ومن خطبة له (عليه السلام) [يحث الناسِ على الجها د للعودة إلى صفين] : رُويَ عَنْ نَوْفِ الْبَكَالِيِّ قَالَ خَطَبَنَا بِهَذِهِ الْخُطْبَةَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمْنِينَ عَلِيِّ (عليه السلام) بِالْكُوفَة وَهُو قَائِمٌ عَلَي حِجَارَة نِصَبَهَا لَهُ جَعْدَةُ بْنُ هُبَيْرَةَ الْمَخْزُومِيُّ وَعَلَيْهِ مِدْرَعَةٌ مِنْ صُوفٍ وَحَمَائِلُ سَيْفِهِ لِيفٌ وَفِي رِجْلَيْهِ نَعْلانِ مِنْ لِيفٍ وَكَأَنَّ جَبِينَهُ ثَفِنَةٌ بَعِيرٍ فَقَالَ (عليه السلام) :

It has been related by Nawf al-Bikālī that Amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī (p.b.u.h.) delivered this sermon at Kūfah standing on a stone which Ja'dah ibn Hubayrah al-Makhzūmī had placed for him. Amīr al-mu'minīn had a woollen apparel on his body, the belt of his sword was made of leaves, and the sandals on his feet too were of palm leaves. His forehead had a hardened spot like that of a camel (on its knee, due to too many and long prostrations).

Praise be to Allāh to Whom is the return of all creation and the end of all matters. We render Him praise for the greatness of His generosity, the charity of His proofs, the increase of His bounty and His favours, — praise which may fulfil His right, repay His thanks, take (us) near His reward and be productive of increase in His kindness.

We seek His help like one who is hopeful of His bounty, desirous of His benefit, and confident of His warding off (calamities), who acknowledges His gifts and is obedient to Him in word and deed. We believe in Him like him who reposes hope in Him with conviction, inclines to Him as a believer, humbles himself before Him obediently, believes in His oneness exclusively, regards Him great, acknowledging His dignity, and seeks refuge with Him with inclination and exertion.

Allāh the Glorified has not been born so that someone could be (His) partner in glory. Nor has He begotten anyone so as to be inherited from after dying. Time and period have not preceded Him. Increase and decrease do not occur to Him. But He has manifested Himself to our understanding through our having observed His strong control and firm decree.

فَمِنْ شَوَاهِد خَلْقُه خَلْقُ السَّمَاوِاتِ مُوطَّدَاتِ بِلاَ عَمَد، قَائِمَاتِ بِلاَ سَنَد، دَعَاهُن َّ فَأَجْبْنَ طَائِعَاتِ مُذْعَنَات، غَيْرَ مَتَلَكَّنَاتٍ وَلاَ مُبطَّئات، وَلَوْ لاَ إِقْرَارُهُن َّ لَهُ بِالرِّبُوبِيَّةِ وَإِذْعَانُهُن َ بِالطَّواعِيَةِ، لَمَا جَعَلَهُن َ مَوْضِعاً لِعَرْشِهِ، وَلاَ مَسْكَناً لِمَلاثِكَتِهِ، وَلاَ مَصْعَداً لِلْكَلِمِ الطَّيِّبِ وَالْعَمَلِ الصَّالِحِ مِنْ خَلْقِهِ.

Among the proofs of His creation is the creation of the skies which are fastened without pillars and stand without support. He called them and they responded obediently and humbly without being lazy or loathsome. If they had not acknowledged His Godhead and obeyed Him He would not have made them the place for His throne, the abode of His angels and the destination for the rising up of 'the pure utterances and the righteous deeds' (ref. 35:10) of the creatures.

He has made the stars in the skies by way of signs by which travellers wandering the various routes of the earth may be guided. The gloom of the dark curtains of the night does not prevent the flame of their light, nor do the veils of blackish nights have the power to turn back the light of the moon when it spreads in the skies.

Glory be to Allāh from Whom neither the blackness of dark dusk or of gloomy night (falling) in the low parts of the earth or on high dim mountains is hidden, nor the thundering of clouds on the horizons of the skies, nor the sparking of lightning in the clouds, nor the falling of leaves blown away from their falling places by the winds of hurricanes or by downpour from the sky. He knows where the drops. fall and where they stay, where the grubs leave their trails or where they drag themselves, what livelihood would suffice the mosquitoes and what a female bears in its womb.

