither well-known nor established with certainty, whereas their rebellion (ma'siya) is an indisputable fact. Where

¹ This argument is said to have been succinctly expressed by al-Mufīd in the sentence al-ḥarb dirāya wa't-tawba riwāya. He allegedly used these words in discussions with two famous theologians of his day, 'Alī b. 'Īsā ar-Rummānī (d.384/994) and the Mu'tazilī 'Abd al-Jabbār. Both were reportedly greatly impressed by al-Mufīd's arguments and could find no way of refuting them. When the Buwayhid Aḥud ad-Dawla heard about it he sent al-Mufīd various expensive gifts as token of his appreciation. See the biography of al-Mufīd, extracted from Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī's Lu'lu'at al-bahrayn, which precedes al-Mufīd's Al-muḡnī'a, Persia 1858, p.ii.

² Al-Murtaḍā, Kitāb talkhīṣ al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsin, f417b.

³ Ibid., ff417b-418a.

⁴ Al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.12. The reference could be to the Buwayhids or to the 'Abbāsīd rulers. Al-Mufīd's comment is interesting in that it reveals the respect in which he held his Mu'tazilī adversaries. Al-Mufīd is reported to have dealt at length with the question of the repentance of Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr in his work Al-mas'ala 'l-kāfiya fī ibtāl tawbat al-khāṭi'a; see al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., f417b; an-Najāshī, op.cit., p.284.

something is generally accepted to be the case, we must accept it as a fact unless there is indisputable evidence to the contrary."¹

'Ā'isha is said to have vilified 'Alī even at her moment of defeat² and to have stubbornly refused to acknowledge him as Commander of the Faithful.³ Although al-Mufīd refrains in his Kitāb al-jamal from explicitly branding her as an unbeliever, all the evidence which he marshals points to that conclusion. Especially damning is the tradition according to which she expressed joy at the news of 'Alī's assassination which occurred in 40/661, less than five years after the Battle of the Camel.⁴ This proves that she never repented of her crime in rebelling against him.⁵

In contrast to 'Ā'isha's vindictive manner after her capture, 'Alī is depicted as the noble and generous victor, ordering his men not to kill anyone not engaged in active combat,⁶

¹ Al-Murtadā, Risāla fī 'ilm al-kalām, p.72. See in general al-Murtadā's discussion of the question in Shāfi, pp.285-295.

² See al-Mufīd, Kitāb al-jamal, p.184.

³ See al-Kishshī, Kitāb ar-rijāl, p.56.

⁴ See al-Mufīd, op.cit., pp.67-68.

⁵ The totally negative attitude of most Imāmi theologians (but cf. above, p.125) towards 'Ā'isha may be contrasted with their idealisation of Fāṭima, Muḥammad's daughter and 'Alī's wife, who is extolled above all other women (see the article on her by L. Veccia Vaglieri, in EI², II, pp.841-850). In opposition to this Imāmi view early Sunnī doctors elaborated their own theory about the hierarchic sequence of the women Companions. In the waṣiyya wrongly attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa it is stated, "We confess that, after Khadīja the Great, 'Ā'isha is the most excellent of the women of all kinds of creatures. And she is the mother of the Faithful, pure from immorality, free from what the Rawāfiḍ ascribe to her" (trans. Wensinck, The Muslim creed, p.130; cf. also ibid., p.183). It should be noted that the question of the relative merits of Khadīja and 'Ā'isha was disputed among Sunnī scholars; see the discussion in as-Sakhāwī, Risāla fī tafdīl Khadīja 'alā 'Ā'isha, ff2a-2b. It is not surprising that the Sunnis, who held 'Ā'isha in such reverence, should regard her vilification with great severity (cf. above, pp.44-45).

⁶ See al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.187.

treating 'Ā'isha with respect and consideration,¹ distributing the money from the public coffers equally among his warriors,² and forgiving the Baṣrīs for their treachery.³ This behaviour on 'Alī's part presents Imāmī doctors with certain difficulties. After all, since in their view those who fought 'Alī were unbelievers, it would seem that 'Alī should have treated them as such; and yet he refused to allow his partisans to take captive their women and children or to seize their goods, with the exception of those found on the battlefield.⁴ Various explanations are proffered in justification of 'Alī's actions. Al-Mufīd, who is probably the first Imāmī theologian to have treated this question in a methodical manner, distinguishes in his Kitāb al-jamal⁵ between two different categories of unbelief. He terms the first category kufṛ ridda, "unbelief as a result of apostasy", which involves a total and irrevocable rejection of Islam. The second category is kufṛ milla, a term which does not seem to appear in any other extant works by al-Mufīd. According to al-Mufīd, a person regarded as a kāfir millī is neither a believer, nor even a Muslim in the religious sense; yet legally he belongs to the Islamic community (milla) by dint of his acknowledgement of the shahādātān. Hence, from the legal point of view, he is to be treated differently from an unbeliever who is outside the community. In God's eyes, however, a kāfir millī is an unbeliever like any other and as such is condemned to

¹ Ibid., pp.181-182.

² Ibid., p.198.

³ Ibid., pp.201-202.

⁴ See aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh, I, p.3227 (on the authority of Sayf); al-Mas'ūdī, op.cit., IV, pp.316ff.

⁵ pp.13-14.

eternal Hell-fire.¹ By applying this theory to 'Alī's enemies al-Mufīd can justify 'Alī's lenient behaviour towards them while at the same time insisting that they are unbelievers.

Al-Murtaḍā, clearly influenced by the thinking of his teacher, likewise stresses the legal aspect when discussing that problem. He contends that the laws governing unbelief (ahkām al-kufr) are not identical in every case; thus an unbeliever in lands not yet conquered by the armies of Islam (harbī) is in a different legal category from a dhimmi, although both are regarded as unbelievers. In the same way 'Alī's treatment of his enemies in the Battle of the Camel, though different from the customary manner of dealing with infidels in the conquered lands, does not imply that he did not regard them as unbelievers.² A different explanation for 'Alī's kindness to the Baṣrīs is that he was following the example set by Muḥammad who showed mercy to the Meccans after conquering their city in 8/630.³ 'Alī's behaviour is shown to have been the result of practical, as well as humane, considerations: he was afraid that if he imprisoned his defeated adversaries, retaliatory measures would be taken against his supporters in areas controlled by his enemies.⁴

¹ Cf. also al-Mufīd, Awā'il al-maḡālāt, p.14. Al-Mufīd was not the first theologian who used these terms, although he gave them a particularly Imāmī colouring. Ibn Taymiyya maintains (Kitāb al-imān, Cairo 1325H., pp.131-132) that the distinction between unbelief which excludes from the community (yanqulu 'an al-milla) and one which does not exclude from it was known already to the Companion Ibn 'Abbās. According to Tritton (Muslim theology, p.39), the Khārijīs used kufr milla as an equivalent to kufr shirk. But this is not the sense in which al-Mufīd understood the term.

² See Shāfi, p.224; al-Murtaḍā, Jumal al-'ilm wa'l-'amal, p.45; aṭ-Ṭūsī, Talkhīṣ ash-shāfi, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.461.

³ See Bihār, VIII, p.461 (source not given).

⁴ See al-Barqī, Kitāb al-maḡāsin, p.262; Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Ilal ash-sharā'i, p.150, cit. Bihār, VIII, pp.461, 622.

An even more serious problem raised by 'Alī's struggle against his opponents is this: if he was convinced of his rights, why did he not fight for them immediately after Muḥammad's death? Why did he remain inactive until after his election in 35/656? The most obvious and uncompromising Imāmī reaction to such a question would be to dismiss it out of hand by arguing that since the Imam is by definition infallible, his decisions are always right and may never be questioned, even when the reasoning behind them is not immediately apparent.¹ Such an argument, convincing though it may sound to an Imāmī, is obviously not good enough when addressed to adversaries who would challenge the premiss upon which it is based, namely the infallibility of the Imam. More to the point, it is often argued that after Muḥammad's death 'Alī did not have enough supporters.² It is also claimed that in his actions 'Alī was following the precedent established by the Prophet. Muḥammad had refrained for thirteen years from declaring a holy war against the polytheists in Mecca, and had maintained this state of inactivity for a further nineteen months after his emigration to Medina. Just as Muḥammad had waited all that time to gain a sufficient number of loyal supporters, so it was permissible for 'Alī to wait for 25 years until he could feel confident of victory.³ 'Alī is quoted as arguing that before Muḥammad, too, prophets often had to refrain from fighting for their cause because of the superior strength of their enemies.⁴

¹ See al-Mufīd, Mas'ala fi 'n-nass al-jalī, in Nafā'is al-makhtūṭāt, V, Baghdad 1375H., p.56; al-Murtaḍā, Tanzih al-anbiyā', pp.170-171.

² For a discussion of this particular argument cf. below, pp.248-249.

³ See Ibn Bābawayhi, op.cit., p.148, whence Tritton, "Popular Shi'ism," in BSOAS 13, 1949-51, p.830; Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Uyūn akhbār ar-Ridā, II, pp. 81-82.

⁴ See the (anonymous) Munāzarat malik Rukn ad-Dawla ma'a 's-Sadūq, ff271a-271b.

A further argument is that many of the newly converted regarded 'Alī as their enemy since he had killed their fathers and relatives who had fought against Muḥammad.¹ 'Alī knew that if he demanded their loyalty immediately after the Prophet's death they would refuse it and thus reject Islam; this was an eventuality which 'Alī wished to avoid at all costs.² Moreover, 'Alī, who had the best interests of the community at heart, did not want to be responsible for a civil war which might have broken out if he had chosen to fight for his rights against Abū Bakr. The situation after his election was different since most of the Companions who had supported the first three caliphs regarded Mu'āwiyā, Ṭalḥa, az-Zubayr and their allies as rebels and were therefore ready to support 'Alī against them. 'Alī could thus be reasonably assured of victory; his determination was increased by his belief that the community would be subjected to greater harm if he allowed the rebels to sow disunity than if he fought them.³ Finally, in justifying 'Alī's behaviour Imāmī commentators sometimes base themselves on the Quranic verse, "Had they (sc. the believers and the unbelievers) been separated clearly, then we would have severely chastised the unbelievers among them."⁴ Likewise, these commentators maintain, 'Alī knew that the offspring of the unbelievers and the hypocrites would be believers; he therefore refrained from fighting the fathers until after they had begotten their offspring.⁵

¹ See Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Ilal ash-sharā'i', p.146.

² See above, p.110, with n.2, 4; cf. also ibid., p.149; aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, I, p.234.

³ See al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., pp.176-177.

⁴ Qur'ān 48/25.

⁵ See al-Qummī, Tafsīr, II, p.317; Ibn Bābawayhi, op.cit., p.147; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Manāqib, I, p.234; cf. also the answer given by al-Mufīd (op.cit., pp.55-56) when al-Bāqillānī enquired of him why 'Alī had not fought his enemies after the Prophet's death. Members of the "extremist" Shī'ī sect known as the Kāmiliyya

The Imāmi View of the Participants in the Battle of Ṣiffīn

From the doctrinal point of view the Imāmis do not distinguish between the various enemies who rose against 'Alī during his caliphate. All of them are unbelievers and condemned to eternal punishment. In a famous tradition Muḥammad tells 'Alī that he ('Alī) will have to fight "the breakers of covenants, the deviators and the renegades" (an-nākithīn wa'l-qāsītīn wa'l-māriqīn), referring to 'Alī's enemies at Baṣra, Ṣiffīn and an-Nahrawān respectively.¹ At the same time it is not difficult to discern the particular intensity with which the Imāmis express their hatred of 'Alī's enemies at the Battle of Ṣiffīn (Ṣafar 37/July 657). For the Shī'īs, that battle was not only one of the most significant events in the history of early Islam; it was also the most dangerous and vicious of all the attempts by rebellious groups to wrest power away from 'Alī. Moreover, the battle foreshadowed the rise of the Umayyad dynasty, which the Shī'īs accuse of horrible excesses against the 'Alids, culminating in the Karbalā' massacre.

after the founder Abū Kāmil Mu'ādh b. al-Ḥuṣayn an-Nabḥānī al-Kūfī (cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, Tathbīt, p.211), apparently remained unimpressed by explanations given for 'Alī's inactivity. They are reported to have branded as unbelievers not only the Companions, for failing to help 'Alī, but also 'Alī himself, for letting himself be supplanted by the first three caliphs. But 'Alī and his followers are said to have returned to the fold of Islam after he became caliph and waged wars against his opponents. This doctrine seems to have interesting parallels with Khārijī claims that 'Alī and his followers became unbelievers by agreeing to the arbitration and abandoning the jihād against Mu'āwīya. On the Kāmiliyya see an-Nāshī' al-Akbar, op.cit., p.45 (where they are referred to as al-Kumayliyya); al-Baghdādī, Al-farq bayna 'l-firaq, pp.54,56,357; Ibn Ḥazm, Al-fiṣal, IV, p.183; ash-Shahrastānī, Al-milal, I, p.133; Tritton, Muslim theology, p.26. The poet Bashshār b. Burd was accused of adhering to that sect (al-Baghdādī, loc.cit.; Pellat, Le milieu baṣrien, p.201).

¹ See Bihār, VIII, pp.454-459, where various earlier sources are quoted. The usual Sunni interpretation of this ḥadīth is that it refers only to the Khārijīs. See Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Tathīr al-janān, Cairo 1375H., pp.53-54. In an Imāmi tradition, al-Bāqir is quoted as declaring that 'Alī's enemies had committed a graver sin than the enemies of the Prophet. While those who fought Muḥammad had never acknowledged Islam, 'Alī's enemies had acknowledged Islam and then rejected it. See Rawḍa, p.252.

(a) Mu'āwiya b. Abi Sufyān

Mu'āwiya, who found himself after the Battle of the Camel as leader of 'Alī's opponents and who subsequently became the first Umayyad caliph, is a particular target for Shī'i wrath. Derogatory traditions about him abound in Shī'i literature. According to one story, he was born as a result of the adulterous relationship between Abū Sufyān's wife Hind and al-'Abbās.¹

Mu'āwiya's conversion to Islam is placed in doubt. He is said to have been forced by necessity to declare his adherence to the new religion after Muḥammad had conquered Mecca, and to have never believed in it in his heart.² He is counted among the mu'allafa qulūbuhum, whom the Prophet, for reasons of political expediency, tried to win over by offering financial inducements.³ Muḥammad is reported to have called Mu'āwiya "freedman (ṭalīq)⁴ son of a freedman", and "an accursed man (la'in) son of an accursed man."⁵ Muḥammad is even quoted as declaring, "If you see Mu'āwiya preaching on my pulpit, kill him."⁶

¹ See Ibn Dā'ī, Tabṣirat al-'awāmm, p.258. This particular version reflects an anti-'Abbāsīd, as well as an anti-Umayyad, bias. Shī'i hatred of the 'Abbāsīds was often not less pronounced than their rejection of the Umayyads; see e.g. Bihār, VIII, pp.377-386. According to other accounts, Mu'āwiya's father could have been one of four different persons; see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., I, p.336, al-Muḥaffar, op.cit., III/i, p.219 (both quoting from az-Zamakhsharī, Rabī' al-abrār); Bihār, VIII, p.566, al-Muḥaffar, op.cit., III/i, p.215 (both quoting from Ibn al-Kalbī, Kitāb al-mathālib).

² Cf. 'Ammār's verdict on the Syrians below, pp.337-338.

³ See Sīra, pp.880-881. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī (op.cit., p.8) denies that Mu'āwiya belongs to the mu'allafa qulūbuhum.

⁴ Which the Imāmīs interpret as meaning here, "Someone who was brought within the religion of Islam against his will"; cf. Lane, p.1874, s.v. ṭlq.

⁵ See al-Ḥillī, Minhāj al-karāma, p.113m. Cf. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., pp.118-119, 201.

⁶ Idha ra'aytum Mu'āwiya 'alā minbarī yakhtubu fa'qtulūhū (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., p.221 (on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī), cit. Bihār, VIII, p.565; cf. Kitāb 'Abbād al-'Uṣfurī, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a, f12a, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.566).

The Prophet is reported to have said that Mu'āwiya would not die as a Muslim;¹ he also cursed Abū Sufyān, Mu'āwiya and Mu'āwiya's son Yazīd.² He is said to have referred to Mu'āwiya as "al-Uqay'is", i.e. "he who has a protruding chest and a hollow back."³ The eighth Imam ar-Riḍā, basing himself on the Prophet's declaration, "there is no hijra after the conquest (sc. of Mecca)", is reported to have argued that since Mu'āwiya adopted Islam only after that event, he cannot be considered a Companion.⁴

Sunni traditionists praise Mu'āwiya for the useful services he rendered the Prophet as secretary (kātib) and stress his position as Muḥammad's confidant (amīn, sāhib sirr).⁵ The Imāmis, on the other hand, contend that there was nothing praise-worthy in Mu'āwiya's role; he never wrote down one word of the revelation, and merely edited some letters of Muḥammad. Hence he cannot be called "the secretary of the revelation" (kātib al-wahy), as some Sunnis would have it. Of the fourteen Companions who wrote down the revelation, the best and closest to the Prophet was 'Alī.⁶

¹ Yamūtu Mu'āwiya 'alā ghayri 'l-islām (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., p.217, on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar; see also al-Muzaffar, op.cit., III/i, pp.229-230).

² See e.g. Bihār, VIII, p.380 (quoting from Ibn Bābawayhi, Al-khiṣāl).

³ See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., p.218 (on the authority of al-Barā' b. 'Azib); Ibn Bābawayhi, Ma'āni 'l-akhbār, p.345, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.560.

⁴ See Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā, II, pp.87-88; cf. Ibn 'Aqīl, An-naṣā'ih al-kāfiya, pp.12, 179. Ibn Hajar al-Haythami argues (op.cit., p.7) that Mu'āwiya's conversion took place at the time of the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya (in 6/628) or shortly thereafter, but that he had to conceal this from his parents until after Muḥammad had conquered Mecca.

⁵ Ibn Hajar al-Haythami, op.cit., pp.10, 13.

⁶ See Ibn Bābawayhi, Ma'āni 'l-akhbār, pp.346-348; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Manāqib, II, p.66; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., I, p.338; al-Ḥillī, loc.cit. Ibn Hajar (op.cit. p.10) does not claim that Mu'āwiya used to write down the revelation; according to him this was done by Zayd b. Thābit. Al-Jāḥiẓ, on the other hand, seems to believe that Mu'āwiya was a kātib wahy allāh (Risāla fi 'l-hakamayn, pp.423-424).

In the Imāmi view, Mu'āwiya's greatest crime was his rebellion against 'Alī, the lawful ruler; for that alone he is to be branded as unbeliever.¹ According to some Imāmi accounts, it was already during the ceremony at Ghadīr Khumm that Mu'āwiya's hatred of 'Alī became manifest when he, together with al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, decided that despite the Prophet's command they would never acknowledge 'Alī as caliph.² Many of the most excellent Companions--practically all of whom fought on 'Alī's side--were allegedly killed by Mu'āwiya at Ṣiffin.³ Upon seizing power, Mu'āwiya is said to have ordered that 'Alī should be cursed in the mosques,⁴ and

¹ This is also the reason why some Mu'tazilīs branded Mu'āwiya as an unbeliever, while others regarded him as a grave sinner (*fāsiq*); see 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Al-mughnī*, XX/ii, pp.70-71, 93; *al-Qāsim*, p.29, n.116; cf. Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *op.cit.*, V, p.129; above, p.62. Ibn 'Aqīl argues (*op.cit.*, pp.33-38) that Mu'āwiya and his allies are worse than 'Alī's opponents at the Battle of the Camel. Ṭalḥa, az-Zubayr and 'Ā'isha came through individual reasoning (*ijtihād*) to the decision to fight 'Alī, and repented after the battle; in addition they possessed many virtues. Mu'āwiya and his followers, on the other hand, were only interested in worldly gains. They knew very well that their rebellion against 'Alī was sinful, yet they never repented; their past history, moreover, was characterised by evil actions. These views of Ibn 'Aqīl are very close to the Mu'tazilī-Zaydī line. Ibn 'Aqīl describes himself as a Sunnī, an Ash'arī and a Shāfi'ī (*ibid.*, pp.173, 238, 247); his strikingly pro-'Alid views probably reflect his descent from an 'Alawī-Ḥusaynī family (cf. *ibid.*, p.247). The Sunnī defence of Mu'āwiya is based on the claim that he was acting according to his best judgment; since he was a *faqīh* and a *mujtahid* (cf. above, p.11), no blame attaches to him even if he erred. See the discussion in Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, *op.cit.*, pp.15, 20-21, 35-39.

² See al-Qummī, *Tafsīr*, II, p.397 (ad *Qur'ān* 75/31-34), whence *Bihār*, VIII, p.560.

³ See an-Najafī, *Al-marāthī wa'l-khutab*, p.9. Mu'āwiya is said to have killed as many as 40,000 persons, all of whom belonged to the Muhājirūn, to the Anṣār or to their offspring; see *Bihār*, VIII, p.566, al-Muẓaffar, *op.cit.*, III/i, p.236 (both quoting from Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Kashf al-ḥaqq*). For the number of Companions who fought on 'Alī's side at Ṣiffin cf. below, pp.251-253.

⁴ See Naṣr b. Muẓāḥim, *op.cit.*, p.552; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, p.3360 (on the authority of Abū Mikhnaḥ); al-Irbilī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, II, p.49 (quoting from the *Kitāb al-muwaffaqiyyāt* of az-Zubayr b. Bakkar (d. 256/870) (cf. Sezgin, I, p.317)); al-Muẓaffar, *op.cit.*, III/i, pp.230-232.

that all traditions in favour of the ahl al-bayt be suppressed.¹

The Imāmi attitude to Mu'āwiya as ruler is closely linked with their attitude to the Umayyad dynasty as a whole; and this is a subject which would require a special study. It seems appropriate, however, to mention briefly the main accusations levelled against the first Umayyad caliph. They are put in the mouth of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110/728), but reflect Imāmi thinking as well. Al-Ḥasan reportedly accused Mu'āwiya of four grave sins: seizing power with the help of ignorant persons while disregarding the views of the surviving Companions (baqāyā 's-sahāba) and other notables; adopting Ziyād b. Abīhī as brother despite the Prophet's saying, "The child belongs to the [master of the] marriage-bed, and the fornicator shall have nothing [lit. "stones" or "stoning"]";² appointing as his successor Yazīd, who was notorious for his drunken, lecherous behaviour, and whom the Shi'is hate intensely for his part in the

¹ See Goldziher, Muh.Stud., II, p.35.

² Al-walad li'l-firāsh wa-li'l-'āhir al-hajar (cf. Lane, p. 2371, s.v. frsh). This principle probably originated in Roman law (cf. Goldziher, Muh.Stud., I, p.188, n.2; Schacht, Origins, pp.181-182 (discussion of the first part of the hadith only) and in general Juynboll, op.cit., p.186, n.1). It aimed at ensuring that a child should always be regarded as belonging to the husband of its mother, even if it was born as a result of the mother's adultery. When Mu'āwiya decided (in the year 44/664) to adopt Ziyād as brother he reportedly arranged for witnesses to testify that Abū Sufyān had, in Jāhili times, committed adultery with Ziyād's mother Sumayya, and could thus claim to be Ziyād's father (see al-Jāhiz, Risāla fi 'l-hakamayn, p.448; al-Mas'ūdi, op.cit., V, pp.20-26). In the light of the principle discussed above, such a claim is patently invalid; Ziyād must always be regarded as son of Sumayya's husband, 'Ubayd ath-Thaqafi. Some Sunni jurists try to justify Mu'āwiya's action by contending that marriages contracted in pre-Islamic times are automatically nullified in Islam. This argument is rejected as false on the basis of Prophetic traditions upholding the validity of such marriages. See al-Muḥaffar, op.cit., III/1, pp.216-217. For further details see also W. Robertson Smith, Kinship and marriage in early Arabia, p.170; Wellhausen, The Arab kingdom and its fall, pp.121-122; the article "Ziyād b. Abīhī" by H. Lammens, in EI, IV, p.1232; Azmi, Studies in early hadith literature, pp.265-266 (with details of persons who transmitted that hadith given in the Arabic section, pp.163-164).

Karbala' massacre; and killing Ḥujr b. 'Adī¹ and his companions.²

(b) Mu'āwiya's main supporters

In Sunnī and Shī'ī sources various Companions are mentioned as allies of Mu'āwiya.³ Not surprisingly, these Companions are condemned by the Imāmīs for their anti-'Alid attitude. They include 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, the conquerer of Egypt, who played a decisive role in the arbitration which followed the Battle of Ṣiffin;⁴ 'Umar's son 'Ubayd Allāh, whose fear and hatred of 'Alī are traced back to the murder of al-Hurmuzān;⁵ 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Khālīd b. al-Walīd, the standard-bearer of the Syrian army who fought bravely at Mu'āwiya's side;⁶ Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihri;⁷ Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, who achieved notoriety because of his alleged cruelty during the campaign to the Yemen

¹ Cf. Wellhausen, Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, pp.56ff; below, p.259, n.9.

² See al-Marzubānī, Akhbār shu'arā' ash-shī'a, p.45; al-Irbillī, op.cit., II, p.44 (quoting from the Kitāb al-muwaffaqiyyāt of az-Zubayr b. Bakkar); Ibn al-Murtadā, Tabaqāt al-mu'tazila, pp.23-24; Ibn 'Aqīl, op.cit., p.20; cf. Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., V, pp.130-131; below, p.350.

³ Cf. in general Lammens, Etudes, pp. 42-66.

⁴ Cf. the article on him by A. J. Wensinck, in EI², I, p.451. On the circumstances which led 'Amr to join Mu'āwiya see Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., pp.34ff. See also in general Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., VI, pp.281-330.

⁵ See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., pp.82-83, 186; al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, IV, p.353; above, p.170, with n.5. 'Ubayd Allāh was killed at Ṣiffin (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., p.298).

⁶ See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., p.206, whence Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., IV, p.28; Lammens, op.cit., p.5. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān is a Companion only in the sense that he met the Prophet; he did not hear or transmit anything from him. See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Al-istī'āb, p.396. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān's brother al-Muhājir was a staunch supporter of 'Alī (ibid).

⁷ Biographers are divided in their views as to whether Ḥabīb may be reckoned among the Companions; see Ibn Sa'd, VII/ii, p.130; Tahdhīb, II, pp.190-191; the article "Ḥabīb b. Maslama" by J.W. Fuck, in EI², III, p.12.

in 40/660;¹ aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays b. Khālīd;² Abu'l-A'war as-Sulamī, who reportedly commanded Mu'āwīya's cavalry;³ Ḥamza b. Mālīk al-Ḥamdānī;⁴ Shuraḥbīl b. as-Simṭ al-Kindī;⁵ al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī, who was ostensibly on 'Alī's side⁶ but whose hypocrisy, which was exposed during the arbitration, gained him the title "'Urf an-nār" (meaning probably "traitor");⁷ az-Zamīl

¹ According to Lammens in his article on Busr (EI², I, pp.1343-4), "only traditions which have been influenced by Shi'i prejudices deny him the title of Ṣaḥābī". Yat aṭ-Ṭūsī mentions him in his *Rijāl* (p.10) among the Companions. Cf. also adh-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, III, p.274. In his comparatively long biography of Busr, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (*op.cit.*, p.66) quotes the eschatological tradition about the Companions whom God will not pardon because of their evil deeds after Muḥammad's death (see above, p.94, with n.4). The clear implication is that this and similar traditions refer to Companions such as Busr. In other words, derogatory ḥadīths about the Ṣaḥāba which are acknowledged as authentic are interpreted as referring to individual Companions only. Such interpretation is essential if the theory about the 'adāla of the Ṣaḥāba as a group is to remain unimpaired.

² Aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk was killed at Marj Rāhiṭ in 64/684 (see Wellhausen, *op.cit.*, pp.171ff). Biographers are divided in their views as to whether he heard the Prophet; see Ibn Sa'd, VII/ii, pp. 130-131; *Tahdhīb* IV, pp.448-449.

³ See al-Ya'qūbī, *op.cit.*, II, p.218; cf. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *op.cit.*, p.213. Abu 'l-A'war's name is usually given as 'Amr b. Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams. According to Abū Ḥātim, quoted approvingly by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (*op.cit.*, p.443), Abu 'l-A'war was not a Companion because he converted to Islam only shortly before Muḥammad's death and did not transmit from him directly. The Prophet is said to have cursed him (see Ibn 'Aqīl, *op.cit.*, p.10, citing Abū Nu'aym). See in general the article on Abu 'l-A'war by Lammens, in EI², I, p.108.

⁴ Ḥamza is mentioned by aṭ-Ṭabarī (see *index*, s.v.) as one of Mu'āwīya's closest collaborators at Ṣiffīn and afterwards.

⁵ Mu'āwīya, Busr b. Arṭāt and others reportedly convinced Shuraḥbīl, who was at the time governor of Ḥimṣ (Emessa), that 'Alī had killed 'Uthmān. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *op.cit.*, pp.44-52; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op.cit.*, p.589.

⁶ He gave 'Alī the bay'a after 'Uthmān's murder. See Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *op.cit.*, III, pp.73-74.

⁷ See *Bihār*, VIII, p.146, and in general Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *op.cit.*, I, pp.291-297. In another Shi'i tradition al-Ash'ath is said to have been called by 'Alī 'unuq an-nār, "because when he dies a stream of fire will stretch out from the sky and burn him so that at his burial only a lump of charcoal will remain" ('Abbās al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-bihār*, I, pp.702-703). 'Alī is said to have prophesied that God would take away al-Ash'ath's daughter; this indeed happened (see Ibn Bābawayhi, *Al-khiṣāl*, I, p.102, *cit. Bihār*, VIII, p.367). The Imāmī hatred of al-Ash'ath may

(or Zamil) b. Rabi'a al-'Udhri;¹ Abū Hurayra, who is criticised not only for his pro-Mu'āwiya attitude² but also for inventing anti-'Alid traditions.³ At the end of the morning prayer 'Alī is said to have asked for God's curse to fall upon Mu'āwiya and some of his main followers.⁴

Only two Anṣāris are reported to have joined Mu'āwiya at Ṣiffin: an-Nu'mān b. Bashīr b. Sa'd and Maslama b. Mukhallad.⁵ The Companions 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'tamm al-'Absī and Ḥanzala b. ar-Rabi' at-Taymī, who had not taken sides during the Battle of the Camel, reportedly joined Mu'āwiya's camp but remained neutral

be explained by his reported insistence, over 'Alī's strenuous objections, that Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī should represent 'Alī at the arbitration. See Ibn aṣ-Ṣabbāgh, *Al-fuṣūl al-muhimma*, pp. 90-91. Al-Ash'ath's daughter Ja'da is accused of having poisoned her husband al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī; cf. *Rawda*, p.167; the article "al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib" by L. Veccia Vaglieri, in *EI*², III, p.242. Al-Ash'ath was leader of the delegation which offered the submission of a section of Kinda to the Prophet at Medina (see the article "al-Ash'ath" by H. Reckendorf, in *EI*², I, pp. 696-697); he was therefore technically speaking a Companion. For further details on his relationship with Mu'āwiya see Lammens, *Etudes*, pp.150-152. Cf. also above, p.22, n.1.

¹ On whom see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op.cit.*, p.206; cf. Ibn Sa'd, I/ii, p.67; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *op.cit.*, I, p.3337.

² On the pro-Umayyad tendencies of Abū Hurayra see Lammens, *op.cit.*, p.117 (=MFO II, p.9), n.5; al-Mūsawī, *Abū Hurayra*, pp.32-39.

³ See al-Mūsawī, *op.cit.*, pp.41-42. Cf. also the strong attack on Abū Hurayra by the Mu'tazilī Abū Ja'far al-Iskāfī (on whom cf. above, pp.49, 51), in Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *op.cit.*, IV, pp.67-69; and see in general 'Abbās al-Qummī, *Safinat al-bihār*, II, pp.711-713.

⁴ See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *op.cit.*, p.552; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *op.cit.*, I, p.3360 (on the authority of Abū Mikhnaḥ); Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *op.cit.*, IV, p.79; Ibn 'Aqīl, *op.cit.*, p.10. In 'Alī's view, Mu'āwiya's collaborators are "neither men of religion nor of Qur'ān" (*laysū bi-aṣḥāb dīn wa-lā Qur'ān*) (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *op.cit.*, p.489; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *op.cit.*, I, p.3329 (on the authority of Abū Mikhnaḥ); al-Mas'ūdī, *op.cit.*, IV, p.280). 'Alī's attitude towards his enemies seems to have hardened as a result of the Battle of Ṣiffin; before the breaking out of hostilities he reportedly opposed the idea of cursing his opponents; see Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *op.cit.*, p.103. Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd (*op.cit.*, XI, p.21), who quotes 'Alī's speech from the *Nahj al-balāgha*, interprets it as meaning that 'Alī allowed his partisans to curse (*la'n*) his enemies but not to vilify (*sabb*) them. This interpretation is probably dictated by doctrinal considerations (cf. below, pp.208-209); it does not seem to be borne out by the text itself.

⁵ See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *op.cit.*, pp.445,448.

and did not participate in the Battle of Şiffin.¹ 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ and Muḥammad b. Maslama also adhered to their neutral position and were not misled by Mu'āwiya's blandishments.²

8. Vilification of the Companions

The preceding discussion about the Imāmi attitude to the rejected Companions has been based in the main on the views of the most prominent Imāmi scholars of the Buwayhid period, the great majority of whom are counted among the Mujtahidūn (or Uṣūliyyūn).³ The picture would be incomplete, however, without a reference to popular Shi'ism. The masses, who were swayed neither by scholastic hair-splitting nor by the need to show an accommodating attitude to rival doctrines, kept alive the fierce ardour which is characteristic of Shi'ism at its most unyielding and rebellious stage.⁴ Their bitter experience as a

¹ Ibid., pp.8,97. Ḥaṇẓala was known as "al-kātib" because he acted as secretary to the Prophet; see Ibn Sa'd, VI, p.36; Tahdhīb III, p.60. On 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'tamm cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., index, s.v.

² See the exchange of letters between Mu'āwiya and these Companions in Naṣr b. Muẓāḥim, op.cit., pp.71-77; (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., I, pp.89-91. Cf. above, pp.185ff.

³ Cf. above, p.123.

⁴ From the little which is known about early Shi'i sects, called "extremists" (ghulāt) by later generations, it seems that they varied considerably in their attitude to the Companions. While some groups reportedly admired the Companions (cf. above, p.86, n.5), others went very far in condemning them (see below, pp.214ff). The term "Sabbābiyya" (lit., "vilifiers") is probably a deliberate corruption of "Saba'iyya", i.e. followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' (cf. Hodgson, op.cit., p.6, n.34; on Ibn Saba' cf. above, p.86); both are early expressions used by anti-Shi'i authors, which were later replaced by "Rāfiḍa" (cf. e.g. Khushaysh an-Nasā'i (d.253/867), cit. al-Malaṭī, Tanbih, pp.118,120; al-Kishshī, Rijāl, p.77). "Sabbābiyya" may also have been used by Shi'is who disapproved of the custom of cursing the Ṣaḥāba. According to Ibn al-Murtaḍā (Tabaqāt al-mu'tazila, p.6), Ibn Saba's innovation consisted specifically of the vilification of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. It is not surprising that such an allegation should come from a member of the moderate Zaydiyya, which refused to dissociate itself from the first two caliphs (cf. above, pp.85-86). Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh contends (Kitāb al-maqālāt wa'l-firaq, p.20) that it was Ibn

disliked and often harassed minority served as a constant reminder of the guilt of those who were held responsible for their plight. Since Imāmi Uṣūlī doctors had no wish to record in their works expressions of popular Shi'i feeling which did not tally with the official doctrine, one has to turn to other sources for the relevant information. These sources are (a) traditions which were propagated by Akhbārī authors, especially in the 4th/10th century and again in the Ṣafawid period; (b) popular Shi'i poetry;¹ (c) description of Shi'i practices by non-Shi'is. Here of course one must proceed with caution, bearing in mind the tendency of non-Shi'is to exaggerate and magnify supposed Shi'i vices; but such information should not be dismissed out of hand. In al-Qazwīnī's Kitāb an-naqd, for example, many popular Shi'i beliefs are described; they are quoted from the work of al-Qazwīnī's Sunni antagonist and are in turn rejected by the author, who claims either that such beliefs are not recorded in any Imāmi work, or that they have no doctrinal validity for the Imāmiyya Uṣūliyya.² Even if some of these beliefs were fabricated by the Sunni opponent, they nevertheless reflect in general the spirit which is characteristic of popular Shi'ism. The same holds for examples of popular beliefs cited by other Sunni authors, for instance Ibn Taymiyya in his Minhāj as-sunna.³

One of the few ways in which Shi'is could express their

Saba's condemnation of the Companions--rather than his deification of 'Alī, which is the reason usually given (cf. al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.98-101)--which prompted 'Alī to order his execution. This suggests that in the view of some Imāmis of Sa'd's time (i.e. towards the end of the 3rd/9th century), such a wholesale rejection of the Companions was totally unjustified.

¹ See below, pp.217-218.

² See Kitāb an-naqd, pp.254ff, 517-740.

³ I, pp.13ff.

hatred of the surrounding Sunni world was by vilifying those figures of the early Islamic past who were accused of harbouring a particularly strong anti-'Alid bias. This meant above all the leading Companions. Popular expressions of this hatred are considered below, but first it should be pointed out that in their negative attitude to the rejected Companions popular and official Shi'ism find themselves in basic agreement; the difference between them is of degree rather than of kind. The Mujtahidūn objected to the wholesale condemnation of the entire Ṣaḥāba;¹ they also showed greater restraint in their use of abusive name-calling. But all Shi'is have always insisted on the principle that it is permissible to curse one's enemies.

A detailed defence of the Shi'i view on this subject is preserved in the form of a discussion which is said to have taken place between the famous Ash'arī theologian Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī (d.478/1085) and an anonymous Zaydī (ba'd ash-shi'a az-zaydiyya), whose arguments are quoted in an Imāmī text and may be taken as representing Imāmī views as well.² The Zaydī points out that God himself has cursed and has ordered His servants to curse. This is proved by many Quranic passages, e.g. "They shall be cursed both by God and by the cursers."³ It is an act of obedience to curse him who deserves to be cursed.⁴ The Zaydī mentions numerous cases in which one Companion criticised another: 'Ā'isha is known to have cursed 'Uthmān; Mu'āwiya cursed 'Alī,

¹ Cf. above, p.132.

² See Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., XX, pp.10-35; Darajāt, pp.12-28. Further arguments for the permissibility of cursing are adduced in Ibn 'Aqīl, op.cit., pp.8-19. Ibn 'Aqīl (ibid., p.179) quotes Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī as saying that hadīths such as "Do not vilify my Companions" refer to particular Companions, not to the Ṣaḥāba in general. Cf. also above, p.204, n.1.

³ Qur'ān 2/159(154).

⁴ See Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., XX, pp.13-14; Darajāt, p.13.

al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. Often one Companion would vilify another, or call him a liar, or point to a deficiency in him.¹ The Zaydī points to cases in which Sunnis themselves resorted to cursing Companions: they cursed Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr for his alleged role in 'Uthmān's murder, as well as those who had removed 'Ā'isha's veil during the Battle of the Camel.² The gist of the argument is clear: once it is established that cursing per se is not prohibited and that there is no reason to exempt the Companions from the category of ordinary, erring mortals,³ then there can be no objection in principle to the cursing of Companions, given sufficient reasons to do so.⁴ Since opposing the rights of 'Alī and his family is a major sin, those guilty of it should, in the Imāmī view, be cursed. Thus 'Alī is quoted as declaring that the best way of examining one's soul (muhāsabat an-nafs) is to show loyalty to 'Alī and to "curse repeatedly his enemies, his haters and those who wrested away his rights."⁵ The Prophet himself is quoted as saying, "Whoever is too weak to support us, the ahl al-bayt [openly], but [instead] curses our enemies when he is alone, will have his voice transported by God to all the angels who fill the space between the earth and the heavenly throne. Whenever that man curses our enemies, they (sc. the angels) will aid him and curse whoever curses him."⁶

¹ See Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., XX, pp.19ff; Darajāt, pp.18ff.

² See Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., XX, p.16; Darajāt, p.15.

³ Cf. above, pp.88-99.

⁴ By contrast, the Imāmīs strictly prohibit the cursing of Prophets or Imams on the ground of their infallibility; cf. al-Murtaḍā, Tanzīh al-arbiyā', p.3. Imāmī law decrees the death penalty for any person--Muslim or dhimmi--who vilifies the Prophet; cf. al-Murtaḍā, Al-intisār, Persia 1898, pp.128-129, and in general above, p.35.

⁵ Wa-i'ādat la'n a'dā'ihī wa-shānī'ihī wa-dāfi'ihī 'an haqqihī (al-'Askarī, Tafsīr, p.19).

⁶ Ibid., p.24.

True believers may not be vilified: Ibn Bābawayhi¹ quotes a tradition in which Muḥammad states, "Vilifying the believer is a grave sin and fighting him is unbelief."² The enemies of 'Alī cannot, however, be included among the true believers; and this applies to the Companions as to all others. Similarly, persons who introduce harmful innovations to Islam are considered by the Imāmis as unbelievers;³ in the case of the Companions, such persons would include in the first place 'Umār and 'Uthmān, whose alleged innovations often carried a distinctly anti-'Alid flavour. The believer is therefore free to curse them. This idea, expressed in a somewhat roundabout manner, is put in the mouth of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq who quotes one of his ancestors (ābā'uhū) as follows, "I commend to you the Companions of your Prophet; do not vilify them, [i.e.] those [among them] who neither introduced innovations after him (sc. the Prophet), nor supported an innovator (muhdith); for the Apostle of God has spoken well of them."⁴

Vilification in Literature

(a) Derogatory appellations

One method of vilifying some of the leading Companions consists of giving them derogatory appellations. This method, applied in particular to the first two caliphs, is frequently

¹ Man lā yahduruhu 'l-faqīh, p. 591.

² Sibāb al-mu'min fusūq wa-qitāluhū kufr. For a discussion of the meaning of this tradition from the Ḥanbalī and Ṣāḥirī points of view see Ibn Abī Ya'lā, Tabaqāt al-ḥanābila, I, pp.245,311, and Ibn Ḥazm, Al-fiṣal, III, p.237, respectively. Cf. also al-Mūsawī, Al-fusūl al-muḥimma, p.36.

³ See above, pp.154-155.

⁴ Aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, cit. Bihār, VI, p.743. Without its middle section this tradition would turn into a typical Sunnī exhortation against vilification. It is therefore probable that the middle section is a later Imāmī interpolation.

used in the Qur'ān commentary of the Akhbārī Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qumī (d. c.307/919).¹ He often refers to Abū Bakr as ḥabtar ("the dwarf"), and to 'Umar as zurayq ("the blue-eyed"),² or dulām ("the red" or "the swarthy one"),³ or zufar (a word which seems to have no pejorative connotations, but which rhymes with "'Umar"). For example: in his commentary on the verse, "None will treat it as a lie, save the transgressor and the criminal. When our signs are recited to him he says, '[these are nothing but] fairy-tales of the ancients',"⁴ al-Qumī explains⁵ that it refers to Zurayq and Ḥabtar, "who used to regard the Apostle of God as a liar." The "hinderer of the good"⁶ is Ḥabtar who usurped the rights of 'Alī and of Muḥammad's family.⁷ In the verse, "Or shall we treat the godfearing like the transgressors,"⁸ the "godfearing" are said to be 'Alī and his companions and the "transgressors" "Ḥabtar, Dulām and their companions."⁹ The word wahīd in the verse, "Leave Me with him whom I created alone (wahīdan)"¹⁰ is explained as "an offspring of fornication," "and that is Zufar."¹¹ Al-Qumī interprets the

¹ On this work cf. Dharī'a, IV, pp.302-308.

² This refers to the belief that on the Day of Judgment the sinners will be woken up blue-eyed; see Goldziher, Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung, p. 298.

³ Cf. Goldziher, "Spottnamen der ersten Chalifen bei den Schi'iten", in WZMG 15, 1901, p.327; and see also Bihār, VII, p.106: "Ḥabtar and Dulām are Abū Bakr and 'Umar."

