

وَمِنْ خُطْبَةٍ لَهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ

From one of his sermons

وَهِيَ الْمَعْلُومَةُ بِالشَّقِيقِيَّةِ [في بعض النسخ: الْمَعْلُومَةُ بِالشَّقِيقِيَّةِ]

Known as the Sermon of ash-Shiqshiqiyah [1]

وَتَشَلَّتْ عَلَيَّ الشُّكُوكَى مِنْ أَمْرِ الْخِلَافَةِ ثُمَّ تَرَجَّحْتُ صَبْرَهُ عَلَيْهَا ثُمَّ مَبَايَعَةَ النَّاسِ لَهُ

It includes a complaint about the matter of the caliphate, then an expression of his preference for patience regarding it, and finally, the people's pledge of allegiance to him

أَمَّا وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ تَقَمَّصَهَا ابْنُ أَبِي قُحَافَةَ [في بعض النسخ: فَلَانُ]، وَإِنَّهُ لَيَعْلَمُ أَنَّ مَحَلِّي مِنْهَا مَحَلُّ الْقُطْبِ مِنَ الرَّحَى [في بعض النسخ: الرَّحَا]، يَنْحَدِرُ عَنِّي السَّيْلُ، وَلَا يَرْقَى إِلَى الطَّيْلِ، فَسَدَلْتُ دُونَهَا ثَوْبًا، وَطَوَيْتُ عَنْهَا كَشْحًا، وَطَفَقْتُ أَرْقُتِي بَيْلَانَ أَنْ أَصُولَ بِيَدٍ جَذَاءً، أَوْ أَصْلِبَ عَلَى طَخْلِيَّةٍ عَمَلِيَاءَ، يَهْلِكُ فِيهَا الْكَبِيرُ، وَيَشِيبُ فِيهَا الصَّغِيرُ، وَيَكْدَحُ فِيهَا مَوْلَانِ حَتَّى يَلْقَى رَبَّهُ.

Beware! By Allāh the son of Abū Quḥāfah (Abū Bakr) [2] dressed himself with it (the caliphate) and he certainly knew that my position in relation to it was the same as the position of the axis in relation to the hand-mill. The flood water flows down from me and the bird cannot fly upto me. I put a curtain against the caliphate and kept myself detached from it. Then I began to think whether I should assault or endure calmly the blinding darkness of tribulations wherein the grown up are feeble and the young grow old and the true believer acts under strain till he meets Allāh (on his death).

[ترجیح الصبر:] فَرَأَيْتُ أَنَّ الصَّبْرَ عَلَيَّ هَاتَا أَحْلَجِي، فَصَبَّرْتُ وَفِي الْعَيْلَانِ قَدِّي، وَفِي الْحَلَلِ شَجًا، أَرَى تُرَائِي نَهْلَبًا، حَتَّى مَضَى الْأَوَّلُ لِسَيْلِهِ، فَأَدَلَى بِهَا إِلَى ابْنِ الْخَطَّابِ [في بعض النسخ: فَلَانُ] بَعْدَهُ.

[Preference for patience:] I found that endurance thereon was wiser. So I adopted patience although there was pricking in the eye and suffocation (of mortification) in the throats. I watched the plundering of my inheritance till the first one went his way but handed over the Caliphate to Ibn al-Khattāb after himself.

ثُمَّ تَمَثَّلَ بِقَوْلِ الْأَعْمَشِيِّ: شَتَانَ مَا يَوْمَلِمِي عَلَى كُورِهَا \*\*\* وَيَوْمَلِمُ حَيَانَ أَخِي جَابِرٍ

(Then he quoted al-A'shā's verse:) My days are now passed on the camel's back

(in difficulty) while there were days (of ease) when I enjoyed the company of Jābir's brother Ḥayyān. [3]

فِيَا عَجَبًا! بَيْلَنَا هُوَ يَسَّرَ تَقِيلُهَا فِي حَيَاتِهِ إِذْ عَقَدَهَا لِأَخْرَجَ بَعْدَ وَفَاتِهِ، لَشَدِّ مَا تَشَطَّرَا ضَرْبًا عَيْلَهَا! فَصَبَّرَهَا فِي حَوْلِزَةِ خَشْدِنَا، يَغْلِظُ كَلِّمَهَا، وَيَخْشَنُ مَسَهَا، وَيَكْثُرُ اللَّعْثَارُ فِيهَا وَاللَّعْثَارُ تَنْذَارُ مِنْهَا، فَصَاحِبُهَا كَرَكَبِ الصَّعْلَبَةِ، إِنَّ أَشْدَّنَقَ لَهَا خَرَمَ، وَإِنْ أَسْلَسَ لَهَا تَقَحَمَ.