Praise be to Allāh Who exists from before the coming into existence of the seat, the throne, the sky, the earth, the jinn or human being. He cannot be perceived by imagination nor measured by understanding. He who begs from Him does not divert Him (from others), nor does giving away cause Him diminution. He does not see by

means of an eye, nor can He be confined to a place. He cannot be said to have companions. He does not create with (the help of) limbs. He cannot be perceived by senses. He cannot be thought of after the people. It is He who spoke to Mūsā clearly and showed him His great signs without the use of bodily parts, the organ of speech or the uvula.

بَلْ إِنْ كُنْتَ صَا دِقاً أَيُّهَا الْمُتَكَلِّفُ لِوَ صْفَ رَبِّكَ، فَصِفْ جَبْرَئيلَ وَميكَائيلَ وَجُنُو دَ الْمَلاَئِكَةِ الْمُقَرَّبِينَ، فِي حُجُرِاتِ الْقُدُسِ مُرْجِحِنَّ يِنِ، مُتَوِلَهُمْ أَنْ يَحُدُوا أَحْسَنِ الْخَالِقِينَ. وَإِنَّمَا يُدرَكُ بِالصَّفَاتِ ذَوُوالْهَيْئَاتِ وَالاْدَوَاتِ، وَمَنْ يَنْقَضِيَ إِذَا بَلَغَ أَمَدَ حَدِّهِ بِالْفَنَاءِ، فَلاَ إِلهَ إِلاَّ هُو، أَضَاءَ بِنُورِهِ كُلَّ ظَلاَم، وَأَظْلَمَ بِظُلْمَتِهِ كُلَّ نُور.

O you who exert yourself in describing Allāh if you are serious then (first try to) describe Gabriel, Michael or the host of angels who are close (to Allāh) in the receptacles of sublimity; but their heads are bent downwards and their wits are perplexed as to how to assign limits (of definition) to the Highest Creator. This is because those things can only be perceived through qualities which have shape and parts and which succumb to death after reaching the end of their times. There is no god but He. He has lighted every darkness with His effulgence and has darkened every light with the darkness (of death).

[الوصية بالتقوى:] أُو صِيكُمْ عِبَا دَ الله بِتَقْوَى اللهِ الَّذِي أَلْبَسِكُمُ الرِّيَاشَ، وأَ سْبَعَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْمُعَاشَ؛ فَلَوْ أَنَّ أَحَداً يَجِدُ إِلَى الْبَقَاءِ سَلِماً، أَوْ لِدَفْعِ الْمُوْتِ سَبِيلًا، لَكَانَ ذَلِكَ سِلْيْمانَ بُنَ دَاوُ دَ(عِليه السلام)، الَّذِي سُخِّر لَهُ مُلْكُ الْجِنِّ وَالْأَنْسِ، مَعَ النَّبُو وَعَظَيمِ الزِّلْفَةِ، فَلَمَّ السَّوْفِي طُعْمِتَهُ، وَا سْتَكْمَلَ مُدَّتَهُ، رَمَتْهُ قَسِي الْفَنَاءِ بِنِبَالِ المَوْتِ، وَأَ صَبْحَتِ الدِّيَارُ مِنْهُ خَالِيَةً، وَالْمَساكِنُ مُعَطَّلَةً، ورَثِهَا قَوْمٌ آخَرُونَ، وإِنَّ لَكُمْ فِي الْقُرُونِ السَّالِفَةِ لَعِبْرَةً!

[An account of past peoples and about learning from them :] I advise you, creatures of Allāh, to practise fear of Allāh Who gave you good clothing and bestowed an abundance of sustenance on you. If there was anyone who could secure a ladder to everlasting life or a way to avoid death it was Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd (a.s.) who was given control over the domain of the jinn and men along with prophethood and great position (before Allāh), but when he finished what was his due in food (of this world) and exhausted his (fixed) time the bow of destruction shot him with arrow of death. His houses became vacant and his habitations became empty. Another group of people inherited them. Certainly, the by-gone centuries have a lesson for you.