⁴ Qur'ān 83/12-13.

⁵ Tafsīr, II, p.411.

⁶ Qur'ān 50/25(24).

⁷ Al-Qumī, Tafsīr, II, p.326.

⁸ Qur'ān 38/28(27)

⁹ Al-Qumī, op.cit., II, p.234.

¹⁰ Qur'ān 74/11.

¹¹ Al-Qumī, op.cit., II, p.395. This explanation of wahīd does not seem to appear in the dictionaries. On allegations of 'Umar's illegitimacy cf. above, p.158.

verse, "And he who corrupted it is undone"¹ as referring to Zurayq and Ḥabtar, who gave 'Alī the oath of allegiance at Ghadīr Khumm by rubbing their hands over his palms (thus avoiding giving him the legal and binding bay'a which consists of a hand-clasp²).³

Such allegorical interpretations of Quranic verses are typical of al-Qummi's commentary. If the asānīd at the beginning of the Tafsīr are genuine it might be possible to argue that the terms of abuse mentioned in it were already known to al-Bāqir, to Abu 'l-Jārūd who transmitted from him,⁴ and to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, who are the main authorities for the utterances in that work.⁵ A different explanation might be that the original version of the sayings of al-Bāqir and aṣ-Ṣādiq included the real names of the first caliphs, but that these names were later dropped for reasons of taqiyya and replaced by an inner-Shi'i code which could provide an outlet for the hatred felt towards Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

Other Akhbārī texts offer further examples of the way in which derogatory appellations were applied to Abū Bakr and 'Umar. In an anonymous work⁶ Abū Bakr, 'Umar and their followers are identified with Pharaoh, Hāmān and their army. The Akhbārī 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Ālī, known as al-Muḥaqqiq ath-Thānī (d. 945/1538), refers to the first two caliphs as "the two idols

¹ Qur'ān 91/10. For other possible interpretations of this verse cf. Lane, p.878a, s.v. dss.

² Cf. the article "Bay'a" by E. Tyan, in EI², I, p.1113.

³ Al-Qummi, op.cit., II, p.421. For a somewhat different account of the behaviour of Abū Bakr and 'Umar at Ghadīr Khumm see above, p.135.

⁴ Cf. al-Qāsim, p.44.

⁵ Cf. Dharī'a, IV, p.303. See in general above, pp.xx-xxi.

⁶ Cit. Bihār, XIII, p.204; see also ibid., p.214.

of (sanamā) Quraysh."¹

A different method, favoured by 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī and others, consists of replacing the name of the reviled person by the derogatory word fulān (so-and-so).² For example: the verse, "They will know which side was the weakest in helpers and the fewest in numbers"³ is said to refer to "fulān and fulān and fulān (sc. the first three caliphs) and Mu'āwiya and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and the Qurayshīs who harbour secret hatred."⁴ The people alluded to in the verse "Satan tempted them"⁵ are said to be "Banū fulān and Banū fulān and Banū Umayya,"⁶ meaning the Banū Taym and the Banū 'Adī, the tribes of Abū Bakr and 'Umar respectively. It is stated that the caliphate will belong neither to the family (āl) of fulān, nor of fulān, nor of fulān (sc. the first three caliphs) nor to Ṭalḥa or az-Zubayr.⁷ Elsewhere Abū Bakr and 'Umar are referred to as "two men" (rajulān).⁸ In one place in his Tafsīr⁹ Abu 'n-Naṣr al-'Ayyāshī (d. 320/932) calls them "the first and the second" (al-awwal wa'th-thānī). These terms occur a few times in the Istighātha of 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī.¹⁰

¹ Nafahāt al-lāhūt, ff. 269b, 280b. See also Bihār, XIII, p.174, where the two caliphs are also equated with the idols al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā.

² On the use of this practice with regard to Mu'āwiya cf. Goldziher, "Neue Materialien zur Litteratur der Ueberlieferungswesen bei den Muhammedanern", in ZDMG 50, 1896, p.492, n.5.

³ Qur'ān 72/24(25).

⁴ Al-Qummī, op.cit., II, p.390.

⁵ Qur'ān 47/25(27).

⁶ Al-Qummī, op.cit., II, p.308.

⁷ Ibid., II, p.129.

⁸ Ibid., II, p.197.

⁹ f84a.

¹⁰ Abū Bakr is called "al-awwal" (Istighātha, f4a); 'Umar is "ath-thānī" (ibid., f17a), and 'Uthmān "ath-thālith" (ibid., f30a). Cf. also al-Kulīnī, Uṣūl al-kāfi, I, p.195.

Other branches of Shi'ism present a view of the rejected Companions which is sometimes even more radical than that of the Imāmiyya Akhbāriyya. Among the earliest are those "extremist" (ghulāt) sects whose adherents believed in the notion of "opponents" (addād). Thus ash-Sharī'i, the leader of one such sect, allegedly declared that God was in five persons, Muḥammad, 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and Fāṭima, and that there were five "opponents", Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Mu'āwiya and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.¹ A similar theory is ascribed to Abū Manṣūr al-'Ijlī, the founder of the Manṣūriyya sect, who was executed by order of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī (reigned 158/775-169/785).² He is said to have believed that "paradise" meant the Imam, whom one had to follow, while "hell" was the name of the hated "opponent" (didd) of the Imam, such as Abū Bakr or 'Umar.³ The addād were regarded by some as wholly evil, but not by all.⁴ Thus the extreme Shi'i Abu 'l-'Adhāqir ash-Shalmaghānī (executed in 322/934)⁵ reportedly maintained that the didd was in a way more excellent than his counterpart, the walī (friend), since only by listening to the attacks of the didd on the walī was one driven to look for the virtues of the walī, and only by

¹ Al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt, pp.14-15; cf. Ibn Kathīr, Al-bidāya wa'n-nihāya, VIII, p.49 (where al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba appears instead of 'Uthmān); Tritton, Muslim theology, p.28.

² An-Nawbakhtī, Firaq ash-shī'a, pp.34-35. According to al-Ash'arī (op.cit., p.10), Abū Manṣūr was executed already during the governorship of the Umayyad Yūsuf b. 'Umar ath-Thaqafī (on whom cf. Wellhausen, The Arab kingdom and its fall, index, s.v.).

³ Al-Ash'arī, op.cit., p.9; ash-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, Kitāb at-ta'rīfāt, Beirut 1969, p.254.

⁴ Cf. al-Ash'arī, op.cit., p.15; Tritton, op.cit., p.28.

⁵ Ash-Shalmaghānī was initially an adherent of the "orthodox" Imāmi line; see Friedlaender, "Heterodoxies", in JAOS 29, pp.115-116; H. Busse, Chalif und Grosskönig, Beirut 1969, p.423.

contrasting the two did the excellence of the walī become apparent.¹ Some persons of ash-Shalmaghānī's circle believed that 'Alī had appointed Abū Bakr as his didd and had forced him into that position; others thought that both were eternally pre-existent.²

The practice of referring to Abū Bakr and 'Umar as addād was adopted by the Ismā'īlīs, who used that term in a wholly derogatory sense. In Ismā'īlī literature Abū Bakr is sometimes called "the first opponent" (ad-didd al-awwal)³ and 'Umar "the second opponent" (ad-didd ath-thānī).⁴ The guilty ones who will eat from the tree of az-Zaqqūm⁵ are identified in the Kitāb al-kashf (attributed to the Ismā'īlī dā'ī (missionary) Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman (fl. middle 4th/10th century)) as "every opponent and his followers." In the same text Abū Bakr is also referred to as fulān,⁷ as akhū Taym,⁸ and as shayṭān al-umma, "the devil of the community".⁹ In another work attributed to the same author and known as the Ta'wīl az-zakāt,¹⁰ Abū

¹ Aṭ-Ṭūsī, Kitāb al-ghayba, Najaf 1385H., p.250, cit. Bihār, XIII, p.102.

² Ibid. All these views are rejected by aṭ-Ṭūsī.

³ See al-Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, Asās at-ta'wīl, pp.361,362.

⁴ Ibid., p.366.

⁵ Cf. Qur'an 44/43-44.

⁶ London etc., 1952, p.23.

⁷ Ibid., p.71., cf. above, p.213.

⁸ On this construction cf. Wright, A grammar of the Arabic language, II, p.204. A derogatory reference to the tribe of Taym is also included in a verse of as-Sayyid al-Himyārī; cf. Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, Al-aghānī, VII, p.263. Abū Sufyān is said to have opposed the idea that Abū Bakr, descended from such a lowly tribe, should be allowed to succeed Muḥammad. See Shāfi, p.105; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, I'lām al-warā, p.138; cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh, I, p.1827 (on the authority of Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī).

⁹ Kitāb al-kashf, p.71. The shayṭān mentioned in Qur'an 14/22(26) was reportedly interpreted by al-Bāqir as referring to 'Umar; see al-'Ayyāshī, Tafsīr, f192a.

¹⁰ Cf. W. Ivanow, A guide to Ismaili literature, London 1933, p.36.

Bakr and 'Umar are called Jibt and Ṭāghūt after the two idols mentioned in the Qur'ān.¹ Jibt and Ṭāghūt are already reported as having been equated with particular persons in the Umayyad period, when 'Umayr b. Bayān al-'Ijlī (executed by the last Umayyad governor of 'Irāq, Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra)² of the Khaṭṭābiyya sect interpreted the cow which the Israelites were told to kill as 'Ā'isha,³ wine and maysir (the pre-Islamic game of chance forbidden by the Qur'ān) as Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and Jibt and Ṭāghūt as Mu'āwiya and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ respectively.⁴ Al-Jāḥiẓ reports⁵ that a person belonging to the ghulāt used to refer to Abū Bakr and 'Umar as Jibt and Ṭāghūt,⁶ Munkar and Nakir,⁷ Uff and Tuff (meaning "dirt in the ears and under the nails"), or Kusayr and 'Uwayr (meaning perhaps, "having a broken leg" and "blind in one eye", respectively). A particular way of showing contempt for Abū Bakr and 'Umar was followed by an Ismā'īlī author who reportedly wrote their names upside down.⁸

¹ Qur'ān 4/51 (54). Cf. Goldziher, "Spottnamen", p.323.

² Cf. al-Ash'arī, op.cit., p.13.

³ See also Ibn Qutayba, Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth, p.71.

⁴ See al-Maqrīzī, Khiṭaṭ, Cairo 1270H., II, p.352, cit. Tritton, op.cit., p. 27; cf. also al-Malaṭī, Tanbih, p.123; Goldziher, Richtungen, p.288. Ibn Ḥazm (Al-fiṣal, II, p.114) is probably referring to the Khaṭṭābiyya when he attributes to an unidentified Shī'ī sect the custom of calling Abū Bakr and 'Umar by the names of the two idols. In Baṣā'ir, p.89a, al-'Ayyāshī, op.cit., f74a, al-Kulīnī, Uṣūl al-kāfī, I, p.429, Jibt and Ṭāghūt are only obliquely identified as fulān and fulān.

⁵ Kitāb al-ḥayawān, III, p.20.

⁶ Cf. also Goldziher, loc.cit., n.2.

⁷ These names refer usually to the two angels who interrogate the dead as to their faith. Cf. Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī, Kitāb az-zīna, Cairo 1957-8, II, pp.167-168; al-Kulīnī, Furū' al-kāfī, III, pp.236-237; the article "Malā'ika" by D.B.Macdonald, in EI, III, p.190.

⁸ Cf. Hollister, The Shī'a of India, p.5.

(b) Popular poetry

Owing to continual Sunni persecution, not much has survived of popular Shi'i poetry. There can be little doubt, however, that Shi'i poets and story-tellers had a wide circle of admiring listeners, who were particularly delighted with barbed remarks aimed at various Companions. Indirect evidence for the popularity of Shi'i poems can be adduced from Ibn al-Athir's comment on the poet Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī b. 'Īsā as-Sukkari (d.413/1022) who bore the honorific title shā'ir as-sunna because "he wrote many panegyrics of the Companions and refuted Shi'i poets [who attacked the Companions]."¹ A. Bausani² has drawn attention to the propagandistic use of poetry by the Imāmis during the Saljuq period. Towards the end of the 6th/12th century one hears again of Shi'i poets who condemned and vilified the Companions in their verses while heaping abuse on those who defended them.³ Some took advantage of the situation: by praising either 'Alī or Abū Bakr, as the situation dictated, they managed to collect alms from both Shi'i and Sunni.⁴ Expressions of extreme hatred towards the Companions were frowned upon by serious Shi'i scholars. The most renowned shā'ir ash-shi'a of the Buwayhid period, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Miḥyār b. Mardawayhi ad-Daylamī al-Baghdādī (d.428/1037),⁵ was rebuked by his master ash-Sharīf

¹ Ibn al-Athir, Al-kāmil fi 't-ta'rīkh, IX, p.123. Cf. also Goldziher, "Spottnamen", p.329.

² "Religion in the Saljuq period", in The Cambridge history of Iran, V, Cambridge 1968, p.293.

³ See Ibn Kathīr, Al-bidāya wa'n-nihāya, XII, p.300 (ad the year 574/1178), cit. Shaybī, Al-fikr ash-shi'i, p.52; cf. also Ibn al-'Imād, Shadharāt adh-dhahab, IV, p.246 (where the Shi'i poet is identified as Ibn Qarāyā).

⁴ See G.E. von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam, Chicago 1953, p.219.

⁵ For an analysis of Miḥyār as a Shi'i poet see 'Alī 'Alī al-Fallāl, Miḥyār ad-Daylamī wa-shi'ruhū, Cairo 1948, pp.47-80; Muḥammad 'Alī Mūsā, Miḥyār ad-Daylamī, Beirut 1961, pp.39-62.

ar-Raḍī (d. 406/1015), the famous naqīb of the 'Alids, for vilifying the Companions in his poems.¹ Other Shī'ī theologians disapproved of those "such as the professional mourners (nā'iha) and story-tellers (qussās) [who] make tashayyu' into a source of income; they know nothing about it except to declare their dissociation [from the enemies of Shī'ism], to vilify, to condemn and to curse."² It is clear, however, that the uneducated Shī'ī population was not unduly perturbed by such censure.

Among the few collections of popular Shī'ī poetry known to have survived, perhaps the most famous is Al-muntakhab fi 'l-marāthī wa'l-khuṭab, better known by the title Al-bayād al-fakhrī. This work, written by Fakhr ad-Dīn Aḥmad an-Najafī in 1148/1735,³ contains speeches, dirges and poems by various Shī'ī authors. Typical of the kind of poetry included in it is the poem by Muflīḥ b. al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣaymarī (d.933/1527)⁴ which begins, "May God the Protector curse Ḥabtar and his daughter [·'Ā'isha] as often as God knows [sic]/ And after them curse [oh God] Dulām and Na'thal⁵ and Hind and her two bastards [·Mu'āwiya and his brother 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān]⁶ and those who side with them."⁷

Some Historical Examples

Manifestations of hatred towards the first three caliphs

¹ See Ibn Shahrāshūb, Ma'ālim al-'ulamā', p. 136; Ibn al-Jawzī, Al-muntaẓam, VIII, p.14; Ibn al-'Imād, op.cit., III, p.242.

² Rasā'il ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā', Cairo 1347H., IV, p.199, cit. Shaybī, op.cit., p.430.

³ Cf. GALS, II, pp.843,969; Goldziher, op.cit., p.330.

⁴ He is mentioned in Dharī'a, IV, p.438 as an author of a commentary on Ibn Bābawayhī's Man lā yaḥduruhu 'l-faqīh.

⁵ The reference is to 'Uthmān: cf. above, p.177.

⁶ On Mu'āwiya's alleged illegitimacy cf. above, p.199.

⁷ Al-marāthī wa'l-khuṭab, p.71, cit. Goldziher, op.cit., p.332.

and other Companions were not limited to literary utterances. Historical and biographical works abound with examples of individuals and sometimes entire communities who found various means of expressing their feelings. One method was the public cursing of the Companions during prayer. This custom seems to have been introduced by Mu'āwiya and 'Alī, who used to pronounce imprecations upon one another from the pulpit (manābir).¹ Public condemnation of the Companions is reported to have been advocated both by the early "extreme" Shī'is known as the Saba'iyya² and by the Khārijis, although the two groups gave different reasons for their actions.³ "I belong to those who do not vilify the salaf (ancestors)" became one way of identifying oneself as adhering neither to the Khārijis nor to the ghulāt.⁴

In towns with Shī'i majorities hatred of the Companions sometimes resulted in refusal to name anyone after the first two caliphs. When the Sunni governor of Qumm demanded of the predominantly Shī'i population that they present him with at least one person called Abū Bakr or 'Umar, they reportedly found just one ugly and destitute man called Abū Bakr, whose father had come from another area.⁵ A boy is said to have proclaimed

¹ See Schacht, Origins, p.60; above, pp.201,205.

² See above, p206, n.4.

³ The Khārijis rejected 'Uthmān in the last six years of his rule because of his innovations; they also condemned 'Alī's enemies in the Battle of the Camel, Mu'āwiya for falsely claiming the caliphate, and 'Alī after Ṣiffin for consenting to the arbitration (see al-Khayyāṭ, Al-intiṣār, p.102). Since they did not condemn any Companions prior to 'Uthmān they are considered by al-Khayyāṭ (ibid.) as more moderate than the Rāfiḍa. Similarly, 'Abd al-Jabbār quotes the Zaydis as asserting that "the Rāfiḍa have harmed us and wounded us [by insulting the Companions] more than the Ḥarūriyya [Khārijis] and the Umayyads who have wallowed in our blood" (Iṭḥbīt, p.535).

⁴ See Abū Ḥanīfa's answer to 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ (d.114/732), in Sharḥ al-Bukhārī by 'Alī b. Khalaf Ibn Baṭṭāl al-Qurṭubī (d.449/1057), cit. ash-Shāṭibī, Al-i'tiṣām, I, p.64.

⁵ See Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, IV, p.176, cit. Mez, The renaissance of Islam, London 1937, p.61. See also Ibn Taymiyya, Minhāj as-sunna, I, pp.26-27.

at the market-place of Herat that Muḥammad and 'Alī had cursed the Taym and the 'Adī.¹ Ibn Taymiyya reports² that some Shi'is refused to pronounce the word "ten" or be involved in anything consisting of ten parts because of their hatred of al-'ashara al-mubashsharūn.³ The credibility of this story is diminished by the fact that 'Alī is one of these ten Companions. Another anecdote, dealing with the same subject, takes this fact very much into account: a Shi'i was asked by a Sunnī in the presence of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq about his views on al-'ashara al-mubashsharūn. The Shi'i answered, "Whoever hates one of the Companions, may the curse of God, of the angels and of all men fall upon him." The Sunnī congratulated him on that apparently anti-Rāfiḍī statement; but when he had gone Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq in turn congratulated the Shi'i for his excellent manner of disguising his true beliefs (husn tawriyatika wa-talaṭṭufika): since 'Alī was one of the Companions, it was quite proper to invoke God's curse on those who hated him.⁴ Another example of the ingenious ways in which Shi'is could extricate themselves from compromising situations without betraying their beliefs is provided by the following story: a Khārijī met a Shi'i and threatened to kill him unless he dissociated himself from both 'Uthmān and 'Alī. The Shi'i complied by declaring, "anā min 'Alī wa-min 'Uthmān barī'", which is an ambiguous phrase usually taken to mean, "I dissociate myself from both 'Alī and 'Uthmān," but which he took to mean, by a slightly forced interpretation, "I am [of the party]

¹ See Goldziher, op.cit., p.326; Mez, op.cit., pp.61-62 (quoting Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Hamadhānī, Rasā'il).

² Minhāj as-sunna, I, p.24.

³ On al-'ashara al-mubashsharūn cf. also above, pp.17, 97, 190-191.

⁴ See al-'Askari, Tafsīr, p.179. For another example of the use of taghiyya, this time by a follower of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, cf. ibid., pp.181-182.

of 'Alī, and dissociate myself from 'Uthmān."¹ Other anecdotes concern Shī'īs who named their animals after Abū Bakr or 'Umar.²

Sometimes Shī'īs had to pay a heavy price for making defamatory remarks about the Companions. The caliph al-Mutawakkil (assassinated in 247/861), who reversed the mildly pro-Shī'ī policy of al-Ma'mūn, ordered to flog unto death anyone who would defame the Prophet, one of his wives, or one of the Companions. The punishment was carried out on the Baghdādī notable 'Īsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad who was found guilty of vilifying Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Ā'isha and Ḥafṣa. No one prayed over his corpse, which was thrown into the Tigris.³

Shī'ī fanaticism in the 3rd/9th century found its counterpart in the pro-Mu'āwiya nābita movement.⁴ Yāqūt reports⁵ in his biography of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Madā'īnī (d. c.225/840) that in Syria no one called his son 'Alī, al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn, only Mu'āwiya, Yazīd or al-Walīd. The names al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and Ja'far were used only for cursing.⁶

¹ See Ibn Qutayba, Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth, p.36; al-Marzubānī, Akhbār shu'arā' ash-shī'a, pp.83-84 (where the Shī'ī is identified as Mu'mīn aṭ-Ṭāq); cf. the shorter version in Ibn al-Jawzī, Akhbār az-zirāf wa'l-mutamājinīn, Najaf 1967, p.43.

² Thus a Shī'ī miller is said to have given two of his mules the names of the first two caliphs; see ad-Damīrī, Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān, Cairo 1284H., I, pp.177-178, cit. Goldziher, op.cit., pp.321-322.

³ See Ibn Kathīr, Al-bidāya wa'n-nihāya, X, pp.323-324, whence Laoust, Schismes, p.114; cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, V, p.357.

⁴ On the nābita see al-Qāsim, pp.223ff.

⁵ Mu'jam al-udabā', London 1907-26, V, p.311.

⁶ Cf. Pellat, "Le culte de Mu'āwiya au troisième siècle de l'hégire", pp.54ff. On pro-Mu'āwiya manifestations in Fāṭimid Egypt cf. al-Maqrīzī, Itti'āz al-hunafā', Cairo 1948, pp.182-183, whence Mez, op.cit., pp.65-66. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is reported to have warned his followers not to talk about 'Alī and Fāṭima in front of Sunnis, "because nothing is more hateful to them than the mention of 'Alī and Fāṭima" (Rawḍa, p.159).

Whenever the Shī'īs reached positions of power they took advantage of the propitious circumstances to proclaim aloud their views of the Companions. No wonder that 'Abd al-Jabbār complains¹ that wherever in the 'Abbāsīd empire the Shī'īs are strong, "al-'Abbās and his descendants, as well as the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār, are vilified and cursed."² In the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries Shī'īs could express radical views with relative impunity under the friendly Buwayhid régime and especially under the Fāṭimids in North Africa, who were themselves Ismā'īlīs.³ During the Buwayhid period Shī'īs used to write graffiti in which the Companions were condemned.⁴ In the year 351/962 the following words were written by the 'āmmat ash-shī'a on the mosques of Baghdad, "May God curse Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān; may He curse him who took Fadak away by force (= Abū Bakr), him who removed al-'Abbās from the shūrā (= 'Umar), him who expelled Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (= 'Uthmān) and him who prevented al-Ḥasan from being buried next to his grandfather (= Abū Sufyān⁵)."⁶ Mu'izz ad-Dawla (reigned 334/945-356/967), the amīr al-umarā' of al-Muṭtī' (caliph 334/946-363/974), reportedly did not raise any objection to the contents of this graffiti.⁷ But when it was

¹ Tathbit, p.443.

² The Imāmī attitude to al-'Abbās was by no means always negative; cf. below, pp.241-245.

³ Shī'ī influence in pre-Fāṭimid Egypt was weak and relatively ineffective. Cf. Muḥammad Kāmil Hussein, "Shiism in Egypt before the Fāṭimids", in I.R.A. Miscellany I, p.1949, pp.73-85.

⁴ See Ibn al-Jawzī, Al-muntaẓam, VII, p.32.

⁵ See Ibn Shahrāshūb, Manāqib, III, p.204. Bihār, X, pp.135-136 (quoting from aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī). According to other versions (see e.g. Ibn Bābawayhī, 'Ilal ash-sharā'i', p.225, cit. Bihār, X, p.135), it was 'Ā'isha who did not let al-Ḥusayn bury his brother next to the Prophet. See also the article "al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib" by L. Veccia Vaglieri, in EI², III, p.242.

⁶ Ibn al-Jawzī, op.cit., VII, p.7; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, Al-kāmil, VIII, p.403; Abu 'l-Fidā, Ta'rīkh, Constantinople 1870, II, pp.109-110.

⁷ See Ibn al-Jawzī, op.cit., VII, pp.7-8. According to the versions in Ibn al-Athīr and Abu 'l-Fidā (loc.cit), Mu'izz ad-Dawla actually ordered the graffiti to be written.

erased overnight by some unknown hand he followed the advice of his prudent Wazir al-Muhallabi and had it replaced by the less offensive formula, "May God curse those persons, of earlier and of later generations, who wronged the family of the Apostle of God;" at the same time he ordered that an explicit imprecation against Mu'awiya should be added.¹

In denouncing their enemies by writing on walls and mosques the Shi'is were following a time-honoured tradition. Already in the year 236/850, when al-Mutawakkil ordered the destruction of the tomb of al-Husayn together with the buildings surrounding it, and the conversion of the lands into fields, the people of Baghdad are said to have written imprecations against him on the walls and on the mosques.²

A different method of expressing Shi'i sentiments is said to have been employed during the festivities of Ghadir Khumm (on the 18th of Dhu 'l-Hijja) which were instituted in 352/963. The Imāmis used to erect statues of the first three caliphs made of honey (sic), which they then stabbed.³

The Sunnis reacted to the Shi'i challenge by teaching the virtues of the Companions in the mosques⁴ and by organising

¹ See Ibn al-Jawzī, op.cit., VII, p.8; Abu 'l-Fidā, op.cit., II, p.110; cf. Mez, op.cit., pp.64-65; Busse, Chalif und Grosskönig, p.421. According to the report in Ibn al-Jawzī (op.cit., VII, p.39), Mu'izz ad-Dawla expressed before his death profound regret for his negative attitude to the Companions.

² See Patton, Ahmed ibn Hanbal, pp.123-124 (quoting Ibn Taghrī Birdī, An-nujūm az-zāhira, Cairo 1852-61, I, pp.712-713). For Imāmi accounts of al-Mutawakkil's action see aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, I, pp.334-336; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Manāqib, II, p.53.

³ See Donaldson, The Shi'ite religion, p.4.

⁴ Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, op.cit., VII, p.32. The caliph al-Qādir (reigned 381/991-422/1031) is said to have composed a book which included the faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥāba (ibid., p.161). The same method was adopted almost a century earlier by the renowned historian Muḥammad b. Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī (d.310/922). It is reported (Yāqūt, op.cit., VI, p.456) that on a visit to his native Ṭabaristān, then a stronghold of both Imāmism and Zaydism (cf. al-Qāsim, pp.154ff), he discovered that vilification of the Companions had become common practice. As a counter-measure he began dictating traditions on the virtues of Abū Bakr and 'Umar; but fears for his safety ultimately forced him to leave.

counter-demonstrations, in which the tombs of the 'Alids and their 'Abbāsīd and Buwayhīd supporters were set on fire.¹

In Fāṭimid Egypt, the caliph al-Ḥākim (ruled 386/996-411/1021) is reported to have ordered in the year 395/1005 that all mosques, walls and archways should be adorned with imprecations against Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Mu'āwiya and other Companions, as well as against the 'Abbāsīd caliphs.² Defamatory anecdotes about the Companions became a favourite topic of conversation.³ It was considered dangerous to be called by the name of any leading Companion who was believed to have been hostile to 'Alī.⁴

An episode which epitomises the tension and hatred between Sunnis and Shī'is is reported to have occurred in the year 476/1083 in the northern Mesopotamian town of Ḥarrān, two years after it had been wrested away from the Fāṭimids by an ally of the Saljuqs, the 'Uqaylīd Sharaf ad-Dawla Muslim b. Quraysh. Despite his professed loyalty to the Saljuqs, Muslim is said to have been a Shī'i who openly vilified the first generation of Muslims. This is reported to have spurred the predominantly Ḥanbalī population to rebel against him. The rebellion,

¹ For accounts of Sunni-Shī'i disturbances during the Buwayhīd period cf. Laoust, "Le hanbalisme sous le califat de Bagdad", in REI 27, 1959, pp.86-87,91; *id.*, "La pensée et l'action politiques d'al-Māwardī," in REI 36, 1968, pp.63ff; *id.*, "Les agitations populaires à Bagdad sous les premiers Seljouqides" (lecture given in the colloquium at Oxford in July 1969 (to be published)); Busse, *op.cit.*, p.449.

² See Yahyā b. Sa'id al-Anṭākī, *Ta'rīkh*, *cit. Mez, op.cit.*, 2, p.66; the article "al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh" by M. Canard, in EI², III, p.78. Al-Ḥākim rescinded his orders two years later (*ibid.*). Cf. also D.R.W.Bryer, *The Origins of the Druze religion: an edition of Ḥamza's writing and an analysis of his doctrine*, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford 1971, p.43 of the Arabic text.

³ Cf. Goldziher, *op.cit.*, p.322. For a similar practice in Ṣafawīd times cf. Mūsā Jār Allāh, *Al-washī'a fī naqd 'aqā'id ash-shī'a*, pp.21-22, quoting from *Al-wāfi* by the Imāmī al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d.1091/1680).

⁴ For examples see Goldziher, *op.cit.*, pp.324-325.

led by the Ḥanbalī qādī Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥarrānī, was crushed and the qādī, his two sons and some of his associates were crucified on the town walls.

Only a very brief reference can be made here to events in later periods. After the Mongol invasion and the destruction of the 'Abbāsīd empire, the Sultan Khudābanda was converted (in 710/1310) to Imāmī-Shi'ism.² Ibn Baṭṭūṭa records his subsequent order that "the names of the Caliphs and of the other Companions of the Prophet should be removed from the khuṭba and that there should be mentioned in it no names but that of 'Alī and his followers, such as 'Ammār;" this order raised a storm of protest among the Sunnī population.³

Examples of Shi'i contempt for the Companions in areas under Sunnī control can be traced through individual incidents recorded by historians and biographers. Thus a council composed of judges of the four Sunnī madhāhib, and including the Shāfi'i Tāj ad-Dīn as-Subkī, condemned to death in the year 755/1354 a Shi'i from Ḥilla (or from Ḥalab) who had been found guilty of publicly insulting the first three caliphs, Mu'āwiya and Yazīd at the Umayyad mosque in Damascus.⁴ A certain Najm ad-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Qawī aṣ-Ṣarṣarī (d. 716/1316), who described

¹ See Ibn Abī Ya'lā, Tabaqāt al-ḥanābila, II, p.245; Ibn al-'Imād, Shadharāt adh-dhahab, III, p.352; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, Al-kāmil, X, pp.83-84; the article "Ḥarrān" by G. Fehérvári, in EI², III, p.228.

² Cf. B. Spuler, Die Mongolen in Iran, Berlin 1968, pp.190-191. On the causes which drew the Imāmīs and the Mongols closer together cf. R. Strothmann, Die Zwölfer-Schi'a, pp.24ff. Cf. also above, p.127.

³ Gibb, H.A.R. (trans.), The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Cambridge, II, 1959, p.303. Cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's amusing account of the incident in the "shaking mosque" of Baṣra (ibid., pp.277-278).

⁴ See Ibn Kathīr, Al-bidāya wa'n-nihāya, XIV, p.250; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Ad-durar al-kāmina, Cairo 1966-7, III, pp.168-169; above, pp.41-42.

himself as an Ash'arī, a Ḥanbalī and a Rāfiḍī,¹ was punished by the Ḥanbalīs for insulting Abū Bakr, 'Ā'isha, and other Companions.² With the advent of the Ṣafawids extreme anti-Sunni measures were decreed by Shah Ismā'il (reigned 908/1502-930/1524). Official imprecations against the Companions became mandatory³ and the Shah declared that the Companions were unbelievers.⁴ During that period pilgrims to the grave of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā' allegedly vilified Abū Bakr, 'Umar and other Companions in the strongest possible terms; pronouncing curses upon them was supposed to aid the pilgrim in obtaining God's pardon for his sins.⁵ A similar practice was reportedly introduced by Persian pilgrims to Medina who "sometimes managed to pollute the part [of Muḥammad's tomb] near Abū Bakr's and 'Umar's graves by tossing through the aperture what is externally a handsome shawl intended as a present for the tomb."⁶ Persians were said to write the names of the first three caliphs on the walls of latrines, or on

¹ This strange combination may be explained by the claim put forward by Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, that many well-known Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs were Imāmīs at heart, but refrained from divulging their true beliefs because of a liking for the material benefits which accrued to those who attached themselves to a Sunni madhhab (Minhāj al-karāma, p.107m).

² See Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, op.cit., II, pp.249-250; Ibn al-'Imād, op.cit., VI, pp.39-40, cit. Shaybī, op.cit., p.151.

³ See al-'Ubaydī, 'Umdat at-tahqīq, p.134; Falaturi, "Die Zwölfer-Schia aus der Sicht eines Schiiten", p.78, n.1.

⁴ See Mirsā Makhdūm, An-nawāqid, f66a. The Sunni author of this work, who was a contemporary of Shah Ismā'il II, describes (ibid., ff99a-100b) a stratagem which he used to save his life when the governor of Qazwin demanded that he curse the Companions in the mosque.

⁵ Ibid., f104b.

⁶ R. Burton, A pilgrimage to Meccah and Medinah, London 1937, p.197, whence Donaldson, op.cit., p.150. Al-Amīnī (Al-ghadīr, III, p.101) denies this report. His denial forms part of a strong, and sometimes unfair, attack on Donaldson's book as a whole.

the soles of their shoes.¹

¹ See Hollister, op.cit., p.5. Further examples of the contemptuous attitude to the Companions of Indian and Persian Shi'is are given by Hollister, ibid., pp.5, 51, 115-116, 132, 189-190; id., "The Shiite community in India today," MW 36, 1946, pp.325-326.

THE ACCEPTED COMPANIONS1. Introductory Remarks

The accepted, or good, Companions may be conveniently divided into two groups: those who already sided with 'Alī immediately after Muḥammad's death, and those who only sided with him later in his battles as caliph. In general the Companions who showed their solidarity with 'Alī from the very beginning are held in special esteem by the Imāmis. The interest which these Companions held for Imāmi traditionists is reflected in the relatively detailed character of the material related to them.¹ The second group, which presents particular methodological problems, will be discussed separately.²

2. The Good Companions after Muḥammad's Death
Companions Outside the Prophet's Family

The identity of 'Alī's original supporters is established in the utterances which describe how 'Alī was forsaken by the large majority of the community after Muḥammad's death. In one of them al-Bāqir is quoted as declaring, "All the people apostatised after the Prophet (sc. died) except three: al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī and Salmān al-Fārisī. Then [other] people recognised [the truth] and joined ['Alī's camp] afterwards."³ It is reported that when 'Alī asked all those who had professed their loyalty to him to prove their obedience by

¹ Biographies of some important members of this group are given in appendix A.

² See below, pp.251 ff.

³ Al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisās, p.6, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.725; see also al-'Ayyāshī, Tafsīr, f59b; Rawda, pp.245-246; cf above, p.87.

meeting him the next day with their heads shaven,¹ only Salmān, al-Miqdād and Abū Dharr complied.² Those three are also praised for having refused to give Abū Bakr the oath of allegiance until 'Alī was brought forth and forced to give the oath himself.³ Their virtues are the subject of many traditions. In one of them the Prophet is quoted as declaring, "God has ordered me to love four [persons] and has informed me that He loves them: you, 'Alī, are among them, as well as al-Miqdād, Abū Dharr and Salmān."⁴ They are said to be the true believers to whom the Qur'ān refers.⁵ The honorary title of "the disciples" (al-hawāriyyūn) is conferred on them.⁶ It is reported that they will be rewarded in Paradise

¹ Imāmī tradition has it that a shaven head was a distinctive sign of the Shī'a since their Imams used to shave their heads in the same manner as the Prophet. Conversely, letting the hair grow became a mark of the enemies of the Shī'a, since their leaders adopted the Jāhili view that to shave one's head was a grave sin. See Muḥsin al-Kāshānī, Al-wāfi, ff68a-68b (under Kitāb at-ṭahāra, bāb ḥalq ar-ra's wa-jazz sha'rihi wa-farqih idhā turika, "chapter on the shaving of the head, the clipping of its hair and the parting of the hair if it is left [unclipped]"). Since the Khārijīs are also reported to have shaved their heads, the following statement ascribed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq may refer to them: "Shaving the head except [during] the hajj or the 'umra is a punishment for your enemies and a (mark of) beauty for you" (Ibn Bābawayhi, Man lā yaḥḍuruhu 'l-faḡih, p.29).

² Al-Kishshī, Rijāl, p.14, cit. Biḥār, VIII, pp.46-47; Ibn Bābawayhi, Majālis, cit. Biḥār, VI, p.752; al-Mufīd, loc.cit., cit. Biḥār, VIII, p.51. Sometimes Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān and 'Ammār b. Yāsir are also included among those who had their heads shaven; cf. Rawḍa, p.33. On az-Zubayr cf. below, p.245.

³ See al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.12-13; Rawḍa, pp.245-246; al-'Ayyāshī, op.cit., f59b, cit. Biḥār, VI, p.750.

⁴ Abū Nu'aym al-Isfahānī, Hilyat al-awliyā', I, p.172. Cf. al-Ḥimyarī, Qurb al-isnād, p.38, cit. Biḥār, VI, pp.747-748; al-'Ayyāshī, op.cit., f102a; Ibn Bābawayhi, Al-khiṣāl, I, p.119, cit. Biḥār, VI, p.748; al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.9; id., Amālī, p.73. See also Ibn Bābawayhi, op.cit., I, p.92, "there are four Companions who are better than all the others"; ibid., I, p.111, "the Companions most loved by God are four in number." Traditions in which these four Companions are praised appear also in such distinctly non-Shī'i works as Ibn Ḥanbal's Musnad (cit. Darajāt, p.223).

⁵ Al-Qummī, Tafsīr, I, p.255 (ad Qur'ān 8/4), cit. Biḥār, VI, p.748.

⁶ Ibn Bābawayhi, Majālis, cit. Biḥār, VI, p.752; al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.15, cit. at-Ṭabarsī, Nafas ar-rahmān, p.19b; cf.

by enjoying the company of three houris called, appropriately enough, Salmā, Dharrā and Maqdūda.¹

In these traditions all three are treated as equals. Elsewhere, however, a distinction is made as to the relative merits of each. Usually it is Salmān who is regarded as the most excellent. An utterance ascribed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq runs as follows, "Faith [consists of] ten stages. Al-Miqdād is in the eighth, Abū Dharr is the ninth and Salmān in the tenth [stage]."² Imāmī sources stress the close relationship which existed between Abū Dharr and Salmān: they were declared brothers by Muḥammad;³ both were famous for their knowledge and asceticism,⁴ as well as for their loyalty to 'Alī. But when the two are

Darajāt, p.432. On the various contexts in which the term "hawāriyyūn" is used, see the article by A.J. Wensinck, in EI², III, p.285. The word is usually confined to the disciples of Jesus, although they are also often referred to as aṣḥāb 'Īsā (cf. Ibn Bābawayhi, Ikmāl ad-dīn, p.220, where it would seem that the hawāriyyūn constituted a special group from among the companions of Jesus. On the use of the term ṣaḥābat al-Masīh by a modern Christian author cf. the review by K.E. Nolin of al-Ustādh al-Ḥaddād's Madkhal ila 'l-ḥiwār al-islāmī al-masīhī, Jūnī (Lebanon), 1969, in MW 50/2, 1970, p.185). In Sunnī tradition the Prophet is quoted as declaring that every prophet had in his community hawāriyyūn and companions (Wensinck, Handbook, p.196, s.v. "Prophet"). It seems that the title hawārī was given to those Companions who were especially close to the Prophet or had distinguished themselves by some special deed. Az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām is the Companion most often mentioned in Sunnī tradition as a hawārī (cf. the article on him by A.J. Wensinck, in EI¹, IV, pp.1235-6). Ibn Ḥabīb (Al-muḥabbar, p.474) gives a list of twelve Companions from Quraysh who were allegedly Muḥammad's hawāriyyūn. They were reportedly appointed as guarantors (nuqabā') at the time of the "second 'Aqaba". The term hawārī Muḥammad is also found elsewhere, for instance in Ibn al-Jawzī, Kitāb al-mawqū'at, I, p.339 (in an utterance ascribed to ash-Sha'bī; cf. above, p.70).

¹ See al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.14-15; al-Majlisī, 'Ayn al-ḥayāt, Tehran 1824, p.1.

² Ibn Bābawayhi, Al-khiṣāl, II, pp.60-61, whence Bihār, VI, p.755.

³ See al-Kulīnī, Uṣūl al-kāfī, I, p.401, Rawḍa, p.162, cit. Bihār, VI, p.753; Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, Tarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq, Tehran 1960-66, II, p.3. Cf. Massignon, Salmān Pāk, p.10, n.35; below, p.297, n.1.

⁴ Imāmī traditionists often stress that the asceticism of these two Companions did not take on an extreme form. In an attack on exaggerated abstemiousness, delivered before a group of ascetics,

mentioned together, it is mostly Salmān who is depicted as the worthier. Thus it is related on the authority of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq that during the mu'ākhāt ceremony the Prophet stipulated that Abū Dharr should not disobey Salmān.¹ Another utterance, related on the authority of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, has it that Abū Dharr would have killed Salmān if he had known what was in Salmān's heart.² 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn is also the authority for a curious episode in which Abū Dharr is cast in the role of the spoiled guest who angers his host Salmān by turning two loaves of bread upside down to satisfy himself that they are well-baked and easily digestible. On another occasion Abū Dharr is said to have asked for some salt to add flavour to a piece of bread which Salmān handed him; Salmān reportedly had to mortgage his leather bag in order to secure the required salt.³

In contrast to stories in which Salmān's superior

Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is said to have reminded his listeners that Salmān used to stress the importance of feeding oneself properly, and that Abū Dharr had camels and sheep which he ate in the company of his family and guests. See al-Kulīnī, Furū' al-kāfi, V, p.68 (Kitāb al-ma'īsha). Similarly, when someone quoted Abū Dharr as declaring that he loved death, destitution and hardship, Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq gave these words an allegorical interpretation which made them sound much less austere. See Ibn Bābawayhi, Ma'ānī 'l-akhbār, p.165; Rawḍa, p.222.

¹ Rawḍa, p.162, cit. Bihār, VI, p.753.

² See Baṣā'ir, p.87b; al-Kulīnī, Uṣūl al-kāfi, I, p.401, cit. Bihār, loc.cit.; al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.22; Darajāt, p.211; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Nafas ar-rahmān, p.17b. Al-Majlisī (Bihār, loc.cit.), basing himself partially on ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, gives various possible interpretations of this saying in an attempt to soften its impact. One of his suggestions is to explain the sentence as meaning, "had Abū Dharr known what lay in Salmān's heart, that knowledge would have killed him." A more plausible interpretation is that 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn's words constitute an indirect appeal for the practice of taqiyya. Salmān was famous for the esoteric knowledge which he possessed. If this knowledge had been communicated to Abū Dharr he would have been unable to grasp its true significance and would have felt obliged to denounce Salmān or even to kill him as a heretic. Cf. also the discussion in aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., p.28a; Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, op.cit., II, pp.4-5.