It is strange that during his lifetime he wished to be released from the caliphate but he confirmed it for the other one after his death. No doubt these two shared its udders strictly among themselves. This one put the Caliphate in a tough enclosure where the utterance was haughty and the touch was rough. Mistakes were in plenty and so also the excuses therefore. One in contact with it was like the rider of an unruly camel. If he pulled up its rein the very nostril would be slit, but if he let it loose he would be thrown.

فَمِنِّي النَّاسُ - لَعَمْرُ اللَّهِ! - بِخَبْلٍ وَشِمَاسٍ، وَتَلَوْنِ وَأَعْلَتِرَاضٍ. فَصَبَّرَاتٌ عَلَى طُولِ اللَّامِدَةِ، وَشِدَّةِ اللَّامِحِدَةِ، حَتَّى إِذَا مَضَى لِسَبِيلِهِ جَعَلَهَا فِي جَمَاعَةٍ زَعَمَ أَنِّي أَحَدُهُمْ.

Consequently, by Allāh people got involved in recklessness, wickedness, unsteadiness and deviation. Nevertheless, I remained patient despite length of period and stiffness of trial, till when he went his way (of death) he put the matter (of Caliphate) in a group [4] and regarded me to be one of them.

فِيَا لِلَّهِ وَلِلشُّورَى! مَتَى أَعْلَتَرَضِ الرَّيْلِبِ فِي مَعَ الْأَوَّلِ مِنْهُمْ، حَتَّى صَبَّرَاتٌ أَقْلَرِنُ إِلَى هَذِهِ النَّظَائِرِ لَكِنِّي أَسْلَفَقَلَّتْ إِذْ أَسْفُوا، وَطَرَّاتٌ إِذْ طَارُوا، فَصَغَا رَجُلٌ مِنْهُمْ لِضَغْبَتِهِ، وَمَالَ الْآخِرِ لِصَهْلَرِهِ، مَعَ هُنَّ وَهْنٍ.

But good Heavens! what had I to do with this “consultation”? Where was any doubt about me with regard to the first of them that I was now considered akin to these ones? But I remained low when they were low and flew high when they flew high. One of them turned against me because of his hatred and the other got inclined the other way due to his in-law relationship and this thing and that thing.

إِلَى أَنْ قَامَ ثَالِثُ الْقَوْمِ، نَافِجًا حَضْبَتَيْهِ بَيْنَ نَثِيلِهِ وَمَعْلَتَلَفِهِ، وَقَامَ مَعَهُ بَنُو أَبِيهِ يَخْضُمُونَ مَالَ اللَّهِ خَضْمَةً [فِي بَعْضِ النِّسْخِ: خَضْمًا] الْإِبِلِ نَبْتَةَ الرَّبِيعِ، إِلَى أَنْ انْتَكَتْ [فِي بَعْضِ النِّسْخِ: انْتَكَتْ عَلَيْهِ] فَتَلَمَّهُ، وَأَجْلَهَزَ عَلَيْهِ عَمَلَهُ، وَكَبَتْ بِهِ بَطْلَتَتَهُ.

Till the third man of these people stood up with heaving breasts between his dung and fodder. With him his children of his grandfather (Umayyah) also stood up swallowing up Allāh's wealth [5] like a camel devouring the foliage of spring, till his

rope broke down, his actions finished him and his gluttony brought him down prostrate.

[مبايعة علي عليه السلام:] فَمَا رَاعِنِي إِلَّا وَالنَّاسُ كَعُرْفِ الضَّبُعِ إِلَيَّ. يَنْتَالُونَ عَلَيَّ مِنْ كُلِّ جَانِبٍ، حَتَّى لَقَدَّ وَطِئَ اللِّحْسَانُ. وَشَقَّ عَطْفَافِي، مَجَلِّتَمَعِينَ حَوْلِي كَرَبِيضَةِ اللِّغْنَمِ.

[Allegiance paid to ‘Alī (a.s.):] At that moment, nothing took me by surprise, but the crowd of people rushing to me. It advanced towards me from every side like the mane of the hyena so much so that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were getting crushed and both the ends of my shoulder garment were torn. They collected around me like the herd of sheep and goats.