أَيْنَ الْعَمَالَقَةُ وَأَبْنَاءُ ٱلْعَمَالَقَة! أَيْنَ الْفَرَاعِنَةُ وَأَبْنَاءُ الْفَرَاعِنَة! أَيْنَ أَصْحَابٍ مَدَائِنِ الرِّسِِّ الِّذِينَ قَتِلُوا النَّبِيِّينَ، وَأَطْفَأُوا سِنَنَ الْمُرْسَلِينَ، وَأَحْيَوْا سُنَنَ ٱلْجَبَّارِينَ! أَيْنَ الَّذِينَ سَارُوا بِٱلْجُيُوشِ، وَهَزَمُوا الْأَلُوف، وعَسْكَرُوا الْعساكِرِ، وَمَدَّنُوا الْمَدَائِنَ؟!

Where are the Amalekites [1] and the sons of Amalekites? Where are the Pharaohs? [2] Where are the people of the cities of ar-Rass [3] who killed the

prophets, destroyed the traditions of the divine messengers and revived the traditions of the despots? Where are those who advanced with armies, defeated thousands, mobilised forces and populated cities?

[A part of the same sermon about the Imām al-Mahdī:] He will be wearing the armour of wisdom, which he will have secured with all its conditions, such as full attention towards it, its (complete) knowledge and exclusive devotion to it. For him it is like a thing which he had lost and which he was then seeking, or a need which he was trying to fulfil. If Islam is in trouble he will feel forlon like a traveller and like a (tired) camel beating the end of its tail and with its neck flattened on the ground. He is the last of Allāh's proofs and one of the vicegerents of His prophets.

[On the method of his ruling, and grief over the martyrdom of his companions:] Then Amīr al-mu'minīn continued: O people! I have divulged to you advice which the prophets used to preach before their peoples, and I have conveyed to you what the vicegerents (of the prophets) conveyed to those coming after them. I tried to train you with my whip but you could not be straightened. I drove you with admonition but you did not acquire proper behaviour. May Allāh deal with you! Do you want an Imām other than me to take you on the (right) path, and show you the correct way?

Beware, the things in this world which were forward have become things of the past, and those of which were behind are going ahead. The virtuous people of Allāh have made up their minds to leave and they have purchased, with a little perishable (pleasure) of this world, a lot of such (reward) in the next world that will remain. What loss did our brothers whose blood was shed in Ṣiffīn suffer by not being alive today? Only that they are not suffering choking on swallowings and not drinking

turbid water. By Allāh, surely they have met Allāh and He has bestowed upon them their rewards and He has lodged them in safe houses after their (having suffered) fear.

Where are my brethren who took the (right) path and trod in rightness. Where is 'Ammār? [4] Where is Ibn at-Tayyihān? [5] Where is Dhu'sh-Shahādatayn? [6] And where are others like them [7] from among their comrades who had pledged themselves to death and whose (severed) heads were taken to the wicked enemy.

Then Amīr al-mu'minīn wiped his hand over his auspicious, honoured beard and wept for a long time, then he continued:

Oh! my brothers, who recited the Qur'ān and strengthened it, thought over their obligation and fulfilled it, revived the sunnah and destroyed innovation. When they were called to jihād they responded and trusted in their leader then followed him.

Then Amīr al-mu'minīn shouted at the top of his voice: al jihād, al jihād (fighting, fighting), O creatures of Allāh! By Allāh, I am mobilizing the army today. He who desires to proceed towards Allāh should come forward.

Nawf says: Then Amīr al-mu'minīn put Ḥusayn (a.s.) over (a force of) ten thousand, Qays ibn Sa'd (mercy of Allāh be upon him) over ten thousand, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī over ten thousand, and others over different numbers, intending to return to Ṣiffīn, but Friday did not appear again and the accursed Ibn Muljam (May Allāh curse him) killed him. Consequently, the armies came back and were left like sheep

who had lost their shepherd while wolves were snatching them away from all sides.