³ See Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Uyūn akhbār ar-Riḍā, II, pp.52-53; cf. id., Amāli, p.397.

qualities are stressed, other utterances portray al-Miqdād as the most excellent of the three Companions. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is quoted as declaring, "Everyone strayed [from the right path] after the death of the Apostle of God except al-Miqdād, for his heart was [as firm as] a piece of iron."¹ Al-Miqdād is described as more loyal and steadfast than Salmān and Abū Dharr: thus it allegedly occurred to Salmān that 'Alī might know the Greatest Name of God² and that if he should pronounce it the earth would swallow them all; God punished Salmān for harbouring that thought by having him dragged by his collar by Abū Bakr's men and struck on his neck until it resembled a swollen ganglion. As for Abū Dharr, he disobeyed 'Alī's orders to keep quiet; his subsequent suffering at the hands of 'Uthmān is seen as punishment for this disobedience.³ It is reported on the authority of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq that when 'Alī was dragged by his collar to give the oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr both Salmān and Abū Dharr expressed their indignation. Al-Miqdād, however, said, "Thus God wished it to be." Remarking on this attitude, Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq reportedly said, "At that hour al-Miqdād had the greatest faith of them all."⁴ Indeed, the quality of patient perseverance in the face of adversity (ṣabr) was supposedly shown by Muḥammad to be al-Miqdād's most praiseworthy characteristic.⁵ More often, however, al-Miqdād is allotted the second place among the good Companions, immediately after Salmān.⁶ In other traditions the

¹ Al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisās, p.11. See also al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.16, cit. Darajāt, p.223.

² Cf. below, pp.263,284.

³ See al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.10; al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.16-17, cit. Bihār, VI, p.778; Darajāt, p.214. On Abū Dharr and 'Uthmān cf. below, pp.299ff.

⁴ Al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.11, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.52.

⁵ Cf. al-Mufīd, op.cit., pp.11-12.

⁶ Cf. Darajāt, p.223 (quoting al-Ḥillī, Khulāṣa).

two of them are treated as equals: thus God allegedly called them "sincere brethren" (akhawān mutaṣāfiyān) and declared that they occupied the same rank among Muḥammad's Companions as did Gabriel and Michael among the angels.¹

A fourth Companion often mentioned in conjunction with the first three is 'Ammār b. Yāsir. But he is not always considered on the same plane as the others. This is made clear by the following exchange between al-Bāqir and Abu 'l-Faḍl Ṣadīr b. Ḥakīm aṣ-Ṣayrafi:² al-Bāqir: "When the Apostle of God died all people reverted to the customs of the Jāhiliyya³ except four: 'Alī, al-Miqdād, Salmān, Abū Dharr." Ṣadīr: "And 'Ammār?" al-Bāqir: "If you mean those who were not beset by doubts [as to 'Alī's rights], then there were [in addition to 'Alī only] those three."⁴ Abū Baṣīr⁵ is said to have asked whether this meant that 'Ammār had apostatised; to which al-Bāqir reportedly answered, "'Ammār fought on 'Alī's side afterwards."⁶ Al-Bāqir reportedly expressed the same view when he declared that 'Ammār had veered for a time (jāda jayḍatan, hāṣa ḥayṣatan) but had

¹ See al-'Askarī, Tafsīr, p.226.

² On whom cf. al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.183; Ibn Dāwūd, Rijāl, p.166. According to al-'Ayyāshī (Tafsīr, f59b), al-Bāqir's interlocutor was al-Fuḍayl b. Yasar (Bashshār in the MS), on whom cf. al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.185.

³ One interesting explanation given by al-Bāqir for his use of the term ahl jāhiliyya is that when the Anṣār nominated Sa'd b. 'Ubāda as their leader they expressed their approval of him by declaiming poems in the rajaz metre (wahum yartajizūn irtijāz al-jāhiliyya) (Rawḍa, p.296).

⁴ Al-'Ayyāshī, loc.cit., whence Bihār, VI, p.750.

⁵ I.e. Abū Baṣīr Layth b. al-Bakhtarī al-Murādī; cf. al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.151; aṭ-Ṭūsī, Rijāl, pp.134,278,358; Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., pp.392-393. Several well-known Imāmī traditionists share the kunya Abū Baṣīr; cf. Maḥdī b. al-Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Khuwānsārī, Risāla fī taḥqīq ḥāl Abī Baṣīr, in Al-jawāmi' al-fiqhiyya, pp.32b-53b.

⁶ Al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.14, cit. Bihār, VIII, pp.46-47; al-Mufīd, Majālis, cit. Bihār, VI, p.752.

then returned to the right path.¹

In contrast to such utterances there are accounts that 'Ammār, together with the three other Companions, expressed full support for 'Alī immediately after the Prophet's death.² Muḥammad is said to have praised their faith³ and to have declared that Paradise yearned for them.⁴ Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq reportedly interpreted the verse, "Those who believe and do the things that are right shall have the gardens of Paradise for their abode"⁵ as referring to Abū Dharr, al-Miqdād, Salmān and 'Ammār.⁶ They are mentioned as the four earliest shī'at 'Alī,⁷ and are referred to as "the four pillars" (al-arkān al-arba'a).⁸

To the "inner circle" of loyal Companions other names are sometimes added. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is reported to have told 'Abd al-Malik b. A'yan⁹ that after Muḥammad's death all perished except Salmān, Abū Dharr and al-Miqdād; they were later joined by 'Ammār b. Yāsir, Abū Sinān al-Anṣārī,¹⁰ Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān

¹ Al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisās, p.10; al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.16-17, cit. Darajāt, p.223.

² See aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-ihtijāj, p.48.

³ See al-'Askarī, Tafsīr, pp.49-50.

⁴ See Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Uyūn akhbār ar-Riḍā, II, p.67. In other traditions Muḥammad is quoted as declaring that Paradise yearns for 'Alī, al-Miqdād, 'Ammār and Salmān (Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, Hilyat al-awliyā', I, p.190), or for 'Alī, 'Ammār and Salmān (Naṣr b. Muḥammad, Waq'at Siffin, p.323).

⁵ Qur'ān 18/107.

⁶ Al-Qummī, Tafsīr, II, p.46, cit. Bihār, VI, p.748.

⁷ See an-Nawbakhtī, Firaq ash-shī'a, pp.15-16; Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh, Kitāb al-maḡālāt wa'l-firaq, p.15; Abū Ḥatīm ar-Rāzī, Kitāb az-zīna, cit. aṣ-Ṣadr, Ta'sīs ash-shī'a li-'ulūm al-islām, p.352.

⁸ See al-Mufīd, op.cit., pp.6-7, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.726. Al-Barqī (Rijāl, p.1) mentions them at the head of his list of Companions in the following order: Salmān, al-Miqdād, Abū Dharr, 'Ammār. On the position of Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān with regard to the "four pillars" cf. below, p.326.

⁹ On whom see al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.144.

¹⁰ Abū Sinān al-Anṣārī is also known as Abū Sāsān. He and Abū 'Amra (or Abū 'Amr) al-Anṣārī are included among those who either

and Abū 'Amr,¹ and so they became seven.² According to al-Jāhiḡ' account of the Imāmi view,³ the four loyal Companions were Salmān al-Miqdād, Abū Dharr and Bilāl;⁴ after 'Umar's death they were joined by Ḥudhayfa and 'Ammār. Other lists of good Companions include the names of Abū Dharr, Salmān, al-Miqdād, Abū Sāsān and Abū 'Amra al-Anṣārī.⁵

Shī'i tradition records speeches ascribed to twelve Companions--six Muhājirūn and six Anṣār--which were supposedly

did not apostatise or were the first to return to the right path after al-Miqdād, Salmān and Abū Dharr (cf. al-Kishshī, *op.cit.*, pp.13,14,17). Abū Sinān is usually identified with al-Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir ar-Raḡāshī, a Successor (cf. Ibn Sa'd, VII, p.113) and a companion of 'Alī (cf. aṭ-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p.63) who fought for him at Ṣiffīn while still a young man (cf. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *op.cit.*, index; the article "al-Ḥuḍayn" by Ch. Pellat, in *EI*², III, p.540). It is most unlikely that at the time of Muḥammad's death al-Ḥuḍayn was old enough to support 'Alī; he may in fact not even have been born then. It is therefore probable that the references to Abū Sinān in the sources are to two different persons.

¹ Also known as Abū 'Amra al-Anṣārī (cf. previous note). His name is given as Tha'laba (or Bashīr) b. 'Amr (b. 'Ubayd) b. Miḥṣan an-Najjārī. He died in 15/636, or during 'Uthmān's rule (see *Tahdhīb*, II, p.24), or during the Battle of Ṣiffīn (see Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *op.cit.*, p.357, *cit. Darajāt*, p.415). Aṭ-Ṭūsī (*op.cit.*, p.63) includes him among 'Alī's companions.

² See al-Mufīd, *op.cit.*, p.6, *cit. Bihār*, VIII, p.725; cf. al-Kishshī, *op.cit.*, p.13, where the names of the additional four Companions are given as Abū Sāsān, 'Ammār, Shutayra and Abū 'Amra. The first part of this tradition is also quoted in *Rawḍa*, p.253. Shutayra is also known as Shutayr, Sutayr, Shubayr (cf. al-Barqī, *Rijāl*, pp.1,3). This name might refer to a black client of 'Alī (cf. al-Mufīd, *op.cit.*, p.71), or to one of 'Alī's companions called Shutayr b. Shakal al-'Absī, who died in Kūfa during the reign of Muṣ'ab b. az-Zubayr (see Ibn Sa'd, VI, p.126; *Bihār*, IX, p.643).

³ *Al-'uthmāniyya*, p.180.

⁴ The reference is to Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, the Prophet's *mu'adhdhin*. See the article on him by W. 'Arafat, in *EI*², I, p.1215. The Imāmis count him among the Companions both of Muḥammad and of 'Alī; see al-Kishshī, *op.cit.*, p.40; Abū Dāwūd, *op.cit.*, pp.73-74; *Darajāt*, pp.362-371. 'Umar is said to have expelled Bilāl to Syria when he refused to swear fealty to Abū Bakr (*Darajāt*, p.367, quoting from the *Kitāb asfiyā' amīr al-mu'minin* (on which cf. below, p.257, n.3)).

⁵ See al-Kishshī, *op.cit.*, p.14.

delivered just after the events at the Saqifa.¹ In these speeches the twelve Companions raised their voices in protest at the usurpation of power by Abū Bakr, and demanded that 'Alī's rights be restored. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is reported to have identified the six Muhājirūn as Khālīd b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ,² Salmān al-Fārisī,³ Abū Dharr, al-Miqdād, 'Ammār and Burayda al-Aslamī,⁴

¹ See for instance al-Barqī, *Rijāl*, pp.63-66; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, *Al-ihtijāj*, pp.48-51, *cit. Bihār*, VIII, pp.38-40; 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb an-naqd*, pp.655-664; al-Bayyāḍī, *Aṣ-ṣirāt al-mustaḡīm*, ff 204b-205a (quoting from the *Kitāb ibtāl al-ikhtiyār* by al-Ḥusayn b. Jubayr (not mentioned in *Dharī'a*)). For the Zaydī tradition cf. below, p. 346. 'Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266) claims in his *Kashf al-yaqīn* (*cit. Bihār*, VIII, p.42) that the famous historian aṭ-Ṭabarī (d.310/923) transmitted the tradition about the opposition of the twelve Companions in his *Kitāb manāqib al-a'imma*. Yet this work is not included in the usual lists of aṭ-Ṭabarī's writings. It is therefore probable that Ibn Ṭāwūs confused aṭ-Ṭabarī the historian with the Imāmī Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Rustam aṭ-Ṭabarī (d. probably at the beginning of the 5th/11th century), who is credited with a work called *Dalā'il al-a'imma* (or *Dalā'il al-imāma*) (on which cf. *Dharī'a*, XIII, p.241).

² He is the only Umayyad among them. Sunni and Shi'i sources agree that Khālīd did not immediately recognise Abū Bakr, but they differ as to the reasons for his behaviour. According to al-Jāḥiẓ (*Al-'uthmāniyya*, pp.190-192), Khālīd put off the oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr because he believed that the Umayyads had a better right to the caliphate, not out of solidarity with 'Alī. The version in al-Jawharī's *Kitāb as-saqifa* (*cit. Darajāt*, p.393) is quite different. There it is reported that Khālīd was one of Muḥammad's governors in Yemen. When the Prophet died, Khālīd returned to Medina but did not give Abū Bakr the oath of allegiance until he had ascertained that the Banū Hāshim had already done so of their own free will. 'Umar, who resented his pro-'Alid attitude, prevailed upon Abū Bakr to have him replaced by Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ as commander of a planned expedition to Syria (cf. also Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, pp.70-71). Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is quoted as commending Khālīd for having been the first to speak up against Abū Bakr (*Darajāt*, p.394). Khālīd was killed at Marj aṣ-Ṣuffar (near Damascus; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, IV, p.488) during an engagement with the Byzantines in 13/634 or 14/635. See Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, pp.67-72; and cf. in general aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index.

³ On Salmān's exclamation, *kardādh wa-nakardādh* ("you have made it but you have not made it") cf. al-Jāḥiẓ, *op.cit.*, pp.172,179; *Bihār*, VI, p.766 (quoting Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*); *Darajāt*, pp.213-214; Massignon, *Salmān Pāk*, pp.12-14.

⁴ His full name is Abū 'Abd Allāh Burayda b. al-Ḥuṣayb b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Aslamī. He is reported to have hated 'Alī at first but to have changed his mind when he heard the Prophet speaking in his favour (see aṭ-Ṭūsī, *Amālī*, I, pp.255-256). After Muḥammad's death he announced to his tribe Aslam that he would not

and the six Anṣār as Abu 'l-Haytham b. at-Tayyihān,¹ Sahl b.

Ḥunayf² and his brother 'Uthmān,³ Khuzayma b. Thābit,⁴ Ubayy b.

give Abū Bakr the bay'a until 'Alī had done so; but 'Alī is said to have asked him to recognise Abū Bakr so as to avoid civil war (Shāfi, p.208, quoting Ibrāhīm ath-Thaqaffī). According to other accounts, Burayda was in Syria when Abū Bakr was elected; upon returning to Medina he rebuked Abū Bakr for betraying 'Alī after having given him an oath of allegiance at Ghadīr Khumm (Kitāb Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā al-Ḥaḍramī, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umī'a, f53b). Burayda died c.63/683 (Tahdhīb, I, pp.432-433). He is said to have interpreted the Quranic expression "the straight path" (Qur'ān 1/6(5)) in a pro-Shī'i manner by explaining that it referred to Muḥammad and his family (al-Irbilī, Kashf al-ghumma, cit. Bihār, VII, p.84).

¹ His name is usually given as Abu 'l-Haytham Mālik b. at-Tayyihān al-Anṣārī, although other names are also suggested by the biographers. He was one of the twelve "guarantors" (nugabā') appointed by Muḥammad (cf. Sīra, pp.295ff). He took part in all the expeditions of the Prophet, and is said to have fought for 'Alī at the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffin. While Shī'i tradition has it that he was killed at Ṣiffin (cf. Naṣr b. Muẓāḥim, op.cit., p.365) most Sunni authorities tend to believe that he died in Medina in 20/641. See Ibn Sa'd, III/ii, pp. 21-23; at-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh, index; Darajāt, pp.320-323.

² His full name is Sahl b. Ḥunayf b. Wāhib b. al-'Ukaym al-Awsī. In some accounts he is said to have been made 'Alī's "brother" in the mu'akhḥat ceremony. He was present at all the major battles during Muḥammad's lifetime and later fought on 'Alī's side at the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffin. Sahl died in Kūfa in 38/658-659. See Ibn Sa'd, III/ii, pp.39-40; Ibn Ḥabīb, Al-muḥabbar, pp.71, 290; Tahdhīb, IV, p.251. For the Imāmī tradition cf. also Kitāb Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā al-Ḥaḍramī, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umī'a, f50b; al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.38-39; Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., p.180; Darajāt, pp.388-391.

³ During 'Umar's reign 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf was appointed governor of as-Sawād (together with Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān). 'Alī appointed him governor of Baṣra. He died during the reign of Mu'āwiya (Tahdhīb, VII, pp.112-113; Darajāt, pp.381-388). On the confrontation between 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf on the one hand and Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr on the other cf. above, p.189. Al-Barqī, 'Abd al-Jalīl and al-Bayyāḍī (loc.cit.) mention Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, the son of the Khazrajī leader, instead of 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf, as one of the twelve speakers.

⁴ The title dhu 'sh-shahādatayn by which Khuzayma is known was reportedly conferred on him by the Prophet who declared that Khuzayma's testimony was worth that of two men (for the anecdote relating to this cf. al-Murtadā, Talkhīṣ al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsin, f412a; Ibn al-Jawzī, Kitāb al-adhkiyā', Beirut 1966, pp.30-31, cit. Darajāt, p.310). Khuzayma is credited with a poem on 'Alī's rights to the imamate (see al-Marzubānī, Akhbār shu'arā' ash-shī'a, p.36). Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd refutes the allegation made by Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī in his Kitāb al-baṣā'ir that Khuzayma who was killed at Ṣiffin is not the Companion known as dhu 'sh-shahādatayn (see Darajāt, p.313). Cf. the statement of Sayf in at-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh, I, p.3095, that Khuzayma dhu 'sh-shahādatayn died during 'Uthmān's caliphate. For the Shī'i account of his

Ka'b¹ and Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī.² These twelve are sometimes called aṣ-ṣaḥāba ash-shi'a.³ The historian al-Ya'qūbī (d.284/897)⁴ gives a somewhat different list of Companions who opposed Abū Bakr and supported 'Alī (although he does not quote speeches attributed to them): al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās, az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, Khālīd b. Sa'id, al-Miqdād, Salmān, Abū Dharr, 'Ammār, al-Barā' b. 'Āzib⁵ and 'Ubāda death cf. Naṣr b. Muẓāḥim, op.cit., p.413, cit. Darajāt, p.312. In some Imāmī traditions Khuzayma is placed in a much less flattering light: while 'Alī stayed at home to mourn the Prophet's death Khuzayma is reported to have suggested to the Anṣār that they should nominate one of their own men, since no Qurayshī except 'Alī was suitable as an Imam. See Nūr Allāh at-Tustarī, Iḥqāq al-ḥaqq, II, pp.347-348.

¹ On Ubayy cf. Darajāt, pp.323-325. A less complimentary report on his behaviour is included in al-Jawharī's Kitāb as-saqifa (cit. Darajāt, pp.454-455). There it is alleged that he refused to cooperate when al-Miqdād, 'Ubāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit, Salmān, Abū Dharr, Ḥudhayfa, Abū 'l-Haytham b. at-Tayyihān and al-Barā' b. 'Āzib appealed to him for help against the newly-elected Abū Bakr.

² His name is given as Khālīd b. Zayd b. Kulayb an-Najjārī al-Anṣārī. It was in Abū Ayyūb's house that the Prophet stayed when he first arrived in Medina. Abū Ayyūb took part in the Prophet's expeditions and later fought on 'Alī's side at the battles of the Camel, Ṣiffin and an-Nahrawān (according to Lammens, Etudes sur . . . Mu'āwiya Ier, p.114 (=MFO II, p.6), Abū Ayyūb did not wish to be present at Ṣiffin so that he would not have to fight fellow Muslims). Later he took part in the expedition against Constantinople led by Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya (cf. ibid., pp.445-446 (=MFO III, pp.309-310)). He died of dysentery during the siege of the city (c.52/672). See the article on him by E.Lévi-Provençal, in EI², I, p.108, and the bibliography there; Darajāt, pp.314-320. When al-Faḍl b. Shādhān (d.260/874) was asked for his opinion of Abū Ayyūb's action in joining Mu'āwiya's camp to fight the infidels he is said to have answered, "It was [an act of] thoughtlessness and negligence on his part. [And yet] he believed that he was only acting for his own benefit [in the next world], in a way that would strengthen Islam and weaken polytheism. He shared none of Mu'āwiya's guilt, either when he was with Mu'āwiya or when he was not with him" (al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.39, cit. Darajāt, p.320).

³ Cf. aṣ-Ṣadr, op.cit., pp.280, 352, 355 (quoting various Imāmī sources).

⁴ Ta'rikh, II, pp.138ff.

⁵ His full name is al-Barā' b. 'Āzib b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Adī al-Awsī. In a tradition which al-Kishshī (op.cit., p.46) received from a Sunnī transmitter (min tarīq al-'amma) it is reported that al-Barā' concealed his knowledge of the nass given to 'Alī at Ghadir Khumm, in punishment for which he was afflicted with blindness. According to a different tradition, transmitted on the

(or Ubayy) b. Ka'b. At a later stage Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb is said to have joined Khālīd b. Sa'id in offering 'Alī the oath of allegiance.¹ Al-Ya'qūbī's list is noticeable mainly for its pro-'Abbāsīd bias, as can be seen from the first two names in it.²

authority of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, 'Alī told al-Barā' that he would die in the place from which he had emigrated; this prophecy was fulfilled when al-Barā' was appointed by Mu'āwīya as governor of the Yemen, from which he had emigrated, and where he also died. See Ibn Bābawayhi, Amālī, pp.108-109; id., Al-khiṣāl, I, p.102, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.367. This story is not corroborated by other evidence, according to which al-Barā' died in Medina (see Ibn Sa'd, VI, p.10) or in Kūfa (see Tahdhīb, I, pp.425-426, Ibn Sa'd, IV/ii, p.83) in 72/691-692. In other Imāmī traditions, however, al-Barā' is shown in a favourable light; 'Alī is even said to have promised him Paradise (Darajāt, p.453). According to al-Barā's own evidence (in al-Jawharī's Kitāb as-saqifa, cit. Darajāt, pp.454-455), he loved the Banū Hashīm already during Muḥammad's lifetime. After the Prophet's death he was the first who realised that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were planning a coup, and it was he who alerted the Banū Hashīm to that danger. He is said to have fought for 'Alī at the battles of the Camel, Ṣiffin and an-Nahrawān (see Tahdhīb, loc.cit.). The Imāmī attitude to al-Barā' has been succinctly summarised by 'Abbās al-Qummī (Saffīnat al-bihār, I, p.66) with the words, "both praise and censure [have been reported] concerning him (wa-fihī madḥ wa-dhamm)."³ It might be added that al-Barā' is not the only Companion who is said to have been afflicted with blindness as a result of concealing the Ghadīr Khumm tradition. A similar fate allegedly befell Zayd b. Arqam (d. 66/686 or 68/688) who is mentioned as being among the first Companions who returned to 'Alī's camp after Muḥammad's death (see al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.40; Ibn Dāwūd, Rijāl, p.162. For the story of 'Alī's curse on him and his subsequent blindness see aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-ihtijāj, p.47; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha, IV, p.74; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Nafas ar-raḥmān, p.23b; 'Abbās al-Qummī, op.cit., I, p.574). Zayd, not unlike Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān (cf. below, p.322), became known for his ability to uncover the munāfiqūn amongst the Khazrajīs (see al-Barqī, Rijāl, p.2; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Majma' al-bayān, XXVIII, pp.85-87; cf. Ibn Sa'd, IV/ii, p.70; Tahdhīb, III, pp.394-395). A third Companion to be punished for concealing the naṣṣ traditions is said to have been Anas b. Mālik, who was crippled by leprosy as a result of 'Alī's curse; see al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.46; cf. Ibn Bābawayhi, Amālī, p.108; id., Al-khiṣāl, I, p.102, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.367; al-Murtaḍā, Talkhīṣ al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsīn, f413a; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, loc.cit.; 'Abbās al-Qummī, op.cit., I, p.47. In contrast to al-Barā' and Zayd b. Arqam, Anas is accused of being consistently one of 'Alī's worst opponents; cf. for example his behaviour when Muḥammad pronounced the "tradition of the bird" (Shāfi, pp.173-174; Goldziher, Muh.Stud., II, p.117).

¹ See al-Ya'qūbī, op.cit., II, pp.140-141.

² Petersen, working with different evidence, also comes to the conclusion that some of al-Ya'qūbī's statements follow faithfully the pro-'Abbāsīd line (cf. 'Alī and Mu'āwīya in early Arabic tradition, p.173).

Companions Belonging to the Prophet's Family

The 'Abbāsids belong to the Banū Hāshim, and may be regarded as a separate group within the accepted Companions.¹ They differ from the other good Companions in that their solidarity with 'Alī was based primarily on the blood ties which drew them together. For that reason they are not always accorded the same respect as those whose support for 'Alī stemmed from a deep conviction that he was the only rightful successor to Muḥammad.

Most Imāmi traditionists maintain that in his various struggles 'Alī had the support of his immediate family. One glaring exception is provided by 'Alī's elder brother 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭalib. After Muḥammad's death 'Aqīl made no effort to support his brother;² more significantly, during the struggle between 'Alī and Mu'āwīya he ranged himself on the side of the Syrians. The usual reason which is given is that 'Alī refused to draw on the state coffers in order to pay a debt to him.³ In pro-'Alid sources attempts are made to minimise the significance of the rift: it is said that 'Aqīl refused to engage in active battle against his brother and would not allow anyone to insult 'Alī in his presence.⁴ When one of Mu'āwīya's lieutenants, aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri,⁵ attacked an area controlled by 'Alī, 'Aqīl is said to have sent his brother a message offering his support; 'Alī politely declined the offer.⁶ Some Imāmis even

¹ Indeed, the major division of the Companions in the Darajāt is into Hāshimis and non-Hāshimis.

² Cf. Rawḍa, pp.189-190.

³ See e.g. Darajāt, pp.158-159; the article "'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭalib" by L. Veccia Vaglieri, in EI², I, p.337.

⁴ See (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, Al-imāna wa's-siyāsa, I, pp.75-76; cf. Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., IV, p.92.

⁵ On whom cf. above, p.204.

⁶ See (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., I, pp.53-54; Darajāt, pp.156-157 (quoting from ath-Thaqafī, Kitāb al-ghārāt); 'Abbās al-Qumī, op.cit., II, p.215.

claim that 'Aqīl joined Mu'āwīya's camp only after 'Alī's death.¹

The attitude to 'Alī's uncle al-'Abbās (d. c.32/653) is of special interest, especially in the light of the intricate relationship which existed between the Shī'is and the 'Abbāsīd rulers.² In both Sunnī and Shī'ī accounts al-'Abbās is described as playing an important role in the last days of the Prophet, when the question of succession became increasingly urgent. One story has it that al-'Abbās urged 'Alī to accompany him to the Prophet and ask him who was to be the next ruler. 'Alī is said to have answered that there was no need to go to the Prophet since it was common knowledge that power belonged to the Hāshimīs.³ Elsewhere it is reported that when al-'Abbās and 'Alī came to the Prophet they heard him pronounce a curse upon the Jews; not wishing to disturb him, they left without asking him anything.⁴ According to the Imāmī version, Muḥammad listened to their question and said, "You will suffer injustice and oppression."⁵ The implication of this story might well be that al-'Abbās was not aware of the existence of a nass for 'Alī. Al-Mufīd, rejecting such an interpretation, argues that al-'Abbās never doubted the rights of the ahl al-bayt; his aim was merely to find out whether or not members of the community would respect those rights.⁶

After Muḥammad's death al-'Abbās is reported to have

¹ Cf. Darajāt, p.155.

² Some observations on this complex subject are made by B. Lewis in the article "'Abbāsids", in EI², I, pp.15ff.

³ Cf. Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, p.38. For a different version cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh, I, p.1807 (on the authority of az-Zuhri).

⁴ Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, pp.18-19.

⁵ Darajāt, p.83.

⁶ See al-Murtadā, Talkhīs al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsīn, f429a, cit. Darajāt, pp.83-84. The claim that Muḥammad proclaimed 'Alī as his successor is flawed by traditions, quoted in Imāmī sources, that al-'Abbās declined an offer by the Prophet to become the next ruler. See aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, II, pp.213-214; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Manāqib, II, p.248.

offered to give 'Alī the oath of allegiance.¹ Here again Imāmī doctors take pains to reconcile al-'Abbās's action with Imāmī doctrine and to counter Sunnī and Mu'tazilī claims that if 'Alī had received a nass he would not have needed a bay'a. Thus al-Mufīd stresses that 'Alī was in no need of a bay'a in order to legitimise his claim to succeed Muḥammad; al-'Abbās's offer must be interpreted as a renewed pledge to stand on 'Alī's side and fight for him if necessary.² Al-Murtaḍā tackles the problem from a somewhat different angle. He argues that al-'Abbās knew the significance which Abū Bakr's supporters attached to the symbolic act of the bay'a; he therefore wished to counterbalance their bay'a to Abū Bakr by an identical act in 'Alī's favour. Furthermore, al-Murtaḍā propounds as a general principle that an oath of allegiance neither contradicts nor invalidates an existing personal designation.³

'Alī is reported to have declined al-'Abbās's offer. In al-Mufīd's view, had 'Alī accepted it, this would have committed him to use his sword so as to win power. Such a course of action was out of the question since Muḥammad had forbidden 'Alī to fight until the people flocked to him of their own free will.⁴

Pro-'Alid historians tell of a plot hatched by the wily al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba which aimed at causing a split in the Hāshimī ranks by suggesting to al-'Abbās that he and his descendants should share power with Abū Bakr and his successors.

¹ See e.g. (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., I, p.12.

² See al-Murtaḍā, op.cit., f428b, cit. Darajāt, pp.85-86.

³ Inna 'l-bay'a lā tunāfi 'n-nass wa-lā tadullu 'alā buṭlānihi (Shāfi, p.105, cf. also ibid., p.211).

⁴ See al-Murtaḍā, Talkhīṣ al-'uyūn wa'l-mahāsin, loc.cit., cit. Darajāt, p.84. For the various arguments which are adduced to justify 'Alī's inactivity cf. above, pp.196,197.

Al-'Abbās is said to have rejected the offer promptly and firmly by declaring that no one could grant the Hāshimis as a favour something which was theirs by right.¹ Al-'Abbās's loyalty to 'Alī is also shown by his alleged reaction to a proffered oath of allegiance by Abū Sufyān: "[Is it possible that] 'Alī should reject it while al-'Abbās should accept it?"² This tradition is of special significance in the context of Imāmī polemics against the Rāwandiyya, who claimed that al-'Abbās had been designated by Muḥammad to succeed him.³

When 'Alī was brought before Abū Bakr and ordered to give him the oath of allegiance al-'Abbās reportedly took 'Alī's hand and rubbed it on Abū Bakr's hand.⁴ By this action, which fulfilled the formal requirements of the bay'a but which did not constitute a valid recognition of Abū Bakr since it was performed under duress, al-'Abbās in fact saved 'Alī's life, since 'Umar had threatened to kill him if he refused to acknowledge Abū Bakr as ruler.⁵

¹ See (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., I, p.21; al-Ya'qūbī, op.cit., II, p.139; al-Jawharī, Kitāb as-saqifa, whence Bihār, VIII, pp.56-57, Darajāt, pp. 87-88.

² Az-Zubayr b. Bakkār, Al-muwaffaqiyyāt, cit. Darajāt, p.87.

³ On the Rāwandiyya cf. al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt, pp.21-22, 462; an-Nawbakhtī, Firaq ash-shi'a, pp.41-42; 'Abd al-Jabbār, Al-mughnī, XX/ii, pp.113, 130 (read "ar-Rāwandiyya" for "ad-Dawīdiyya"); id., Tathbīt dalā'il an-nubuwwa, pp.251-252; Wellhausen, Die religions-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p.93; Tritton, Muslim theology, p.206. Cf. also an-Nāshī' al-Akbar, Masā'il al-imāma, pp.31, 35; B. Lewis, "On the revolutions in early Islam", in SI 32, 1970, p.227. 'Abbāsīd Shī'ism was, however, relatively short-lived and does not appear to have retained official support after Hārūn ar-Rashīd; see Madelung, "Bemerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literatur", p.41. The Imāmī arguments against an alleged nass for al-'Abbās are summarised by al-Murtaḍā in his Risāla fi 'ilm al-kalām, pp.87-88, Shāfi, pp.98-99.

⁴ See al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisās, p.187; al-'Ayyāshī, Tafsīr, f139b, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.45.

⁵ Ibid. Imāmī traditionists maintain that during his caliphate 'Umar treated al-'Abbās in a harsh and arbitrary manner. He attempted to remove a waterspout (mi'zāb) which led from the roof

Some non-Imāmi authors tell of a quarrel which broke out between al-'Abbās and 'Alī after Muḥammad's death over questions of inheritance.¹ Imāmi traditionists reject these allegations. They stress instead that bonds of mutual loyalty and friendship continued to link the two men until al-'Abbās's death.²

It should be pointed out, however, that al-'Abbās is not always portrayed in a completely favourable light. Some Imāmis quote traditions in which he is criticised, and suggest that the best attitude to be adopted towards him is one of

of al-'Abbās's house to the mosque, and which Muḥammad, as a special honour, had allowed al-'Abbās to install. 'Umar is also said to have illegally appropriated from al-'Abbās certain lands in Syria as well as the 'Ukāz revenues granted him by Muḥammad. See Bihār, VIII, pp.244-246 (quoting from ad-Daylamī, Irshād al-qulūb).

¹ The subject of the dispute is reported to have been Fadak (see Ibn Qutayba, Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-hadīth, p.48), or the Prophet's coat, sword and horse (see Ibn Shahrāshūb, Manāgib, II, p.249).

² See Darajāt, p.95. The stories about the quarrel between al-'Abbās and 'Alī were sometimes used by the 'Abbāsids to test the loyalty of the Shī'is to the caliphate. Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī is said to have asked Hishām b. al-Ḥakam in the presence of Hārūn ar-Rashīd whether it was 'Alī or al-'Abbās who was right in his claims. Hishām extricated himself from the awkward situation by saying that this was like the case of the two angels who appeared before David as two disputants only in order to teach him about the need to judge between men justly (see Qur'an 38/21-25(20-24)). The dispute between 'Alī and al-'Abbās, like that between the two angels, was feigned and had as its sole purpose to show Abū Bakr that he had wronged both by depriving them of their share in the inheritance (referring here to the wasīyya in which Muḥammad delegated authority to the Hashimīs). See al-Murtaḍā, Talkhīṣ al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsin, f408a; Ibn Shahrāshūb, op.cit., II, p.249; Bihār, VIII, pp.87-88 (quoting various sources); Darajāt, p.91. Ibn Qutayba (loc.cit.) reproduces the story but without identifying by name the person who put the question to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. A remark in al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.222, probably refers to the same anecdote ("Hishām spoke one day at the home of Yaḥyā b. Khālid about the inheritance of the Prophet; his words were reported to Hārūn who was pleased with them"). Cf. also al-Marzubānī, Akhbār shu'arā' ash-shī'a, p.85, where the same story is reported, but with Mu'min aṭ-Ṭāq as its protagonist.

neutrality.¹

The ambiguous Imāmi attitude towards al-'Abbās extends to his son 'Abd Allāh as well. 'Abd Allāh is known to have cut his links with 'Alī, probably in the year 38/658;² this may be the reason why a number of utterances, quoted by al-Kishshī,³ bring out various defects in his character. Later Imāmi authors, however, contend that these utterances are spurious and that 'Abd Allāh remained one of 'Alī's most loyal allies.⁴

Another important Companion who may be counted among the Banū Hāshim is az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām.⁵ He is said to have originally been one of 'Alī's most ardent supporters. He served as witness, together with 'Alī and al-Miqdād, when Fāṭima's will was being prepared.⁶ In some traditions dealing with the events after Muḥammad's death he is mentioned together with Salmān, Abū Dharr and al-Miqdād as having shaved his head at 'Alī's bidding.⁷ He is also reported to have defended Fāṭima's house in the face of an attack by 'Umar's men; he drew his sword but was overpowered and dragged away.⁸ Like 'Alī, Salmān, Abū Dharr

¹ Cf. 'Abbās al-Qummi, *op.cit.*, II, p.150. This may be connected with anti-'Abbāsid feelings in general. Cf. above, p.199, n.1.

² Various reasons are given for 'Abd Allāh's action; cf. the article on him by L. Veccia Vaglieri, in *BI*², I, pp.40-41.

³ *Rijāl*, pp.52-60.

⁴ See *Darajāt*, pp.100-103 (quoting statements by Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, Ibn Ṭāwūs and others).

⁵ Az-Zubayr regarded himself as a Hāshimī through his mother Ṣafīyya bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Cf. (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, *Al-imāma wa's-siyāsa*, I, p.18; al-Jawharī, *Kitāb as-saqifa*, *cit.* Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *op.cit.*, VI, p.11.

⁶ See *Kitāb 'Āṣim b. Humayd*, in *Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a*, f14a.

⁷ See *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*, *cit.* at-Ṭabarsī, *Al-ihtijāj*, p.52; cf. above, pp.228-229.

⁸ See (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, *loc.cit.*; al-Mufīd, *Al-ikhtisās*, p.186; cf. an-Nāshī' al-Akbar, *op.cit.*, p.10; al-Jawharī, *Kitāb as-saqifa*, *cit.* Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *op.cit.*, VI, p.11. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Ta'rīkh*, II, p.246: "az-Zubayr said, 'I will not sheathe [my] sword until 'Alī is given the oath of allegiance'."

and al-Miqdād, he is said to have been forced to give the bay'a to Abū Bakr under threats of violence.¹ His position as a good Companion is very precarious, however, because his subsequent role at the Battle of the Camel completely blotted out his distinguished record in the eyes of the Imāmiyya.² In some traditions the responsibility for az-Zubayr's change of attitude is placed with his sons, especially with 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr.³

The Position of the Anṣār

Imāmi descriptions of the Anṣārī position as regards Muḥammad's successor are far from uniform. Six Anṣār have already been mentioned as supporters of 'Alī;⁴ but the number of his Anṣārī supporters is sometimes described as much higher. Evidence for the assertion that 'Alī had a substantial following among the Anṣār is provided by the statement of Abū Ma'shar⁵ in aṭ-Ṭabarī⁶ that "'Umar gave him [Abū Bakr] the oath of allegiance and so did [other] people. The Anṣār, or some of the

¹ See Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays, cit. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., Bihār, VIII, p.54; cf. Kitāb 'Aṣim b. Humayd, loc.cit.

² See above, pp.175ff.

³ Cf. the words ascribed to 'Alī (in (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, loc.cit.), "az-Zubayr did not cease to be one of us until his sons grew up and turned him away from us." Al-Bāqir is quoted as declaring, "Az-Zubayr did not cease to be one of us, the ahl al-bayt, until his son 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr grew up" (Kitāb 'Aṣim b. Humayd, loc.cit.). During the Battle of the Camel 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr is described as displaying greater anti-'Alid fanaticism than his father. Cf. al-Mufīd, Al-jamal, pp.139-140. Al-Jāhiz, who rejects Shī'i traditions concerning az-Zubayr's alleged support for 'Alī, maintains (Al-'uthmāniyya, pp.221-226) that in drawing his sword against Abū Bakr, az-Zubayr may have hoped to gain power for himself or for someone like al-'Abbās. Moreover, az-Zubayr liked and admired Abū Bakr, and showed no inconsistency by fighting 'Alī after 'Uthmān's death.

⁴ Cf. above, pp.235ff.

⁵ I.e. Ziyād b. Kulayb at-Tamīmī al-Kūfī (d.120/738). See Tahdhīb, III, p.382.

⁶ Ta'rikh, I, p.1818, whence Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.

Anṣār, said [however], 'we will give the oath of allegiance only to 'Alī'." Elsewhere it is claimed¹ that the great majority among both the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār did not doubt that 'Alī was Muḥammad's legitimate successor. One gains the impression from some pro-Shī'i texts that only 'Alī's absence from the Saqifa prevented his election: "'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf said, 'oh people of the Anṣār, although you have merits, you do not have [men] like Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Alī.' Then al-Mundhir b. Arqam rose and, referring to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, said, 'we do not deny the merit of those whom you have mentioned; among them is a man whose claim no one would dispute if he asked to be appointed as ruler'." ² The Anṣārī Bashīr b. Sa'd reportedly listened to 'Alī's speech about the rights of the Prophet's family and then told him, "If the Anṣār had heard those words from you before giving the oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr, not even two of them would have objected to you." ³ Abū Bakr himself allegedly acknowledged the Anṣārī claim that 'Alī had been the recipient of a nass from Muḥammad; but he argued that this nass had been abrogated by the Prophet at a later stage. ⁴

In this context it is interesting to note the different opinions among Imāmis concerning the role of the Anṣārī leader Sa'd b. 'Ubāda. Some say that Sa'd refused to accept the nomination of the Anṣār since he knew that 'Alī was the legitimate successor. ⁵ Others maintain that Sa'd's nomination came about only after the Muhājirūn had appointed Abū Bakr; "had they given

¹ Az-Zubayr b. Bakkār, Al-muwaffaqiyyāt, cit. Darajāt, p.143.

² Al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'riḫ, II, p.137.

³ (Pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., I, p.19; cf. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-ihtijāj, p.47.

⁴ See at-Tustarī, Iḥqāq al-ḥaqq, II, p.350. Cf. above, pp.116-117.

⁵ Ibid., II, pp.348-349.

the bay'a to 'Alī, I would have been the first to pledge allegiance to him," Sa'd is quoted as declaring.¹ Still others are not ready to count him among the accepted Companions, arguing that according to most historians Sa'd was nominated before, not after, Abū Bakr.²

The conflicting views about Sa'd b. 'Ubāda fit into a more general pattern which emerges from the various traditions mentioned in the preceding pages. It is a pattern of apparent inconsistencies in Imāmī accounts of the number of 'Alī's supporters after Muḥammad's death. In order to understand the reasons for these inconsistencies it is necessary to enquire as to the aims which Imāmī traditionists had in mind when they related traditions about 'Alī's supporters. These aims were twofold. The first was apologetic, in that it attempted to justify 'Alī's passivity throughout the events which culminated in Abū Bakr's election by pointing to the insufficient number of his supporters. On his deathbed Muḥammad is said to have told 'Alī, "the community will betray you after me and will break my compact with you . . .; if you find helpers hasten to fight them [=your enemies]; if you do not find helpers restrain your hand and spare your blood until you meet me as one to whom injustice was done (mazlūman)."³ Muḥammad, basing himself on a Quranic verse,⁴ is also reported to have told 'Alī to fight his enemies if he could find twenty supporters.⁵ According to other reports, 'Alī would have been ready to fight if he had been

¹ Darajāt, p.326.

² Ibid.

³ Aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., pp.47-48.

⁴ Qur'ān 8/65(66).

⁵ See al-'Ayyāshī, Tafsīr, f139b; cf. aṭ-Ṭūsī, Al-ghayba, p.203.

assured of the support of forty men.¹ When only three or four Companions proved to be trustworthy, 'Alī exclaimed to the others, "you did not obey me by shaving your heads; how then will you obey me in fighting mountains of iron?"²

The second aim was polemical in its nature: to prove to the Sunni adversaries that Abū Bakr's reign was invalid even by Sunni criteria, since he had not been elected by unanimous consent (*ijmā'*).³ In pursuing these two aims, inconsistencies are bound to arise. For while it is necessary to explain away 'Alī's inactivity by pointing to his lack of supporters, it is also necessary to show that he had a considerable body of followers who rejected Abū Bakr. This second point is particularly important for those Imāmis who assert that Shi'ism--in the restricted sense of adherence to 'Alī--had already existed by the time of the Prophet's death and had gained many followers.⁴

¹ See *Darajāt*, p.38. This view is also reflected in the Ismā'īlī work *Ta'wīl az-zakāt* by Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, in which Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is quoted as saying, "whoever has forty men with him but does not demand his rights is not [worthy to be] an Imam" (cit. Goldziher, "Das Prinzip der *takijja* im Islam", in ZDMG 60, 1906, p.218, n.4).

² Al-Mufīd, *Al-ikhtisāṣ*, p.6; Ibn Bābawayhi, *'Ilal ash-sharā'i'*, p.148; cf. above, pp.228-229. See also in general above, p.196.

³ Cf. the list of Companions who refused to give the *bay'a* to Abū Bakr, in the (anonymous) *Munāzarat malik Rukn ad-Dawla ma'a 's-Ṣadūq*, ff266b-267b; al-Mūsawī, *Al-fuṣūl al-muhimma*, pp.44-48. After the failure of the plot to assassinate 'Alī (see above, p. 161), he reportedly seized 'Umar by the collar and said, "had it not been for a previous covenant with the Apostle of God and [had it not been for] a book from God, you would have known which of us had less helpers and was smaller in number" (al-Qummī, *Tafsīr*, II, p.159). The implication is that 'Alī had enough supporters, and that only his promise to Muḥammad to refrain from fighting (cf. above, p. 242) and to collect the Qur'ān held him back.