فَلَمَّا نَهَضَتْ بِأَلَمٍ نَكَّتْ طَائِفَةٌ، وَمَرَقَتْ أَخْلَرِي. وَقَسَطَ آخِرُونَ كَأَنَّهُمْ لَمْ يَسْمِعُوا كَلَامَ اللَّهِ حَتَّى [فِي بَعْضِ النسخ: يَسْمِعُوا اللَّهَ سَبْحَانَهُ] يَقُولُ: ﴿تِلْكَ لَدَارُ الْآخِرَةِ نَجَلَّعَلْهَا لِلَّذِينَ لَا يُرِيدُونَ عُلُوًّا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فُسَادًا﴾ وَالدُّعَاتِيَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ ﴿﴾

When I took up the reins of government one party broke away and another turned disobedient while the rest began acting wrongfully as if they had not heard the word of Allāh saying: “That abode in the hereafter, We assign it for those who intend not to exult themselves in the earth, nor (to make) mischief (therein); and the end is (best) for the pious ones.” (Qur’ān, 28:83)

بَلَى! وَاللَّهِ لَقَدَّ سَمِعُوهَا وَوَعَوْهَا، وَلَكِنَّهُمْ حَلَيْتِ الدُّنْيَا فِي أَعْيُنِهِمْ. وَرَاقَهُمْ زِينَتُهَا.

Yes, by Allāh, they had heard it and understood it but the world appeared glittering in their eyes and its embellishments seduced them.

أَمَّا الَّذِي فَلَقَ اللِّحْبَةَ، وَبَرَأَ النَّسْمَةَ، لَوْ لَا حُضُورُ الْحَاضِرِ، وَقِيَامُ الْحُجَّةِ بِوُجُودِ النَّاصِرِ، وَمَا أَخَذَ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْعُلَمَاءِ إِلَّا يَقَارُوا عَلَيَّ كَطَلْمٍ وَلَا سَغْبٍ مَطْلُومٍ، لِأَنَّ قِيَمَاتِ حَبْلِهَا عَلَى غَارِبِهَا، وَلَسْقِيَمَاتِ آخِرِهَا بِكَأْسِ أَوْلِهَا، وَلَا لَأَنَّ فَيْدَتِمِ دُنْيَاكُمْ هَذِهِ أَرْهَدَ عِنْدِي مِنْ عَفْطَةِ عَنَزِ.

Behold, by Him who split the grain (to grow) and created living beings, if people had not come to me and supporters had not exhausted the argument and if there had been no pledge of Allāh with the learned to the effect that they should not acquiesce in the gluttony of the oppressor and the hunger of the oppressed I would have cast the rope of Caliphate on its own shoulders, and would have given the last one the same treatment as to the first one. Then you would have seen that in my view this world of yours is no better than the sneezing of a goat.

قَالُوا: وَقَامَ إِلَيْهِ رَجُلٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ السَّوَادِ عِنْدَ بُلُوغِهِ إِلَى هَذَا الْمَوْضِعِ مِنْ خَطِّبَتِهِ، فَنَاولَهُ كِتَابًا، [فِي بَعْضِ النُّسخِ: ... قِيلَ إِنَّ فِيهِ مَسَائِلَ كَانَ يُرِيدُ الْجِابَةَ عِنْدَهَا ...]، فَأَقْبَلَ يَنْظُرُ فِيهِ، [فِي بَعْضِ النُّسخِ: ... فَلَمَّا فَرَّغَ مِنْ قِرَائَتِهِ] قَالَ لَهُ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ [فِي بَعْضِ النُّسخِ: ... رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا:] يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ! لَوْ اطَّرَدْتَ مِنْ خَطِّبَتِكَ مِنْ حَيْثُ أَفْضَيْتَ.

It is said that when Amīr al-Mu'minīn reached here in his sermon a man of Iraq stood up and handed him over a writing. Amīr al-Mu'minīn began looking at it, when Ibn 'Abbās said, "O Amīr al-Mu'minīn, I wish you resumed your Sermon from where you broke it."

فَقَالَ (عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ): هِيَ لَهَا يَا ابْنَ عَبَّاسٍ! تِلْكَ شِقَّةٌ هَدَرَتْ ثُمَّ قَرَّتْ.

Thereupon He (a.s.) replied, "O Ibn 'Abbās it was like the foam of a Camel which gushed out but subsided."

قَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: فَوَاللَّهِ مَا أَسْفَلَتْ عَلَيَّ كَلَامٌ قَطُّ كَأَسْفَى عَلَيَّ هَذَا الْكَلَامِ أَنْ لَا [فِي بَعْضِ النُّسخِ: أَلَا] يَكُونَ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ (عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ) بَلَغَ مِنْهُ حَيْثُ أَرَادَ.

Ibn 'Abbās says that he never grieved over any utterance as he did over this one because Amīr al-Mu'minīn could not finish it as he wished to.

[قَالَ الشَّرِيفُ الرَّضِيُّ:] قَوْلُهُ (عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ) [فِي بَعْضِ النُّسخِ: ... فِي هَذِهِ الْخُطْبَةِ]: «كَرَّابِ الصَّعْبَةِ إِنَّ أَشْلَنْقَ لَهَا خَرْمٌ، وَإِنْ أَسْلَسَ لَهَا تَحْمٌ» يُرِيدُ: أَنَّهُ إِذَا شَدَّدَ عَلَيْهَا فِي جَذْبِ الزِّمَامِ وَهِيَ تَنَازَعَهُ رَأَى سَهَا خَرْمَ أَنْفِهَا، وَإِنْ أَرَى خِي لَهَا شَيْئًا مَعَ صَعُوبَتِهَا تَقَحَّتْ بِهِ فَلَمْ يَمْلِكْهَا، يُقَالُ: أَشْلَنْقُ النَّاقَةَ: إِذَا جَذَبَ رَأَى سَهَا بِالزِّمَامِ فَرَفَعَهُ، وَشَنَقَهَا أَيَّلَصَّا، ذَكَرَ ذَلِكَ ابْنُ السِّكِّتِ فِي «إِصْلَاحِ الْمَنْطِقِ». وَإِنَّمَا قَالَ (عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ): «أَشْلَنْقَ لَهَا» وَلَمْ يَقُلْ: «أَشْلَنْقَهَا»، لِأَنَّهُ جَعَلَهُ فِي مَقَابِلَةِ قَوْلِهِ: «أَسْلَسَ لَهَا»، فَكَانَ (عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ) قَالَ: إِنَّ رَفَعَ لَهَا رَأَى سَهَا بِمَعْنَى أَمْسَكَ عَلَيْهَا بِالزِّمَامِ [فِي بَعْضِ النُّسخِ: إِنَّ رَفَعَ لَهَا رَأَى سَهَا بِالزِّمَامِ يَعْنِي أَمْسَكَ عَلَيْهَا].

ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī says: The words in this sermon — “like the rider of a camel” — mean to convey that when a camel rider is stiff in drawing up the rein then in this scuffle the nostril gets bruised; but if he lets it loose in spite of camel’s unruliness, it would throw him somewhere and would get out of control. “Ashnaqa an-nāqah” is used when the rider holds up the rein and raises the camel’s head upwards. In the same sense the word “Shanaqahā” is used. Ibn as-Sikkīt has mentioned this in Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq. Amīr al-Mu'minīn has said “ashnaqa lahā” instead of “ashnaqahā,” this is because he has used this word in harmony with “aslasa lahā”; and harmony could be retained only by using both in the same form. Thus, Amīr al-Mu'minīn has used “ashnaqa lahā” as though in place of “in rafa'a lahā ra'sahā,” that is, “if he stops it by holding up the reins.”

[في بعض النسخ:] وفي الحديث: أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ (صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ) خَطَبَ النَّاسَ وَهُوَ عَلَى نَاقَةٍ قَدْ شَنَقَ لَهَا وَهِيَ تَقْلَصِعُ بِجَرَّتِهَا [في بعض النسخ: خطب على ناقته وقد شنق لها فهي تقلصع بجرتها]. وَمِنَ الشَّاهِدِ عَلَى أَنَّ أَشْهَقَ بِمَعْلَانِي شَنَقَ قَوْلَ عَدِيِّ بَلَّنَ زَيْدٌ الْعِبَادِي:

سَاءَ مَا [في بعض النسخ: ما لها] تَبَيَّنَ فِي الْأَيْدِي \*\*\* وَإِشْهَقَ نَاقَتُهَا إِلَى الْأَعْنَاقِ

#### Notes:

[1] This sermon is known as the sermon of ash-Shiqshiqiyah, and is counted among the most famous sermons of Amīr al-Mu'minīn. It was delivered at ar-Rahbah.