Footnote:

[1] History shows that very often the ruin and destruction of peoples has been due to their oppression and open wickedness and profligacy. Consequently, communities which had extended their sway over all the corners of the populated world and had flown their flags in the East and West of the globe disappeared from the surface of the earth like a wrong word, on disclosure of their vicious actions and evil doings.

Amalekites: ancient nomadic tribe, or collection of tribes, described in the Old Testament as relentless enemies of Israel, even though they were closely related to Ephraim, one of the twelve tribes of Israel. Their name derives from Amalek, who is celebrated in Arabian tradition but cannot be identified. The district over which they ranged was south of Judah and probably extended into northern Arabia. The Amalekites harrassed the Hebrews during their exodus out of Egypt and attacked them at Rephidim (near Mt. Sinai), where they were defeated by Joshua. They also filled out the ranks of the nomadic raiders defeated by Gideon and were condemned to annihilation by Samuel. The Amelekites, whose final defeat occurred in the time of Hezekiah, were the object of a perpetual curse. (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica [Micropaedia], vol. I, p. 288, ed. 1973-1974; also see [for further reference] The Encyclopaedia Americana, [International Edition] vol. I, p. 651, ed. 1975).

[2] Pharoah: Hebrew form of the Egyptian per-'o ("the great house"), signifying the royal palace, an epithet applied in the New Kingdom and after, as a title of respect, to the Egyptian king himself. In the 22nd dynasty the title was added to the king's personal name. In official documents the full titulary of the Egyptian king contained five names. The first and oldest identified him as the incarnation of the falcon god, Horus; it was often written inside a square called serekh, depicting the facade of the archaic palace. The second name, "two ladies," placed him under the protection of Nekhbet and Buto, the vulture and uraeus (snake) goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt; the third, "golden Horns," signified perhaps originally "Horns victorious over his enemies." The last two names, written within a ring, or cartouche, are generally referred to as the praenomen and nomen, and were the ones most commonly used; the praenomen, preceded by the hieroglyph meaning "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," usually contained a reference to the king's unique relationship with the sun god, Re, while the fifth, or nomen, was preceded by the hieroglyph for "Son of Re,"

or by that for "Lord of the two lands." The last name was given him at birth, the rest at his coronation. (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica [Micropaedia], vol. VII, p. 927, ed. 1973-1974; also see [for further reference] The Encyclopaedia Americana, [International Edition], vol. 21, p. 707, ed. 1975).

Among the Pharaohs was the Pharaoh of the days of Prophet Mūsā. His pride, egotism, insolence and haughtiness were such that by making the claim "I am your sublime God" he deemed himself to be holding sway over all other powers of the world, and was under the misunderstanding that no power could wrest the realm and government from his hands. The Qur'ān has narrated his claim of "I and no one else" in the following words:

And proclaimed Pharaoh unto his people, O my people! is not the kingdom of Egypt mine? And these rivers flow below me; What! behold ye not? (43:51)

But when his empire came near the end it was destroyed in a few moments. Neither his position and servants could come in the way of its destruction nor could the vastness of his realm prevent it. Rather, the waves of the very streams which he was extremely proud to possess, wrapped him in and dispatched his spirit to Hell throwing the body on the bank to serve as a lesson for the whole of creation.

[3] The people of the cities of ar-Rass: In the same way the people of ar-Rass were killed and destroyed for disregarding the preaching and call of a prophet, and for revolt and disobedience. About them the Qur'ān says:

And the (tribes of) 'Ād and Thamūd and the inhabitants of ar-Rass, and generations between them, in great number. And unto each of them We did give examples and every one (of them) We did destroy with utter extermination. (25:38,39) Belied (also) those before them the people of Noah and the dwellers of ar-Rass and Thamūd; And 'Ād and Pharaoh, and the brethren of Lot; And the dwellers of the Wood and the people of Tubba'; all belied the apostles, so was proved true My promise (of the doom) (50:12—14)

[4] 'Ammār ibn Yāsir ibn 'Amir al-'Ansī al-Madhḥijī al-Makhzūmī (a confederate of Banū Makhzūm) was one of the earliest converts to Islam, and the first Muslim to build a mosque in his own house in which he used to worship Allāh (aṭ-Ṭabaqāt, vol. 3, Part 1, p. 178; Usd al-ghābah, vol. 4, p. 46; Ibn Kathīr, aṭ-Ṭārīkh, vol. 7, p. 311).