⁴ Al-Mufīd maintains (*Kitāb al-irshād*, p.10) that on the day of Muḥammad's death the Shi'a consisted of all the Banū Hāshim, as well as of Salmān, 'Ammār, Abū Dharr, al-Miqdād, Khuzayma b. Thābit, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī "and other revered Muhājirūn and Anṣār (*wa-amthāluhum min ajillat al-muhājirīn wa'l-anṣār*)."¹ *Kāshif al-Ghiṭā'* (*Aṣl ash-shi'a*, pp.56,77ff) claims that the number of Shi'i Companions at the time of the Prophet was 300. A long list of Shi'i

The Imāmis, who are not unaware of the apparent contradiction, try to harmonise the various traditions. Thus it is explained that the support of most of the Anṣār came when it was already too late,¹ and that even the twelve Companions who made the speeches in favour of 'Alī did so after much hesitation and without overcoming their fear of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and their men.² Another argument is that many people passively supported 'Alī but did not translate their support into action; it was not 'Alī's task to tell them how to act.³ Ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī, citing an early Shī'ī authority (ba'd al-mutaqaddimīn min ash-shī'a), has a more indirect manner of expressing this idea: following 'Alī is a religious duty (farīda), just like praying, fasting and so forth;⁴ it is not in the nature of these duties to call people to themselves; it is the people who have to come to each farīda and perform it of their own accord.⁵

There is, finally, a more general point made by Shī'ī polemicists: that the actual number of 'Alī's supporters is in no way connected with the justice of his cause. This idea may be detected in a conversation said to have taken place between Muḥammad and his wife Maymūna. When Maymūna said that she knew of only a few Companions who loved 'Alī, the Prophet reportedly answered, "Even a small number of believers is much."⁶

Companions is also provided by al-Mūsawī (Al-fuṣūl al-muḥimma, pp.179-190). According to some reports, 700 renowned Companions (min akābir as-ṣaḥāba) urged 'Alī to fight for his rights (see Darajāt, p.38).

¹ Cf. above, p.247.

² Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., p.48.

³ Cf. above, p.242.

⁴ This is a clear reference to the walāya (cf. above, pp.81-83).

⁵ Khaṣā'is amīr al-mu'minīn, pp.11-12.

⁶ Al-qalīl min al-mu'minīn kathīr (Kitāb Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Shurayh al-Haḍramī, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a, f36b); and see in general Bihār, I, pp.151-152. For a similar idea as expressed in Ismā'īlī literature see W. Ivanow, A creed of the Fatimids, Bombay 1936, p.52 (art.68).

3. The Good Companions During 'Alī's Caliphate Their number

The names and numbers of Companions who fought on 'Alī's side during his caliphate aroused the interest of Shī'ī scholars from a very early period. Aṭ-Ṭūsī¹ records the title of a book which dealt with this subject,² which is ascribed to 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Rāfi' who was a secretary of the Prophet and therefore a Companion himself.³ A book entitled Tasmiyat man shahida hurūb 'Alī min as-ṣaḥāba is attributed to the Jārūdī Zaydī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd Ibn 'Uqba (d. 333/945).⁴ Both books are probably lost; but various other Imāmī and non-Imāmī sources contain some information on the number of Companions who fought for 'Alī. Al-Ya'qūbī says⁵ that when 'Alī left Medina for Baṣra he was accompanied by 400 horsemen from among the Companions. Al-Mufid claims⁶ that 'Alī left Medina at the head of 700 Muhājirūn⁷ and 800 Anṣār. Another pro-'Alid report gives the total number of Companions who supported 'Alī as 900.⁸ According to a report on the authority of Sa'īd b. Jubayr⁹ 'Alī had with

¹ Fihrist, p.202.

² Tasmiyat man shahida ma'a amīr al-mu'minin al-Jamal wa-Ṣiffin wa'n-Nahrawān min as-ṣaḥāba.

³ See also Ibn Shahrāshūb, Ma'ālim al-'ulamā', p.69; aṣ-Ṣadr, op.cit., p.232; Dharī'a, X, p.80.

⁴ On whom cf. Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., p.422; al-Qāsim, pp.47,59. The book is mentioned in aṭ-Ṭūsī's Fihrist, p.43 (where a longer title is given), an-Najāshī, Rijāl, p.49, Dharī'a, IV, p.181. The Rijāl of Ibn 'Uqba is the main source for the section in aṭ-Ṭūsī's Rijāl which deals with those who transmitted from Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq; cf. aṭ-Ṭūsī, Rijāl, p.2; Dharī'a, X, pp.86-87. For examples of modern Imāmī works on the subject of Companions who fought for 'Alī cf. Dharī'a, XV, pp.9-10.

⁵ Ta'rikh, II, p.211.

⁶ Al-jamal, p.33; cf. also ibid., p.113.

⁷ This is also the number given by al-Mas'ūdī in Murūj, IV, p.307.

⁸ (Pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, Al-imāma wa's-siyāsa, I, p.53.

⁹ Sa'īd b. Jubayr b. Hishām al-Asadī is described as a loyal follower of the fourth Imam 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. He was executed

him in the Battle of the Camel 800 Anṣār and 400 Companions who had witnessed the "willing homage" (bay'at ar-riḍwān).¹ At the other end of the scale is the assessment attributed to ash-Sha'bi² that only four or five badriyyūn witnessed the Battle of the Camel: 'Alī and 'Ammar on the one side, Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr on the other.³

The numbers given for the Battle of Ṣiffin are no less inconclusive. Sa'id b. Jubayr is quoted as claiming that 1700 Companions, including 800 Anṣār, supported 'Alī at Ṣiffin.⁴ A more modest number of 330 Companions, including 80 badriyyūn, is also mentioned.⁵ According to al-Ya'qūbi,⁶ 'Alī had at Ṣiffin 70 badriyyūn,⁷ 700 Companions who had witnessed the "willing homage", and 400 other Muhājirūn and Anṣār (i.e. 1170 Companions in all), while Mu'āwiya had only two Anṣār--an-Nu'mān b. Bashīr and Maslama b. Mukhallad.⁸ Similar statistics are given by the

by al-Ḥajjāj in 95/713-714 at the age of 49, allegedly for his pro-Shī'i views. Sunni sources, however, do not generally consider him a Shī'i. See al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisāṣ, p.205; al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.110; Tahdhīb, IV, pp.11-14; and in general Ibn Sa'd, VI, pp.178-187.

¹ See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, Ta'rīkh, I, Damascus 1967, p.203. On the bay'at ar-riḍwān cf. e.g. Sīra, p.746.

² On ash-Sha'bi's attitude to the Shī'a cf. above, p.70, n.1.

³ See al-Khallāl, Musnad, f75a; al-Jāhiz, Al-'uthmāniyya, pp. 10-11, 176; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, loc.cit.; cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh, I, p.3095 (on the authority of Sayf). On the other hand ash-Sha'bi is said to have accepted as true a pronouncement by one of 'Alī's lieutenants, Sa'id b. Qays b. Murra al-Hamdānī to the effect that 70 badriyyūn fought on 'Alī's side at Ṣiffin. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, Waq'at Ṣiffin, pp.236-237.

⁴ See Ibn Ṭāwūs, Al-malāḥim wa'l-fitan, p.88, quoting from the Kitāb al-fitan by Abū Ṣāliḥ as-Sulaylī b. Aḥmad b. 'Īsā b. Shaykh al-Ḥasā'i (or al-Ḥasālī or as-Sā'i) (fl. beginning of 4th/10th century)(cf. Dharī'a XVI, p.112).

⁵ Ibn Ṭāwūs, loc.cit.

⁶ Ta'rīkh, II, p.219.

⁷ This corresponds to the information in Waq'at Ṣiffin, loc.cit.

⁸ See above, p.205.

Malikī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī az-Zurqānī (d. 1122/1710),¹ according to whom 'Alī had a total of 70,000 men at Ṣiffīn, including 90 badriyyūn, 700 Companions who had witnessed the "willing homage", and 400 other Muhājirūn and Anṣār, while Mu'āwīya commanded a force of 85,000 men, of whom only the two Anṣārīs mentioned above were Companions. The information given by al-Mas'ūdī² is that 2,800 Companions fought for 'Alī, of whom 87 were badriyyūn (consisting of 17 Muhājirūn and 70 Anṣār) and 900 had witnessed the "willing homage". The Imāmī Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' claims that all the surviving Companions,³ including 80 badriyyūn, fought on 'Alī's side at Ṣiffīn.³

It is very doubtful whether this maze of conflicting data can serve as a basis for an objective estimate of the number of Companions who fought at Ṣiffīn. The polemical objective underlying the various figures is not difficult to discern. Pro-Shī'ī writers obviously tended to exaggerate the number of Companions who fought on 'Alī's side, so as to show that 'Alī enjoyed a mass following in his wars as caliph. Conversely, the attempts to minimise the number of Companions involved in the fitna are characteristic of the attitude of the Ḥanbalīs and the ahl al-ḥadīth.⁴ One early representative of this line is the famous traditionist Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110/728)⁵ who is quoted as declaring that of the 10,000 Companions who were alive during the fitna, less than a hundred, perhaps even less than thirty, took any part in it.⁶ Ibn Ḥanbal is said to have rejected

¹ Anhaj al-masālik, cit. Ibn 'Aqīl, An-naṣā'ih al-kāfiya, p.21.

² Murūj, IV, p.295.

³ Asl ash-shī'a, p.83.

⁴ Cf. above, pp.7-8, 172.

⁵ See the article on him by T. Fahd, in EI², III, pp.947-948.

⁶ See al-Khallāl, loc.cit. Cf. also in general Ibn Ḥabīb's list of 20 Companions, 17 of whom fought in the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn and three at Ṣiffīn only (Al-muḥabbar, pp.289-293).

a statement ascribed to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Layla¹ to the effect that seventy badriyyūn were present at Ṣiffin. In Ibn Ḥanbal's opinion the only badrī present there was Khuzayma b. Thābit.²

An element which increases the difficulty of identifying the good Companions during 'Alī's caliphate is the terminology used by the Imāmīs. In Imāmī doctrine, each Imam has his companions (aṣḥāb),³ who follow him and transmit his teachings. Since the Imāmīs do not recognise the caliphates of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, it follows that 'Alī became the de jure ruler immediately after Muḥammad's death; consequently his aṣḥāb are those who followed him from that moment until his assassination in 40/661. The Imāmīs deny that any virtue is inherent in the position of a Companion of Muḥammad⁴ and insist on support for 'Alī as the only sign of moral goodness; by this criterion, all of 'Alī's aṣḥāb are automatically regarded as praiseworthy. As a result emphasis often shifts from the good Companions to the companions of 'Alī, to the extent that the two terms sometimes become indistinguishable. Evidence for this process may be found in early Shī'ī rijāl works, in which the names, and sometimes the biographies, of the aṣḥāb of each Imam are recorded. The oldest surviving work of this genre is probably the Kitāb ar-rijāl of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī (d. 274/887).⁵

¹ The reference is probably to the Kūfī Successor of that name who fought on 'Alī's side at the Battle of the Camel. Cf. the article on him by Ch. Pellat, in EI², III, p.687. On his father cf. below, p.258, n.5.

² See al-Khallāl, loc.cit.

³ For the sake of clarity, companions of 'Alī and of other Imams have been written with a small "c", so as to distinguish them from the Companions of the Prophet.

⁴ Cf. above, pp.88ff.

⁵ Cf. above, p.xx.

Al-Barqī's list of Companions includes 27 names, of which 13 reappear as ashāb 'Alī.¹ In al-Kishshī's Kitāb ar-rijāl no formal differentiation of any kind is made between the good Companions and the ashāb 'Alī.

It is very difficult to decide in each given case which companions of 'Alī are properly speaking also Companions of the Prophet and which are Successors.² The difficulty is increased by the fact that the biographical data (when available) are often contradictory, especially as regards dates of birth. Only 24 years lie between Muḥammad's death and 'Alī's accession in 35/656. This means that even from the Sunni point of view many Companions could be included among the ashāb 'Alī. Many others, though technically Companions, are usually considered as belonging to the next generation because they were so young when Muḥammad died. For example, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (d.38/658), the son of the first caliph, who was one of 'Alī's most ardent supporters both during 'Uthmān's reign and afterwards, appears in 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī's enumeration of the classes of Companions³ in the seventeenth and last class, to which belong "boys who were brought to him (sc. the Prophet) during the year of the Farewell Pilgrimage or shortly before, and who are not credited with any sound traditions."⁴ Another loyal supporter of 'Alī, Mālik b. al-Ḥārith an-Nakha'ī, known as al-Ashtar (d. 37/658 or 38/659), embraced Islam only after the Prophet's

¹ They include all the names in Group I (see below, pp.258-259).

² Some Imāmī authors do seem to make a clear-cut distinction between the two categories. 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Irbilī (d.692/1293), in his Kashf al-ghumma (II, p.15), promised a book dealing with the virtues of 'Alī's companions as compared with those of the Companions of Muḥammad (fa-sawfa ufridu kitāban fī faḍl ashāb 'Alī min faḍl ashābrasūl allāh). There appears to be no evidence that such a book was actually written.

³ Cf. above, p.16.

⁴ Al-Baghdādī, Uṣūl ad-dīn, p.302.

death and is therefore counted among the Successors.¹ In addition to persons who, like al-Ashtar, converted to Islam only after Muḥammad's death, there are those who were under 24 years of age when they fought for 'Alī; they, too, cannot be considered as Companions.

As has been pointed out before, the only touchstone for the Imāmis in judging a person's merits is his support for, or opposition to, 'Alī. Consequently the entire problem of distinguishing between a Companion and a Successor becomes largely academic when viewed from a purely internal Imāmi angle. Imāmi polemicists were aware, however, of the special role which the Ṣaḥāba played in Sunni doctrine. They were therefore prompted to sift the Companions of the Prophet from among the aṣḥāb 'Alī so as to prove that a considerable proportion of 'Alī's supporters came precisely from the ranks of those whom the Sunnis venerated as Muḥammad's Companions. The early Shi'i lists of Companions who fought for 'Alī at the battles of the Camel, Ṣiffin and an-Nahrawān² were probably compiled for polemical purposes. Since they do not seem to have survived, the course followed here will be to concentrate on al-Barqī's list of the Companions of Muḥammad who are mentioned among the aṣḥāb 'Alī. This list has the merit of being one of the earliest available Imāmi documents on the subject; moreover, it includes most of the important names which recur in later Imāmi works.

¹ See e.g. Ibn Sa'd, VI, p.148; Tahdhīb, X, pp.11-12. On al-Ashtar see the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri, in EI², I, p.704. Cf. also the division into hawārī of Muḥammad and of 'Alī (al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.15; al-Mufīd, Majālis, cit. Bihār, VI, p.752; cf. above p.229, n.6); this material appears also in Darajāt (p.432), but there, significantly enough, the phrase "hawārī of Muḥammad" is replaced by "hawārī of 'Alī."

² Cf. above, p.251.

Some Leading Supporters of 'Alī

The section in al-Barqī's Rijāl in which the names of the leading supporters of 'Alī are listed¹ is entitled, "[A list of] the Companions of the Apostle of God who were also companions of the Commander of the Faithful (sc. 'Alī) [including][ordinary] companions (ashāb),² aṣfiyā' ("close friends"),³ awliyā' ("friends, supporters")⁴ and shurtat al-khamīs [i.e. the choicest men in the army who form the vanguard in battle]."⁵ The meanings of these Arabic terms are not well understood, but it is clear that they refer to subgroups among the companions of 'Alī.⁶ In addition al-Barqī has a special category which he calls khawāṣṣ ("close, intimate friends"), and under which he lists mostly companions of 'Alī who were not Companions of the Prophet.⁷

¹ pp.3-7.

² Meaning perhaps the "rank and file companions", who did not enjoy any special status within 'Alī's entourage.

³ A more complete list of aṣfiyā' was probably compiled by al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Faḍḍāl (d. 224/839) for his (now lost) Kitāb aṣfiyā' amīr al-mu'minīn. Another work bearing the same title is ascribed to Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl (d. ?). Cf. Dharī'a, II, p.124. Fragments from a Kitāb al-aṣfiyā' are quoted in Darajāt, p.367.

⁴ Cf. the Quranic expression awliyā' allāh (Qur'ān 10/62(63)) and 'Alī's interpretation of it (al-Mufīd, Amālī, p.52).

⁵ Cf. Lane, p.1533c, s.v. shrt.

⁶ All these terms are explicitly used by Ibn an-Nadīm and al-Mufīd to refer to subgroups among the companions of 'Alī (see below, pp. 258ff). In addition there are several other references to one of these terms, shurtat al-khamīs, all of which indicate that the term refers to a subgroup among the companions of 'Alī. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is said to have put the number of the shurtat al-khamīs at 6,000 men (see al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisāṣ, p.2). This number is so large that it seems most unlikely that the author of this estimate is referring to the Companions of the Prophet; so the reference must be to the companions of 'Alī. The Prophet himself is said to have informed 'Alī of those who would be in the shurtat al-khamīs (see al-Barqī, Rijāl, p.3; al-Mufīd, op.cit., pp.2-3). 'Alī, quoting Muḥammad's words to his own Companions (or, according to Ibn an-Nadīm, the words of one of the former prophets to his companions), allegedly promised his shurtat al-khamīs that their reward would not be gold and silver in this world, but Paradise in the next (see al-Barqī, op.cit., p.2; Ibn an-Nadīm, Fihrist, p.175; cf. al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.11).

⁷ Al-Barqī, op.cit., pp.4-5.

Al-Barqī's list is reproduced with minor changes in al-Mufīd's Al-ikhtisās.¹ Whereas al-Barqī presents his list as a list of those companions of 'Alī who were also Companions of Muḥammad, al-Mufīd simply presents his (virtually identical) list as a list of companions of 'Alī. Both al-Barqī and al-Mufīd rely for at least some of the information about 'Alī's companions on 'Alī b. al-Ḥakam al-Anbārī, who transmitted sayings from pupils of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq.² Finally it may be mentioned that the division of 'Alī's companions into classes (tabaqāt) called aṣfiyā', awliyā', shurṭat al-khamīs and aṣḥāb is also recorded by Ibn an-Nadīm.³

The following are the names of 'Alī's supporters as they appear in the lists of al-Barqī and al-Mufīd:

Group I, the aṣfiyā':⁴ Salmān, al-Miqdād, Abū Dharr, 'Ammār, Abū Laylā,⁵ Shubayr, Abū Sinān, Abū 'Amra, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī,⁶

¹ pp.3-4.

² Cf. al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.478; Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., p.243. 'Alī b. al-Ḥakam al-Anbārī is mentioned in al-Barqī, op.cit., p.3, al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.2.

³ Fihrist, p.175. Ibn an-Nadīm maintains that this division was devised before the Battle of the Camel. He does not give names of any specific Companions.

⁴ Al-Barqī, loc.cit.

⁵ He is probably identical with Dāwūd b. Bilāl b. Uḥayḥa al-Anṣārī (see Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., p.143; other names are also given, cf. Tahdhīb, XII, p.215, Darajāt, p.447).

⁶ His full name is Sa'd b. Mālik b. Sinān Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī al-Khazrajī. He fought in all the battles after Uḥud; died c.64/683-684. See al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.41-42; Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., p.399; Tahdhīb, III, pp.479-481; 'Abbās al-Qummī, Safinat al-biḥār, I, p.623 (where he is mentioned as belonging to the younger generation of the Companions); cf. al-Kulīnī, Furū' al-kāfi, III, p.125. Abū Sa'īd is quoted as declaring, "the people were ordered [to perform] five [duties] but they only performed four." He then explained that the four were prayer, alms-giving, pilgrimage and the fast of Ramaḍān, and that the one they neglected was devotion (walāya) to 'Alī. When asked, "did men become unbelievers, then?" he reportedly replied, "how am I to blame [for this]?" (al-Irbīlī, op.cit., I, p.319; Darajāt, p.398). On the other hand, Abū Sa'īd is mentioned by aṭ-Ṭabarī (Ta'rikh, I, p.3070, on the authority of 'Umar b. Shabba) and al-Mas'ūdī (Murūj, IV, p.295) among the 'Uthmānīs who refrained from giving 'Alī the oath of allegiance after 'Uthmān's murder. Cf. also an-Nāshī' al-Akbar, op.cit., p.17.

Abū Barza,¹ Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh,² al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, 'Arafa al-Azdī;

Group II, the shurtat al-khamis:³ Salmān, al-Miqdād, Abū Dharr,⁴ Abū Sinān,⁵ Abū 'Amra,⁶ Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, Sahl b. Ḥunayf, 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf (all of them, with the exception of Sahl and 'Uthmān, also appear in group I);

Group III, whom al-Barqī calls the companions of 'Alī⁷ but whom al-Mufīd calls the aṣfiyā':⁸ 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'i,⁹ Mitham b. Yahyā at-Tammār,¹⁰ Rushayd al-Hajarī,¹¹

¹ I.e. Naḍla b. 'Ubayd al-Aslamī; d. c.64/683-684. See Tahdhīb, X, pp.446-447; Darajāt, p.418.

² On whom cf. below, pp.276-281.

³ Al-Barqī op.cit., pp.3-4; al-Mufīd, op.cit., pp.2-3.

⁴ Salmān, Abū Dharr and al-Miqdād died before 'Alī's accession. Hence their inclusion in the shurtat al-khamis makes sense only if this term is applied to those who were ready to fight for 'Alī not only after his official election but before it as well.

⁵ Al-Mufīd: Abū Sāsān.

⁶ Al-Mufīd: Abū 'Amr.

⁷ Al-Barqī, op.cit., p.4.

⁸ Al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.3.

⁹ 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq b. al-Kāhin (or Kāhil) al-Khuzā'i was a Companion of Muḥammad, as well as of 'Alī and of al-Ḥasan (see Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., p.258). He lived in Kūfa and then moved to Egypt. Some say that he was killed at the battle of al-Harra in 63/683 (on this battle cf. the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri, in EI², III, p.226, s.v.). According to other reports he belonged to the group of Ḥujr b. 'Adī (on whom cf. the article by H. Lammens in EI², III, p.545) and was executed in al-Mawṣil in 51/671 by the Umayyad governor 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī who sent his head to Mu'āwiya. See aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., II, pp.118-119, 127-128; Ibn Kathīr, Al-bidāya wa'n-nihāya, VIII, pp.49-55; Tahdhīb, VIII, pp.23-24; and for the Imāmī accounts al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.46-48; Darajāt, pp.431-437.

¹⁰ Ibn an-Nadīm (Fihrist, p.175) considers Mitham among the most respected of 'Alī's companions. He was executed by the Umayyad governor 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād (who died in 67/686) for refusing to dissociate himself from 'Alī; this is said to have happened in 61/680, ten days before the arrival of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī in 'Irāq. See Bihār, IX, p.629 (quoting from al-Mufīd, Al-irshād); Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., pp.356-357; al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.74-81; ar-Raḍī, Khaṣā'is amīr al-mu'minin, pp.21-23. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is said to have expressed his sorrow that Mitham did not save himself by using taqiyya; see al-'Ayyāshī, Tafsīr, f207a, cit. Bihār, IX, p.630.

¹¹ Rushayd was executed by 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād for refusing

Ḥabīb b. Muḏāhir¹ al-Asadī,² Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr:

Group IV, belonging to the awliyā':³ al-A'lam⁴ al-Azdi,⁵ Suwayd b. Ghafala al-Ju'fi,⁶ al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Allāh al-A'war al-Hamdānī,⁷ Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Jadālī,⁸ Abū Yaḥyā Ḥakīm b. Sa'd al-Ḥanafī (who belonged to the shurṭat al-khamīs),⁹ Abū 'r-Riḏā¹⁰ 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥaḍramī,¹¹ Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī,¹² 'Abida as-Salmānī;¹³

to dissociate himself from 'Alī. See al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp. 71-73; al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisās, pp. 77-78, cit. Bihār, IX, pp. 632, 633; Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., p. 153. An-Nāshī' al-Akbar (op.cit., p. 23), alone among the heresiographers, reports that Rushayd belonged to the "extremist" Saba'iyya sect. It is reported that 'Alī gave Mitham at-Tammār and Rushayd al-Hajarī exact details about the method of their execution. This is mentioned as an example of 'Alī's knowledge of future events (Ibn Dāwūd, loc.cit.). See aṭ-Ṭabarsī, I'lām al-warā', pp. 173-174; Ibn Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, Kashf al-yaqīn, pp. 16-17; cf. in general al-Burāqī, Ta'rīkh al-Kūfa, Najaf 1356H., pp. 288-293.

¹ Al-Mufīd: Muḏāhir.

² Ḥabīb b. Muḏāhir (or Muḏāhir) al-Asadī al-Faq'asī was one of the 70 Shī'īs who were killed at Karbalā' (10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 680). See aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., II, p. 348; Ibn Bābawayhi, Amālī, pp. 141-142; al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp. 73-74; Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., p. 99.

³ Al-Barqī, op.cit., p. 4; al-Mufīd, op.cit., p. 3.

⁴ Al-Mufīd: al-'Alam.

⁵ This is probably a reference to Mālik al-Ashtar (cf. above, p. 256, n. 1).

⁶ His name is given in Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., p. 180, as Suwayd b. b. 'Afala. He died c. 81/700. Cf. Caetani, Annali, X, p. 35, and the bibliography there; Petersen, op.cit., pp. 118 (note), 170.

⁷ Al-Ḥārith fought at Ṣiffīn on 'Alī's side (cf. Naṣr b. Muḏāhim, op.cit., p. 121). He died in Kūfa at the time of the revolt of 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr (see Ibn Sa'd VI, p. 117). The Imāmis regard him as a reliable transmitter (cf. Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., p. 94); but this view is not always shared by non-Imāmis (cf. Ibn Sa'd, VI, p. 116).

⁸ I.e. 'Ubayd b. 'Abd Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Jadālī. Al-Kishshī (op.cit., pp. 85-86) records a conversation between 'Ubayd and 'Alī.

⁹ Aṭ-Ṭūsī (Rijāl, p. 38) gives his name as Ḥakīm b. Sa'id al-Ḥanafī. He is mentioned among 'Alī's companions.

¹⁰ Al-Mufīd: ar-Raḍī.

¹¹ Mentioned among 'Alī's companions; cf. Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., p. 216.

¹² A companion of 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn; cf. Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., p. 460, and in general above, pp. x-xi.

¹³ On whom cf. below, p. 272, n. 3.

Group V, the khawāṣṣ:¹ this list is omitted here, since most of those on it were not Companions of Muḥammad. Al-Barqī's list of the khawāṣṣ (which is arranged by tribes) is considerably longer than that of al-Mufīd.²

¹ Al-Barqī, op.cit., pp.4ff; al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.4.

² The tribes mentioned are both northern and southern. In this context it is interesting to recall W. Montgomery Watt's suggestion ("Shī'ism under the Umayyads", JRAS 1960, p.161) that the southern tribes formed the core of the early Shī'a. The evidence in al-Barqī seems to contradict this suggestion.

THE COMPANIONS AS AUTHORITIES

1.

Introductory Remarks

The good Companions are those who sided with 'Alī at various stages after Muḥammad's death. Their faith, courage and integrity are viewed by the Imāmis with as much respect as that accorded by the Sunnis to the Ṣaḥāba in general. But whereas Sunni Islam regards the Companions not only as exemplary Muslims but also as the sole transmitters of Muḥammad's teachings, in Imāmi doctrine all authority is vested in the Imams. In principle, this would leave all Companions, including the good ones, without any authority in religious matters. An attempt will be made in the following pages to examine the extent to which this is actually the case. But first it is necessary to see how the authority of the Imam is explained, and how it is contrasted by the Imāmis with the authority which the Companions have in Sunni Islam.

2.

The Authority of the Imams and the
Unreliability of the Companions

The belief in an Imam who gives mankind guidance to the truth is basic to Imāmi doctrine.¹ Two main questions arise concerning this belief: What is the nature of the knowledge of the Imams? And how does this knowledge reach them?

As regards the first question, the answer usually given is that the Imams are virtually omniscient in that they possess all the knowledge of the former prophets, combined with what was

¹ For the general lines of the theory of the imamate as formulated by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam cf. above, pp. 78-81.

revealed to Muḥammad.¹ This means that their knowledge covers all aspects of life and embraces both past and future events;² they are aware, for example, of when they will die.³ They know about everything which exists, from that which is directly beneath God's throne, down to objects which lie buried in the earth.⁴ In addition to their knowledge of particulars they are also endowed with the ability to grasp the true significance both of God's words in the Qur'ān, and of the words of the Prophet. They are the ones to whom the Qur'ān refers⁵ as "the firmly established in knowledge."⁶ They also know 72 of the 73 letters which constitute the Greatest Name of God. According to the Imāmis, each of these letters has a certain mysterious divine power.⁷

The Imams are said to derive their knowledge from various sources. These sources may be briefly described as follows:⁸

(a) Oral transmission. This is the method used for transmitting knowledge from one generation to another, generally from father

¹ Cf. al-Kulīnī, Uṣūl al-kāfi, I, pp.223-226; al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī, Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il, f31a.

² See al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, p.260. Most Imāmi scholars, however, denied that the Imams had knowledge of hidden matters (al-ghayb). The claim that the Imams know the ghayb was considered a characteristic of the ghulāt (my thanks to Prof. Madelung for this observation).

³ Ibid., I, p.258.

⁴ Ibid., I, p.272. Al-Mufīd tended to believe that the Imam could sometimes be unaware of the inner significance (bawāṭin) of things and so rely only on external appearances (zawāhir) when using his judgment; but there was no consensus on this subject among the Imāmis of al-Mufīd's generation. Cf. Awā'il al-maqālāt, p.37.

⁵ Qur'ān 3/7(5)

⁶ See al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, pp.213,415. Cf. also Van Ess, Die Erkenntnislehre des 'Aḍudaddīn al-Īcī, pp.278-279.

⁷ See al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, p.230.

⁸ This subject has also been dealt with by Eliash in his doctoral thesis, pp101-109.

to son; it was also the method adopted by the Prophet when he transmitted knowledge to 'Alī in private conversations.¹

(b) Hereditary knowledge. The Imams are said to be born with a celestial light substance which they receive from their ancestors. According to one tradition,² that light was placed by God in Adam's loins and then passed on from one generation to another until it separated into two in the loins of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, whence it reached the fathers of Muḥammad and of 'Alī.³ Such theories were common among early Shī'i sects. For example, some followers of Abu 'l-Jārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir⁴ maintained that the knowledge possessed by the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, like that possessed by the Prophet, was innate (fiṭra).⁵

(c) Inspired knowledge. Like the prophets, the Imams receive some knowledge directly from the angels. 'Alī, for example, is reported to have received instruction from Gabriel and

¹ See Ibn Bābawayhi, A Shī'ite creed, pp.122-123; cf. al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, p.263.

² See Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Ilal ash-sharā'i', pp.134-135; cf. al-Ganjī, Kifāyat al-ṭālib, p.315.

³ Cf. also Goldziher, "Neoplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīṭ", in ZA 22, 1909, pp.326-327; A.K.S.Lambton, "Quis custodiet custodes", in SI 5, 1956, pp.136-137. This theory may be linked with the Imāmī (and Ismā'īlī) view, disputed by all other Islamic sects, that Muḥammad's forefathers from Adam to 'Abd Allāh were believers (mu'minūn) who believed in God's unity (muwahhidūn). Cf. al-Mufīd, Awā'il al-maqālāt, p.12.

⁴ On whom cf. al-Qāsim, p.44; above, p.212.

⁵ See Van Ess, op.cit., p.278. In the Kitāb ar-radd 'ala 'r-rawāfiḍ, attributed to al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d.246/860) but written probably by one of his sons (see al-Qāsim, pp.98-99), the Zaydī author argues that according to the Imāmīs the Imam is by nature all-knowing; they thus place the Imam above the Prophet and ascribe to him an attribute of the creator (ibid., p.146). Such a view may have been held by some early Imāmī mutakallimūn, but it is not representative of the official Imāmī doctrine. The Zaydīs stressed on the whole that knowledge is gained by study, and they were sharply critical of the Imāmī notion of an Imam who is born omniscient; see Strothmann, Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen, p.68.

Michael.¹ A spirit (rūh) which God sent to guide Muḥammad² is said to have remained with the Imams after Muḥammad's death.³ A distinction is made, however, between the manner in which knowledge passes to the Imam and the manner in which it passes to the prophets or the apostles. A prophet (nabī) receives revelation (wahy) from an angel whom he sees in a dream.⁴ An apostle (rasūl) receives knowledge from an angel who appears (not necessarily in a dream) and talks to him. The Imam is the recipient of an inspiration (ilhām), but not of a wahy, since this is a prerogative reserved to prophets.⁵ The Imam's inspiration is transmitted in a dream, when he hears the words of the angel as a "scratching of the heart" (an-nakt fi 'l-qulūb) or a "rapping on the ears" (an-naqr fi 'l-ādhān or al-asmā'). Unlike a prophet or an apostle, the Imam does not see the angel.⁶ The Imam may receive an ilhām irrespective of his age. This point had to be stressed because of cases such as that of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī at-Taḳī (d.220/835), who was proclaimed as the ninth Imam when he was only four years old.⁷

¹ See Baṣā'ir, p.130a.

² Cf. e.g. Qur'ān 42/52.

³ See al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, p.273; cf. Baṣā'ir, p.151b.

⁴ This is why both the Qur'ān and Muḥammad's sunna are considered by the Sunnis to be wahy. See Ibn Ḥazm, Al-ihkām, I, p.97; al-Kaffawī, Kullīyyāt al-'ulūm, Cairo 1281H., p.288; and in general Goldziher, "Kämpfe um die Stellung des Ḥadīth im Islam", in ZDMG 61, 1907, pp.862-865, 870-872.

⁵ Al-Mufīd denies the existence of a wahy for an Imam; he contends, furthermore, that this negative doctrine cannot be proved rationally, but only with reference to the consensus of the Imāmiyya on the matter. See his Awā'il al-maḳālāt, p.39; cf. his Sharḥ 'aqā'id aṣ-ṣādūq, p.56.

⁶ See Baṣā'ir, p.137b; al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, pp.177,271, with ash-Shīrāzī's Sharḥ, pp.225b-226b. According to al-Khayyāt (Al-intiṣār, p.116), some "extreme" Rāfiḍīs maintained that the Imam was also a prophet or an apostle. Al-Mufīd stresses (Awā'il al-maḳālāt, pp.41-42) that the Banū Nawbakht and some other Imāmis "who have not taken the right path" refuse to adhere to the belief that the Imams are able to hear the words of an angel.

⁷ See an-Nawbakhtī, Firaq ash-shī'a, pp.75-76; Sa'd b. 'Abd

Because they receive inspirations the Imams are muhaddathūn, i.e. "those to whom an angel speaks". This term derives from the Imāmi reading of Qur'ān 22/52(51), "We have not sent before you any apostle or prophet (or muhaddath)", where wa-lā muhaddath is an addition which does not appear in the 'Uthmānic textus receptus.¹ In Imāmi tradition this term is very common. Thus the Prophet is quoted as saying, "There will be twelve muhaddath from among my family (ahl al-bayt)."² Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is said to have declared, "We are twelve muhaddath."³ 'Alī in particular is often described as a muhaddath.⁴

(d) Written sources. These are in the form of various books whose contents are known only to the Imams, and which are passed on from one Imam to another.⁵

When Imāmi traditions refer to the Imams as heirs of

Allāh, Al-maḡālāt wa'l-firaq, pp.97-99. For details of Sunni views on ilhām cf. for instance an-Nasāfi, Creed, trans. A. Jeffery, A reader on Islam, the Hague 1962, p.347; the article "Ilhām" by D.B. Macdonald, in EI², III, pp.1119-20; Van Ess, op.cit., pp.121-122.

¹ Cf. Basā'ir, p.138a; al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, p.177; Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Ilal ash-sharā'i', p.183.

² Basā'ir, p.129b; an-Nu'mānī, Al-ghayba, p.31.

³ Basā'ir, loc.cit.; cf. aṭ-Ṭūsī, Al-ghayba, p.97.

⁴ See al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, p.271; cf. ibid., I, pp.531, 533; and in general Bihār, IX, pp.456-472. Fāṭima, too, is described as muhaddatha, because "she used to talk to them (sc. the angels) and they would talk to her" (Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Ilal ash-sharā'i', p.182). The term muhaddath is not restricted to Shi'i Islam. A Sunni tradition has it that "communities (umam) which existed before you had persons who were muhaddathūn" (Wensinck, Concordance, I, p.434, s.v. hdth). In what may be regarded as an answer to Shi'i claims, Sunni tradition speaks of 'Umar as the muhaddath of the community; cf. Wensinck, Handbook, p.234, s.v. "Umar"; Ibn Qutayba, Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth, p.162; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Aṣ-sawā'iq al-muhriqa, p.95; as-Suyūṭī, Ta'rikh, p.79. The Imāmis condemn this tradition as false; see Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays, cit. Bihār, I, p.137; al-Mūsawī, Abū Hurayra, pp.135-137; cf. the (anonymous) Munāzarat malik Rukn ad-Dawla ma'a 's-Ṣadūq, f269b. Another Imāmi word for muhaddath is mufham (or mufahham); see al-Kishshī, Rijāl, p.9. cit. Bihār, I, p.90.

⁵ For details see Basā'ir, pp.102a-110a; al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, pp.239-242; Ibn Bābawayhi, Man lā yaḥḍuruhu 'l-faḡīh, p.591; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Manāqib, I, p.218.

the Prophet, the meaning is that the Imams have the same knowledge as the Prophet; and this knowledge has reached them by the methods mentioned above. Similarly, Muḥammad is quoted on the authority of 'Alī as referring to his successors (khulafā') who will transmit his sayings and teach them to the people after his death.¹ These khulafā' are the Imams.² They are in direct contact with God, so their word is automatically that of God and His Apostle.³ Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is quoted as saying, "My hadīth is the hadīth of my father, the hadīth of my father is the hadīth of my grandfather . . . and the hadīth of the Apostle of God is the Word of God."⁴ Al-Bāqir is said to have declared,

¹ See Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Uyūn akhbār ar-Riḍā, II, p.37, cit. Bihār, I, p.108; id., Amālī, p.160, cit. Bihār, I, p.107; id., Man lā yahduruhu 'l-faqīh, p.591.

² The use of the term khalīfa in the sense of ruler is more common in Sunnī than in Shī'ī Islam.

³ One result of this, as Donaldson has pointed out, is that "whereas the Sunnite traditionists have to trace the isnād of each separate tradition back through seven or eight generations covering a period of approximately 200 years, until they arrive at the testimony of a contemporary of the Prophet, the Shī'ite traditionists need only ascribe a statement through three or four creditable witnesses to one of the Imams and trace it to his predecessors as far back as they desire" (The Shi'ite religion, p.288. Cf. also Hollister, The Shi'a of India, p.31). Indeed, the formula 'an ābā'ihī ('on the authority of his predecessors'), which very frequently appears in Imāmī isnāds, is sufficient to guarantee the reliability of the matn which follows. In practice, many more utterances are ascribed to Imams (especially to al-Bāqir and to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq) than to Muḥammad (this conclusion is based on a survey of some Imāmī works on jurisprudence).

⁴ Al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, p.53, cit. G. Lecomte, "Aspects de la littérature du hadīth chez les imāmītes" in Le Shi'isme Imāmīte, p.96; aṭ-Ṭabarṣī, I'lām al-warā', p.285. A similar idea is expressed by al-Bāqir as well; cf. aṭ-Ṭabarṣī, op.cit., p.270. Ash-Shīrāzī (Sharh uṣūl al-kāfī, p.94b) explains that the traditions of the Imams are identical, not in their expressions or specific meanings, but in the knowledge embodied in them, all of which is derived from God. Moreover, the answers which the Imams give to questions put to them may vary so as to suit the understanding and the insight of the person who asks the questions. This, according to ash-Shīrāzī (ibid., p.105a), is the meaning of the words attributed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, "We answer according to addition or diminution (innā nujību 'ala 'z-zīyāda wa'n-nuqṣān)" (al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, p.65).

"We transmit from the Apostle of God and from God; if we are accused of lying, then so are God and His Apostle".¹ The direct link between the Imam and God is emphasised by the statement ascribed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, "Only the Proof (hujja, i.e. Imam) transmits [directly] from God."²

The fundamental difference between the knowledge possessed by the Imams and that possessed by other men is stressed in an Imāmi tradition in which the Imams are described as the 'ulamā' ("the learned"), their (Shi'i) followers as muta'allimūn ("learners"), and the rest of mankind as ghuthā' ("scum").³ The Imāmis believe that their Imams are the only true men of knowledge.⁴ While they receive their knowledge directly from God, others receive it from men who in turn receive it from other men.⁵ The Sunnis might argue that this last point has no real bearing on the status of the Companions, since they received their knowledge directly from Muḥammad and are therefore not in a basically

¹ Kitāb Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Shurayh, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a, f36a, cit. Bihār, I, p.130.

² Al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.20, cit. Bihār, VI, p.754. Modern Shi'is seem to prefer a more cautious formulation. In the words of Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (Aṣl ash-shī'a, p.97), "The Prophet transmits from God and the Imam transmits from the Prophet."

³ Baṣā'ir, p.85a, cit. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Nafas ar-raḥmān, p.17b; Ibn Bābawayhī, Al-khiṣāl, I, p.59, cit. Bihār, I, p.59; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, I'lām al-warā', p.284 (on the authority of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq); cf. ar-Raḍī, Khaṣā'is amīr al-mu'minin, p.81; Corbin, Histoire de la philosophie islamique, I, p.62. Ash-Shaybī (Sila, I, p.44) has pointed to a similar division among Sūfi writers. Thus Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāj (d.378/988) distinguishes between knowledge of the law, which is clear to all; knowledge of certain secret matters, which was given only to a few Companions such as Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān; and knowledge entrusted to Muḥammad only (Kitāb al-luma', Leiden 1914, p.378).

⁴ Inna 'l-'ulamā' hum āl Muḥammad (Baṣā'ir, p.85b).

⁵ Cf. ash-Shīrāzī, Sharḥ uṣūl al-kāfi, p.65b. Ash-Shīrāzī quotes an anonymous Shi'i (probably an Imam) as declaring, "You have received your knowledge one dead person from another, whilst we have received our knowledge from the Living One who does not die" (ibid.).

inferior position to that of the Imams; but the Imāmis point to other factors which render the knowledge of the Imams far superior to that of the Companions. In the Imāmī view, only the Imams know the true significance of the various sayings of the Prophet, some of which appear to be contradictory. This idea is expressed in the words attributed to al-Bāqir, "The Apostle of God has bestowed [knowledge] (anāla) upon mankind, bestowed and bestowed [again]; we, the ahl al-bayt, are the strongholds of knowledge, the gates of judgment and the light [which illuminates and elucidates] the decrees [revealed by the Prophet]."¹

In contrast to the Imams, most Companions have deficiencies which render them unsuitable as authorities. This claim is contained in a critique of the reliability of the Companions which is ascribed to 'Alī.² He is reported to have divided the Companions into four groups:

- (a) The hypocrites (munāfiqūn) who only pretended to believe in Islam, and who joined the ranks of the "misguiding Imams" (a'immat ad-dalāl)(i.e. the first three caliphs and the Umayyads) after Muḥammad's death. Although they deliberately spread lies, ignorant people, not knowing their real attitude, are ready to accept traditions transmitted by them on the ground that they saw and heard Muḥammad;
- (b) Those who heard the Prophet but did not remember his words correctly. Despite their good intentions they distorted Muḥammad's words and are therefore unreliable;

¹ Baṣā'ir, p.136b, cit. Bihār, I, p.136; al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisās, p.308.

² See Ibn Bābawayhi, Al-khiṣāl, I, pp.120-121, cit. Bihār, I, pp.140-141; id., I'tiqādāt al-imāmiyya, ff54a-56b, trans. A.A. Fyze, A Shī'ite creed, pp.119-122; al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, pp.62-64.