Although some people have denied it to be Amīr al-Mu'minīn's utterance and by attributing it to as-Sayyid ar-Raḍī (or ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī) have laid blame on his acknowledged integrity, yet truth-loving scholars have denied its veracity. Nor can there be any ground for this denial because 'Alī's (a.s.) difference of view in the matter of Caliphate is not a secret matter, so that such hints should be regarded as something alien. And the events which have been alluded to in this sermon are preserved in the annals of history which testifies them word by word and sentence by sentence. If the same events which are related by history are recounted by Amīr al-Mu'minīn then what is the ground for denying them? If the memory of discouraging circumstances faced by him soon after the death of the Prophet appeared unpalatable to him it should not be surprising. No doubt this sermon hits at the prestige of certain personalities and gives a set back to the faith and belief in them but this cannot be sustained by denying the sermon to be Amīr al-Mu'minīn's utterance, unless the true events are analysed and truth unveiled; otherwise just denying it to be Amīr al-Mu'minīn's utterance because it contains disparagement of certain individuals carries no weight, when similar criticism has been related by other historians as well. Thus (Abū 'Uthmān) 'Amr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ has recorded the following words of a sermon of Amīr al-Mu'minīn and they are not less weighty than the criticism in the "Sermon of ash-Shiqshiqiyah":

Those two passed away and the third one rose like the crow whose courage is confined to the belly. It would have been better if both his wings had been cut and his head severed. (Kitāb al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn, vol. 1, p. 170, 'Ilmiyyah Press, Egypt.)

Consequently, the idea that it is the production of as-Sayyid ar-Raḍī is far from truth

and a result of partisanship and partiality. Or else if it is the result of some research it should be brought out. Otherwise, remaining in such wishful illusion does not alter the truth, nor can the force of decisive arguments be curbed down by mere disagreement and displeasure.

Now we set forth the testimonies of those scholars and traditionists who have explicitly affirmed that this is the speech of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, so that its historical significance may become known. Among these scholars are some who lived before as-Sayyid ar-Raḍī's period, some who were his contemporaries, and some who came after him, but all of them related it through their own chain of authority.

(1) Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd al-Mu'tazilī writes that his master Abū al-Khayr Muṣaddiq ibn Shabīb al-Wāsiṭī (d. 605 A.H.) stated that he heard this sermon from ash-Shaykh Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Baghdādī, who is known as Ibn al-Khashshāb (d. 567 A. H.), and when he reached where Ibn 'Abbās expressed sorrow for this sermon having remained incomplete, Ibn al-Khashshāb said to him that if he had heard the expression of sorrow from Ibn 'Abbās he would have certainly asked him if there had remained with his cousin any further unsatisfied desire because excepting the Prophet he had already spared neither the predecessors nor followers and had uttered all that he wished to utter. Why should therefore be any sorrow that he could not say what he wished? Muṣaddiq says that Ibn al-Khashshāb was a man of jolly heart and decent taste. I inquired from him whether he also regarded the sermon to be a fabrication when he replied "By Allāh, I believe it to be Amīr al-Mu'minīn's word as I believe you to be Muṣaddiq ibn Shabīb." I said that some people regard it to be as-Sayyid ar-Raḍī's production when he replied: "How can ar-Raḍī—or anyone else—have such guts or such style of writing? I have seen as-Sayyid ar-Raḍī's writings and know his literary style and methods of composition. Nowhere does his writing match with this one and I have already seen it in books written two hundred years before the birth of as-Sayyid ar-Raḍī, and I have seen it in familiar writings about which I know by which scholars or men of letters they were compiled. At that time not only ar-Raḍī but even his father Abū Aḥmad an-Naqīb has not been born."

(2) Thereafter, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd writes that he saw this sermon in the writings of his master Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Balkhī (d. 317 A.H.). He was the Imām of the Mu'tazilites of Baghdād during the reign of al-Muqtadir Billāh, while al-Muqtadir's rule (295–320 AH) was well before the birth of as-Sayyid ar-Raḍī.