'Ammār accepted Islam along with his father Yāsir and his mother Sumayyah. They suffered great tortures by the Quraysh, due to their conversion to Islam, to such an

extent that 'Ammār lost his parents; and they were the first martyrs man and woman in Islam.

'Ammār was among those who immigrated to Abyssinia, and the earliest immigrants (muhājirūn) to Medina. He was present in the battle of Badr and all other battles as well as places of assembly by the Muslims during the lifetime of the Holy Prophet; and he showed his might and favour in all Islamic struggles in the best way.

Many traditions are narrated from the Holy Prophet about 'Ammār regarding his virtues, outstanding traits and his glorious deeds, such as the tradition which 'Ā'ishah and other have narrated that the Holy Prophet himself had said that 'Ammār was filled with faith from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet. (Ibn Mājah, as-Sunan, vol. 1, p. 65; Abū Nuʻaym, Ḥilyah al-Awliyā', vol. 1, p. 139; al-Haytamī, Majmaʻ az-zawā'id, vol. 9, p. 295; al-Istīʻāb, vol. 3, p. 1137; al-Iṣābah, vol. 2, p. 512)

In another tradition the Holy Prophet said about 'Ammār: 'Ammār is with the truth and the truth is with 'Ammār. He turns wherever the truth turns. 'Ammār is as near to me as an eye is near to the nose. Alas! a rebellious group will kill him. (aṭ-Ṭabaqāt, vol. 3, part 1, p. 187; al-Mustadrak, vol. 3, p. 392; Ibn Hishām, as-Sīrah, vol. 2, p. 143; Ibn Kathīr, at-Tārikh, vol. 7, pp. 268, 270)

Also in the decisive and widely known tradition which al-Bukhārī (in Ṣaḥīḥ, vol. 8, pp. 185—186), at-Tirmidhī (in al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ, vol. 5, p. 669); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (in al-Musnad, vol. 2, pp. 161, 164, 206; vol. 3, pp. 5, 22, 28, 91; vol. 4, pp. 197,199; vol. 5, pp. 215, 306, 307; vol. 6, pp. 289, 300, 311, 315), and all the narrators of Islamic traditions and historians transmitted through twenty-five companions that the Holy Prophet said about 'Ammār:

Alas! a rebellious group which swerves from the truth will murder 'Ammār. 'Ammār will be calling them towards Paradise and they will be calling him towards Hell. His killer and those who strip him of arms and clothing will be in Hell.

Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (in Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb, vol. 7, p. 409; al-lṣābah, vol. 2, p. 512) and as-Suyūṭī (in al-Khaṣā'is al-kubrā, vol. 2, p. 140) say: "The narration of this (above-mentioned) tradition is mutawātir (i.e. narrated successively by so many people that no doubt can be entertained about its authenticity)."

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (in al-Istī'āb, vol. 3, p. 1140) says: The narration followed

uninterrupted succession from the Holy Prophet, that he said: "A rebellious group will murder 'Ammār," and this is a prophecy of the Prophet's secret knowledge and the sign of his prophethood. This tradition is among the most authentic and the most rightly ascribed traditions.

After the death of the Holy Prophet, 'Ammar was one of the closest adherents and best supporters of Amīr al-mu'minīn during the reign of the first three Caliphs. During the caliphate of 'Uthman when the Muslim protested (to 'Uthman) against his policy on the distribution of the Public Treasury (Baytu'l-māl) 'Uthmān said in a public assembly that, 'the money which was in the treasury was sacred and belonged to Allāh, and that he (as being the successor of the Prophet) had the right to dispose of them as he thought fit.' He ('Uthmān) threatened and cursed all who presumed to censure or murmur at what he said. Upon this, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir boldly declared his disapprobation and began to charge him with his inveterate propensity to ignore the interests of the general public; accused him with reviving the heathenish customs abolished by the Prophet. Whereupon 'Uthman commanded him to be beaten and immediately some of the Umayyads, the kindred of the Caliph fell upon the venerable 'Ammar, and the Caliph himself kicking him with his shoes (on his feet) on 'Ammar's testicles, and afflicted him with hernia. 'Ammār became unconscious for three days, and he was taken care of by Umm almu'minīn Umm Salamah in her own house. (al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-ashrāf, vol. 5, pp. 48, 54, 88; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, vol. 3, pp. 47-52; al-Imāmah wa's-siyāsah, vol. 1, pp.35-36; al-'lqd al-farīd, vol.4, p. 307; at-Ţabaqāt, vol. 3, Part 1, p. 185; Tārikh alkhamīs, vol. 2, p. 271)