(c) Those who reported truthfully and correctly what they had heard from Muḥammad, but were unable to distinguish between abrogating (nāsikh) and abrogated (mansūkh) traditions, thus bringing about many contradictions.¹ A favourite example among Imāmis of this flaw is the question of al-mash 'ala 'l-khuffayn.² The Imāmis argue that the differences on this point arose because some Companions were unaware that the edict which allowed the wiping of shoes had been abrogated by Muḥammad;³

(d) Companions who had none of the defects mentioned above. But even they were not perfect: some of them were unable to understand Muḥammad's answers to questions which they put to him;⁴ others refrained from asking him anything, and were glad if a desert Arab would come and ask and they would listen. According to Ibn Bābawayhi,⁵ the reason why these Companions did not put questions to the Prophet was that God had forbidden them to ask about things which, if they were made known, would trouble them and might even cause them to disbelieve.⁶

This last point is discussed further by Kāshif al-Ghiṭā'.⁷ He explains that Muḥammad realised that the time was not ripe to reveal certain kinds of knowledge to the community; consequently, though he told his Companions some things, he entrusted the whole of his knowledge only to his legatees. Their

¹ Cf. also al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, p.65 (with ash-Shīrāzī's Sharh, p.105a), cit. Bihār, I, p.140.

² See above, p.156.

³ See al-Barqī, Al-mahāsin, p.242. On the problem of abrogation cf. also above, p.25.

⁴ Which is somewhat reminiscent of the argument with which the Christians allegedly confronted their Muslim adversaries, namely that Muḥammad brought the Christian message to the Arabs, but that his Companions misunderstood him; see 'Abd al-Jabbār, Tathbit, p.116.

⁵ A Shī'ite creed, p.122.

⁶ Cf. Qur'ān 5/101-102(101).

⁷ Aṣl ash-shī'a, pp.113-114.

duty is to reveal it piecemeal at the appropriate time.

Once it is established that the Companions are imperfect in their knowledge it follows, in the Imāmi view, that the consensus of their opinions (ijmā' as-ṣahāba) is no guarantee against error. According to al-Murtaḍā,¹ it might well be true that the Companions did at various times accept sound traditions and reject false ones; it cannot, however, be deduced from this that they always made the right decisions. The best case that could be made for the Companions, even by those who have a high regard for them, is that they accepted a tradition as sound only after they had become convinced beyond reasonable doubt of its validity. This does not mean, however, that they invariably chose the true traditions and rejected the false ones; in order to believe that one would have to presuppose their infallibility. Most Companions personally heard some traditions from the mouth of the Prophet, but none heard all of them. Therefore it was impossible for the Companions, acting as a group, to decide with absolute certainty (darūratān) on the validity of a given tradition. They could only proceed by logical reasoning (istidlāl), a process in which even the best Companions might have erred. Political factors cannot be neglected, either: the Companions at times felt that it would be dangerous to incur the wrath of a cruel ruler by exposing the deceit of certain traditionists; as a result forged traditions could spread unchallenged.² The

¹ Shāfi, pp.50-54.

² Ibid., p.53. This is an obvious reference to Mu'āwiya. Cf. above, pp.201 ff. The fallibility of the Companions is cited by al-Murtaḍā as proof that the Sunnī system of choosing an Imam by election (ikhtiyār) cannot be valid or binding. He argues that the Companions could commit errors of judgment when using rational deduction (istidlāl); their knowledge, though wide, did not exceed human limitations; hence they could not be expected to be able to discover by rational means the one man in the community who was endowed by God with the gift of infallibility and who was therefore the divinely appointed Imam (ibid., p.70). The system of choosing the ruler by election is cited as an

conclusion drawn by Imāmi doctors is that the only valid ijmā' is one which reflects the opinion of an Imam.¹

The knowledge possessed by the Imams is contrasted with the knowledge possessed by the Companions in a speech ascribed to 'Alī in which he advises the community not to give opinions on legal matters (lā tuftū), since they have no knowledge about these things. 'Alī reminds his listeners that the Prophet changed various instructions during his lifetime, while other words of his were deliberately falsified after his death. When 'Alqama² and 'Abīda as-Salmāni³ asked 'Alī, "How then shall we act with respect to what we are told in these ṣuḥuf⁴ on the authority of the Companions of Muḥammad?", he replies, "Ask the learned [men] of Muḥammad's family about it ('ulamā' al Muḥammad)"; and the traditionist adds, "As if he meant himself."⁵

example of imposing on a person obligations which it is beyond his power to fulfil (taklīf mā lā yuṭāq) (*ibid.*). The Imāmis, following the Mu'tazilis, deny that God imposes such obligations. Cf. Ibn Bāyawayhi, A Shī'ite creed, p.31; Wensinck, op.cit., p.157.

¹ See al-Mufīd, Awā'il al-maqālāt, pp.99-100; al-Murtaḍā, Al-intiṣār, p.5; Shāfi, p.44; aṭ-Ṭūsī, At-tibyān, II, pp.6-8; Ibn Abi 'l-Majd, Ishārat as-sabq, p.57a; Najm ad-Dīn al-Hillī, Kitāb al-Mu'tabar, p.6; Hasan b. Zayn ad-Dīn al-'Āmilī, Ma'ālīm ad-dīn, Lucknow 1884, pp.100-101. For Sunni arguments against the Imāmi concept of ijmā' cf. al-Āmidī, Al-ihkām, I, pp.352-356. See also in general Goldziher, Vorlesungen, p.215; Laoust, Schismes, p.418. Cf. also an-Nazzām's views, above, pp. 63ff; M. Bernard, "l'ijmā' chez 'Abd al-Gabbār et l'objection d'an-Nazzām", in SI 30, 1969, pp.32-33.

² Possibly 'Alqama b. Qays who is mentioned among 'Alī's companions. See aṭ-Ṭūsī, Rijāl, p.50.

³ 'Abīda b. 'Amr (or Qays) al-Murādī as-Salmāni is counted among the companions of 'Alī; see aṭ-Ṭūsī, op.cit., p.47; Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., p.232. He embraced Islam two years before the Prophet's death but is not considered a Companion because he did not meet Muḥammad. He died in 72/691. See adh-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz, I, p.40; Tahdhīb, VII, pp.84-85; Ibn al-Athīr, Al-lubāb, I, p.552.

⁴ The earliest written Prophetic traditions, said to have been recorded by various Companions. Cf. Goldziher, Muh.Stud., II, p.9; Azmi, Studies in early ḥadīth literature, pp.29-30.

⁵ Kitāb 'Aṣim b. Ḥumayd, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a, f23b, cit. Biḥār, I, pp.99-100. The Imāmi beliefs concerning the sources of authority in Islam have a direct bearing on their definition of ḥadīth: "That which is transmitted from the Infallible (sc.Imam)"

The various traditions quoted above have one basic theme in common: to present on the one hand the Imams as omniscient authorities and on the other hand the Companions as fallible mortals, whose deficient knowledge and often faulty judgment deprive them of any claim to authority. As far as the role of the Imam is concerned, this is a faithful reflection of Imāmi thinking; but the generalisation about the Companions cannot be accepted as it stands. A more accurate assessment of their role as authorities will, it is hoped, emerge from the discussion in the following pages.

3. The Accepted Companions as Authorities

An important function of the good Companions in Imāmi doctrine is to attest to the excellence of the ahl al-bayt by transmitting utterances which the Prophet allegedly made on the subject. Indeed, Imāmi literature abounds with traditions, dealing mainly with the faḍā'il of Muḥammad's family, which are related on the authority of famous good Companions.¹ It is to these Companions that 'Alī must have referred when he reportedly spoke of the mustahfaẓūn min aṣḥāb Muḥammad, "those Companions to whom the Apostle entrusted his traditions and whom he asked to learn them by heart and to transmit them."² How is one to reconcile the existence of such Companions with the principle that the only persons authorised to transmit from the Prophet are the

(ash-Shīrāzī, Sharḥ uṣūl al-kāfi, p.65a; Bihār, I, p.111). Al-Majlisī declares that "it is not customary (laysa min da'bihim)" for the Imāmiyya to transmit from anyone other than the Imam. Cf. his Mir'at al-'uqūl, quoted in a note to Rawḍa, p.170.

¹ Examples may be found not only in "pure" faḍā'il literature but in the various Majālis and Amālī works as well.

² Ibn Bābawayhi, Amālī, p.542; id., Man lā yahḍuruhu 'l-faqīh, p.591; id., Al-khiṣāl, II, p.132, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.364. Al-Majlisī (Bihār, VII, p.27) also allows the reading mustahfiẓūn, "those who learned traditions by heart."

Imams? Imāmi authors must surely have been aware of this problem, which has a direct bearing on their doctrine; yet strangely enough, they do not seem to have supplied a clear answer to it. One possibility is that the Imāmis distinguished between two kinds of traditions: firstly, legal traditions dealing with matters of the sharī'a, which contain rulings binding on the community; these traditions are almost always transmitted on the authority of the Imams.¹ Secondly, faḍā'il and other traditions, which do not contain explicit legal pronouncements; traditions of this kind may be transmitted on the authority of persons other than the Imams.

Another, somewhat contrived, solution may be inferred from the words which Sulaym b. Qays allegedly addressed to 'Alī, "I have heard from Salmān, al-Miqdād and Abū Dharr some explanations of the Qur'an and traditions of the Prophet different from what are generally known to the people. And I have heard from you a corroboration of what I heard from them."² These words might be interpreted as meaning that traditions which the good Companions transmit become valid only when the Imam confirms that they are true. If this is the case, then there should be no need to distinguish between trustworthy and weak transmitters

¹ Imāmi fiqh books contain some hadīths which are related on the authority of good Companions (see for instance al-Kulīnī, Furū' al-kāfi, V, p.153, where a tradition is transmitted on the authority of Abū Umāma Ṣudayy b. 'Ijlān b. Wahb (on whom cf. aṭ-Ṭūsī, Rijāl, p.21; Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., p.392; Tahdhīb, IV, p.420; Bihār, VI, p.769); al-Kulīnī, op.cit., V, pp.324,325, where traditions are transmitted on the authority of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh). But these hadīths usually contain advice of a general nature and do not deal with specific legal matters. The Imāmi attitude in this respect is similar to a common Sunnī (Ḥanbalī) attitude. The strictest rules of hadīth criticism were applied to legal hadīths only. Other traditions (especially moralising ones) were accepted much more freely even if the isnād was objectionable.

² Ibn Bābawayhi, A Shi'ite creed, p.119; see also id., Al-khiṣāl, I, p.120, cit. Bihār, I, p.140; al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.97; Dharī'a, II, pp.152-153 (quoting from the Mukhtaṣar ithbāt ar-raja'a fi 'l-ghayba by Faḍl b. Shādhān (d. 260/874)).

among the good Companions. And indeed, Imāmi rijāl books do not in general contain comments of this kind. One exception may be worth mentioning here. The good Companion Ibrāhīm Abū Rāfi', praised as "one of the most excellent among the Shī'a (min khiyār ash-shī'a)", is described by Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī as having been "trustworthy" (thiqa) in the transmission of traditions.¹ From the strictly doctrinal point of view there is no need for this assessment, since any tradition transmitted by him and accepted by the Imāmis must have had 'Alī's approval. One possible explanation is that al-Ḥillī has quoted a Sunni opinion on Abū Rāfi' so as to stress his trustworthiness to non-Shī'i readers. In Abū Rāfi's case this may have been especially important since he is reported to have compiled the first Shī'i book on law.²

The Position of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh

Among the good Companions, the case of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī (d. 77-78/696-697) deserves special mention.³

¹ Al-Ḥillī, Rijāl, p.3.

² Cf. above, p. ix. The issue of Companions in Imāmi rijāl works is problematic from another aspect as well; cf. below, pp.287ff.

³ Jābir's father is said to have been the first Muslim to be killed at Uhud (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, pp.105-106). After his father's death Jābir was present at most of Muḥammad's campaigns (Tahdhīb II, pp.42-43), though he was absent from the Khaybar expedition (cf. Sīra, p.774; aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh, I, p.1589). After the Prophet's death Jābir reportedly joined the army of Khālīd b. al-Walīd in its siege of Damascus (adh-Dhahabī, Siyar, III, p.128). He is also said to have visited Egypt (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ Miṣr, p.275; adh-Dhahabī, op.cit., III, p.127). But on the whole he seems to have led a sedentary life in his home town Medina, where he soon established for himself a reputation as a reliable traditionist and legal expert (cf. adh-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-huffāz, I, p.43). In his later years his political views led to dangerous confrontations with various Umayyad governors, from Busr b. Abī Arṭāt in 40/660 (aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.3450-1) to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (Tahdhīb II, p.43). Jābir is known as one of the most prolific of the Companions; he reportedly transmitted 1540 traditions, of which 210 are recorded in the works of al-Bukhārī and Muslim (adh-Dhahabī, Siyar, III, p.129; as-Suyūṭī, Tadrib ar-rāwī, p.205). In Imāmi literature many stories are told

In some Imāmi traditions he appears in the isnād between al-Bāqir and Muḥammad; as such he is the only Companion from whom an Imam seems to have transmitted.¹ One such tradition deals with 'Alī's special position:

(Jābir al-Ju'fi²--al-Bāqir--Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī): The Apostle of God said: Gabriel came down to me and said, 'God has ordered you to give preference to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib when speaking to your Companions. This is so that the Companions may inform those who come after them [that 'Alī is the best Companion]. And God has ordered all the angels to listen to what you say. God reveals to you, Muḥammad, that whoever disobeys you concerning 'Alī will enter Hell and whoever obeys you will enter Paradise'.³

Another tradition stresses the limitless knowledge of the Imam:

(Ar-Riḍā--al-Bāqir--Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī): The Apostle of God said: I am the treasure and 'Alī is its key; whoever wishes [to reach] the treasure, let him come to the key.⁴

The veneration of the ahl al-bayt as a prerequisite of true faith is emphasised in the following tradition:

(Sadiq al-Makki⁵--al-Bāqir--Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī): The Apostle of God spoke to us and said, 'Oh people, whoever hates us, the ahl al-bayt,

of Jābir's love for the ahl al-bayt. For example, after the massacre of Karbalā' he is said to have made a pilgrimage to the site of the battlefield and to have delivered a moving eulogy in memory of al-Ḥusayn (aṭ-Ṭabarī, Bishārat al-muṣṭafā, pp.74-75). He is also reported to have seen at Fāṭima's house a tablet (lawh) which included the names of the twelve legateses (awṣiyā') (al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, pp.527-528; Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Uyūn akhbār ar-Riḍā, I, pp.41-45; aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, I, pp.297-298; aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., pp.183-184; Bihār, X, pp.120-121 (quoting various sources)).

¹ Jābir also appears at times between al-Bāqir and 'Alī; cf. e.g. Ibn Bābawayhi, Amālī, p.244. In addition, there are cases where the fourth Imam 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn quotes from Jābir; see e.g. 'Abbās al-Qummi, Safinat al-bihār, I, p.141 (quoting from aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī).

² Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fi transmitted from al-Bāqir. Many Imāmi authorities praise him for his reliability, but there is not absolute unanimity on this point. See al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.169-174; Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., pp.80,433. Sunni authors sometimes regard him as an extreme Rāfiḍī. See Tahdhīb, II, p.49.

³ Aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, I, p.118.

⁴ Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Uyūn akhbār ar-Riḍā, II, p.74.

⁵ Mentioned as one of the companions of al-Bāqir in aṭ-Ṭūsī, Rijāl, p.125.

will be resurrected by God on the Day of Judgment as a Jew.' I said, 'Oh Apostle of God, will this happen even to someone who fasts and prays and claims to be a Muslim?' He answered, 'Yes, even to someone who fasts and prays and claims to be a Muslim.'¹

From the purely chronological point of view it is possible that al-Bāqir could have obtained information about the Prophet's life and sayings from Jābir; indeed, Jābir was the only Companion acceptable to the Imāmis who lived long enough to meet both the fourth Imam 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and his son Muḥammad al-Bāqir.² Non-Imāmi traditionists mention al-Bāqir among those who transmitted from Jābir.³ An Imāmi tradition, recounted in numerous versions, tells of the first meeting between the blind Jābir and the boy Muḥammad b. 'Alī, in which the venerable Companion knelt down and kissed the boy's belly (or his hands and feet) --to the consternation of some Medinese--telling him that Muḥammad had prophesied that he, Jābir, would live to meet the son of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and send him the Apostle's greetings.⁴ This tradition is also to be found in Sunnī sources,⁵ but it is of special significance to the Imāmis who see in it proof of the legitimacy of al-Bāqir's imamate and a sign of a direct nass

¹ Ibn Bābawayhi, Amālī, p.297.

² See al-Barqī, Rijāl, pp.8,9. In fact, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh and Zayd b. Arqam are the only Companions who are mentioned by Imāmi authors as companions of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn; ibid., p.7; Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., index.

³ See adh-Dhahabī, Siyar, III, p.126; Tahdhīb, II, pp.42-43, IX, pp.350-351; cf. Ibn Sa'd, V, p.164. Ibn Taymiyya stresses this fact in his polemics against the Shī'a (Minhāj as-sunna, II, p.362).

⁴ Al-Khazzāz ar-Rāzī, Kifāyat al-athar, pp.294-295; Ibn Bābawayhi, Amālī, pp.315-316; id., 'Ilal ash-sharā'i', pp.233-234; al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.42-44; aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, II, pp.113-114, cit. Bihār, IX, p.182; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, I'lām al-warā, p.268; al-Irbīlī, Kashf al-ghumma, II, p.335, cit. (with other sources) Bihār, IX, pp.132-133, XI, pp.63-64.

⁵ Cf. e.g. aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh, III, p.2496; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muhriqa, p.199.

from Muḥammad.¹ The problem, as implied by the respective positions of Jābir and al-Bāqir in the isnāds, is essentially this: how can an omniscient Imam gain knowledge from a person, however worthy he may be, who is not a member of the ahl al-bayt? This question must have proved rather awkward, as may be inferred from the variety of solutions put forward. These solutions may be summed up as follows:

(a) Jābir is depicted as someone entitled to be mentioned in the isnād between al-Bāqir and Muḥammad because of his wide knowledge of the Qur'ān. This comes out in the following conversation which was supposedly held between al-Bāqir and his pupil Zurāra:² ". . . I said [to al-Bāqir], 'what special relationship did we have with Jābir that leads you to relate [traditions] on his authority?' He said, 'Oh Zurāra, Jābir knew the [correct] interpretation of the verse, "He who has imposed the Qur'ān upon you will certainly bring you to your home"³.'"⁴ The implication seems to be that Jābir's extensive

¹ This tradition is included by al-Khazzāz ar-Rāzī (loc.cit.) in a chapter entitled, "That which has been transmitted from the Apostle of God on the authority of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī concerning the designation (nusūṣ) of the Imams".

² Abū 'Alī Zurāra b. A'yan b. Sunsun ash-Shaybānī, one of the most renowned and trustworthy transmitters from al-Bāqir and Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq. See al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.121-143 (where some utterances critical of Zurāra are also recorded); aṭ-Ṭūsī, Fihrist, pp.141-143; Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., pp.155-157.

³ Qur'ān 28/85.

⁴ Al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.45. A similar answer ascribed to al-Bāqir is, "Jābir's faith reached [the stage] where he read the verse, 'He who has imposed the Qur'ān' (etc.)." (ibid., pp.44-45, cit. Bihār, XIII, p.230). The difficulty in this verse concerns the meaning of ma'ād; most commentators explain that it refers to Paradise, or to death, or to Mecca (cf. e.g. aṭ-Tabarī, Tafsīr, XX, pp.72-74; al-Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr, II, p.90). The Imāmis, who are aware of Jābir's position as an early Qur'ān commentator (cf. as-Suyūṭī, Al-itqān, p.915), use al-Bāqir's statement as proof that the science of Qur'ān commentary was founded by Shī'is. Cf. aṣ-Ṣadr, op.cit., p.323.

knowledge, combined with his position as a renowned Companion, puts him on a special privileged level. This line of argument does not, however, provide a satisfactory solution to the problem.

(b) An interesting way of avoiding the issue may be deduced from the following isnād (which precedes a story about those among the ahl adh-dhimma who love 'Alī): Muḥammad b. Sinān¹ --al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar² --Jābir al-Ju'fi--a man (rajul)--Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh.³ Judging by similar chains of transmitters, it is quite possible that the person concealed under the anonymous rajul is al-Bāqir.

(c) Jābir's position in the isnāds is related to the background of the Medinese hostility towards the ahl al-bayt. According to one tradition, al-Bāqir used to come and visit Jābir out of respect for his status as a Companion; al-Bāqir would then produce utterances revealed to him directly by God or by the Prophet, or traditions which the Prophet had revealed directly to his father. The Medinese were infuriated by what they considered al-Bāqir's impudence. In their view, since neither he nor his father had met Muḥammad, he had no right to transmit from the Prophet in this manner. When al-Bāqir heard of these objections he began transmitting traditions on the authority

¹ Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Sinān az-Zāhirī (d. 220/835) transmitted from the fourth(sic), seventh, eighth and ninth Imams. Most Imāmi authorities regard him as unreliable. See al-Kishshī, op.cit., index; aṭ-Ṭūsī, op.cit., p.295; Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., pp.315, 504-505.

² Al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fi is accused of having, at least temporarily, adhered to the Khaṭṭābiyya sect. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is said to have praised him, but this is explained as referring to the period before his deviation. See on him al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.272-279; Ibn Dāwūd, op.cit., pp.518-519. Works attributed to him appear to be apocryphal; cf. Sezgin, I, p.534.

³ Kitāb Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā al-Haḍramī, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umi'a, f56a.

of Jābir so as to guarantee their acceptance.¹ In other words: Jābir's position in the isnād was dictated by reasons of taqiyya and does not represent what actually occurred. Various anecdotes are told to emphasise al-Bāqir's position as Jābir's mentor. Thus it is related that Jābir used to recount traditions which were known to al-Bāqir; often al-Bāqir would correct Jābir on various points and his corrections would automatically be accepted.² In one isnād, in which al-Bāqir quotes from Jābir, he is made to add, "And I did not refute Jābir."³ Muḥammad is alleged to have told Jābir, "Do not teach them (sc. the Imams), for they are more knowledgeable than you are."⁴

(d) The de facto situation whereby Jābir is depicted as receiving instruction and information from al-Bāqir is officially sanctioned by an appropriate switch in the order of the isnād. Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) says of al-Bāqir, "From him transmitted the guides of the religion: the surviving Companions, the notables among the Successors, and the leading Muslim doctors; among the Companions, [men] such as Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī;⁵ among the Successors, [men] such as Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī and Kaysān as-Sakhtānī . . ."⁶ Indeed, explicit transmissions by Jābir of sayings attributed to al-Bāqir may also be found.⁷ This

¹ See al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisās, pp.62-63; al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.43-44; al-Kulīnī, op.cit., I, p.470; Bihār, IX, p.64.

² See Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Ilal ash-sharā'i', pp.233-234.

³ Kitāb 'Āsim b. Humayd, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'uni'a, f23a.

⁴ Ibn Bābawayhi, Ikmāl ad-dīn, p.248.

⁵ Fa-min as-ṣaḥāba nahwu Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh. Although this expression does not necessarily imply that there were other Companions who supposedly transmitted from al-Bāqir, one wonders whether Ibn Shahrāshūb had such a possibility in mind.

⁶ Ibn Shahrāshūb, Manāqib, III, p.327.

⁷ See e.g. ibid., III, p.314 (qāla Jābir al-Anṣārī 'an al-Bāqir); Ibn Bābawayhi, Amālī, p.518 ('an Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh 'an Abī Ja'far al-Bāqir).

solution is the best from the doctrinal point of view, although historically it is the least convincing. It may be seen as an example of the Imāmi tendency to preserve the consistency of their doctrine, even at the expense of historical accuracy.

The Ahl al-Bayt

Imāmi doctors recognise as members of Muḥammad's family (his ahl al-bayt) 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Fāṭima,¹ and in most cases the other Imams as well.² They generally reject wider definitions of the ahl al-bayt such as those which include the Prophet's wives.³ The Imāmis maintain that the terms ahl and al are synonymous,⁴ so that the ahl al-bayt are exactly the same people as the al Muḥammad.⁵ All knowledge and authority are centred in them. Al-Bāqir is quoted as telling two of his disciples that wherever they may turn they will not find any true knowledge other than that which has come from the ahl al-bayt.⁶ In reply to Sunnī traditions about the merits of the Companions the Imāmis quote traditions in praise of the ahl al-bayt. The

¹ The four of them together with Muḥammad are known as the ahl al-kisā' ("the people of the cloak") (cf. the article by A.S. Tritton, in *BI*², I, p.264, s.v.) and "the five pure ones" (pāk panjtan) (cf. Hollister, *The Shi'a of India*, pp.14-15). For traditions on their virtues see *Bihār*, IX, pp.180-196.

² Cf. Zayn ad-Dīn al-'Āmilī, *Ar-rawḍa al-bahīyya fī sharḥ al-lum'a ad-dimashqiyya*, I, Najaf 1386H., pp.20-21, and in general Shi'i commentaries on *Qur'ān* 33/33.

³ Cf. the discussion between al-Mufīd and a follower of al-Karābīsī, in al-Murtaḍā, *Talkhīṣ al-'uyūn wa'l-maḥāsin*, f408b. Zayd b. 'Alī is quoted as declaring, "Ignorant people claim that [God] meant in that verse [i.e. *Qur'ān* 33/33] the Prophet's wives --they lie and sin [by claiming this]" (al-Qummi, *Tafsīr*, II, p.193). Umm Salama, one of Muḥammad's wives, is quoted as saying that the Prophet did not include her among the ahl al-bayt; see Ibn Bābawayhī, *Amālī*, p.423.

⁴ Cf. Ibn Bābawayhī, *Ikmāl ad-dīn*, p.236. For various views of the grammarians on this subject cf. Lane, p.127b, s.v. awl.

⁵ Cf. aṭ-Ṭūsī, *At-tibyān*, II, p.441.

⁶ See al-Kulīnī, *op.cit.*, I, p.399.

"lodestar tradition", for example,¹ has its counterpart in words attributed to Muḥammad, in which the ahl al-bayt are compared to stars in the sky which show the travellers the right path.² Sometimes the Sunni "lodestar tradition" is quoted with an addition to the effect that when the Prophet was asked who his Companions were he answered, "My ahl al-bayt."³ By introducing this formula, which equates the Ṣaḥāba with the ahl al-bayt,⁴ the concept of Ṣaḥāba is given a specifically Imāmi content.⁵ In this particular sense it is possible to talk about the authority of the Companions since the reference is in fact to the members of the ahl al-bayt. Moreover, the resulting ambiguity in the meaning of Ṣaḥāba may have enabled the Imāmis to quote traditions in favour of the Companions (something which might be required for reasons of taqiyya) without having to become involved in

¹ See above, pp.4, 96-97.

² See Kitāb 'Abbād al-'Uṣfurī, in Al-uṣūl al-arba'umī'a, f10a; Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Ilal ash-sharā'i', pp.123-124, cit. Bihār, VII, pp.5-6; cf. id., Amālī, p.164; id., Ikmāl ad-dīn, p.199; al-Haythamī, Majma' az-zawā'id, IX, p.174 (quoting at-Ṭabarānī). At the same time it is useful to remember Wellhausen's observation (Oppositionsparteien, p.69, n.3) that "a certain precedence of the house of the Prophet over all other Arab families is generally acknowledged."

³ Baṣā'ir, p.85b; Muḥsin al-Kāshānī, An-nawādir fī jam' al-aḥādīth, pp.20-21.

⁴ See also Ibn Bābawayhi, Ma'ānī 'l-akhbār, pp.156-157, cit. Bihār, VI, p.744 (the commentator explains (Ma'ānī 'l-akhbār, loc.cit., n.1) that "what is meant under ashāb are the Imams"). Cf. also 'Alī's words in the Nahj al-balāgha (Cairo 1911, II, p.448), "We are the [true] Companions of the Prophet."

⁵ An Ismā'īlī interpretation of the term "Ṣaḥāba" is given by al-Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, who was often claimed by the Imāmis as one of their own (cf. W. Ivanow, A guide to Ismaili literature, p.37). He sets out in his Ta'wīl ad-da'ā'im to expound the inner significance (bāṭin) of religious obligations which underlie their external, apparent meaning (zāhir). This system serves him well when he discusses the term "Ṣaḥāba". He maintains (ibid., p.70) that, contrary to the views of the ignorant and uninitiated ('amma), "Ṣaḥāba" does not refer to all those who accompanied the Prophet, but only to those of his descendants who are the Imams, who faithfully followed his commands. Cf. also above, pp.98-99.

doctrinal inconsistencies.

The preceding paragraph showed how the Imāmis altered the normal meaning of the term "Ṣaḥāba" to make it synonymous with the term ahl al-bayt as it is usually employed. There are, however, opposite cases in which the term ahl al-bayt itself is redefined so that it can be applied to a larger group than Muḥammad's immediate family. Such in particular is the case with two prominent good Companions, Abū Dharr and Salmān al-Fārisī, both of whom are counted in Imāmi traditions as among the ahl al-bayt.¹ Of these Salmān is by far the most frequently mentioned. Various interpretations are proffered to explain Salmān's affiliation with the ahl al-bayt:

(a) His affiliation is spiritual, not physical; this in turn means that the term ahl al-bayt must be understood as referring to a group of people united by spiritual bonds rather than bonds on kinship. This theory was advanced by Ḥaydar al-Āmulī (d. after 794/1392),² but is not representative of the views of the early Imāmiyya.

(b) Salmān is of the same kind (jins) as the ahl al-bayt, and was created of the same substance (ṭīna).³ He therefore possesses

¹ For Salmān see Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Uyūn akhbār ar-Ridā, II, p.64; al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.17 (where the Prophet is quoted as declaring, "Salmān belongs to us, the ahl al-bayt (Salmān minnā ahl al-bayt)"); Bihār, IX, p.403; Massignon, Salmān Pāk, pp. 10-12. For Abū Dharr see aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, II, p.138; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Makārim al-akhḥār, p.539, cit. Bihār, XVII, p.23; Darajāt, p.231.

² See Corbin, Histoire de la philosophie islamique, I, pp.91-92. Cf. also Massignon's comment (Salmān Pāk, p.12, n.51) on the views expressed by Ibn al-'Arabī in his Al-futūḥāt al-makkiyya. These views are also mentioned in aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Nafas ar-raḥmān, p.17a.

³ See Baṣā'ir, p.86b; al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisās, p.221. The connection between the Imams and their followers is said to have been described by al-Bāqir as follows, "We and our Shī'a were created from a substance from 'Illīyyūn [often interpreted as a place in the Seventh Heaven; cf. the article by R. Paret, in EI², III, p.1132, s.v.], while God created our enemies from corrupted substance and foul-smelling mud" (aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Bishārat al-muṣṭafā, p.87; cf. al-Barqī, Al-maḥāsīn, p.100; Baṣā'ir,

the qualities inherent in members of the ahl al-bayt, such as infallibility and omniscience. Like the Imam, he is both 'ālim¹ and muhaddath.² He is not a follower (tābi') but one who is followed and obeyed (matbū'); he is God's door on earth; whoever accepts him is a believer and whoever rejects him is an unbeliever.³ Like the Imams, he knows the Greatest Name of God.⁴ He is also the recipient of the first and last knowledge ('ilm al-awwal wa-'ilm al-ākhir), variously interpreted as the knowledge of the Israelites and of Muḥammad, or of Muḥammad and of 'Alī.⁵ Such a view of Salmān's position is bound to create doctrinal problems for the Imāmis, since it places Salmān practically on the same level as the Imams.⁶ Attempts to resolve this difficulty centre on Salmān's position as muhaddath, which is one of the main prerogatives of an Imam. In some Imāmi traditions that term is modified or re-defined when applied to Salmān. When Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq was asked who used to talk to Salmān (yuhaddithuhū) he reportedly answered, "The Apostle of God and the Commander of the Faithful. Of all the persons to whom they talked, only Salmān became a muhaddath, since they divulged to him secret and concealed knowledge about

p.86a). Muḥammad is reported on the authority of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh to have told 'Alī, "you and I were created from the same substance (tīna); some of it remained, so God created our Shī'a out of it" (al-Mufid, Al-irshād, p.27; aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, I, p.77, II, p.71).

¹ 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn is quoted as saying, "Salmān became an 'ālim because he is a man who belongs to us, the ahl al-bayt, therefore he resembles the 'ulamā'" (Baṣā'ir, p.87b).

² See aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, II, p.21, cit. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Nafas ar-raḥmān, p.38b; Bihār, VI, p.749; and in general aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., pp.17b-18a. Cf. also al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.23, where it is explained that Salmān was addressed by an angel.

³ Cf. al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.20; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., pp.16b-17a.

⁴ See al-Mufid, Al-ikhtisās, p.11; al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.18. Presumably the idea is that Salmān, like the Imams, knew 72 out of the 73 letters of which God's name is said to consist (cf. above, p.263).

⁵ See al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.21, cit. Bihār, VI, pp.754-755.

⁶ The exaggerated veneration of Salmān is a feature of most "extremist" Shī'i sects. Cf. for example Massignon's remarks on the Sīniyya (op.cit., pp.29-30; id., "La Mubāhala de Médine et l'hyperdulie de Fāṭima", in Opera Minora, I, p.561).

God which to anyone else would be unbearable."¹ Salmān, then, did not enjoy the privilege of direct contact with an angel and he is therefore inferior to an Imam. This is clearly stated in an utterance ascribed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, "He (sc. Salmān) transmitted from his Imam, not from his Lord, since only the Proof [i.e. the Imam] transmits [directly] from God."² Similar results are achieved by changing muḥaddath into muḥaddith ("transmitter"). It is related on the authority of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh that Muḥammad said, "Every community has a muḥaddith; the muḥaddith of this community is Salmān."³ When asked about the meaning of muḥaddith Muḥammad reportedly answered, "He announces hidden matters which men need to know . . . ; in his heart he keeps that part of my knowledge which pertains to past and future events."⁴ To sum up: while Salmān is on the one hand relegated to the position of other companions of 'Alī, all of whom transmitted from their Imam, his special status as member of the ahl al-bayt is safeguarded by the claim that he possessed esoteric knowledge which was denied to others.

(c) The range of meaning of the term ahl al-bayt is extended. This is done on the basis of words ascribed to the prophet Ibrāhīm, "Whoever follows me is [a part] of me."⁵ In other words, to follow the ahl al-bayt is to become an associate member of it.⁶

¹ Li-annahumā kānā yuḥaddithānīhī bi-mā lā yaḥtamiluhū ghayruhū min makhzūn 'ilm allāh wa-maknūnīhī (Ibn Bābawayhī, 'Ilal ash-sharā'i', p.183, cit. Bihār, VI, p.750). Cf. also above, p.231, n.2.

² See the reference above, p.268, n.2.

³ Aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., p.33a. Salmān and Fāṭima are said to be the only muḥaddithūn in the community except for the Imams (ibid., p.39b).

⁴ Ibid., p.33a.

⁵ Qur'ān 14/36(39).

⁶ This would explain why not only Abū Dharr, but also Imāmī traditionists such as al-Fuḍayl b. Yasār and 'Umar b. Yazīd were included among the ahl al-bayt. See Ibn Bābawayhī, Man lā yaḥduruhu 'l-faqīh, p.599; al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.186,280.

This explanation is quoted from the Kitāb at-tanzīl wa't-tahrīf by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad as-Sayyārī, (a contemporary of the eleventh Imam al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (d.260/873)), who is not considered by most Imāmis as reliable;¹ but aṭ-Ṭūsī, too, takes a similar line when he explains² that al Ibrāhīm³ refers to the believers who followed Ibrāhīm's doctrine.⁴ The practice of some extreme Shī'is of "granting to favoured supporters adoptive membership in the house of the Prophet, and thus, incidentally as it were, of the Arab nation"⁵ may also be behind this line of interpretation; after all, Salmān is celebrated as the first Persian convert to Islam. The advantage of this argument is that it leaves all authority in the hands of the Imams, while enabling other virtuous Muslims to enjoy a kind of associate (and hence second-class) membership of the ahl al-bayt. Thus Salmān's membership in the ahl al-bayt is sometimes explained as an indication of his precedence over all other Companions.⁶

(d) Finally, Shī'i authors may also have accepted the interpretation given in non-Shī'i accounts. According to these accounts, Muḥammad announced that Salmān belonged to the ahl al-bayt when both the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār claimed him as one of their own.⁷

¹ See aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., p.18a; cf. aṭ-Ṭūsī, Fihrist, p.44; Dharī'a, IV, p.454.

² At-tibyān, II, p.441.

³ Qur'ān 3/33(30).

⁴ For aṭ-Ṭūsī 'al and ahl are identical terms; cf. above, p.281. For a similar view cf. al-Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, Da'ā'im al-islām, I, pp.36-38.

⁵ B. Lewis, in EI², I, p.15, s.v. "'Abbāsids".

⁶ See aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., pp.16b,82a, quoting from a prayer said over Salmān's tomb.

⁷ Cf. Sīra, p.677; Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, p.159; aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh, I, p.1467.

4. The Rejected Companions as Authorities

Taqiyya

The important role played by precautionary dissimulation (taqiyya) is a well-known feature of Imāmi doctrine. This practice has a bearing on the question of authority. Since the Imāmiyya were known to recognise only traditions of the Prophet transmitted by an Imam, or statements of the Imams themselves,¹ it was sometimes deemed necessary to conceal these distinguishing characteristics by feigning acceptance of the authority of the Companions, including especially the ones rejected by the Imāmis. When two apparently contradictory statements occur in an Imāmi work on jurisprudence, the one related on the authority of a Companion rather than of an Imam is very likely to have been included as a result of taqiyya.²

A related problem concerns the place of the Companions in Imāmi rijāl works, which record the names of the aṣḥāb of each Imam.³ Since the Prophet is not one of the Imams there is, strictly speaking, no room for the Companions in such works, except when they are regarded as aṣḥāb 'Alī, or when they are mentioned for ideological or polemical reasons as those who

¹ Cf. in general Bihār, I, pp.136-149.

² Cf. for example aṭ-Ṭūsī's comments on two conflicting statements concerning major ritual impurity (janāba) during Ramaḍān, one ascribed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq and the other to Muḥammad on the authority of 'Ā'isha (Al-istibṣār, II, p.88). Imāmi scholars disagreed among themselves as to the attitude to be adopted towards traditions which might have been transmitted for reasons of taqiyya. The Mujtahidūn cited such traditions to further their contention that one should not accept the validity of each individual tradition. The Akhbāriyyūn argued that even if a particular tradition was formulated for reasons of taqiyya God allows the Shī'a to act according to that tradition. Cf. Falaturi, "Die Zwölfer-Schia aus der Sicht eines Schiiten", p.84. And see also Ḥasan b. Zayn ad-Dīn al-Āmilī, Ma'ālim ad-dīn, p.112.

³ Cf. above, p.254.

supported 'Alī. And yet in practice they are not always ignored. Al-Barqī, for example,¹ includes 'Ā'isha in his list of women who transmitted from the Prophet. An-Najāshī² mentions a book by Ibn Bābawayhi called Ar-rijāl al-mukhtārūn min aṣḥāb an-nabī (which may refer to the good Companions only), as well as a Kitāb al-maṣābiḥ by the same author, of which the first two chapters deal with men and women respectively who transmitted from the Prophet.³ Aṭ-Ṭūsī⁴ has a list of 470 Companions who transmitted from Muḥammad, which includes such enemies of Shī'ism as 'Umar and 'Uthmān,⁵ 'Ā'isha and Ḥafṣa,⁶ as well as a certain Abū Muslim who is described as having thought ill (sayyi' ar-ra'y) of 'Alī.⁷ 'Alī himself gets only a perfunctory mention, and the only hint of a pro-'Alid attitude is the reference to him as Commander of the Faithful.⁸ Similarly, Ibn Dāwūd⁹ mentions the names of 124 Companions, who include 'Ā'isha, Ḥafṣa and al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, as well as many good Companions. It is difficult to reconcile these lists with Imāmī doctrine, unless one regards them as having been compiled for reasons of taqiyya.¹⁰

¹ Rijāl, p.61.

² Rijāl, p.278; cf. also Dharī'a, X, p.83; A.A.Fyzee's introduction to Ibn Bābawayhi's Creed, p.19 (no.81).

³ An-Najāshī, op.cit., p.277; cf. also A.A. Fyzee, op.cit., p.21 (no.145).

⁴ Rijāl, pp.3-34.

⁵ Ibid., p.22.

⁶ Ibid., p.32.

⁷ Ibid., p.5.

⁸ Ibid., p.22.

⁹ Cf. the index to his Rijāl.

¹⁰ Other possibilities cannot, however, be entirely rejected: (a) When the earliest Shī'ī rijāl works were compiled, the doctrine of the Imam as sole authority may not yet have gained final acceptance in all Shī'ī centres; (b) Shī'ī authors might have felt that a work on rijāl would be incomplete without the Ṣaḥāba; they could then have copied the lists of Companions from Sunni sources, perhaps without even realising the doctrinal inconsistency involved; (c) The authors might have aimed their work at a large, not exclusively Imāmī, audience; in that case the Companions would obviously have had to be included.

The case of Abū Sa'id 'Abbād b. Ya'qūb ar-Rawājini (d. 250/864)¹ is particularly revealing. He is cited as author of a Kitāb al-ma'rifa fi ma'rifat aṣ-ṣaḥāba.² Aṭ-Ṭūsī refers to him as a Sunnī ('ammī al-madhhab); but if that were the case there would be no place for him in a Shī'ī fihrist. He is in fact accused of having vilified the first generation;³ as-Suyūṭī says of him that he is one of the best known Rāfiḍīs even though he is reliable in the transmission of hadīth.⁴ Moreover, he is probably identical with the author of a Shī'ī asī.⁵ Indeed, later Shī'ī authorities interpret aṭ-Ṭūsī's remark as meaning that 'Abbād had to practise taqiyya by pretending to be a Sunnī;⁶ and a convincing way of doing this was by composing a biographical work on the Companions.

Polemics

In their polemics, Sunnīs and Shī'īs often cite each other's traditions in order to buttress their own claims. Thus later Imāmī authors often deliberately restrict themselves to pro-'Alid traditions culled from Sunnī sources. In his book Kitāb al-'umda, which deals with 'Alī's virtues, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Baṭrīq (d. 600/1203) quotes mostly Sunnī authorities. The same method is followed by 'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Irbilī (d. 692/1293) in his Kashf al-ghumma. Many similar examples could be cited. The same technique was also applied with

¹ Cf. Sezgin, I, pp.316,537, and the bibliography given there.

² Aṭ-Ṭūsī, Fihrist, p.176.

³ Kāna yashtumu 's-salaf (adh-Dhahabī, Mizān al-i'tidāl, II, p.379, whence al-Mūsawī, Kitāb al-murāja'āt, p.110).

⁴ Al-la'ālī al-maṣnū'a, I, p.324; see also adh-Dhahabī, loc.cit.

⁵ See 'Alam al-Hudā, Nadd al-īdāh, on the margin of aṭ-Ṭūsī, loc.cit. On the term asī cf. above, pp.ixff.

⁶ See Dharī'a, I, p.123.

reference to the Companions. If an Imāmi tenet could be shown to have been recorded by a Companion, especially one who is not regarded as pro-'Alid, this would provide a convincing argument against Sunni opponents. Two works which illustrate this approach might be mentioned here. Both were written by authors who hailed from the important Shi'i centre of Qumm and who wrote at a time when the doctrine of the twelve Imams was meeting not only with external, non-Shi'i opposition, but also with resistance from within the Shi'i ranks.¹ The first author, Ibn Bābawayhi, is said to have written a book called Al-akhbār 'an aṣ-ṣahāba wa'l-'ashara al-akhyār fi 'n-nuṣūṣ 'ala 'l-a'imma al-abrār ("Traditions transmitted on the authority of the Companions and the Ten Good Ones² concerning the designation of the righteous Imams").³ Ibn Bābawayhi's pupil, 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Khazzāz ar-Rāzī al-Qummi (d. 381/991), is believed by most authorities to be the author of the Kifāyat al-athar fi 'n-nuṣūṣ 'ala 'l-a'imma al-ithnay 'ashar ("A sufficiency of traditions concerning the designation of the twelve Imams").⁴ In his introduction⁵ al-Khazzāz explains that he was impelled to write that work because some Shi'is whose religious knowledge was weak or only moderate⁶ had let themselves be swayed by Mu'tazilī arguments against the twelve Imams. Some of these Shi'is said that the delegation of authority to the Imams could not be conclusively proved;⁷ others went further and

¹ Cf. the list of 15 sects which mushroomed after the death in 260/873 of the eleventh Imam al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, in Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh's Kitāb al-maḡālāt wa'l-firaq, pp.102-116.