When Amīr al-mu'minīn became Caliph, 'Ammār was one of his most sincere supporters. He participated fully in all social, political and military activities during this period, especially in the first battle (the battle of Jamal) and the second one (the battle of Şiffīn).

However, 'Ammār was martyred on 9th Ṣafar 37 A.H. in the battle of Ṣiffīn when he was over ninety years of age. On the day 'Ammār ibn Yāsir achieved martyrdom, he turned his face to the sky and said :

O my Allāh! surely Thou art aware that if I know that Thy wish is that I should plunge myself into this River (the Euphrates) and be drowned, I will do it. O my Allāh! surely Thou knowest that if I knew that Thou would be pleased if I put my scimitar on my chest (to hit my heart) and pressed it so hard that it came out of my back, I would do it. O my Allāh! I do not think there is anything more pleasant to

Thee than fighting with this sinful group, and if knew that any action were more pleasant to Thee I would do it.

Abū'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī narrates:

"We were present with Amīr al-mu'minīn at Şiffīn where I saw 'Ammār ibn Yāsir was not turning his face towards any side, nor valleys (wadis [of the land]) of Siffin but the companions of the Holy Prophet were following him as if he was a sign for them. Then I heard 'Ammar say to Hashim ibn 'Utbah (al-Mirgal):

'O Hāshim! rush into enemy's ranks, paradise is under sword! Today I meet my beloved one, Muhammad and his party'.

"Then he said: 'By Allah, if they put us to flight (and pursue us) to the date-palms of Ḥajar (a town in Bahrain, Persian Gulf [i.e., if they pursue us along all the Arabian desert] nevertheless) we know surely that we are right and they are wrong.' "Then he ('Ammār) continued (addressing the enemies): 'We struck you to (believe in) its (Holy Qur'an) revelation; And today we strike you to (believe in) its interpretation; Such strike as to remove heads from their resting places; And to make the friend forget his sincere friend; Until the truth returns to its (right) path." The narrator says: "I did not see the Holy Prophet's companions killed at any time as many as they were killed on this day."

Then 'Ammar spurred his horse, entered the battlefield and began fighting. He persistently chased the enemy, made attack after attack, and raised challenging slogans till at last a group of mean-spirited Syrians surruounded him on all sides, and a man named Abū al-Ghādiyah al-Juharī (al-Fazārī) inflicted such a wound upon him that he could not bear it, and returned to his camp. He asked for water. A tumbler of milk was brought to him. When 'Ammar looked at the tumbler he said: "The Messenger of Allah had said the right thing." People asked him what he meant by these words. He said, "The Messenger of Allah informed me that the last sustenance for me in this world would be milk." Then he took that tumbler of milk in his hands, drank the milk and surrendered his life to Allah, the Almighty. When Amīr al-mu'minīn came to know of his death, he came to 'Ammār's side, put his ('Ammār's) head on his own lap, and recited the following elegy to mourn his death: Surely any Muslim who is not distressed at the murder of the son of Yasir, and is not be afflicted by this grievous misfortune does not have true faith. May Allah show His mercy to 'Ammar the day he embraced Islam, may Allah show

His mercy to 'Ammar the day he was killed, and may Allah show His mercy to 'Ammār the day he is raised to life.

Certainly, I found 'Ammar (on such level) that three companions of the Holy Prophet could not be named unless he was the fourth, and four of them could not be

mentioned unless he was the fifth.