² Presumably al-'ashara al-mubashsharūn; cf. above, p.17.

³ Cf. Sezgin, I, p.549.

⁴ Cf. above, p.xiii.

⁵ Kifāyat al-athar, p.289.

⁶ Qawman min du'afā' ash-shi'a wa-mutawassitihim fi 'l-'ilm.

⁷ Min jiha yuqta'u 'l-'udhr bihā.

claimed that there were no traditions on the authority of the Companions concerning nusūṣ to the Imams. Consequently, al-Khazzāz's work consists of traditions of the Prophet on the authority of various Companions, and of utterances of the Imams. These traditions and utterances are designed to prove that the authority of the twelve Imams derives from a direct delegation of power by Muḥammad. The Companions who are quoted as authorities for traditions of the Prophet include good ones such as Salmān al-Fārisī,¹ Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh² and Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān,³ and, more significantly, bad ones such as 'Umar,⁴ 'Uthmān,⁵ Abū Hurayra⁶ and 'Ā'isha.⁷ The fact that al-Khazzāz had to quote traditions on the authority of these Companions in order to convince fellow Shī'is of the validity of the Imāmī doctrine concerning the Imams might mean that in the 4th/10th century there were still Shī'is (perhaps belonging to the less educated classes) who regarded the Companions as authorities, side by side with the Imams. Al-Khazzāz might have wished to win over not only wavering members of his own community, but Mu'tazilīs and Sunnis as well. It is clear, at any rate, that his work was not intended for a small circle of knowledgeable Imāmī scholars. Like many other writers, Shī'ī and otherwise, he adapted his work to his audience, preferring to overlook the strict rules of the Imāmī isnād in order to gain acceptance with his readership. A concession of this nature was probably

¹ Ibid., pp.293-294, cit. Bihār, IX, pp.141-144.

² Al-Khazzāz, op.cit., pp.294-297, cit. (in part) Bihār, IX, p.145.

³ Al-Khazzāz, op.cit., p.305.

⁴ Ibid., pp.299-300, cit. Bihār, IX, pp.147-148.

⁵ Al-Khazzāz, op.cit., p.300.

⁶ Ibid., pp.298-299.

⁷ Ibid., pp.312-313.

regarded by al-Khazzāz as a legitimate means towards achieving the desired end.¹

5.

Conclusion

Although the Imams are considered by the Imāmiyya as sole transmitters of Muḥammad's sunna, the Companions are not entirely devoid of authority. Good Companions only rarely transmit legal traditions, but they are often cited as authorities for traditions of the Prophet which deal with the virtues of the ahl al-bayt. Such traditions are accepted as reliable since they are regarded as having been approved by an Imam. Rejected Companions are quoted as transmitters from Muḥammad in polemical texts or for reasons of taqiyya. Independent legal opinions (fatawā) of any Companion which do not go back to the Prophet are not accepted.

¹ Not all Imāmi scholars took this view. Al-Majlisī, for example, criticises al-Khazzāz for "mixing Imāmi traditions with those of the opponents" and declares that in the Bihār only reliable traditions are quoted (Bihār, I, p.12).

BIOGRAPHIES OF SOME ACCEPTED COMPANIONS1. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī¹

Abū Dharr's name is commonly given as Jundab (or Jundub) b. Junāda;² his father is sometimes called 'Abd Allāh, or 'Ishriqa, or as-Sakan;³ Abū Dharr himself is also known as Burayr (or Barīr).⁴ His genealogy is often given as Jundab b. Junāda b. Qays b. 'Amr b. Ṣu'ayr (or Ṣa'īr) b. 'Ubayd⁵ b. Ḥarām b. Ghifār.⁶ Abū Dharr's tribe, the Banū Ghifār, though numerically small, lived in the strategically important area between Mecca and Medina,⁷ a fact which neither the Qurayshīs nor Muḥammad could disregard.⁸ Before his conversion Abū Dharr is

¹ Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī is the title of a doctoral thesis by A.J.Cameron (publ. Köln 1963). Cameron has neglected almost entirely the early Imāmi literature (which contains much useful information on Abū Dharr), and has consulted only two late Imāmi sources (at-Tustarī's Majālis al-mu'minīn and al-Majlisī's Bihār al-anwār). It is hoped to rectify Cameron's oversight in the following pages. By contrast, Massignon's study on Salmān al-Fārisī (Salmān Pāk etc.) is based on a wealth of Shi'i material; it therefore seems superfluous to devote a special section to his biography in the present study. Salmān's position as a good Companion is discussed above, pp.228ff, 283-286.

² For Abū Dharr's comment on his own name see Ibn Bābawayhi, Ikmāl ad-dīn, p.234; al-Kishshī, Rijāl, p.29, cit. Bihār, VI, p.770; at-Ṭabarī, Bishārat al-muṣṭafā, p.88; cf. al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rikh, II, p.198.

³ See e.g. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Al-istf'āb, pp.82,645; Darajāt, p.225.

⁴ Burayr is also given as Abū Dharr's laqab; cf. Ibn Qutayba, Kitāb al-ma'ārif, p.252.

⁵ Or, " . . . b. 'Amr b. Mulayl b. Ṣu'ayr" (Tahdhīb, XII, p.90).

⁶ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, loc.cit. Different genealogies are given by Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, p.161, and an-Nawawī, Tahdhīb al-asmā', I/ii, p.229 (= Darajāt, loc.cit.). See in general Cameron, op.cit., pp.7-8; W. Caskel (ed. and trans.), Gamharat an-nasab, Leiden 1966, II, p.266.

⁷ See the article "Banū Ghifār" by J.W. Fück, in EI², II, p.1072.

⁸ When the Qurayshīs attacked Abū Dharr in Mecca, al-'Abbās is reported to have reminded them that the Ghifārīs might retaliate by blocking their trade route to the north. See Ibn Sa'd, IV/i,

reported to have engaged in highway robbery, attacking camel caravans before dawn.¹ After becoming a Muslim he made good use of his skills by raiding the Qurayshī caravans and releasing them only in return for a recitation of the shahāda.²

Many biographers state that Abū Dharr was the fifth,³ even the fourth,⁴ person who embraced Islam. He is said to have applied himself to acts of devotion (ta'allaha) three or four years before Muḥammad proclaimed his new religion, and to have been guided by Providence in finding the right direction to which to turn in praying (qibla).⁵ The two most frequently quoted Sunnī accounts of Abū Dharr's conversion are given on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās and of Abū Dharr himself, as told to his nephew 'Ubāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit. According to the first version, Abū Dharr sent his brother Umays to find out about Muḥammad. Abū Dharr's curiosity was not satisfied by his brother's report, so he decided to go to Mecca himself. He spent three days and nights in a house of prayer (masjid), during which time he met 'Alī; the two did not exchange a word, lest they expose themselves to danger. On the third day 'Alī brought Abū Dharr before Muḥammad, who told him to return to his people. Abū Dharr, however, went outside and publicly proclaimed his belief in Islam; as a result he was severely beaten by the Qurayshīs and only al-'Abbās's intervention⁶ saved him.⁷

p.165; al-Bukhārī, Saḥīḥ, II, p.387, III, p.24; Muslim, Saḥīḥ, VII, p.156; Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliyā', I, p.159; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.645; Darajāt, p.228.

¹ See Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, pp.163-164.

² Ibid.

³ E.g. Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, p.164; adh-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-huffāz, I, p.17.

⁴ E.g. Ibn Sa'd, loc.cit.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.82; Bihār, VIII, p.337 (quoting from ath-Thaqafī, Ta'rikh).

⁵ See Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, p.163; Abū Nu'aym, op.cit., I, p.157.

⁶ Cf. above, p.293, n.8.

⁷ See the references above, p.293, n.8.

The second version has it that Abū Dharr took with him his mother and his brother Umayy. In Mecca he was set upon by the Qurayshis and beaten unconscious. The waters of Zamzam, with which he removed the bloodstains, were his sole nourishment for the next thirty days.¹ He then met Muḥammad and Abū Bakr,² and became the first person to address the Prophet with the Islamic greeting as-salāmu 'alayka. Muḥammad asked Abū Dharr to return to his people in order to propagate the new faith among them. Abū Dharr obeyed and succeeded in converting half the Banū Ghifār; the others followed suit when Muḥammad entered Medina.³

The Imāmi version, recounted on the authority of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, stresses the role of 'Alī and his family in Abū Dharr's conversion. According to that version, Abū Dharr was tending to his sheep when a wolf appeared and tried to attack them. Abū Dharr drove the wolf off, declaring that he had never seen anyone so wicked; the wolf answered, "The people of Mecca are worse, since they revile the Prophet." Thereupon Abū Dharr immediately set out for Mecca, where he saw and heard things which confirmed the wolf's words. In the Ka'ba he met Abū Ṭālib and told him of his belief in the Prophet; Abū Ṭālib made him wait for three days before introducing him to Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Ḥamza in turn brought him before Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib; Ja'far led him to his brother 'Alī and only through him did Abū Dharr finally

¹ Elsewhere it is reported that throughout his stay in Mecca Abū Dharr had to hide behind the curtains of the Ka'ba during daytime, and could only venture out under cover of darkness. See al-Jāhiz, Al-'uthmāniyya, p.29.

² This meeting is said to have taken place a day or two after Abū Bakr's conversion (Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, p.163).

³ See Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, pp.161-163; Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, VII, pp. 153-155; Darajāt, pp.228-230. Cf. Abū Nu'aym, op.cit., I, pp.157-159.

come face to face with Muḥammad. The Prophet told Abū Dharr to return to his own people and to stay among them until the new religion should manifest itself openly.¹

Most sources confirm that Abū Dharr stayed with his tribe until a few years after Muḥammad's emigration to Medina. This would explain his reported absence from the battles of Badr,² Uhud and the Trenches.³ Although Abū Dharr is sometimes counted among the Anṣār,⁴ his tribal affiliations,⁵ his early conversion and his relatively late arrival in Medina render his position as Anṣārī rather anomalous. An added complication is produced by traditions which link him with the Anṣārī al-Mundhir

¹ See Rawḍa, pp.297-298, cit. al-Majlisī, 'Ayn al-hayāt, pp. 1b-2a; Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, Tarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq, II, pp.15-16; cf. Ibn Bābawayhi, Amālī, pp.430-432, cit. Biḥār, VI, pp.773-774, Darajāt, pp.226-228. See in general Biḥār, VI, pp.766ff.

² According to one report (Darajāt, p.237), Abū Dharr referred to himself as "Jundab b. Junāda al-Badrī". This title might be explained by reference to the story that Abū Dharr was one of four persons (the others being al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and Salmān) whom 'Umar, when he set up the dīwān, categorised as badriyyūn, in spite of the fact that they had not participated in the battle of Badr. See Ibn al-Athīr, Ta'rīkh, II, p.392, cit. Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, op.cit., II, p.16. It is also possible, however, that "Badrī" is a misprint of "Rabadhī", i.e. a man from Rabadha (cf. below, p.307, n.2).

³ See Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., p.253; Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, p.166; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.82. According to a different tradition quoted by Ibn Sa'd (IV/i, p.163), Abū Dharr joined the Prophet after Uhud. Ibn Ishāq (Sīra, pp.661-662) reports that during the expedition of Dhāt ar-Riqā' in the year 4/626 (i.e. one year before the battle of the Trenches) the Prophet nominated Abū Dharr as governor of Medina during his absence. Ibn Hishām, however, says (ibid.) that according to others it was 'Uthmān b. 'Affān who was nominated as governor on that occasion. Abū Dharr is also mentioned as governor of Medina during the expedition against the Banu 'l-Muṣṭaliq in the year 6/628 (ibid., p.725).

⁴ Thus al-Bukhārī's report on Abū Dharr's conversion is included in the chapter on the virtues of the Anṣār.

⁵ The Ghifārīs did not belong to the Anṣār, but their early conversion gained for them the appreciation of Muḥammad. See Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, VII, pp.178ff, "On the virtues of Ghifār, Aslam, Juhayna (etc)". Cf. also Wensinck, Concordance, IV, p.529, s.v. ghifr.

b. 'Amr in the mu'akhāt ceremony.¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that he is also described as a Muhājir.²

Imāmī sources stress the close relationship which Abū Dharr allegedly had with Muḥammad. The Prophet is reported to have given him seven precepts for moral behaviour;³ he also answered Abū Dharr's questions on matters such as the various duties of the believer, the books (or leaves, ṣuhuf) of Ibrāhīm,⁴ etc.⁵ Some Imāmī authors quote a long series of instructions which Muḥammad is said to have given Abū Dharr at the latter's request.⁶ The prologue of this tradition is significant because it establishes Abū Dharr's position as a member of the ahl al-bayt:⁷

One morning I went into the presence of the Apostle of God in his mosque; I saw no one in the mosque except the Apostle of God and, sitting next to him, 'Alī. I took the opportunity of the mosque's being empty and said, "Oh Apostle of God, may you be ransomed with my father and mother; give me instruction on how to conduct myself (waṣiyya) of a sort that will gain me the favour of God." He said, "Yes, I will; how noble you are, Abū Dharr! You are one of us, the ahl al-bayt."⁸

¹ Sira, p.345. Al-Wāqidī doubts the authenticity of this tradition, arguing that the mu'akhāt took place before Badr, at a time when Abū Dharr was absent from Medina. See Ibn Sa'd, III/ii, p.100, IV/i, p.166. On the mu'akhāt between Abū Dharr and Salmān al-Fārisī cf. above, p.230; on the mu'akhāt between Abū Dharr and al-Miqdād, cf. below, p.315, n.7.

² See al-Ḥillī, Rijāl, p.36.

³ See Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, p.168; cf. Ibn Bābawayhi, Al-khiṣāl, II, p.4; R. Levy, The social structure of Islam, p.201.

⁴ Cf. Qur'an 87/18,19. On the term ṣahīfa cf. for instance Azmi, Studies in early ḥadīth literature, pp.29-30; above, p.272, n.4.

⁵ See aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, II, pp.152-155; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Makārim al-akhḥlāq, pp.556-558; Bihār, XVII, pp.21-22.

⁶ See aṭ-Ṭūsī, op.cit., II, pp.138-152; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., pp.539-556. References to that tradition are found in al-Majlisī, 'Ayn al-ḥayāt, pp.7b ff; Darajāt, pp.230-231; Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, op.cit., II, p.18.

⁷ Cf. on this subject in general above, pp.281ff.

⁸ Aṭ-Ṭūsī, op.cit., II, p.138; aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., p.539; cit. Bihār, XVII, pp.22ff.

Abū Dharr is made the authority for various pro-'Alid traditions. A famous tradition of this kind is, "My family (ahl al-bayt) in the community is like Noah's ark in the deep sea: whoever joins it is saved and whoever stays behind drowns."¹ In another tradition quoted on Abū Dharr's authority the Prophet declares that those who love him and his family are as close to Muḥammad's family as the index finger is to the middle finger.² Abū Dharr is one of the Companions to whom the Prophet is reported to have told about the twelve Imams who would follow him.³

On Muḥammad's death Abū Dharr was reportedly one of the few Companions who showed loyalty to 'Alī. According to Imāmi traditions,⁴ he was the second (after Khālid b. Sa'id) or the third person (after Khālid and Salmān)⁵ who addressed members of the community and spoke up for 'Alī's rights. An early version of the speech ascribed to him is preserved in al-Barqī's Rijāl:⁶

Then Abū Dharr got up and said: "Oh people of Quraysh! The best among you know that the Apostle of God said, 'After my death power belongs to 'Alī and to his descendants after him'; why then do you renounce his words and disobey his command? Is it that you have forgotten, or are pretending to have forgotten them? Or have you strayed and followed this transient world (ad-dunya 'l-fāniya), turning away from the blessing of the next world? [If that is so, then] you are following in the footsteps of your predecessors, just as one sandal is identical with another and one feather of an arrow corresponds to another. You shall soon see the aftermath of your [wrong] views and the evil consequences of your deeds; for God does not wish to inflict injustice upon His servants."

¹ Al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.30, cit. Bihār, VI, p.770, Darajāt, p.239. Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, Bishārat al-muṣṭafā, p.88; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muḥriqa, p.184.

² Al-Khazzāz ar-Rāzī, Kifāyat al-athar, p.292, cit. Bihār, IX, pp.141-142.

³ Al-Khazzāz ar-Rāzī, op.cit., p.293, cit. Bihār, IX, p.140.

⁴ Cf. above, pp.235-239.

⁵ According to aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-iḥtijāj, p.49.

⁶ p.64. For a somewhat longer version cf. Ibn Bābawayhi, Al-khiṣāl, II, p.70, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.42; 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī, Kitāb an-naqd, p.658.

In another, probably later, version, quoted on the authority of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, Abū Dharr warns the Qurayshis that their rash action in electing Abū Bakr would lead to apostasy and war.¹ The entire speech may have formed part of a longer khutba which some Imāmi authors ascribe to Abū Dharr, and which allegedly dealt with the events after Muḥammad's death.² That speech, in its written form, is sometimes referred to as the third Islamic literary work to be produced, following 'Alī's collection of the Qur'ān and a work by Salmān.³

In answer to Imāmi claims that Abū Dharr was opposed to Abū Bakr's election, Sunni polemicists attempt to prove that he in fact admired both Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Traditions in which Muḥammad praises the two men are put in Abū Dharr's mouth;⁴ al-Jāḥiẓ declares⁵ that Abū Dharr never voiced dissatisfaction with 'Umar. Imāmi authors, on the other hand, report that during his illness Abū Dharr refused to appoint 'Umar as executor of his will; he chose 'Alī instead, declaring that 'Alī was the person most beloved by Muḥammad and therefore also by himself.⁶

The most bitter conflict between Abū Dharr and the

¹ See aṭ-Tabarsī, loc.cit., cit. Biḥār, VIII, p.39, Darajāt, p.237.

² See aṭ-Ṭūsī, Fihrist, p.81; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Ma'ālim al-'ulamā', p.28; al-Ḥillī, Riḥāl, p.36. Cf. aṣ-Ṣadr, Ta'sīs ash-shī'a li-'ulūm al-islām, p.281.

³ See Ibn Shahrāshūb, op.cit., p.1. It is also possible that the work to which aṭ-Ṭūsī and the other Imāmi authors refer might have been a compilation of various speeches which Abū Dharr supposedly made during his wanderings in Arabia and Syria. Cf. Dharī'a, VII, pp.196-197.

⁴ See e.g. al-Jāḥiẓ, Al-'uthmāniyya, p.183; 'Abd al-Jabbār, Al-mughnī, XX/i, pp.291-293.

⁵ Al-'uthmāniyya, loc.cit.

⁶ See al-Irbilī, Kashf al-ghumma, I, p.344. A shorter version of the same tradition (quoted in Darajāt, p.238) has it that Abū Dharr said these words on his death-bed. This would, however, contradict the evidence according to which Abū Dharr died during 'Uthmān's reign; cf. below, p.309.

authorities reportedly broke out after 'Uthmān's accession. According to one report, Abū Dharr was so appalled by 'Uthmān's nepotism that he felt compelled to protest, even at the risk of incurring 'Uthmān's wrath. When he publicly berated Ka'b al-Ahbār and other associates of the caliph, 'Uthmān ordered that he should be exiled to Syria.¹ One of the points at issue between Abū Dharr on the one hand and 'Uthmān and his retinue on the other concerned the question of alms tax (zakāt). According to a tradition related on the authority of al-Bāqir, it was already during Muḥammad's lifetime that the dispute came into the open: 'Uthmān declared that alms tax was due after one year's uninterrupted possession on any gold or silver article which served for commercial purposes;² Abū Dharr disagreed and stated that such a tax was to be paid only if the articles had been kept for a full year unused "as treasure" (rikāzan kanzan mawḍū'an).³ When the dispute was brought before Muḥammad he declared Abū Dharr to be right.⁴ Another reason for Abū Dharr's

¹ See Shāfi, p.279, whence Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha, III, p.54, Bihār, VI, p.771, VIII, p.323. As-Samarqandī (Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn, p.213) says that 'Uthmān accused Abū Dharr of rating himself higher than Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

² This could refer either to gold or silver coins with which business transactions are performed, or to the value of merchandise as it is estimated in gold and silver. Cf. the article "Zakāt" by J. Schacht, in BI¹, IV, p.1204.

³ On the difference between rikāz ("buried treasures of the earth") and kanz ("treasure") cf. for instance A. Ben Shemesh, Taxation in Islam, II, Leiden etc. 1965, p.54. A treasure is defined in a tradition ascribed to Muḥammad as "anything on which alms tax has not been paid, even if it is visible"; conversely, "any property (māl) on which alms tax has been paid is not a treasure, even if it is buried in the earth." See aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Majma' al-bayān, X, pp.53-54 (ad Qur'ān 9/34); cf. Wensinck, Concordance, VI, p.67, Lane, p.2633b, s.v. knz.

⁴ See aṭ-Ṭūsī, Al-istibṣār, II, pp.9-10. The discussion between 'Uthmān and Abū Dharr reflects the different views among Imāmī jurists on the subject. Some argued that alms tax was due after one year's uninterrupted possession on articles which served for commercial purposes, while others exempted such articles from the zakāt. See aṭ-Ṭūsī, Al-khilāf fi 'l-fiqh, I, p.308. Cf. also al-Kulīnī, Furū' al-kāfi, III, p.518. Aṭ-Ṭūsī himself says (Al-istibṣār, II, p.11) that Muḥammad's decision in favour of Abū Dharr should be understood as a recommendation rather than as an obligation or order.

banishment to Syria is said to have been his active campaigning in favour of 'Alī.¹

It is difficult to reconcile these Shi'i traditions with other reports about Abū Dharr's activities after Muḥammad's death. Some non-Imāmi writers, for instance, claim that Abū Dharr's change of abode was a result of a voluntary decision taken by him after Abū Bakr's death.² It is in fact reported in an Imāmi source that Abū Dharr went to Syria during 'Umar's reign in order to participate in the military expeditions against the Byzantines.³ Abū Dharr himself, in answer to a question by 'Uthmān, is reported to have given the following reason for going to Syria, "I heard the Apostle of God say, 'When the city of Medina expands as far as such-and-such a place, depart from it'; therefore I departed."⁴ Other accounts have it that Abū Dharr took part in the conquest of Egypt (end of 18/639-21/642) and then settled down in al-Fuṣṭāṭ.⁵ Though it is not clear when exactly he returned to Syria, one possibility is that he reached Damascus after taking part in Mu'āwiya's naval expedition against Cyprus (usually said to have taken place in 27/648 or 28/649).⁶ Finally,

¹ See al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rikh, II, pp.198-199. When 'Uthmān tore copies of the Qur'ān Abū Dharr strongly condemned that action; cf. al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.28-29, cit. Bihār, VI, p.769, Darajāt, p.239.

² See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.82; Ibn al-Athīr, Uṣd al-ghāba, I, p.301.

³ See 'Alī Ma'sūm Shāh, op.cit., II, p.16 (quoting from at-Tustarī, Majālis al-mu'minin).

⁴ 'Abd al-Jabbār, Al-mughnī, XX/ii, p.54, cit. Ibn Abī 'l-Hadīd, op.cit., III, pp.52-53. The place to which Muḥammad allegedly referred is a hill in the Medina market called Sal' (see Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, III, p.117); cf. Caetani, Annali, VII, § 157, n.3. See also Ibn Da'd, IV/i, p.166. The idea behind Muḥammad's words might be that Abū Dharr, the typical Bedouin, would not feel at home in a large and luxurious city.

⁵ Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ Miṣr, pp.94,130,155.

⁶ See al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-buldān, Beirut 1377H., p.210; Cameron, op.cit., p.21; cf. the article "Cyprus" by R. Hartmann, in EF, I, pp.882-883.

it is reported in another Imāmi tradition that Abū Dharr (identified as Jundab b. 'Abd Allāh) came from 'Irāq to Medina shortly after 'Uthmān's election and tried in vain to persuade 'Alī to seize power. Afterwards he returned to 'Irāq, where he was imprisoned for a while on the orders of the governor al-Walīd b. 'Uqba for expressing pro-'Alid views.¹

In none of these reports is it mentioned that Abū Dharr lived in Arabia during 'Umar's reign or in the early years of 'Uthmān's caliphate. The only account which resolves the apparent contradiction between these reports and the stories of his banishment to Syria is that of al-Balādhurī in his Ansāb al-ashrāf. There it is reported that during 'Uthmān's reign Abū Dharr lived in Syria but used to come to Arabia periodically in order to perform the hajj and visit the Prophet's grave. After Abū Dharr had publicly berated Ka'b al-Aḥbār, 'Uthmān, who had been getting increasingly angry with Abū Dharr's blunt manners, ordered him to return to Syria.² It is quite possible that al-Murtaḍā based his account on al-Balādhurī.³ Whether al-Murtaḍā deliberately concealed the fact that Abū Dharr normally resided in Syria is a question that cannot be answered with any certainty; it is clear, however, that the effect of suppressing that information is to cast an even greater slur on 'Uthmān's character.

During his stay in Syria Abū Dharr established for himself a reputation as an indefatigable preacher who constantly admonished the ruling circles and exposed what in his eyes were

¹ See aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, I, pp.239-240.

² Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-ashrāf, V, Jerusalem 1936, p.52.

³ Al-Murtaḍā's Shāfi includes a few explicit and direct quotations from al-Balādhurī (though the story about Abū Dharr is not among them); Cf. Goitein's introduction to the fifth volume of the Ansāb al-ashrāf, p.24; above, p.xv.

abuses of the public treasury. He is said to have condemned the governor Mu'āwiya for building al-Khaḍrā'.¹ In Abū Dharr's view, using public funds for its construction was treason while paying for it from Mu'āwiya's own pocket constituted unnecessary waste.² When Mu'āwiya tried to silence him through bribery Abū Dharr disdainfully declined the offer.³

Some accounts link Abū Dharr with another opponent of 'Uthmān, 'Abd Allāh b. Saba'. The reliability of these reports is very doubtful, however, since the chief authority for them is Sayf b. 'Umar.⁴ According to his account, as reported by aṭ-Ṭabarī,⁵ it was Ibn as-Sawdā'⁶ who approached Abū Dharr and instigated him against Mu'āwiya by insisting that he intended to appropriate funds which belonged to the community as a whole. The same account goes on to describe Abū Dharr's subsequent activities as those of a veritable social agitator who lambasted the rich and finally forced them to turn to Mu'āwiya for protection against the destitute masses who had been roused by Abū Dharr's oratory.⁷

¹ The remodelled residence of the Byzantine governors in Damascus. Cf. the article "Dimashq" by N. Elisséeff, in *EI*², II, p.280.

² Cf. also the story according to which Abū Dharr consented to befriend Abū Hurayra only after the latter had assured him that he had never indulged in costly building ventures (Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, p.169).

³ See al-Balādhuri, *op.cit.*, V, p.53; *Shāfi*, p.279, whence Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *op.cit.*, III, pp.54-55, *Bihar*, VIII, p.323; *Darajāt*, p.243.

⁴ For further details regarding Sayf's unreliability cf. for instance Petersen, *'Alī and Mu'āwiya in early Arabic tradition*, index, s.v. "Sayf b. 'Umar".

⁵ *Ta'rikh*, I, p.2859, whence Ibn al-Athīr, *Ta'rikh*, III, pp.88-89.

⁶ 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' is said to have been given this nickname because of his black mother; but in fact Ibn Saba' and Ibn as-Sawdā' may have been two different persons. See Tritton, *Muslim theology*, p.20; the article "'Abd Allāh b. Saba'" by M.G.S.Hodgson, in *EI*², I, p.51.

⁷ According to Caetani (*Annali*, VII, §§ 154-166, pp.365-379), vocal opposition to the régime was not a usual phenomenon in Syria at a time when a rather smooth switch from Byzantine to Muslim

A person said to have shared Abū Dharr's ascetic views was Abu 'd-Dardā', who was renowned for his knowledge and piety.¹ The account given by aṭ-Ṭabarī on the authority of Sayf² has it that Abu 'd-Dardā' resisted Ibn Saba's attempts to draw him against Mu'āwiya. At the same time, various admonitions to the people of Damascus are attributed to him, in which he warned them of the evils of excessive eating, the construction of luxurious buildings and the amassing of worldly riches. These subjects, dear to Abū Dharr's heart, could be interpreted as a thinly-veiled attack on Mu'āwiya himself.³ Abu 'd-Dardā' is said to have admired Abū Dharr and to have declared that even if Abū Dharr cut off one of his limbs he would not be roused against him, because he knew that the Prophet had thought highly of him.⁴ Abu 'd-Dardā' and Abū Dharr reportedly lived in Damascus in two tents made of goats' hair.⁵

In Imāmi literature Abū Dharr the ascetic is blended with Abū Dharr the propagator of Shi'i views. A typical Imāmi account of his days in Syria describes how he would "stand up every day, exhort the people, urge them to obey God and warn them against committing [acts of] disobedience against Him; [he would] quote [traditions] which he had heard from the Apostle of God concerning the virtues of his family (ahl baytihi) and

rule was followed by a period of relative prosperity and internal stability; Abū Dharr's reported activities foreshadowed the strong opposition to Umayyad rule which grew in pious circles after Mu'āwiya had gained ascendancy over the entire Islamic empire.

¹ His name is usually given as 'Uwaymir b. Mālik. See the article on him by A. Jeffery, in EI², I, p.113, and the bibliography given there.

² Ta'rikh, loc.cit.

³ Cf. Abū Nu'aym, op.cit., I, pp.213,217,222.

⁴ See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.83; Bihār, VIII, p.337.

⁵ See Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, p.174.

[would] call on [his listeners] to adhere to [Muḥammad's] house ('itra)."¹ At the time of the morning prayer he is said to have stood at one of the gates of Damascus² and to have declared, "The file of camels has arrived carrying [wood for] fire; may God's curse fall on those who command [the performance of acts of] goodness while [themselves] neglecting [to perform] them; may God's curse fall on those who prohibit evil [actions] while committing them [themselves]."³ Mu'āwiya, who could not fail to understand against whom these words were directed, wrote to 'Uthmān and complained that Abū Dharr was becoming the sole arbiter in disputes which arose among the population and that he was turning the minds of the Syrians against him. 'Uthmān replied that Abū Dharr should be sent to Medina.⁴ When the people heard about this decision they followed Abū Dharr to Dayr Murrān⁵ where he gave a farewell speech in which he urged them to follow the path of true faith.⁶ According to some Imāmi authors Abū Dharr did not proceed directly to Arabia, but lingered on in a few places in the Jabal 'Āmil district; mention is made of his stay in Ṣarafand⁷ and in the village of Mis.⁸ These authors claim that as a result of Abū Dharr's missionary efforts

¹ Al-Mufīd, Amālī, p.96, cit. Bihār, VI, p.766.

² Or at the gate of Mu'āwiya's house. See Bihār, VI, p.772, Darajāt, pp.243-244 (both quoting from al-Jāḥiẓ, Kitāb as-sufyāniyya).

³ Al-Ya'qūbī, op.cit., II, p.199; Bihār, loc.cit.

⁴ See Bihār, VIII, p.337 (quoting from ath-Thaqafī, Ta'rīkh).

⁵ The name of a large monastery situated on a hill in the vicinity of Damascus, and surrounded by beautiful gardens. See Yāqūt, op.cit., II, p.696. The hill is known as Jabal Qāsiyūn. See Ibn 'Asākir, Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq, II/i, index, s.v.

⁶ Al-Mufīd, loc.cit., cit. Bihār, VI, p.767.

⁷ Or Ṣarafanda: a village in the vicinity of Ṣūr, in southern Lebanon; cf. Yāqūt, op.cit., III, p.382.

⁸ Not mentioned in Yāqūt. Perhaps the reference is to Maysar, described (Yāqūt, op.cit., IV, p.715) only as "a place in Syria". For the entire tradition see aṣ-Ṣadr, op.cit., p.351.

many were converted to Shi'ism and have remained Shi'is ever since.¹ In most Imāmi sources, however, Abū Dharr's return to Medina is described not as a leisurely affair but as a gruesome ordeal:

'Uthmān wrote to Mu'āwiya, "send Junaydib² to me on the roughest and coarsest saddle (or riding-beast)." Thereupon he sent him with a guide³ who made him advance [without a break] day and night on an old she-camel which had only a small saddle on her [without a soft carpet (*wiṭā'*) on which to sit]; when he was brought to Medina the flesh of his thighs had peeled off, [and he was in a state] of [complete] exhaustion.⁴

Abū Dharr arrived in Medina pale and emaciated, yet undaunted; he repeated all his accusations in front of 'Uthmān, reminding him of Muḥammad's exemplary behaviour and quoting Muḥammad's words against the Banū 'l-'Āṣ.⁵ 'Uthmān accused Abū Dharr of attributing to the Prophet things he had never said; when 'Alī was asked to give his opinion on the matter he reportedly said that although he had not heard the Prophet utter these words, there was no doubt in his mind that Abū Dharr was speaking the truth.⁶ 'Alī's forceful intervention in Abū Dharr's favour led to an acrimonious exchange between himself and 'Uthmān.⁷ The caliph is reported to have tried to break Abū Dharr's spirits by ordering that he should be socially ostracised. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is quoted as telling of a man who went into the Prophet's

¹ Cf. al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Amal al-'amil*, I, p.13; al-Majlisī, *'Ayn al-hayāt*, p.4a; aṣ-Ṣadr, *loc.cit.* According to Donaldson (*The Shi'ite religion*, p.267), Abū Dharr's missionary activities reached even Persia.

² The diminutive of Jundab (b. Junāda), here used to express contempt.

³ Or with five slaves; see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IV, p.269, *cit. Bihār*, VIII, p.324 (but with reference to five hundred slaves).

⁴ *Bihār*, VIII, p.323. Cf. al-Mas'ūdī, al-Ya'qūbī, *loc.cit.*

⁵ See *Bihār*, VI, p.775; al-Majlisī, *'Ayn al-hayāt*, p.4b; *Darajāt*, pp.246-248.

⁶ See *Bihār*, VIII, p.323; cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *op.cit.*, II, pp.199-200.

⁷ See *Bihār*, VIII, pp.324, 336.

mosque in Medina asking God for a friend to relieve his loneliness; when he discovered Abū Dharr at the far corner of the mosque he was overjoyed, but Abū Dharr told him that he would have to leave since "the ruler has prohibited to keep me company."¹ According to another account, 'Uthmān deliberated whether Abū Dharr should be flogged, imprisoned, killed or crucified; finally he decided to expel him. When Abū Dharr heard the verdict he is said to have asked to be transferred to Mecca, Syria, Kūfa, Jerusalem or Egypt; 'Uthmān, however, ordered him to proceed to ar-Rabadha² and not to go any further.³ 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, 'Aqīl and 'Ammār⁴ defied 'Uthmān's express orders by taking leave of Abū Dharr and his family.⁵

In contrast to this version, non-Imāmī traditionists maintain that Abū Dharr's departure to ar-Rabadha, like that to Syria, was at his own wish. It is explained that on this occasion, too, he wanted to follow Muḥammad's command to leave Medina "when [it] expands as far as Sal'."⁶ 'Uthmān not only

¹ See Rawḍa, p.307, cit. Bihār, VI, pp.768-769. Cf. also Shāfi, p.279, whence Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., III, p.57. Mu'āwiya, too, is reported to have prohibited the Syrian population from associating with Abū Dharr; cf. Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, p.168.

² Ar-Rabadha was situated on the Ḥijāz road, at a distance of three miles from Medina; it was destroyed by the Qarmaṭians in 319/931. See Yāqūt, op.cit., III, p.749. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Fayyūmī (d. after 770/1368) relates in his Kitāb al-miṣbāḥ (cf. GAL II, p.31, GALS II, p.20) on the authority of a group of Medinese whom he met in 723/1323 that the village had been populated in the beginning of Islam but had since disappeared completely. According to al-Fayyūmī, ar-Rabadha lay at a distance of about three days' march (not three miles, as in Yāqūt) from Medina (cit. Darajāt, pp.254-255).

³ Cf. Bihār, VI, p.772, VIII, pp.324,337; Darajāt, pp.245-246.

⁴ In another version the names of those who took leave of Abū Dharr are given as 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and al-'Abbās's sons 'Abd Allāh, al-Faḍl, Qutham and 'Ubayd Allāh. See al-Mufīd, op.cit., p.97.

⁵ See Rawḍa, pp.206-208; al-Mufīd, op.cit., pp.97-98.

⁶ Aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh, I, p.2860 (on the authority of Sayf). Cf. above, p.301, n.5.

granted Abū Dharr's request but sent him a troop of camels, two slaves and a daily allowance.¹ 'Abd al-Jabbār argues² that even if Abū Dharr was forced to leave for ar-Rabadha, 'Uthmān was still completely justified in acting the way he did: Abū Dharr had placed himself in a dangerous position by his uncouth behaviour, his coarse language and his abuse of the Companions. His removal from Medina was intended for his own safety; it also furthered the cause of harmony and served to uphold the sanctity of the religious law.

In other sources Abū Dharr's transfer to ar-Rabadha is attributed to his dispute with Mu'āwiya over the meaning of the Quranic verse, "As for those who hoard gold and silver and do not spend it in the way of God, proclaim to them a painful punishment."³ While Mu'āwiya maintained that the verse was directed only at the ahl al-kitāb, Abū Dharr insisted that it referred to the Muslims as well. When Abū Dharr was recalled to Medina the populace accorded him such a hostile reception that 'Uthmān advised him to leave the town for his own safety, while remaining not too far away.⁴ Abū Dharr was free to visit Medina, which he did from time to time in order to maintain his links with that Islamic centre and not to relapse into the ways of the Bedouins.⁵

This description of the events is rejected by most Imāmī authors. They claim that Abū Dharr's banishment to ar-Rabadha was irrevocable and that he was never allowed to leave

¹ Ibid.; Ibn Abī Bakr, At-tamhīd wa'l-bayān, p.74.

² Al-Mughnī, XX/ii, p.55; cf. also Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, As-ṣawā'iq al-muhriqa, p.112.

³ Qur'ān 9/34.

⁴ See Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, p.166; Ibn Abī Bakr, op.cit., pp.74-77, 189; cf. Wensinck, The Muslim creed, p.154.

⁵ Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, loc.cit.

it.¹ According to one Imāmi account, Abū Dharr did return to Medina on one occasion in order to complain to the Caliph that he had no means of subsistence and no helpers, and that his only protection against the sun was provided by the shade of a single tree. His plea for support did not move 'Uthmān. Thereupon Ḥabīb b. Salama² proffered his generous help; but Abū Dharr said that he was not asking for more than was legally his due. The whole episode became the setting for another confrontation between 'Uthmān and 'Alī.⁴

Abū Dharr died in 32/652-3,⁵ two years after his expulsion from Syria. He was buried by a group of people who were passing through ar-Rabadha on their way from 'Irāq to perform the 'umra in Mecca. The group included 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd.⁶ According to others, those who buried Abū Dharr were all Yemenis and included Ḥujr b. al-Adbar and Mālik al-Ashtar,⁷ or al-Ashtar and Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān with five others.⁸ Elsewhere it is reported that he was buried by a young Anṣārī.⁹ The Prophet is said to have prophesied the manner of Abū Dharr's death when he declared,

¹ Cf. for instance Darajāt, p.244.

² The person meant is probably Ḥabīb b. Maslama (on whom cf. above, p.203, n.7).

³ For a somewhat more sympathetic portrayal of 'Uthmān's role see al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.30, cit. Darajāt, p.241.

⁴ See aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, II, pp.321-322, cit. Bihār, VI, p.769, VIII, p.368, Darajāt, pp.250-251. Cf. also as-Sarrāj, Kitāb al-luma', p.135.

⁵ Other dates mentioned are 24H. and 31H. See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Al-istī'āb, p.646; Darajāt, p.254. For views that Abū Dharr lived for 170 years cf. Goldziher's introduction to Abū Ḥātim as-Sijistānī's Kitāb al-mu'ammārīn, Leiden 1899, p.lxxxiv.

⁶ Cf. Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, p.174; Sīra, p.901; Abū Nu'aym, op.cit., I, p.169; Ibn al-Athīr, Uṣd al-ghāba, I, p.302.

⁷ See Ibn Sa'd IV/i, p.173.

⁸ See al-Ya'qūbī, op.cit., II, p.201; Abū Nu'aym, op.cit., I, p.170. Cf. al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-ashrāf, V, pp.55-56.

⁹ See Darajāt, pp.253-254.

"He will live alone, die alone, be resurrected alone and enter Paradise alone."¹ Imāmi authors stress that Abū Dharr remained loyal to 'Alī to the very end, exhorting all who visited him in ar-Rabadha to adhere to 'Alī as the only legal successor to the Prophet.² Abū Dharr's grave became the object of reverence and pilgrimage.³

Very little is known about Abū Dharr's family. Some sources mention that when he came to Mecca for the first time he was accompanied by his mother and his brother Umays;⁴ when he left for ar-Rabadha he is said to have taken with him his wife and son,⁵ or his wife and daughter.⁶ Al-Majlisī reports that in ar-Rabadha both his wife and son died, and that he was survived only by his daughter, who attended him in his last illness.⁷

¹ Al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.28, whence Darajāt, p.231. The background usually given for that tradition is that when the Prophet set out for Tabūk Abū Dharr lagged behind because of the slowness of his mount; he finally decided to proceed on foot. When a person was seen approaching from afar during a rest ordered by Muḥammad, the Prophet expressed the hope that that person would be Abū Dharr; when this turned out to be the case, Muḥammad said, "May God have mercy on Abū Dharr; he walks alone, will die alone and will be resurrected alone." In this version the tradition appears in Sīra, pp.900-901; al-Qummī, Tafsīr, I, pp.294-295, cit. Bihār, VI, pp.775-776; Darajāt, p.234 (quoting from al-Baghawī, Ma'ālim at-tanzīl). For a somewhat different account cf. Ibn Sa'd, II/i, p.119. Muḥammad reportedly informed Abū Dharr that after his death people coming from 'Irāq would wash his corpse, pray over it and bury it. Because of this Abū Dharr did not fear that no one would be present to perform these duties. Cf. al-Qummī, op.cit., I, p.295, cit. Bihār, VI, p.776.

² See al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.29, cit. Darajāt, p.239. Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, Bishārat al-muṣṭafā, pp.84-85, 108; Bihār, VI, p.777.

³ See aṣ-Ṣadr, op.cit., p.352; Donaldson, op.cit., p.267. In his book Tuhfat al-ḥaramayn wa-sa'adat ad-dārayn which describes a pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz in 1305/1888 (cf. Dharī'a, III, p.426) Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh (d.1344/1926) tells on his visit to Abū Dharr's tomb--known as aṣ-Ṣafrā--on his way from Medina to Mecca. See his Tarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq, II, p.21.

⁴ Cf. above, p.295.

⁵ Cf. above, p.307.

⁶ See al-Ya'qūbī, op.cit., II, p.200; cf. al-Mas'ūdī, op.cit., IV, p.271.

⁷ See 'Ayn al-hayāt, pp.6b-7a.

Mention is made elsewhere of a son called 'Abd al-Malik who transmitted some of Abū Dharr's sayings;¹ he is probably not to be identified with the son who died in ar-Rabadha, and whose name is given as Dharr.² a moving eulogy is attributed to Abū Dharr, in which he laments the death of his son, praises his son's virtuous qualities and reaffirms his own submission to God's will.³ His nephew 'Ubāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit⁴ is often quoted as an authority for events in his life.⁵ Most biographers report that Abū Dharr was not survived by any offspring.⁶

Abū Dharr is described as tall and dark-skinned, with a thick beard and white hair.⁷ Mu'āwiya's governor in Qinnasrīn and the 'Awāṣim is said to have described Abū Dharr during his confrontation with Mu'āwiya as "a dark-skinned, lean, scanty-bearded man."⁸

Sunni authorities credit Abū Dharr with the transmission of 281 traditions from the Prophet, of which al-Bukhārī and Muslim

¹ Cf. al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.28.

² See al-Kulīnī, Furū' al-kāfi, III, pp.250-251, cit. Darajāt, p.242. The killing of one of Abū Dharr's sons by 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn and his men was reportedly the reason for the al-Ghāba expedition in the year 6/628. See Ibn Sa'd, II/1, pp.58-59.

³ Al-Kulīnī, Darajāt, loc.cit.

⁴ On whom cf. Ibn Sa'd, VII/1, p.154. Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān is said to have counted him among the good Companions; see al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.40. He is probably a different person from the Anṣārī of the same name who was sent by 'Umar to Palestine to teach the inhabitants the Qur'ān (see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.412; Tahdhīb, V, pp.111-112).

⁵ E.g. the tradition about Abū Dharr's conversion or about the seven precepts which Muḥammad gave Abū Dharr (cf. above, pp. 294, 297).

⁶ When Ibn Qutayba wants to show how ignorant people have become on matters of genealogy he brings as an example a man who claimed to be a descendant of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, "although Abū Dharr left no offspring" (Kitāb al-ma'ārif, p.2).

⁷ See Ibn Sa'd, IV/1, p.169.

⁸ Bihār, VI, p.772; Darajāt, p.243 (quoting from al-Jāhiz, Kitāb as-sufyāniyya).

together record 31.¹ Abū Dharr is said to have refused to stop spreading Muḥammad's words, declaring that he would rather have his head cut off.² 'Alī compared him to a vessel filled with knowledge which was firmly sealed so that nothing spilled out.³ In the Imāmi view Abū Dharr was the first theologian (mutakallim) in Islam,⁴ and one of the first persons to be referred to as member of the Shi'a.⁵ He was known for his complete humility before God. For instance, he insisted that a black servant should conduct the prayers at the ar-Rabadha mosque, since Muḥammad had ordered him to obey "even a slave with a cut-off nose."⁶ In his humble and ascetic ways he was said to resemble Jesus.⁷ His piety and devotion were such that he allegedly refused to stop praying even when his sheep were endangered by a wolf; Abū Dharr is quoted as recalling that when the wolf attacked one of the lambs a lion came along to save it, telling Abū Dharr that he had been sent by God to watch over his sheep.⁸ At the same time Abū Dharr was known for his stubbornness: he undertook

¹ An-Nawawī, Tahdhīb al-asmā', I/ii, p.229.

² See Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, p.112; adh-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-huffāz, I, p.18; Wensinck, Concordance, III, p.417, s.v. smsm.

³ See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., pp.83,645; Tahdhīb, XII, p.91. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, p.112, IV/i, pp.170-171 (with a discussion as to the precise meaning of that tradition).

⁴ See aṣ-Ṣadr, op.cit., p.351.

⁵ Ibid., p.352 (quoting Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī, Kitāb az-zīna, s.v. shī'a). Cf. also above, p.234, with n.7.

⁶ See Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, pp.167,171; Ibn al-Athīr, Ta'rikh, III, p.90.

⁷ See Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, p.168; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.83; Ibn al-Athīr, Uṣd al-ghāba, I, p.301; Darajāt, p.231. Mūsā al-Kāẓim is quoted as saying that Abū Dharr used to weep continually because of his dread of the Lord, until it was feared that he would go blind. Abū Dharr refused, however, to pray to God to save his eye-sight, insisting that his preoccupation with Hell and Paradise left him no time for such trivialities. See al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.30-31, cit. Darajāt, p.235, Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, op.cit., II, p.17.

⁸ See ar-Rāwandī, Kitāb al-kharā'ij, p.221; cf. Darajāt, pp. 231-232.

a certain journey in spite of the fact that the Prophet warned him that he would be attacked and wounded, his sheep would be seized, his nephew slain and his wife taken prisoner; and those calamities did indeed befall him.¹

Abū Dharr's strict adherence to the truth is attested to by the famous saying attributed to Muḥammad, "The sky never cast its shadow upon anyone, and the earth never carried anyone, who was more truthful than Abū Dharr."² His ascetic way of life gained him a prominent position in Ṣūfī literature where he is

¹ See Rawḍa, pp. 126-127, cit. Bihār, VI, p.768, Darajāt, pp. 241-242. Cf. above, p.311, n.2.

² The usual formula for this tradition is: mā aḏallat al-khadrā' wa-lā aḡallat al-ghabrā' 'alā dhī lahja aṣḏaq min Abī Dharr. See e.g. Ibn Bābawayhi, Ma'ānī 'l-akhbār, p.179; id., 'Ilal ash-sharā'i', p.178; al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.28, cit. Bihār, VI, p.767; Ibn Dāwūd, Rijāl, p.398; Tahdhīb, XII, p.91; Bihār, VIII, pp.324,325; Darajāt, p.231. Minor variations are found, e.g. in Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, p.167; al-Jāḥiẓ, Al-'uthmāniyya, p.138; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Al-istī'āb, p.83; al-Mufīd, Al-ikhtisās, p.13; 'Abd al-Jabbār, Al-mughnī, XX/i, p.292; al-Khuwārizmī, Manāqib, p.41; adh-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-huffāz, I, p.17; al-Majlisī, 'Ayn al-hayāt, p.1a. The following story, told by Anas b. Mālik, is given as the reason ('illa) for the Prophet's declaration: Abū Dharr related in the mosque that he had seen Muḥammad and 'Alī leave the night before for Baqī' (cf. Yāqūt, op.cit., I, p.703); from there he had followed them to the burial-grounds of Mecca. Muḥammad had prayed at his father's grave, and then the tomb had opened and 'Abd Allāh had appeared and had intoned the shahāda. When Muḥammad had told him that 'Alī would be his successor (walī) 'Abd Allāh had said, "'Alī is my walī [too]." Muḥammad had then turned to the grave of his mother Āmina and the same process was repeated. On hearing this story the people branded Abū Dharr a liar; but when they brought him before the Prophet he confirmed the story and said: mā aḏallat etc. See Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Ilal ash-sharā'i', pp. 176-177; id., Ma'ānī 'l-akhbār, pp.178-179. Darajāt, p.236. A different account has it that some Companions refused to believe Abū Dharr when he told them that 'Alī was the best and noblest among them; when the Companion Abū Umāma went to ask Muḥammad about it, the Prophet confirmed Abū Dharr's words and said: mā aḏallat etc. See Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Ilal ash-sharā'i', pp.177-178, cit. Bihār, VI, p.769. For al-Jāḥiẓ's analysis of the meaning of this tradition see Al-'uthmāniyya, pp.138ff. Abū Dharr's proverbial truthfulness became a touchstone by which to measure any other person. Cf. Yahyā b. Aktham's words to al-Ma'mūn, in Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfur, Kitāb Baghdād, Cairo 1368H., p.36.

often mentioned among the ahl aṣ-ṣuffa.¹

2. Al-Miqdād b. 'Amr

Al-Miqdād b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba b. Mālik b. Rabī'a b. Thumāma b. Maṭrūd b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Dāhin b. Lu'ayy² with the kunya Abū Ma'bad or Abu 'l-Aswad³ belonged to the tribe of Bahrā'. According to some biographers, al-Miqdād had to flee from his tribe because of a blood-feud; he found refuge with the Kinda--whence his nisba al-Kindī⁴--and later with al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth az-Zuhri in Mecca. Al-Aswad adopted him and he became known as al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad. He reverted to his original name when the Quranic verse was revealed enjoining all Muslims to be called after their real fathers.⁵ Less reliable reports claim that al-Miqdād was an Abyssinian slave of al-Aswad, who adopted him before al-Miqdād had become a Muslim.⁶

Al-Miqdād is mentioned among the early converts to Islam and among the first seven Muslims who publicly declared their allegiance to the new religion.⁷ He is said to have emigrated to Abyssinia,⁸ but after his return to Mecca he did not

¹ Cf. Ibn Sa'd, I/ii, p.14; Abū Nu'aym, op.cit., I, p.352. Abū Nu'aym (ibid.) does not regard Abū Dharr as a regular member of the ahl aṣ-ṣuffa but explains that he used to befriend them in Muḥammad's mosque after his arrival in Medina, and that for that reason he was mentioned as one of them. On the ahl aṣ-ṣuffa cf. in general the article by W. Montgomery Watt, in EI², I, pp.266-267.

² See Sīra, p.211, Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.114; Ibn al-Athīr, Uṣd al-ghāba, IV, p.409; Caskel, Gamhara, I, p.328.

³ See Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Al-iṣāba, VI, p.133. Al-Miqdād's son Ma'bad was reportedly killed at the Battle of the Camel; cf. Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, Ta'rikh, I, p.209.

⁴ Others say that it was his father who was known as al-Kindī (Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.).

⁵ See Qur'an 33/5; Ibn Sa'd, Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.; Bihār, VI, p.778.

⁶ See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Al-istī'āb, p.280.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ See Sīra, loc.cit.; cf. Darajāt, p.221.

join Muḥammad on the hijra to Medina,¹ perhaps out of fear of the Qurayshis or loyalty to his foster-father al-Aswad.

Al-Miqdād's chance to join the Muslim side came during a confrontation between the Qurayshis, led by 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl, and a Muslim force led by 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib. Although the two camps did not join battle on that occasion, al-Miqdād and 'Utba b. Ghazwān² used the opportunity to slip away from the Meccans and join 'Ubayda's men.³ In Medina al-Miqdād is said to have stayed together with Khabbāb b. al-Aratt⁴ at the home of Kulthūm b. al-Hidm.⁵ After Kulthūm's death al-Miqdād and Khabbāb moved to the home of Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, where they remained until after the victory over the Banū Qurayṣa (in 5/627).⁶ Al-Miqdād's "brother" in the mu'ākhāt was reportedly the Anṣārī Jabbar b. Ṣakhr.⁷

Al-Miqdād is reported to have participated in all the battles which took place during Muḥammad's lifetime,⁸ starting with some of the earliest expeditions, such as the one led by Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ to al-Kharrār⁹ (in 1/622 or 2/623).¹⁰ Before the battle of Badr al-Miqdād is quoted as having encouraged the Prophet with the following rousing speech:

¹ See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.

² On whom see Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit., III, pp.363-365.

³ See Sira, p.416; aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh, I, p.1267; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr, Darajāt, loc.cit.

⁴ On whom see Tahdhīb, II, pp.133-134.

⁵ See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.114.

⁶ Ibid., p.117.

⁷ Ibid., p.114, III/ii, p.115. Other "brothers" who are mentioned are 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa (Tahdhīb, X, p.286) and Abū Dharr (Sira, p.934).

⁸ See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, loc.cit.

⁹ A wadi or a well near Medina. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, II, p.408.

¹⁰ See Ibn Sa'd, II/i, p.3; aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, p.1265.

Oh Apostle of God, go where God tells you for we are with you. We will not say, as the children of Israel said to Moses, "You and your Lord go and fight and we will stay at home,"¹ but rather "You and your Lord go and fight and we will fight with you." By God, [even] if you were to take us to Bark al-Ghimād,² we would fight with you against its defenders until you gained it.³

Muḥammad thanked him and blessed him.⁴ During the battle itself al-Miqdād is said to have been the only Muslim to fight on a horse.⁵ At Uhud, too, he fought on horseback, and together with az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām helped Muḥammad to rout the enemy.⁶ After the submission of the Khaybar oasis (in 7/628) the Prophet reportedly allotted al-Miqdād fifteen loads of wheat.⁷ Al-Miqdād's share must have included land as well, since it is said that during 'Umar's reign he visited Khaybar together with az-Zubayr and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar in order to inspect property which they owned there.⁸ Al-Miqdād was probably the most renowned member of his tribe in Muḥammad's entourage: when the thirteen-man Bahrā' delegation came to the Prophet in 9/630 they reportedly stayed at al-Miqdād's home; afterwards they met Muḥammad and

¹ Qur'ān 5/24(27).

² Also Birk al-Ghimād (or al-Ghumād). Yāqūt (op.cit., I, pp. 589-590) quotes various authorities according to whom it is either a place in the Yemen or the farthest point of Hajar. Aṭ-Ṭabarī (op.cit., I, p.1300) says that it is "a town of the Abyssinians". Al-Miqdād probably used the name as an example of a far-off place.

³ Sīra, p.434, whence aṭ-Ṭabarī, loc.cit., Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliyā', I, p.173. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.115; al-Jāḥiẓ, Al-'uthmāniyya, p.57; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, loc.cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit., IV, p.410.

⁴ Sīra, loc.cit.

⁵ See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.114; aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, p.1291 (on the authority of 'Alī). Others add the name of Marthad b. Abi Marthad al-Ghanawī; see e.g. Ibn Sa'd, II/i, p.15; aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, p.1359 (on the authority of al-Wāqidī).

⁶ See aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.1394,1396.

⁷ See Sīra, p.776; cf. Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.115.

⁸ See Sīra, p.779.

accepted Islam.¹

Another episode relating to al-Miqdād's status in the community centred around his marriage. According to a tradition related by Ibn Sa'd,² al-Miqdād asked a Qurayshī for his daughter's hand but was turned down; thereupon Muḥammad gave to him in marriage his own cousin Ḍubā'a bint az-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. This event is cited by anti-Shī'ī authors who claim that 'Alī opposed al-Miqdād's marriage but was overruled by Muḥammad and by Ḍubā'a herself.³ The Imāmīs, for their part, do not refer to 'Alī's purported role in the affair; they merely quote Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq as declaring that Muḥammad's action was intended to show the community that under the new social order the old tribal ranks no longer had any significance.⁴

Sunnīs and Shī'īs disagree as to the nature of al-Miqdād's relations with the first caliphs. In the Imāmī view, al-Miqdād was among the few Companions who immediately rallied to 'Alī's side after Muḥammad's death.⁵ Al-Jāḥiẓ, on the other hand, maintains that al-Miqdād is not on record as having declared his opposition to Abū Bakr; furthermore, al-Jāḥiẓ implies that after the incident with Ḍubā'a, al-Miqdād's relations with 'Alī deteriorated and that there is no evidence that he subsequently supported 'Alī.⁶ 'Abd al-Jabbār goes even further and states that al-Miqdād actively supported both Abū Bakr and 'Umar and willingly

¹ See Ibn Sa'd, I/ii, p.66; cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, *op.cit.*, I, p.1720. The majority of the tribe became Muslims only after the conquest of Syria. See the article "Bahrā'" by C.E.Bosworth, in EI², I, p.938.

² III/1, p.115.

³ See al-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-'uthmāniyya*, pp.181,221; cf. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-iṣāba*, VI, p.134.

⁴ See al-Kulīnī, *Furū' al-kāfi*, V, p.344, *cit. Bihār*, VI, p.778.

⁵ For details see above, p.228ff.

⁶ See *Al-'uthmāniyya*, pp.180,181.

carried out their orders.¹

From the sketchy information in the historical sources one learns that al-Miqdād participated in the conquest of Ḥims (Emesa) in 16/637² and then in raids conducted from that city.³ A few years later he is reported to have joined 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in his assault on Egypt.⁴ Al-Miqdād lived in al-Fuṣṭāṭ for a while, and then sold his home to 'Uqba b. 'Āmir.⁵ A tradition on the authority of Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb⁶ has it that al-Miqdād accompanied 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ on one of his incursions into Ifriqiya (probably between 25/645-27/648) and that on their return to Egypt he scolded 'Abd Allāh for having erected a luxurious building.⁷ If this story is true, the events to which it refers must have occurred after 'Uthmān's election, since 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd was put in charge of Upper Egypt by 'Umar shortly before the caliph's murder, and did not begin his campaigns in the west until his appointment as caliphal vicegerent by the new

¹ See Al-mughnī, XX/i, p.292. One anecdote has it that 'Umar gave the order to cut off the tongue of his son 'Ubayd Allāh for vilifying al-Miqdād; only the timely pleas of some Companions persuaded 'Umar to countermand his order. See al-Qādī 'Iyād, Ash-shifā', II, pp.292-293; Ibn Taymiyya, Aṣ-ṣārim al-maslūl, p.590; Ibn al-Jawzī, Tadhkira, ff168b-169a; as-Subkī, As-sayf al-maslūl, f86a; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Aṣ-ṣawā'iq al-muhriqa, pp.256-257. This story is generally cited in order to illustrate 'Umar's strict impartiality and his severe attitude towards vilifiers on the Companions, rather than to show that he particularly liked or admired al-Miqdād.

² See aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, p.2392.

³ Cf. adh-Dhahabī, Siyar, I, p.279.

⁴ See Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ Miṣr, pp.61,93; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Al-istī'āb, p.280; Ibn al-Athīr, Usd al-ghāba, IV, p.410.

⁵ See Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, op.cit., p.101.

⁶ I.e. Suwayd al-Azdī (d.128/746). See Tahdhīb, XI, pp.318-319.

⁷ See Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, op.cit., pp.110,266. On the other hand it seems that al-Miqdād himself did not always live very modestly. Thus al-Mas'ūdī reports (Murūj, IV, p.255) that "al-Miqdād built his house at the place called al-Jurf, a few miles from Medina. He put balconies round the upper part, and plastered it inside and outside" (trans. B. Lewis, "On the revolutions in early Islam", SI 32, 1970, p.222). Al-Ya'qūbī, quoting the same report (see his Mushākalat an-nās li-zamānihim, pp.14-15), adds that during 'Umar's reign no one else had a house built in this luxurious fashion.

ruler in Medina.¹ At the same time it must be remembered that according to aṭ-Ṭabarī (on the authority of 'Umar b. Shabba) and to various Shī'ī sources, al-Miqdād was present in Medina during the shūrā in 23/644. He is reported to have gathered the members of the shūrā in one house on 'Umar's orders and to have then conducted a vigorous, though futile, campaign to have 'Alī elected.² It follows, then, that if al-Miqdād participated both in 'Abd Allāh's African campaign and in the Cyprus expedition,³ then he must have returned to Egypt after 'Uthmān's election and then gone back once more to Arabia, where he died.

Pro-Shī'ī authors stress that al-Miqdād disliked many of 'Uthmān's actions and refused both to stand behind him during prayers and to recognise him as caliph;⁴ 'Uthmān in turn made threatening remarks.⁵ Al-Miqdād died in 33/654 at the age of seventy in the Medina suburb of al-Jurf, where he owned some land; his death is said to have been caused by drinking castor-oil.⁶ He was buried at the al-Baqī' cemetery, and 'Uthmān prayed over his grave.⁷

Al-Miqdād's daughter Karīma is quoted as describing her father's appearance in the following manner, "He was a tall,

¹ Cf. the article "'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd" by C.H. Becker, in EI², I, p.51.

² See aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.2779-87. Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh, II, pp.187-188; aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, I, p.194; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha, IX, pp.52ff (quoting al-Jawharī, Kitāb as-saqifa).

³ See al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-buldān, p.210; aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.2819-20 (on the authority of al-Wāqidī). Cf. above, p.301.

⁴ See Bihār, VIII, p.339 (quoting ath-Thaqafī, Ta'rīkh); cf. Darajāt, p.225.

⁵ Cf. Rawḍa, p.331; Darajāt, pp.223-224.

⁶ See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.115; but cf. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Al-iṣāba, VI, p.134.

⁷ Ibn Sa'd, loc.cit.; cf. adh-Dhahabī, Siyar, I, pp.278,280; Ibn al-Athīr, Usd al-ghāba, IV, p.411; Darajāt, p.225. For az-Zubayr's criticism of 'Uthmān on that occasion cf. Darajāt, p.224.

dark-skinned, paunchy man, with an abundance of hair on his head; his beard, which he used to dye yellow, was nicely groomed, being neither too thick nor too thin; his eyes were wide, his eyebrows connected and his nose hooked."¹ Others stressed his awe-inspiring appearance.² He is said to have shunned public office after having tried it once during Muḥammad's lifetime and having realised that from a position of power he tended to regard all men as his servants.³ Traditions of the Prophet on his authority are included in the six canonical Sunni works on tradition.⁴

3. Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān

Hudhayfa's genealogy is usually given as Hudhayfa b. Husayl (or Hisl) b. Jābir b. Rabi'a b. 'Amr (or b. 'Amr b. Rabi'a) b. Jirwa b. al-Ḥārith b. Māzin b. Quṭay'a b. 'Abs, with the kunya Abū 'Abd Allāh.⁵ His father had to flee from his tribe after killing one of its members. He sought asylum in Medina and became allied to the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal who belonged to the southern tribe of Aws; hence Hudhayfa's laqab "al-Yamān".⁶ Hudhayfa's mother, ar-Rabāb bint Ka'b, was a member of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal,⁷ and Hudhayfa himself was presumably born in Medina; not surprisingly, he is mentioned among the Anṣār.⁸ According to one version, Hudhayfa and his father had belonged

¹ Ibn Sa'd, loc.cit.

² See adh-Dhahabī, op.cit., I, p.280.

³ See Abū Nu'aym, op.cit., I, p.174; adh-Dhahabī, loc.cit.

⁴ See adh-Dhahabī, op.cit., I, p.278.

⁵ See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Al-istifāh, p.104; Caskel, Ḥamhara, I, p.132.

⁶ See Ibn al-Athīr, Uṣd al-ghāba, I, p.390.

⁷ See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, loc.cit.

⁸ See al-Barqī, Rijāl, p.2.

to the Muhājirūn, but when Muḥammad allowed Ḥudhayfa to choose between the two groups, he decided to join the Anṣār.¹ Indeed, his partner in the mu'ākhāt was reportedly the Muhājir 'Ammār b. Yāsir.²

Ḥudhayfa did not take part in the battle of Badr. He is said to have justified his absence by explaining that he and his father had been captured by the Qurayshīs and had been forced to promise that they would not fight against them on Muḥammad's side; when the Prophet heard about it he decided that they should keep their word.³ Ḥudhayfa participated in the various campaigns from Uhud onwards. At the battle of Uhud itself Ḥudhayfa's father was killed in tragic circumstances: because of his advanced age he was sent up to the forts with Thābit b. Waqash,⁴ the women and the children; the two old men, however, decided to seek martyrdom in battle. They thereupon mingled with the army without wearing any distinguishing marks.⁵ Thābit was killed by the Qurayshīs and Ḥusayl by his own people, who mistook him for one of the enemy. When Muḥammad heard the news he is said to have offered to pay Ḥudhayfa the blood-money; Ḥudhayfa showed his magnanimity by giving it to the Muslims as alms.⁶

During the siege of the Aḥzāb ("confederates") in 5/627 Ḥudhayfa is said to have acted as spy for the Prophet. On a cold night Muḥammad is reported to have asked for a volunteer to go over to the enemy side and gather information; when no volunteers came forward Muḥammad appointed Ḥudhayfa for the task.

¹ See Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliyā', I, p.354.

² Cf. below, p.329.

³ See adh-Dhahabī, Siyar, II, p.262.

⁴ On whom see Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit., I, p.234.

⁵ Cf. adh-Dhahabī's remark, op.cit., p.261.

⁶ See Sīra, p.577, whence aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh, I, pp.1422-3, Darajāt, pp.283-284.

Ḥudhayfa approached the Qurayshī camp, saw the storm which was wreaking havoc and heard Abū Sufyān urging his men to abandon the place. Ḥudhayfa returned to Muḥammad with the good tidings and then fell asleep until the next morning.¹

Ḥudhayfa is said to have enjoyed a close relationship with Muḥammad. The Prophet allegedly made him his confidant (sāhib sirr)² and disclosed to him the names of the munāfiqūn as well as details about future dissensions and strife (fitan) in the community.³ Various statements are attributed to Ḥudhayfa in which he describes the nature of the munāfiqūn and warns of the danger which they present.⁴ 'Umar is said to have consulted Ḥudhayfa about the identity of the munāfiqūn; he would not attend a funeral unless Ḥudhayfa was there as well, since Ḥudhayfa's presence meant that the deceased had been a good Muslim.⁵

After Muḥammad's death Ḥudhayfa took part in some of the great battles which marked the Arab advance into 'Irāq and Persia. In the year 17/637, some months after the conquest of al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon), Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ is said to have informed 'Umar that the place was suitable neither for men nor for camels because of its humid and unwholesome climate. With 'Umar's consent he then sent Ḥudhayfa and Salmān, who were jointly at the head of the army, to look for a more appropriate site; both agreed

¹ See Sīra, pp.682-684; aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.1483-4; Abū Nu'aym, loc.cit.

² See e.g. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ta'rifkh Baghdād, I, pp.161-162; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, loc.cit.; Darajāt, p.284.

³ See adh-Dhahabī, op.cit., II, p.262; cf. Abū Nu'aym, op.cit., I, p.272. It is interesting to compare these reports with an-Nazzām's attempts to prove that Ḥudhayfa was not always honest and that his transmission is therefore not above suspicion. See Van Ess, Das Kitāb an-Nakt, pp.90-91 (in proofs).

⁴ See Abū Nu'aym, op.cit., I, pp.276,280,282.

⁵ See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, loc.cit.; cf. adh-Dhahabī, Darajāt, loc.cit.

in choosing a spot east of the Euphrates, and there Kūfa was constructed.¹ Ḥudhayfa carried out a survey of the lands of the Sawād which were watered by the Euphrates; Yāqūt reports² that some bridges in al-Madā'in were called ganāṭir Ḥudhayfa because Ḥudhayfa had stayed near them. 'Umar appointed him governor of Kūfa and al-Madā'in.³ As governor Ḥudhayfa distinguished himself by his unassuming manner; it is reported that he arrived in al-Madā'in on a donkey, holding a bone in one hand and a loaf of bread in the other.⁴ While in al-Madā'in he is said to have married a non-Muslim woman; he had to divorce her when 'Umar declared his opposition to such a marriage.⁵

Ḥudhayfa is said to have played an important part in the crucial battle of Nihāwand (in 21/641): he assumed command after the Muslim leader an-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin had been killed, and helped to achieve final victory over the Persian forces.⁶ He then supervised the distribution of part of the spoils to the warriors and sent the remainder to 'Umar.⁷ He was also present at the conquest of Hamadhān, Rayy and Dīnawar (in 22/642),⁸ and eight years later took part in the Ṭabaristan campaign led by Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ.⁹

¹ See aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.2483-4 (on the authority of Sayf); cf. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, Ta'rikh, I, p.129.

² Mu'jam al-buldān, III, pp.179-180.

³ See aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.2238,2374 (on the authority of Sayf).

⁴ See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, op.cit., I, p.162; adh-Dhahabī, op.cit., II, p.264; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit., I, p.392.

⁵ See aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.2374-5 (on the authority of Sayf).

⁶ Ibid., I, pp.2598,2625 (on the authority of Sayf).

⁷ Ibid., I, p.2627.

⁸ See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.104; cf. adh-Dhahabī, op.cit., II, p.263.

⁹ See aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.2836-7 (on the authority of 'Umar b. Shabba).

When 'Uthmān came to power he acceded to al-Ashtar's demand and refrained from removing Ḥudhayfa from his post as governor.¹ Nevertheless relations between 'Uthmān and Ḥudhayfa remained less than cordial: it is related on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf that Ḥudhayfa was the first to castigate 'Uthmān for burning the Qur'āns;² he was also critical of 'Uthmān's nepotism.³ Ḥudhayfa's attitude to 'Uthmān's murder was non-committal: according to al-Balādhurī⁴ he strongly denied any connivance in it, but did not condemn it outright. Statements attributed to Ḥudhayfa by Imāmī authors are much more explicit: thus he is said to have expressed the wish that every arrow in his quiver had landed in 'Uthmān's belly.⁵

Ḥudhayfa died in al-Madā'in in 36/656, just forty days after 'Uthmān's murder.⁶ It is reported that during his last illness he was still able to give the bay'a to 'Alī,⁷ to receive a letter from the new ruler and to champion 'Alī's cause in the impending Battle of the Camel.⁸ Ḥudhayfa's piety manifested itself before his death when he reportedly told his attendants not to cover him with too many shrouds. In his view, God would either grace him with a better garment or else would remove the

¹ See al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-ashrāf, V, pp.46-47.

² Ibid., V, p.62.

³ Ibid., V, p.87.

⁴ Ibid., V, p.92.

⁵ See Bihār, VIII, p.339 (quoting ath-Thaqafī, Ta'rikh).

⁶ See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, op.cit., I, p.163; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, loc.cit.

⁷ This is said to have taken place in al-Madā'in (al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, IV, pp. 363-364) or in Kūfa (Darajāt, pp.287-288, allegedly quoting Murūj). The confusion may have been caused by the fact that until his death Ḥudhayfa used to shuttle between the two places; cf. Ibn Sa'd, VI, p.8.

⁸ See Darajāt, p. 287, on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf; ibid., p.288 (quoting ad-Daylamī, Irshād al-qulūb).

shrouds completely, depending on His judgment.¹

In the Imāmi view, Ḥudhayfa's support for 'Alī did not start during 'Uthmān's reign, but can be traced back to Muḥammad's lifetime. Ḥudhayfa is made the authority for various Imāmi traditions, such as the one in which the Prophet exhorts the community to follow the twelve Imams.² Since the munāfiqūn in Imāmi doctrine are those who hate 'Alī,³ Ḥudhayfa's ability and readiness to expose them are seen as an expression of his devotion to 'Alī. According to Imāmi accounts, it was during the "night of al-'Aqaba" that Ḥudhayfa saw--and henceforth remembered--the faces of the munāfiqūn.⁴ he did not keep that knowledge to himself; for example, when 'Ammār b. Yāsir was asked about Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī he is said to have answered that he had heard Ḥudhayfa condemn him as one of the "men of the night of al-'Aqaba."⁵ Indeed, 'Alī's enemies were constantly worried that Ḥudhayfa might expose their part in the plot against Muḥammad.⁶ Ḥudhayfa expressed his loyalty to 'Alī on various occasions: it is related that while he was in Muḥammad's mosque he was approached by Rabi'a as-Sa'dī⁷ who told him that the people were divided into five groups regarding the successor to the Prophet: the first group favoured Abū Bakr, the second 'Umar, the third Abū Dharr and the fourth Salmān al-Fārisī;⁸

¹ See Abū Nu'aym, op.cit., I, p.282. Ḥudhayfa is said to have been considered as one of the ahl as-suffa after he had spent some time in their company (ibid., I, p.354). For stories of his asceticism cf. also as-Sarrāj, Kitāb al-luma', pp.137-138.

² See al-Khazzāz al-Qummī, Kifāyat al-athar, p.305.

³ Cf. above, pp.107-108.

⁴ See above, pp.133ff.

⁵ Darajāt, p.286.

⁶ Cf. for example ibid., p.285.

⁷ Rabi'a as-Sa'dī is mentioned in Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Al-isāba, II, p.204.

⁸ There seems to be no other tradition in which the candidacy of either Abū Dharr or Salmān is mentioned. Their names may only have been inserted in this tradition as a counter-balance to Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

then Rabi'a fell silent. Hudhayfa told him, "What has prevented you from mentioning the fifth group, those who will drink from the river of Paradise and from the celestial wine? 'Ali and his party (shī'a) have [received] from God a place with which the first and the last ones will rejoice."¹ Elsewhere Hudhayfa is quoted as explaining to Rabi'a as-Sa'dī that the sign (āya) leading to Heaven is that of Muḥammad's family (āl) whereas the sign leading to Hell and unbelief is that of all others.² On his deathbed Hudhayfa is said to have asked God's pardon for not having taken up arms to defend 'Ali's rights and for having been cowed by the prospect of imminent death into acquiescence in the usurpation.³

Among Imāmi biographers there is no agreement as regards Hudhayfa's place in the ranks of the good Companions. Al-Barqī relegates him to an undistinguished twenty second place among the twenty seven good Companions whom he mentions.⁴ Later biographers place him higher in the list, just below the "four pillars" Salmān, al-Miqdād, Abū Dharr and 'Ammār;⁵ and in some traditions Hudhayfa replaces 'Ammār to become himself one of the four most venerated Companions.⁶

4. 'Ammār b. Yāsir

'Ammār b. Yāsir b. 'Āmir b. Mālik b. Kināna b. Qays b. Ḥuṣayn, with the kunya Abu 'l-Yaqqān, belonged to the South

¹ Aṭ-Ṭabarī, Bishārat al-muṣṭafā, p.209.

² See aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, I, p.111.

³ Cf. al-Majlisī, Kitāb al-arba'in ḥadīthan, p.98; Darajāt, p.294.

⁴ Cf. above, p.255.

⁵ Cf. above, p.234.

⁶ See al-Kishshī, Rijāl, p.39; aṭ-Ṭūsī, Rijāl, p.37; Ibn Dāwūd, Rijāl, pp.101-102.

Arabian tribe of 'Ans.¹ His father Yāsir reportedly came from the Yemen to Mecca with two of his brothers to look for a missing fourth brother; he stayed in Mecca, became a client of the Makhzūmī Abū Ḥudhayfa b. al-Mughīra and married one of his master's slaves, Sumayya bint Khayyāṭ, who was then manumitted; but Yāsir and his family remained with Abū Ḥudhayfa.²

'Ammār and his parents are mentioned among the earliest converts to Islam. It is reported that 'Ammār joined Ṣuhayb b. Sinān on a visit to the Prophet, who was staying at the time at the house of al-Arqam b. Abi 'l-Arqam;³ both 'Ammār and Ṣuhayb became Muslims that day, at a time when only about thirty people had been converted.⁴ According to a different version, 'Ammār embraced Islam together with his parents and his brother 'Abd Allāh.⁵ 'Ammār and his mother are mentioned among the first seven converts who openly declared their allegiance to the new religion.⁶ The family was subjected to severe torture by the Qurayshīs who forced them, together with other Muslims, to put on iron breastplates and then lie on the scorching sand during the hottest hours of the day.⁷ Some chroniclers report that in the

¹ See Ibn Qutayba, Kitāb al-ma'ārif, p.256; Caskel, Ḡamhara, I, p.272.

² See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Al-istī'āb, p.422, whence Darajāt, p.255; Ibn al-Athīr, Usd al-ghāba, IV, pp.43-44. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.176, IV/i, pp.100-101; al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, IV, p.360.

³ Al-Arqam's house was for a time the centre of the nascent Islamic community. See the article "al-Arqam" by W. Montgomery Watt, in EI², I, p.633.

⁴ See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, pp.162,177; Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit., IV, p.44; Darajāt, p.256.

⁵ See Ibn Qutayba, loc.cit.; Darajāt, pp.255-256. 'Ammār and Abū Bakr are said to have been the only early Muhājirūn whose parents adopted Islam. See adh-Dhahabī, Siyar, I, p.293.

⁶ See Abū Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliyā', I, p.140; cf. Wensinck, Handbook, p.21, s.v. "'Ammār b. Yāsir".

⁷ Cf. Sira, p.206. Ibn Sa'd (III/i, p.177) mentions 'Ammār among the mustaḍ'afūn who had no protector in Mecca (cf. also Sira, p.205).

evening Abū Jahl came and started to curse Sumayya, and finally drove a spear through her heart. She thus became the first woman martyr (shahīda) in Islam.¹ Yāsir, too, died as a result of torture.² When the Prophet saw 'Ammār and his family he reportedly asked them to bear their suffering with fortitude, and promised all of them the glory of Paradise.³ The miraculous element--based on the precedent of Ibrāhīm and Namrūd⁴--is introduced by the story that the infidels threw 'Ammār into the fire, but that on Muḥammad's command the fire turned cold and harmless.⁵ A different tradition has it that 'Ammār could not stand the torture and agreed to curse Muḥammad and outwardly renounce his faith. Subsequently he felt pangs of remorse and wept bitterly; the Prophet, however, told him that as long as his inner belief remained unshaken it did not matter what he told his tormentors.⁶ This event is said to have been the reason for the revelation of the verse, "Whoever [expresses] disbelief in God after having believed--except him who is compelled [to do so], [while] his heart is still at peace in belief . . ."⁷ Muḥammad's approval of 'Ammār's conduct is cited by Imāmi doctors as proof that the

¹ See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ta'rikh Baghdād, I, p.150; Darajāt, p.256.

² Cf. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, Waq'at Siffin, p.325.

³ Sira, p.206; Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.178, IV/i, p.101; al-Jāḥiẓ, Al-'uthmāniyya, pp.29-30; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, loc.cit.

⁴ See the article "Namrūd" by B. Heller, in EI², III, pp. 842-844. A similar miracle is said to have happened to the seventh Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim; see ar-Rāwandī, Al-kharā'ij, p.262.

⁵ See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.177; al-Kishshī, Rijāl, p.32, whence Darajāt, pp.259-260.

⁶ See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.178; Abū Nu'aym, loc.cit.; cf. al-Jāḥiẓ, op.cit., pp.103-104; Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.

⁷ Qur'an 16/106(108). See Ibn Sa'd, loc.cit.; al-Qummi, Tafsīr, I, p.390, cit. Bihār, VI, p.748. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Majma' al-bayān, XIV, pp.128-129; al-Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr, I, p.528.

Imam may conceal his real identity when his life is in jeopardy.¹ According to this view, 'Ammār was practising taqiyya, even though it had not yet been formulated as a legitimate method of behaviour.²

Some authorities count 'Ammār among the Muslims who emigrated to Abyssinia when the Qurayshī pressure increased;³ others are less certain about his participation in that expedition.⁴ The sources agree, however, that 'Ammār was one of the first who emigrated to Medina; in one version the Anṣārī al-Barā' b. 'Āzib is quoted as declaring that 'Ammār was the third Muhājir to reach the town.⁵ He took part in the early campaigns and fought at Badr and in all the ensuing battles.⁶ At the time of the mu'ākhat Muḥammad paired him with Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān.⁷ 'Ammār is credited with having built the first mosque in Islam at Qubā'.⁸ He is said to have exerted himself so much carrying bricks that he fainted;⁹ it was even feared that such strenuous work might kill him.¹⁰ 'Ammār himself is quoted as complaining that people wished to kill him by overloading him with bricks.¹¹ The Prophet

¹ See Ibn Bābawayhī, Ikmāl ad-dīn, p.49.

² Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarsī, op.cit., XIV, p.127. See in general Goldziher "Das Prinzip der taqiyya im Islam", pp.213-216.

³ See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.422.

⁴ Cf. Sīra, p.242; Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.; Darajāt, p.256.

⁵ See Ibn Sa'd, I/i, p.158, IV/ii, p.82. In one tradition 'Ammār is mentioned by 'Alī as the Muhājir par excellence. Cf. Abū Nu'aym, op.cit., I, p.141.

⁶ See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Darajāt, loc.cit.

⁷ See Sīra, p.345 (where the Anṣārī Thābit b. Qays b. ash-Shammās is also mentioned as 'Ammār's "brother"); Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.179. Cf. al-Jāhīz, op.cit., p.162.

⁸ See Sīra, p.338; Ibn Sa'd, III/i, pp.178,179; Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit., IV, p.46. On traditions about the foundation of the mosque in Medina cf. the article "Masjdīd" by J. Pedersen, in EI¹, III, p.316.

⁹ See Darajāt, p.260.

¹⁰ See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, pp.179-180.

¹¹ See Sīra, p.337.

reportedly reassured him that there was no need to fear for his life at the present stage because "the rebel band (al-fi'a al-bāghiya) will kill you."¹ These words of Muḥammad are usually interpreted as referring to the events at Ṣiffin.²

The Prophet is reported to have praised 'Ammār on many occasions. It is related on the authority of 'Alī that when 'Ammār asked permission to come into Muḥammad's presence the Prophet said, "Welcome, O good [one] who renders [things] good."³

¹ See e.g. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., p.324; Ibn Sa'd, I/ii, p.3; an-Nasā'ī, Khaṣā'is amir al-mu'minin, pp.59-61; Ibn Bābawayhi, 'Uyūn akhbār ar-Riḍā, II, p.63, cit. Bihār, VI, p.749; al-Khuwārizmī, Manāqib, p.124; al-Ganjī, Kifāyat al-tālib, pp.172-175.

² Cf. below, pp. 377ff. In an Imāmī version of this tradition Muḥammad is quoted on the authority of 'Alī as declaring that 'Ammār will be killed in a war involving two groups, the one following Muḥammad's path, the other forsaking and deviating from the true religion (Ibn Bābawayhi, op.cit., II, p.66, cit. Bihār, VI, p.749). Pro-'Alid traditionists stress that the authenticity of the "rebel band" tradition is beyond dispute (cf. Ibn 'Aqīl, An-nasā'ih al-kāfiya, p.23). This claim is not accepted by all Sunnī authorities. Ibn Ḥanbal, true to his belief that the disagreements between the Companions should not be discussed (cf. above, pp.7-8), is said to have refused to comment on this tradition (al-Khallāl, Musnad, f74b; lā atakallamu fihī); he is also said to have rejected it as forgery (ibid.). A similar line was taken by the Ḥanbalī Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh an-Najjād (d. beginning of 4th/10 century). In a discussion with a Shī'ī he reportedly cast doubts on the authenticity of the tradition and then argued that even if it is to be accepted, its meaning must be interpreted differently. Thus the verb "baghā" should be understood as "to seek" ("talaba"). Hence the expression al-fi'a al-bāghiya refers to those who sought to punish 'Uthmān's murderers, and has no pejorative connotations (Ibn Abī Ya'lā, Tabaqāt al-ḥanābila, II, p.141). Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī (Tathīr al-janān, p.38), while not doubting the authenticity of the tradition, maintains that it refers only to 'Ammār's actual murderers, not to the entire camp from which they had come. Finally, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (op.cit., p.424) plays down the political significance implicit in the reference to the "rebel band" and stresses instead the more general lesson to be drawn, viz. that Muḥammad's words prove his ability to foresee events, and hence constitute one of the signs of his prophethood.

³ Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad, Cairo 1948, II, no.779, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.524; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.423, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.327; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, op.cit., I, p.151; Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit., IV, p.45. A variant reading is, "Welcome [be] the good [one who is] the son of the good [one] (marḥaban bi't-tayyib ibn at-tayyib)" (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., p.323; al-Kishshī, Rijāl, p.36; Darajāt, p.256). According to others it was 'Alī who uttered these words (cf. Abū Nu'aym, op.cit., I, p.139).

'Ammār's dedication to Islam is echoed in Muḥammad's tribute, "'Ammār is filled with belief to the cartilage of his bones (or, "to the bottom of his feet"¹)."² Muḥammad is also said to have complimented 'Ammār for invariably choosing the more arduous³ of two alternative tasks.⁴ When 'Ammār and Khālīd b. al-Walīd asked Muḥammad to pass judgment in a quarrel which had broken out between them, the answer attributed to the Prophet was, "God hates him who hates 'Ammār and is the enemy of him who regards 'Ammār with enmity."⁵ Muḥammad is said to have described 'Ammār as being as close to himself as his own eyelid.⁶ He urged the entire community to follow in 'Ammār's path.⁷

¹ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, loc.cit., cit. Bihār, VIII, p.327, Darajāt, p.257.

² La-qad mali'a 'Ammār imānan ilā mushāshihī (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, loc.cit., cit. Bihār, VIII, p.526; Abū Nu'aym, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, loc.cit.; Wensinck, Concordance, VI, p.229, s.v. mshsh).

³ Or "the more straightforward" (arshad, a variation on ashadd); see Wensinck, op.cit., II, p.262, s.v. rshd; an-Nawawī, Tahdhīb al-asmā', I/ii, p.38; Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit., IV, p.45. The reading asadd ("more correct") is also recorded, e.g. at-Tirmidhī, Saḥīh, XIII, p.208.

⁴ See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., p.343, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.528 (on the authority of Ḥudhayfa); Ibn Bābawayhī, Amālī, p.363, cit. Bihār, VI, p.747 (on the authority of 'Ā'isha--for obvious polemical reasons); Darajāt, p.257. The fact that the reading ashadd occurs mainly in Shī'ī texts may point to 'Ammār's readiness to champion 'Alī's cause despite the hazards involved.