There was none among the Holy Prophet's companions who doubted that not only was Paradise once or twice compulsorily bestowed upon 'Ammār, but that he gained his claim to it (a number of times). May Paradise give enjoyment to 'Ammār. Certainly, it was said (by the Holy Prophet) "Surely, 'Ammār is with the truth and the truth is with 'Ammār. He turns wherever the truth turns. His killer will be in hell."

Then Amīr al-mu'minīn stepped forward and offered funeral prayers for him, and then with his own hands, he buried him with his clothes.

'Ammār's death caused a good deal of commotion in the ranks of Mu'āwiyah too, because there were a large number of prominent people fighting from his side under the impression created in their minds that he was fighting Amīr al-mu'minīn for a right cause. These people were aware of the saying of the Holy Prophet that 'Ammar would be killed by a group who would be on the wrong side. When they observed that 'Ammar had been killed by Mu'awiyah's army, they became convinced that they were on the wrong side and that Amīr al-mu'minīn was definitely on the right. This agitation thus caused among the leaders as well as the rank and file of Mu'awiyah's army, was quelled by him with the argument that it was Amīr al-mu'minīn who brought 'Ammār to the battlefield and therefore it was he who was responsible for his death. When Mu'awiyah's argument was mentioned before Amīr al-mu'minīn he said it was as though the Prophet was responsible for killing Ḥamzah as he brought him to the battle of Uhud. (at-Ṭabarī, at-Tārīkh, vol. 1, pp. 3316-3322; vol. 3, pp. 2314-2319; lbn Sa'd, at-Tabaqat, vol. 3, Part 1, pp. 176-189; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, vol. 3, pp. 308-312; Ibn Kathīr, at-Tārīkh, vol. 7, pp. 267-272; al-Mingarī, Şiffīn, pp. 320-345; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Istī'āb, vol. 3, pp. 1135-1140; vol. 4, p. 1725; Ibn al-Athīr, Usd al ghābah, vol. 4, pp. 43-47; vol. 5, p. 267; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah, vol. 5, pp. 252—258; vol. 8, pp. 10—28; vol. 10, pp. 102—107; al-Ḥākim, al-Mustadrak, vol. 3, pp. 384—394; lbn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'lgd al farīd, vol. 4, pp. 340—343; al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj adh-dhahab, vol. 2, pp. 381—382; al-Haytamī, Majma' az-zawā'id, vol. 7, pp. 238—244; vol. 9, pp. 291—298; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-ashrāf (Biography of Amīr al-mu'minīn), pp. 310-319.)

[5] Abu'l-Haytham (Mālik) ibn at-Tayyihān al-Anṣārī was one of the twelve chiefs (naqīb [of anṣār]) who attended the fair and met at al-'Aqabah — in the first 'Aqabah and among those who attended in the second 'Aqabah — where he gave the Holy Prophet the 'pledge of Islam'. He was present in the battle of Badr and all other battles as well as places of assembly by the Muslims during the lifetime of the

Holy Prophet. He was also among the sincere supporters of Amīr al-mu'minīn and he attended the battle of Jamal as well as Şiffīn where he was martyred. (al-Istī'āb, vol. 4, p. 1773; Şiffīn, p. 365; Usd al ghābah, vol. 4, p. 274; vol. 5, p. 318; al-Iṣābah, vol. 3, p. 341; vol. 4, pp. 312—313; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, vol. 10, pp. 107—108; Ansāb al-ashrāf, p. 319).

[6] Khuzaymah ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī. He is known as Dhu'sh-Shahādatayn because the Holy Prophet considered his evidence equivalent to the evidence of two witnesses. He was present in the battle of Badr, and other battles as well as in the places of assembly of the Muslims during the lifetime of the Holy Prophet. He is counted among the earliest of those who showed their adherence to Amīr almu'minīn and he was also present in the battle of Jamal and Ṣiffīn. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā narrated that he saw a man in the battle of Ṣiffīn fighting the enemy valiantly and when he protested against his action, the man said:

I am Khuzaymah ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī, I have heard the Holy Prophet saying "Fight, fight, by the side of 'Alī." (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Muwaḍḍih awhām al-jam' wa't-tafrīq, vol. 1, p. 277).