⁵ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, op.cit., I, p.152; al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.36; cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, loc.cit., cit. Bihār, VIII, p.327; Ibn al-Athīr, Darajāt, loc.cit., all on the authority of Khālīd b. al-Walīd himself, who is quoted as saying that after hearing Muḥammad's words he spared no effort until 'Ammār consented to a reconciliation with him. To the Imāmīs this tradition must have had a special significance in that it contained an implicit rebuke to Khālīd, who is described in Imāmī literature as an implacable foe of the ahl al-bayt (cf. above, p.161). The sources do not reveal the nature of the dispute between Khālīd and 'Ammār. It might have arisen over questions of ownership after Muḥammad had reportedly divided some land between them following the conquest of Khaybar (cf. Ibn Sa'd, IV/ii, pp.2-3).

⁶ See al-Jāhiz, op.cit., p.142. Cf. Sīra, p.338. See also the story about 'Ammār's legendary powers, in Tafsīr al-Imām (a Qur'ān commentary attributed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq; cf. Sezgin, I, p.529), cit. Bihār, VI, p.751.

⁷ See Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.; cf. an-Nawawī, op.cit., I/ii, p.38; Tahdhīb, VII, p.409.

No agreement exists concerning 'Ammār's role in the period immediately following Muḥammad's death. Non-īmānī authors such as al-Jāḥiẓ claim that 'Ammār did not utter a word of discontent regarding either Abū Bakr or 'Umar.¹ His participation in the battle of Yamāma (in 12/633), in which he lost an ear,² might be cited as proof that he did not refrain from fighting under Abū Bakr's command. In some Imāmī traditions, however, 'Ammār appears in the forefront of those who rallied to 'Alī's support.³ When Abū Bakr was elected 'Ammār is reported to have demanded that the rights of the ahl al-bayt be respected; he warned the community of the dire consequences it would have to face if it disobeyed Muḥammad's express commands on that matter.⁴

'Ammār seems to have played an active military and political role during 'Umar's reign. He is mentioned among the commanders who led some of the early forays into Persia.⁵ In the

¹ Al-'uthmāniyya, p.182. Al-Jāḥiẓ (ibid., p.30) also quotes a verse attributed to 'Ammār in praise of Abū Bakr's manumission of Bilāl. Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī (quoted in 'Abd al-Jabbār, Al-mughnī, XX/i, p.292) claims that 'Ammār willingly gave the bay'a to Abū Bakr and praised him highly.

² See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.181 (the author does not lay much store by an account that 'Ammār's ear was cut off by 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar at Ṣiffīn; cf. ibid., V, P.12); Ibn Qutayba, Kitāb al-ma'ārif, p.258; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.422; Ibn al-Athīr, Uṣd al-ghāba, IV, p.46 (where Shu'ba's claim that 'Ammār's ear was lost already during Muḥammad's lifetime is refuted); Darajāt, p.261. According to one account it was 'Ammār's hand which was cut off at the battle of Yamāma (Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., p.584).

³ Imāmī opinion is not entirely uniform in its attitude to 'Ammār as compared with other good Companions. See above, pp.233-234.

⁴ 'Ammār's speech at the Saqifa (cf. above, pp.235-6) is said to have been the sixth, after that of Burayda al-Aslamī and before that of Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda (see al-Barqī, Rijāl, p.65). The speech as quoted by al-Barqī is very short, is addressed directly to Abū Bakr, and stresses that no action may be taken without ultimate reward or punishment. Another version, quoted on the authority of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (see aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Al-ihtijāj, p.50, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.39), is somewhat longer and has 'Ammār addressing the whole community.

⁵ See aṭ-Ṭabarsī, Ta'rīkh, I, pp.2484, 2562.

year 21/642 he was appointed governor of Kūfa in place of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.¹ In a message to the Kūfī population 'Umar is said to have conveyed his high esteem for the new governor.² 'Ammār is described as conducting himself in a modest and unassuming manner, to the extent of carrying fodder on his back.³ It seems, however, that he was beset from the start by intrigues and conspiracies set in motion by the turbulent and unpredictable local population. Various accusations were levelled against him; specifically, it was claimed that he was totally ignorant in matters of state and administration.⁴ Finally 'Umar had to remove him from office; after some awkward manipulations he installed al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba as 'Ammār's successor.⁵ That episode notwithstanding, non-Imāmī authors seem anxious to stress 'Umar's benevolent attitude towards 'Ammār: al-Jāḥiẓ tells how 'Umar publicly honoured 'Ammār, Bilāl, Ṣuhayb and Salmān by admitting them into his presence before such Qurayshī notables as Abū Sufyān.⁶ 'Umar reportedly allotted 'Ammār a pension of 6,000 (dirhams or dinars).⁷

Imāmī authors are on the whole reticent as to that phase in 'Ammār's life, concentrating their attention instead on the events which followed 'Uthmān's accession. They reject

¹ See al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, IV, p.256; cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.2635,2645.

² See Ibn Sa'd, VI, p.3; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Al-istī'āb, p.424; Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit., IV, p.46; Darajāt, p.261.

³ See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.182; Darajāt, loc.cit.

⁴ See aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, p.2677; Darajāt, loc.cit.

⁵ See aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.2645-6. According to another account, the choice fell on Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī (ibid., I, p.2676) For 'Ammār's reaction to his forced resignation see ibid., I, p.2677; cf. Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.183; Ibn al-Athīr, Darajāt, loc.cit.

⁶ See al-Jāḥiẓ, op.cit., pp.178-179, 217.

⁷ See Darajāt, loc.cit., on the authority of Sālim b. Abi 'l-Ja'd (d. c.100/718-719; cf. Tahdhīb, III, p.432).

claims¹ that during the first years of 'Uthmān's reign 'Ammār did not criticise him.² Instead they stress that 'Ammār's opposition to 'Uthmān was but a logical consequence of his consistent support for 'Alī. At the time of the shūrā 'Ammār reportedly advised 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf to elect 'Alī so as to avoid dissent in the community.³ After 'Uthmān's election 'Ammār warned against the danger that power might be taken from the hands of Quraysh, as it had been usurped from the ahl al-bayt.⁴ He reiterated his wish to fight on 'Alī's side and was only held back by the knowledge that they would not find enough supporters.⁵ 'Ammār is said to have refused to stand behind 'Uthmān during prayers and to have declared him an unbeliever.⁶ 'Uthmān himself would seem to have harboured a long-standing grudge against 'Ammār: it is reported that while 'Alī and 'Ammār were engaged in building the first mosque,⁷ 'Uthmān strutted haughtily past them, turning his head the other way to avoid the dust; when 'Ammār and 'Alī mocked him for his behaviour 'Uthmān complained to Muḥammad, who took 'Ammār's side.⁸ A more immediate reason for 'Uthmān's alleged hostility towards 'Ammār is given by Abū Mikhnaḥ, who reports that 'Uthmān was angered by 'Ammār's criticism of his illegal appropriation of jewellery from the

¹ Made for instance by al-Jāḥiẓ in Al-'uthmāniyya, p.182.

² Lammens points out (Etudes, pp.230-231 (=MFO II, pp.122-123)) that 'Ammār and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd did not hesitate to accept from 'Uthmān estates (diyā') whose rents brought a handsome income.

³ See Ibn al-Athīr, Ta'rīkh, III, p.55, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.326.

⁴ See al-Mas'ūdī, op.cit., IV, p.275, cit. Bihār, loc.cit.

⁵ See Darajāt, pp.261-262 (quoting from al-Jawharī, Kitāb as-saqifa).

⁶ See Bihār, VIII, pp.338,339 (quoting from ath-Thaqafī, Ta'rīkh).

⁷ Cf. above, p.329.

⁸ See al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.33-34,35, cit. Darajāt, p.259.

public treasury.¹ A different tradition has it that 'Uthmān was incensed when he discovered that 'Ammār had buried 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd without notifying him.² Yet another explanation is that 'Ammār was the only person courageous enough to present 'Uthmān with a petition signed by various Companions, in which 'Uthmān was condemned for his innovations and his high-handed rule.³ Whatever the real cause for 'Uthmān's anger, he is said to have subjected 'Ammār to severe torture, as a result of which 'Ammār became afflicted with hernia (fatq).⁴ When Hishām b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, whose ally 'Ammār was,⁵ heard about it, he warned 'Uthmān in no uncertain terms that he would hold him responsible if 'Ammār should die.⁶ On another occasion 'Ammār was saved from expulsion through the timely intervention of the Banū Makhzūm, who had been alerted by 'Alī.⁷ According to al-Balādhurī,⁸ 'Uthmān later wished to placate 'Ammār, and therefore he sent him as his personal representative to Egypt to investigate reports of anti-'Uthmānī activities there. But when 'Ammār reached Egypt he placed himself at the head of the anti-'Uthmān forces and urged

¹ See Shāfi, p.277, whence Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha, III, p.49, Bihār, VIII, p.325, Darajāt, p.262.

² See al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-ashraf, V, p.48; Shāfi, loc.cit., whence Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., III, p.50, Bihār, VIII, p.326, Darajāt, pp.262-263. On 'Uthmān's brutal treatment of 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd cf. Shāfi, p.276, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.325. See also above, p.170.

³ Cf. al-Balādhurī, loc.cit.; (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, Al-imāma wa's-siyāsa, I, pp.35-36; Bihār, loc.cit.; Darajāt, p.263.

⁴ Al-Balādhurī, Bihār, Darajāt, loc.cit. Cf. Istighātha, f31b.

⁵ Cf. above, p.327.

⁶ See al-Balādhurī, op.cit., V, p.48; Shāfi, p.277, cit. Bihār, Darajāt, loc.cit.; (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., I, p.36. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Al-istī'āb, p.422, cit. Darajāt, p.255.

⁷ See al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh, II, p.201; Bihār, VIII, p.373 (quoting al-Mufīd, Majālis); cf. al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, IV, pp.266, 279. Lammens mentions the Makhzūmī intervention in favour of 'Ammār as the main point of friction between them and 'Uthmān. Cf. his article "Makhzūm", in EI¹, III, p.172.

⁸ Op. cit., V, p.51.

the people to revolt against him.¹

After 'Uthmān's death some of his supporters, notably Ḥassān b. Thābit, accused 'Ammār and others of responsibility for the murder by abandoning 'Uthmān in his hour of need.² The Imāmī answer is that after his flogging by 'Uthmān 'Ammār was so ill that he did not leave his home until after news had reached him of 'Uthmān's murder;³ he was therefore unable either to participate in the assassination or to do anything to prevent it.

'Ammār was one of the first persons who gave 'Alī the bay'a.⁴ Afterwards he and Abu 'l-Haytham b. at-Tayyihān received on 'Alī's behalf the bay'a of other members of the community.⁵ When Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī failed to give 'Alī the oath of allegiance 'Ammār severely reproached him and reminded him that the Prophet's curse on him, delivered on the night of al-'Aqaba, was still valid.⁶

When it became obvious that 'Alī was heading for a clash with 'Ā'isha's supporters 'Ammār urged him not to delay the battle.⁷ In his arguments with 'Alī's adversaries⁸ and with

¹ According to the report of Sayf in aṭ-Ṭabarī (op.cit., I, pp. 2943-4), it was the Egyptian conspirators who influenced 'Ammār (qad istamālahū qawm bi-Miṣr). But the variant reading has it that 'Ammār was in fact the moving spirit who won people over to the anti-'Uthmān cause (qad istamāla qawman). The second reading tallies with the report in al-Balādhurī.

² See al-Mas'ūdī, op.cit., IV, p.284. Cf. Ḥassān's condemnation of the Anṣārī attitude towards 'Uthmān, in Diwān Ḥassān b. Thābit al-Anṣārī, Beirut 1961, pp.103-104.

³ See Darajāt, p.263.

⁴ See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.20.

⁵ See aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, II, p.338, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.395.

⁶ See aṭ-Ṭūsī, op.cit., I, pp.184-185, cit. Darajāt, loc.cit. Eventually Abū Mūsā did give 'Alī the bay'a in the name of the Kūfis (aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, p.3089; al-Mas'ūdī, op.cit., IV, p.296) but called on his followers to remain neutral in the conflict between 'Alī and his opponents (aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, p.3139; Darajāt, p.266; cf. above, p.189, n.1).

⁷ See Bihār, VIII, p.393 (quoting Abū Ja'far al-Iskāfī).

⁸ See aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.3146-54, on the authority of Sayf b. 'Umar.

'Ā'isha¹ 'Ammār displayed his staunch belief in 'Alī's rights. On 'Ammār's suggestion 'Alī sent him to try and convince three leading Companions to join his ranks. but the three--'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Anṣārī and Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ --insisted on remaining neutral.² When 'Alī reached Dhū Qār he reportedly sent his son al-Ḥasan with 'Ammār to Kūfa to urge its people to take his side;³ an eye-witness attests to 'Ammār's imposing appearance and command of respect at the time.⁴ At the Battle of the Camel 'Ammār is said to have acquitted himself with honour.⁵ When the enemy forces were routed 'Ammār and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr were reportedly the first to approach 'Ā'isha on her stricken camel and to talk to her.⁶ Later 'Ammār was among those chosen by 'Alī to accompany 'Ā'isha to Baṣra.⁷

There are detailed descriptions of 'Ammār's role at the Battle of Ṣiffin, in which he lost his life. He reportedly called on 'Alī to present Mu'āwiya with an ultimatum and to fight him should he refuse to recognise 'Alī as caliph.⁸ 'Ammār's uncompromising views are shown by the forceful appeal attributed to

¹ See al-Mas'ūdī, op.cit., IV, pp.315-316.

² See (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., I, pp.52-53; 'Abd al-Jabbār, Al-mughnī, XX/ii, pp.67-68. Cf. aṭ-Ṭūsī, Amālī, II, p.327, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.406, and in general above, pp.185-188. Relations between Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and 'Ammār are said to have deteriorated to a point where they vowed not to talk to one another again; see Ibn Qutayba, Kitāb al-ma'ārif, p.550.

³ See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.20; aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.3172-3; al-Mas'ūdī, op.cit., IV, pp.308-309; al-Mufīd, Kitāb al-jamal, pp.116-117; aṭ-Ṭūsī, op.cit., II, pp.329-331, cit. Bihār, VIII, pp.406-407; Darajāt, p.264 (on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf).

⁴ See al-Mas'ūdī, op.cit., IV, pp.310-311. For versions of speeches attributed to 'Ammār on that occasion cf. al-Mufīd, op.cit., pp.117,125-126.

⁵ See aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.3196-7, 3199.

⁶ See Bihār, VIII, p.431 (quoting al-Balādhurī); aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.3216-7,3232-3.

⁷ See aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, p.3216.

⁸ See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., pp.92-93, cit. Darajāt, p.268; cf. (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, Al-imāma wa's-siyāsa, I, p.81.

him in which 'Alī is asked not to agree to any compromise with persons who must be regarded as unbelievers.¹ 'Ammār's complete conviction as to 'Alī's righteousness is conveyed by the words ascribed to him, "Even if they hit us with their sword until they made us reach the palm-branches of [distant] Hajar,² [still] I would know that we are right and they are wrong."³ In a speech supposedly delivered by 'Ammār on the eve of battle the main claims of the anti-Mu'āwīya camp are summarised: 'Uthmān had been an unjust ruler and was killed by men who had the best interests of the community at heart; 'Uthmān's self-appointed avengers were those who had benefited from his corrupt practices; their pious proclamations about the injustice perpetrated against 'Uthmān served only to conceal their pursuit of worldly gains and their own ambition to gain power; every Muslim was therefore duty-bound to fight them.⁴ In 'Ammār's view, 'Alī's enemies had never genuinely accepted Islam, and were only waiting for an opportunity to bring their unbelief into the open.⁵

According to one report, 'Alī was loath to let 'Ammār participate in the fighting; from the description of their emotional leave-taking it would appear that 'Alī had a premonition

¹ See (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, *op.cit.*, I, pp.109-110; cf. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *op.cit.*, pp.320-322, whence *Darajāt*, pp.270-271.

² A region in eastern Arabia, so called after the name of its capital. See the article "al-Ḥasā'" by F. S. Vidal, in *EI*², III, pp.237-238. A different version has "Bark al-Ghimād" instead of Hajar; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, p.589; cf. above, p.316, with n.2.

³ Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *op.cit.*, p.341, *cit. Biḥār*, VI, p.748. See also Ibn Sa'd, III/1, p.183; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op.cit.*, p.423; Ibn Manḡūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, II, p.150a, s.v. *s'f*.

⁴ See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *op.cit.*, p.319, *cit. Darajāt*, p.269.

⁵ See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *op.cit.*, p.215, whence al-Mufīd, *op.cit.*, p.3. For further details on 'Ammār's activities before the battle cf. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *op.cit.*, pp.333ff.

of 'Ammār's impending death.¹ 'Ammār was put in charge of the infantry,² and 500 men are said to have responded to his summons to join him in battle.³ He is credited with having killed 18 of the enemy;⁴ he is said to have forced 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to retreat from his position on the third day of the fighting.⁵ When he asked for water and received milk instead, 'Ammār knew that his end was near, for Muḥammad had prophesied that milk would be his last drink in this world;⁶ and indeed he was killed that day. The identity of 'Ammār's killers and the exact manner of his death are the subject of conflicting reports. In one tradition Abu 'l-Ghādiya al-Muzanī⁷ is mentioned as the man who stabbed 'Ammār with his spear, whereas another man cut off 'Ammār's head after he had fallen to the ground.⁸ This second man is sometimes identified as Ibn Jaz' as-Saksakī.⁹ In another tradition

¹ See al-Khazzāz ar-Rāzī, Kifāyat al-athar, p.303, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.525. Cf. al-Kishshī, op.cit., pp.31-32, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.523; see also Bihār, VI, pp.752-753.

² Cf. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., pp.208,214; aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, p.3283. Others report that 'Alī appointed 'Ammār as commander of the cavalry; see Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., p.205.

³ See (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, op.cit., I, p.110.

⁴ See al-Khazzāz ar-Rāzī, op.cit., p.304, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.525.

⁵ See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., p.214, cit. Darajāt, p.268; aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, p.3284, on the authority of Abū Mikhnaḥ; al-Mas'ūdī, op.cit., IV, p.352.

⁶ See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op.cit., p.342, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.528; Ibn Sa'd, III/i, pp.184-185; (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, loc.cit.; al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.35, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.523; Abū Nu'aym, op.cit., I, p.141; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ta'rikh Baghdād, I, p.152; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.423; Ibn al-Athīr, Usd al-ghāba, IV, p.46; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Taṭhīr al-janān, p.33. Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, op.cit., I, pp.3316-21.

⁷ His name is given as Yasār b. Sabu'. His nisba is also given as al-Juhānī and al-Fazārī, but this is said to be an error; see Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.186; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., pp.615-616; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., X, p.105; Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, Tarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq, II, p.25. The kunya Abu 'l-'Ādiya is also found, e.g. al-Mas'ūdī, op.cit., IV, p.359; Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit., IV, p.47.

⁸ See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.185. Cf. al-Khuwārizmī, Manāqib, p.123, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.524.

⁹ See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.243; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, loc.cit. The most common variations of his name are Ḥuwayy as-Saksakī

an unnamed person is said to have stabbed 'Ammār while Abu 'l-Ghādiya cut off his head.¹ Abu 'l-Ghādiya is quoted as claiming all the credit for stabbing and killing 'Ammār;² he had supposedly planned the killing after hearing 'Ammār making slighting remarks about 'Uthmān.³ Others mentioned as 'Ammār's killers are 'Uqba b. 'Āmir al-Juhānī, 'Amr (or 'Umar) b. Ḥārith al-Khawlānī and Sharik b. Salama al-Murādī.⁴ When two persons came to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, each claiming to have killed 'Ammār, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ is said to have told them, "You are only disputing with one another about entering Hell; I have heard the Apostle of God say, 'He who kills and robs 'Ammār [is] in Hell'."⁵ Mu'āwiya, who was reminded of the Prophet's statement that 'Ammār would be killed by a rebel band,⁶ replied that the responsibility for 'Ammār's death lay with those who had brought him to the battle.⁷ When 'Alī heard of Mu'āwiya's statement he is reported to have commented, "In that case the Apostle of God is the one

(Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.187), Ibn Ḥuwayn as-Saksakī (al-Mas'ūdī, op. cit., IV, p.359), and Ibn Ḥuwayy (or Ibn Jawn) (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op. cit., p.341, cit. Darajāt, p.279). The similarity in Arabic script between the words Jaz', Ḥuwayy and Jawn raises the possibility that these variations arose when copyists misread the original word.

¹ See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.186; Ibn Qutayba, Kitāb al-ma'ārif, p.257. Cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, loc. cit.

² See Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit.

³ See Ibn Qutayba, loc. cit.

⁴ See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.185; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

⁵ 'Abd al-Jabbār, Al-mughnī, XX/ii, p.99. See also Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, op. cit., pp.342-343, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.528; Darajāt, pp.279-280. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar is said to have used this opportunity to declare that although he supported Mu'āwiya he would not engage in active battle. See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.181; al-Kishshī, op. cit., p.37, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.523.

⁶ Cf. above, p.330.

⁷ See (pseudo-) Ibn Qutayba, Al-ināma wa's-siyāsa, I, p.110; 'Abd al-Jabbār, loc. cit.; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Taḥf al-janān, p.33; Bihār, VIII, p.528. According to a tradition quoted on the authority of Ḥunayy, a client of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, it was 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ who uttered those words. See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.188.

who killed [his uncle] Ḥamza [in the battle of Uhud] by throwing him onto the spears of the unbelievers."¹

Before his death 'Ammār reportedly asked to be treated in accordance with the Kūfī custom regarding martyrs, i.e. to be left unwashed, to be buried in his blood-soaked clothes, and not to have dust poured over his body.² 'Alī conducted the last prayers and had him laid to rest according to his last wish.³ 'Ammār's age at his death is given as 91, 93 or 94 years.⁴ His death is said to have convinced those who had heard Muḥammad's prophecy about the "rebel band" to fight for 'Alī. Thus it is related that Khuzayma b. Thābit, who had hitherto refrained from using his sword, joined 'Alī's ranks after news of 'Ammār's death had reached him, and was himself killed in the battle.⁵ 'Ammār was buried at Ṣiffīn⁶ and pilgrims used to visit his grave.⁷

'Ammār is usually described as tall, broad-shouldered, of slack frame and dark complexion, having a tinge of blueness in the black of his eyes, and not indulging in the habit of plucking

¹ Aṭ-Ṭabarṣī, Al-iḥtijāj, pp.97-98, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.522. Cf. also Bihār, VI, p.747.

² See Ibn Sa'd, III/1, pp.187-189; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.424, whence Darajāt, pp.282-283. Cf. al-Kishshī, op.cit., p.35, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.523; Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit., IV, p.47. Cf. in general Wensinck, Handbook, p.147, s.v. "Martyr(s)".

³ Ibn Sa'd, loc.cit.

⁴ Ibid. In one tradition 'Ammār is quoted as saying that no one was born on a closer date to the Prophet's birth than himself (see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op.cit., p.422, cit. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, op.cit., XX, p.38; Darajāt, p.283). But this cannot serve as a clear indication of 'Ammār's age, since the exact date of Muḥammad's birth is not generally agreed upon.

⁵ See al-Khuwārizmī, Manāqib, p.126, cit. Bihār, VIII, p.524; Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit., IV, pp.46-47; Ibn 'Aqīl, An-naṣā'ih al-kāfiya, p.25. Cf. Bihār, VIII, p.522 (quoting Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā', on which cf. Dharī'a, XVII, p.104, no.569); see also al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rikh, II, p.219. On Khuzayma cf. above, p.237, n.4.

⁶ See Ibn Sa'd, VI, pp.7-8; al-Mas'ūdī, op.cit., IV, p.359.

⁷ See Donaldson, The Shi'ite religion, p.268 (quoting from al-Majlisī, Tuhfat az-zā'irīn).

out his white hair.¹ He is said to have been a pious, God-fearing man, who used to withdraw into protracted periods of silence and sadness.² He was known as a kind and generous person.³ It is reported that God protected him from the temptations of Satan.⁴

'Ammār's long life spans the whole range of momentous events in early Islam which culminated in the Battle of Ṣiffin. In his actions and utterances, as reflected in Imāmī literature, one can trace the Imāmī attitude not only to the first three caliphs but also to 'Alī's opponents in the period following 'Uthmān's murder. Hence the particular significance of 'Ammār's biography in the context of the Imāmī evaluation of events and personalities in the first generation of Islam.

¹ See Ibn Sa'd, III/i, p.189; Ibn Qutayba, Kitāb al-ma'ārif, p.258; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, I, p.152; Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit., IV, p.47; Darajāt, p.255.

² See Abū Nu'aym, op.cit., I, p.142; cf. adh-Dhahabī, Siyar, I, p.303.

³ Cf. the story in aṭ-Ṭabarī, Bishārat al-muṣṭafā, pp.137-139.

⁴ Cf. adh-Dhahabī, op.cit., I, p.299.

SOME ZAYDĪ VIEWS ON THE COMPANIONS

1.

Introductory Remarks

The history of the Zaydiyya and the growth of Zaydī thought, law and doctrine have become increasingly well known as a result of studies by R. Strothmann,¹ E. Griffini,² C. Van Arendonk,³ W. Madelung⁴ and others. As Madelung has convincingly shown in his book on al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, Zaydī doctrine, which initially differed appreciably from the Mu'tazila on many issues, eventually adopted all five of the principal tenets of Mu'tazilism. At the same time, the various Zaydī branches retained the belief in an Imam descended from 'Alī and Fāṭima. Because of this belief they are considered as Shi'is. Yet the Zaydī doctrine of the imamate differs from the Imāmī doctrine in some important points. The Zaydis rejected the Imāmī principle that the Imam must be infallible, sinless and omniscient; the Batri Zaydis⁵ went even further and argued that under certain circumstances the Imam need not be the most excellent person of his generation (this is the theory of the imāmat al-mafḍūl). Most Zaydis maintained instead that the Imam had to prove his leadership by fighting for the faith (jihād). The Imāmī claim

¹ Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen, Strassburg 1912; Kultus der Zaiditen, Strassburg 1912 (not seen); "Die Literatur der Zaiditen", in Der Islam 1, 1910, pp.354-368, Der Islam 2, 1911, pp.49-78; "Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. 'Alī", in Der Islam 13, 1923, pp.1-52.

² Corpus juris di Zaid b. 'Alī, Milan 1919.

³ De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen, Leiden 1919.

⁴ Der Imam Al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen, Berlin 1965.

⁵ On the Batriyya cf. Strothmann, Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen, pp.31ff; al-Qāsim, index.

that all the Imams had been personally designated by God and His Prophet was accepted by the Zaydis only with regard to 'Alī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.¹

The Zaydiyya occupies an intermediate position between Mu'tazilī and Imāmī doctrine. The clearest indication of the leanings of a particular Zaydī author can be seen in his attitude towards the Companions. Zaydī authors holding pro-Imāmī views are generally more severe in their judgment of the Ṣaḥāba than those who have unreservedly adopted the Mu'tazilī line. It is hoped that this fact will emerge from the following brief survey of some Zaydī beliefs concerning the Companions.

2. The Companions After Muḥammad's Death

Zaydī authors agree that during Muḥammad's lifetime the Companions served the cause of Islam with loyalty and devotion. At the same time they maintain that 'Alī was the true successor to Muḥammad. The problem which Zaydī scholars had to face was how to explain the fact that the Companions elected Abū Bakr and not 'Alī. The following is a sample of the different answers given by different Zaydī authors:

(a) While Muḥammad often praised 'Alī's virtues, he did not make an unequivocal declaration appointing 'Alī as his successor. 'Alī's designation was not explicit (nass jalī) but concealed or implicit (nass khafī), of a kind that could be inferred logically (nass istidlālī) but which could not be proved by reference to an explicit text.² In order to discover the identity of the Imam the Companions had to resort to individual reasoning

¹ For further details see Strothmann, op.cit., pp.63ff.

² See Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥumayd (d. after 972/1564), Nuzhat al-absār, f164a. The Imāmīs are accused of having invented the explicit designation theory so as to have a pretext for vilifying the Companions (ibid.).

(ijtihād). The validity of this course of action is attested to by words attributed to the Prophet, "Everyone who uses individual reasoning is right."¹ Hence the Companions cannot be accused of having committed any sin.²

(b) Those Companions who supported Abū Bakr despite knowing that 'Alī was the most excellent among them may have been motivated by fear that any delay in electing a new ruler would cause widespread apostasy among the newly converted and among the munāfiqūn. Since 'Alī was engaged in preparing the Prophet's body for burial, the Companions chose Abū Bakr instead.³ Another reason for the haste in which Abū Bakr was elected was the wish of the Muhājirūn to forestall the Anṣārī plan to elect their own leader Sa'd b. 'Ubāda.⁴

(c) The confused and often conflicting reports about that early period make it impossible to gain a clear picture of the precise motives for the actions of individual Companions. It must be assumed that the Companions in general had the best interest (maṣlaḥa) of the community in mind. The wisest course therefore is to refrain from expressing any opinion on them and to let God be their judge.⁵

(d) Although the designation of 'Alī as Muḥammad's successor was implicit, its contents and purport were clear-cut and unambiguous (nuṣūṣ qat'iyya), leaving room neither for assumptions

¹ See above, pp.11-12, 61.

² Ibid., f167b. Ḥamidān b. Yahyā (fl. 7th/13th century), who opposed the strong Mu'tazilī influence on Zaydī doctrine (see al-Qāsim, pp.218ff), rejects the application of the theory of ijtihād to the Companions. See his Al-muntaza' ath-thānī min aqwāl al-a'imma, ff 114a-115a.

³ See 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad an-Najrī (d. 877/1472), Mirqāt al-anṣār, f130a.

⁴ Ibid. Cf. above, p.115.

⁵ Ibid., f130b (quoting al-Khayyāt; cf. also above, p.55, n.1); Ibn Ḥumayd, op.cit., ff164b, 171a.

(zann) nor for individual reasoning (ijtihad). Hence the first three caliphs and their supporters are guilty of error (khata'). It does not follow, however, that they are also guilty of a grave sin (fisq), since they did not act in a spirit of rebellion (tamarrudan) against God.¹ Although the Companions are not perfect, their virtuous deeds during the Prophet's lifetime more than compensate for any subsequent lapses. This is corroborated by the tradition on the authority of Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān in which Muḥammad is quoted as declaring, "My Companions will slip after my death but this will be forgiven them because they were the first to follow me."²

(e) Abū Bakr could not claim to have been elected by unanimous consent (ijmā') since many distinguished Companions opposed him. Among them were twelve--six Muhājirūn and six Anṣār--who spoke up for 'Alī's rights.³ According to one account, their speeches made such a strong impression on Abū Bakr that he went into seclusion for three days. His followers, fearing that he might decide to abdicate in favour of 'Alī, marched into the streets and threatened to kill anyone who would henceforth dare to challenge Abū Bakr's authority.⁴

(f) After Muḥammad's death the community was divided into two camps: 'Alī and his supporters, who followed the commandments of the Qur'ān, and the rest of the people, who "went astray like

¹ See an-Najrī, loc.cit. (where this view is attributed to a group of Zaydīs known as al-muḥaqqiqūn, "those who seek to establish the truth by critical investigation").

² Takūnu li-aṣḥābi ba'dī zalla tuḥfaru lahum li-sābiqatihim ma'ī (Ibn Ḥumayd, op.cit., f165a. For this tradition see also aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ar-riyāḍ an-naḍira, I, pp.21-22; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, Kanz al-'ummāl, XII, p.155 (on the authority of 'Alī)).

³ Cf. above, pp.235-236.

⁴ See Yaḥyā b. Ḥāshim al-Ḥadawī, Najāt aṭ-ṭālib, f6a. Cf. also al-Ḥādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/911), Kitāb tathbīt al-imāma, ff 164a-164b; al-Manṣūr Ḥasan b. Badr ad-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 669/1271 or 670/1272), Kitāb anwār al-yaqīn, f219b.

a blind camel."¹

3. The Attitude to Individual Companions

The First Three Caliphs

(a) A position of neutrality (tawagguḥ) should be adopted and no judgment should be passed on them.²

(b) The three caliphs committed an odious deed (qabīḥ) and an act of rebellion (ma'siya), but there is no definite proof that their action constituted a grave sin (fisq). They are therefore to be considered as believers with whom God was satisfied.³

(c) The three caliphs committed a major offence (kabīra) and are guilty of a grave sin (fisq).⁴

(d) Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba played a particularly sinister role in the usurpation. He boasted that he was the first to have wrested power away from the ahl al-bayt. Abū Bakr was on the point of giving 'Alī the oath of allegiance when al-Mughīra appeared and warned him that 'Alī would become both the qaysar

¹ Ḥamīdān b. Yaḥyā, Al-muntaẓa' al-awwal min aqwāl al-a'imma, f75b, quoting from the Kitāb dhamm al-ahwā' wa'l-wuhūm by al-Qāsim b. 'Alī (i.e. al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim b. 'Alī al-'Ayyānī, a great-grandson of Muḥammad, who was the son of al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 393/1003); cf. al-Qāsim, pp.194-195).

² See Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jundārī, Simt al-jumān (unpaginated MS).

³ This view was reportedly held by the Zaydī Imam al-Mu'ayyad bi-'llāh (d. 411/1020) and others. In fact, most Zaydīs refused to regard Abū Bakr and 'Umar as guilty of fisq (ibid.).

⁴ This minority view was reportedly held by the Zaydī Imams Abu 'l-Faṭḥ ad-Daylamī (lived 5th/11th century), al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (d. 566/1170), al-Manṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Badr ad-Dīn and others (ibid.). Al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860), who was the real founder of Zaydī dogmatics, was sharply critical of the first caliphs and the other Companions of the Saqīfa, but tried to avoid giving his views a definitive form in the shape of a dogma (see Strothmann, op.cit., p.38). No such doubts beset al-Qāsim's grandson, the Imam al-Ḥādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/911): he condemned Abū Bakr and 'Umar and declared them to be unbelievers who deserved the death penalty (see Van Arendonk, op.cit., p. 254; al-Qāsim, p.167).

and the kisrā¹ of the Muslims, and that authority would henceforth reside solely with the Hāshimis. When Abū Bakr failed to be impressed by these arguments al-Mughīra turned to 'Umar and succeeded in winning him over to his standpoint. The two men then returned to Abū Bakr and proceeded with him to the Saqifa, where the actual usurpation took place.² It is al-Mughīra, then, even more than the two caliphs, who must bear the brunt of the responsibility for the injustice perpetrated against 'Alī.³

(e) By illegally taking over the reins of power after Muḥammad's death, Abū Bakr, 'Umar and their chief supporters deliberately broke their own pledge. They thus proclaimed themselves guilty of error and moral blindness (ad-dalāla wa'l-'amā). Their crime is so obvious that those who oppose them can dispense with any attacks (ṭa'n) on them.⁴ In addition, Abū Bakr and 'Umar proved their inadequacy as rulers by their ignorance of the religious law. When 'Umar became caliph he consistently attacked his predecessor;⁵ specifically, he rejected and criticised many of the legal decisions made by Abū Bakr. Such criticism can be interpreted in one of two ways: either 'Umar had not discovered Abū Bakr's errors until after Abū Bakr's death, in which case he is

¹ Referring to the Byzantine and the Persian emperors, respectively.

² See Yahyā b. Hāshim al-Hadawī, op.cit., ff3a-3b, quoting from the Ash-shāfi by al-Manṣūr bi-'llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d.614/1217).

³ The claim that al-Mughīra played a central part in laying the groundwork for the usurpation seems to be specifically Zaydī. The Imāmis, too, attribute to al-Mughīra a variety of anti-'Alid actions (cf. e.g. above, pp. 201, 242); but in discussing the usurpation itself they usually mention Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ as the main collaborator with Abū Bakr and 'Umar (cf. above, p.140).

⁴ See al-Manṣūr Ḥasan b. Badr ad-Dīn, op.cit., f163b.. Through this argument the author could avoid taking an unambiguous stand on the question of whether Abū Bakr and 'Umar should be cursed (cf. below, pp.350-351).

⁵ For a similar claim made by Imāmī scholars cf. above, p.162.

"the most blind-hearted and unintelligent of God's creatures"; or else he had been aware of Abū Bakr's errors but had hypocritically concealed this knowledge from him, because Abū Bakr's approval was more important to him than the anger of God and His Apostle; in that case 'Umar has no share (hazz) in Islam.¹

Some early Zaydīs held that the formula "May God be pleased with them (raḍiya 'llāhu 'anhum)," known as the tardiya, should not be employed after the names of the first three caliphs. Others maintained a position of neutrality on that question. Only the later Zaydī authors taught that the tardiya could definitely be used.²

'Alī's Opponents During His Caliphate

(a) Ṭalḥa, az-Zubayr and 'Ā'isha rebelled against the lawful Imam. They thus committed an error (khata') which reached the degree of a grave sin (fisq). They subsequently repented and died as believers who will enter Paradise.³

(b) Ṭalḥa, az-Zubayr and 'Ā'isha did not repent and died in error.⁴

(c) The error of Ṭalḥa and his accomplices amounted to

¹ Ibid., f164a.

² See an-Najrī, op.cit., f131a, whence al-Qāsim, p.45; cf. also Strothmann, op.cit., p.39, n.1.

³ See an-Najrī, loc.cit. This argument reflects the views held by most Mu'tazilīs (cf. above, p.59). The Zaydī Ibn al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1437) (quoted ibid., f131b) disagrees, however, with 'Abd al-Jabbār's claim that since it is impossible to know man's innermost thoughts, a person may be considered as having repented even when there is no conclusive evidence to that effect (cf. above, p.59). According to Ibn al-Murtaḍā, a definite error (al-khata' al-maqtū' bihī) can be rectified only by a clear repentance. Since external, apparent actions (zāhir) are the basis of all worship, repentance, too, must be regarded as having taken place when there are external proofs for its existence. The implication from Ibn al-Murtaḍā's argument is that no distinction can be drawn between what a man says and what he believes.

⁴ This view was held by a minority among the Zaydiyya, who were influenced by Imāmī beliefs. See an-Najrī, op.cit., f131a.

unbelief.¹

(d) Mu'āwiya is a grave sinner who did not repent. His supporters at Ṣiffin are all guilty of rebelling against a lawful Imam.²

(e) Mu'āwiya is an unbeliever because of his many sins. Among other things he killed many Companions, believed in predestination (jabr) and adopted Ziyād b. Abihī despite Muhammad's decree, "The child belongs to the [master of the] marriage-bed, and the fornicator shall have nothing."³

4. Vilification of the Companions

A late Zaydī author declares that it is forbidden to vilify the Companions, and quotes an impressive number of earlier Zaydī authorities in support of his view.⁴ He argues that the Prophet forbade anyone to make derogatory statements about the Companions,⁵ and that Zayd b. 'Alī refused to curse Abū Bakr and 'Umar and was therefore forsaken by the Rāfiḍīs.⁶ Ḥamīdān b. Yaḥyā maintains, on the other hand, that "Ṣaḥāba" is a generic term referring to all those who accompanied the Prophet. As such it includes apostates and hypocrites as well as virtuous men, and incorporates 'Alī's opponents at the battles of the Camel, Ṣiffin and an-Nahrawān as well as his most ardent supporters. Hence no generalisations should be made about the

¹ This view was allegedly held by Sulaymān b. Jarīr, the founder of the Jarīriyya (also known as Sulaymāniyya). See an-Nawbakhtī, Firaq ash-shī'a, p.9; an-Najrī, loc.cit.; cf. in general Van Arendonk, op.cit., p.73; al-Qāsim, p.62.

² See an-Najrī, op.cit., ff131b-132a.

³ Ibid. For further details see above, p.202. It is not surprising that the Zaydīs, who generally accepted the Mu'tazilī doctrine of free will, should accuse Mu'āwiya of adhering to deterministic beliefs.

⁴ See Ibn Ḥumayd, op.cit., f161b.

⁵ Ibid., ff163b, 168a. Cf. above, pp.33-34.

⁶ Ibid., f162b. Cf. above, pp.85-86.

Companions: they should be neither praised nor vilified as a group. A virtuous Companion should not be cursed; but it is permissible (jā'iz) to curse those Companions whose sinfulness (fisq) has been established beyond doubt. Among them are Mu'āwiya and his followers, al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī.¹

Most Zaydīs did not consider it permissible to curse the first two caliphs or 'Ā'isha: the Imam al-Hādī (d. 298/911) is said to have flogged people in Ṣan'ā' who had vilified Abū Bakr and 'Umar.² Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd (d. 270/884), the founder of the northern Zaydī state,³ is reported to have ordered the execution of a man who had cursed 'Ā'isha. When the 'Alids protested against this harsh verdict on one of their own, al-Ḥasan explained that cursing 'Ā'isha was tantamount to reviling the Prophet.⁴

5. The Companions as Transmitters

For the Zaydīs, the most reliable and trustworthy authorities are the Imams belonging to the Prophet's family (a'immat al-'itra).⁵ Yet the Zaydīs, unlike the Imāmīs, do not insist on the omniscience of their Imams and are therefore able in principle to accept other authorities as well. Thus they

¹ See Ḥamidān b. Yahyā, Al-muntaza' ath-thānī min aqwāl al-a'imma, f113a, whence Yahyā b. Hāshim al-Hadawī, op.cit., ff25a-26b. Ḥamidān's views are similar to those which Ibn Abi 'l-Hadīd attributes to an anonymous Zaydī; cf. above, pp.98, 208-209.

² See Ibn Ḥumayd, op.cit., f168a. This story seems rather suspect in view of al-Hādī's known hostility towards the leading Companions (cf. above, p.347, n.4).

³ He is not generally liked by later Zaydī authors. Cf. al-Qāsim, pp.154-159.

⁴ See as-Subkī, As-sayf al-maslūl, f85a; Ibn al-Jawzī, Tadhkira, ff169a-169b. Cf. above, pp.44-45.

⁵ See Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Wazīr (d. 914/1508), Al-falak ad-dawwār, f26a.

commonly accept as authorities the entire ahl al-bayt (descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima) irrespective of their being recognised as Imams or not. The question of whether or not the transmission of the Companions can be admitted was one of the few major issues on which Zaydīs in the 2nd/8th century found themselves in serious disagreement.¹ According to the moderate Batriyya, any member of the community might act as transmitter.² This view was adopted at least by some of the later Zaydī Imams. It is reported that when the Imam an-Nāṣir li'l-Ḥaqq al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917) dictated traditions on the authority of Abū Bakr and 'Umar he noticed that the person who was taking down the notes did not add the tardiya after the names of the two caliphs. Al-Uṭrūsh asked him reproachfully, "Why don't you write the tardiya? Such knowledge is reported only from them and from their likes."³ The Mu'tazilī Zaydī al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī (d. 494/1101)⁴ attacked the Rāfiḍa for rejecting the transmission of the Companions.⁵

The Sunnī principle that all Companions are persons of high morals⁶ is accepted with the reservation that it does not apply to those Companions whose sinfulness has become apparent (man zahara fisquhū), such as those who fought against 'Alī and did not repent.⁵

¹ See al-Qāsim, pp. 68-69.

² Ibid., pp. 49-50.

³ Inna mithla hādha 'l-'ilm lā yu'tharu illā 'anhumā wa-'an amthālihimā (Ibn Ḥumayd, op.cit., f169b). It is to be noted, however, that al-Uṭrūsh is rather anti-Mu'tazilī and often close to Imāmī doctrine (cf. al-Qāsim, pp. 159ff). According to al-Manṣūr bi-'llāh, the Companions are the most excellent of the community after the ahl al-bayt (Ibn Ḥumayd, op.cit., f171a).

⁴ On whom cf. above, p. 74, with n. 2.

⁵ See his Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il, f31b.

⁶ See above, pp. 6ff, 22-23.

⁷ See Ibn al-Wazīr, op.cit., f70a.

The later Zaydī doctrine, which is derived from the Jārūdī position, is that 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and Fāṭima can be accepted as authorities in their own right, since they are the only persons after Muḥammad who were endowed with infallibility ('iṣma). The Batrīs maintain that the common people ('āmma) could choose whether to turn for guidance to members of the ahl al-bayt or to other Companions; it follows that the utterances of the ahl al-bayt carry no more authority than those of the rest of the Ṣaḥāba.¹

¹ See an-Najrī, op.cit., f133b.

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