Khuzaymah was martyred in the battle of Şiffīn soon after the martyrdom of 'Ammār ibn Yāsir.

Sayf ibn 'Umar al-Usayyidī (the well know liar) has fabricated another Khuzaymah, and claimed that the one who was martyred in the battle of Ṣiffīn was this one and not the one with the surname of 'Dhu'sh-Shahādatayn'. aṭ-Ṭabarī has quoted this fabricated story from Sayf either intentionally or otherwise, and through him this story has affected some other historians who quoted from aṭ-Ṭabarī or relied on him. (For further reference, see al-'Askarī, Khamsūn wa miah ṣahābī mukhtalaq [one hundred and fifty fabricated companions], vol. 2, pp. 175—189).

After having denied this story Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd adds (in Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah, vol. 10, pp. 109-110) that:

Furthermore, what is the need for those. who want to defend Amīr al-mu'minīn to make a boast of abundance with Khuzaymah, Abu'l Haytham, 'Ammār and others. If people treat this man (Amīr al-mu'minīn) with justice and look at him with healthy eyes they will certainly realize that should he be alone (on one side) and the people all together (on the other side) fighting him, he will be in the truth and all the rest will be in the wrong, (aṭ-Ṭabaqāt, vol. 3, part 1, pp. 185, 188; al-Mustadrak, vol. 3, pp. 385,397; Usd al-ghābah, vol. 2, p. 114; vol. 4, p. 47; al-Istī'āb, vol. 2, p. 448; aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 3, pp. 2316, 2319, 2401; al-Kāmil, vol. 3, p. 325; Ṣiffīn, pp. 363, 398; Ansāb al-ashrāf, pp. 313—314).

[7] Among the people who were present in the battle of Jamal on the side of Amīr almu'minīn there were one hundred and thirty Badries (those who participated in the battle of Badr with the Holy Prophet) and seven hundred of those who were present in the 'pledge of ar-Riḍwān' (Bay'atu'r-Riḍwān) which took place under a tree. (adh-Dhahabī, Tārīkh al-Islām, vol. 2, p. 171; Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, at-Tārīkh, vol. 1, p. 164). Those who were killed in the battle of Jamal from the side of Amīr al-mu'minīn numbered some five hundred (some said that the number of martyrs were more that). But on the side of the people of Jamal twenty thousand were killed. (al-'lqd al farīd, vol. 4, p. 326).

Among those who were present in the battle of Şiffīn on the side of Amīr almu'minīn, there were eighty Badries and eight hundred of those who gave the Holy Prophet the 'pledge of ar-Riḍwān.' (al-Mustadrak, vol. 3, p. 104; al-Istī'āb, vol. 3, p. 1138; al-Iṣābah, vol. 2, p. 389; at-Tārīkh, al-Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, p. 188).

On the side of Muʻāwiyah forty-five thousand were killed, and on the side of Amīr almu'minīn twenty-five thousand. Among these martyrs (of Amīr al-mu'minīn) there were twenty-five or twenty-six Badries and sixty-three or three hundred and three of the people of the 'pledge of ar-Riḍwān'. (Ṣiffīn, p. 558; al-Istī'āb, vol. 2, p. 389; Ansāb al-ashrāf, p. 322; Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, vol. 10, p. 104; Abu'l-Fida', vol. 1, p. 175; Ibn al-Wardī, at-Tārīkh, vol. 1, p. 240; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 7, p. 275; Tārīkh al-khamīs, vol. 2, p. 277).

Besides the distinguished and eminant companions of Amīr al-mu'minīn like 'Ammār, Dhu'sh-Shahādatayn and Ibn al-Tayyihān, who lay martyred in Ṣiffīn were: i. Hāshim ibn 'Utbah ibn Abī Waqqāṣ al-Mirqāl was killed on the same day when 'Ammār was martyred. He was the bearer of the standard of Amīr al-mu'minīn's army on that day.

ii. 'Abdullāh ibn Budayl ibn al-Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī was sometimes the right wing Commander of Amīr al-mu'minīn's army and sometimes the infantry Commander.