(3) He further writes that he saw this sermon in the book al-Insāf of Abū Ja'far (Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān) ibn Qibah. He was a student of Abū al-Qāsim al-

Balkhī and a theologian of Imāmiyyah (Shī'ite) sect. (Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, vol. 1, p. 206)

(4) Ibn Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 679 A.H.) writes in his commentary that he had seen a copy of this sermon which bore writing of al-Muqtadir Billāh's minister Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Furāt (d. 312 A.H.). (Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah Ibn Maytham, vol. 1, pp. 252–253)

(5) al-'Allāmah Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (r.a.) has quoted the following chain of transmission for this Sermon from ash-Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī's compilation Minhāj al-Barā'ah fī Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah: ash-Shaykh Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm informed me from al-Ḥājib Abū al-Wafā Muḥammad ibn Badī', al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad ibn Badī' and al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, and they from al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr (Aḥmad ibn Mūsā) ibn Mardawayh al-Iṣfahānī (d. 416 A.H.) and he from al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭabarānī (d. 360 A.H.) and he from Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Abbār, and he from Iṣḥāq ibn Sa'īd Abū Salamah ad-Dimashqī, and he from Khulayḍ ibn Da'laj, and he from 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ, and he from Ibn 'Abbās. (Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 29, pp. 505–506)

(6) In the context al-'Allāmah al-Majlisī has written that this sermon is also contained in the compilations of Abū 'Alī (Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Waḥhāb) al-Jubbā'ī (d. 303 A.H.). (ibid., p. 506)

(7) In connection with this very authenticity al-'Allāmah al-Majlisī writes: al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad al-Asadābādī (d. 415 A.H.), who was a strict Mu'tazilite, explains some expressions of this sermon in his book al-Mughnī and tries to prove that it does not strike against any preceding caliph, but does not deny it to be Amīr al-Mu'minīn's composition. (ibid., p. 508)

(8) Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, Ibn Bābawayh (d. 381 A.H.) writes: Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Iṣḥāq aṭ-Ṭālaqānī told us that 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Yaḥyā al-Jalūdī (d. 332 A.H.) told him that Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn 'Ammār ibn Khālid told him that Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥimmānī (d. 228 A.H.) told him that 'Īsā ibn Rāshid related this sermon from 'Alī ibn Ḥudhayfah, and he from 'Ikrimah and he from Ibn 'Abbās. ('Ilal al-Sharā'ī', vol. I, chap. 122, p. 153; Ma'ānī al-Akḥbār, Bāb Ma'ānī Khuṭbat li-Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'alayhi al-salām)

(9) Then Ibn Bābawayh records the following chain of authorities: Muḥammad ibn

‘Alī Mājilawayh related this sermon to us and he took it from his uncle Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Qāsim and he from Aḥmad ibn Abī ‘Abd Allāh (Muḥammad ibn Khālīd) al-Barqī and he from his father and he from (Muḥammad) ibn Abī ‘Umayr and he from Abān ibn ‘Uthmān and he from Abān ibn Taghlib and he from ‘Ikrimah and he from Ibn ‘Abbās. (‘Ilal al-Sharā’i’, vol. I, chap. 122, p. 150; Ma‘ānī al-Akḥbār, Bāb Ma‘ānī Khuṭbat li-Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘alayhi al-salām)

(10) Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sa‘īd al-‘Askarī (d. 382 A.H.), who counts among great scholars of the Sunnis, has written a commentary and explanation of this sermon that has been recorded by Ibn Bābawayh in ‘Ilal al-Sharā’i’ and Ma‘ānī al-Akḥbār.

(11) as-Sayyid Ni‘matullāh al-Jazā’irī (r.a.) writes: The author of Kitāb al-Ghārāt Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ath-Thaqafī al-Kūfī (d. 283 A.H.) has related this sermon through his own chain of authorities. The date of completion of writing this book is Tuesday the 13th of Shawwāl 355 A.H., and it is the same year in which al-Murtaḍā al-Mūsawī. He was older in age than his brother as-Sayyid ar-Raḍī. (Anwār an-Nu‘māniyyah, vol. 1, p. 88)

(12) as-Sayyid Raḍī ad-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ṭāwūs al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī (d. 664 A.H.) has related this sermon from Kitāb al-Ghārāt with the following chain of authorities: This sermon was related to us by Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf who related it from al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī (ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm) az-Za‘farānī and he from Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Qallābī and he from Ya‘qūb ibn Ja‘far ibn Sulaymān, and he from his father, and he from his grandfather, and he from Ibn ‘Abbās. (Translation of at-Ṭarā’if, p. 420).

(13) Shaykh at-Ṭā’ifah, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan at-Ṭūsī (d. 460 A.H.) writes: (Abū al-Faṭḥ Hilāl ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far) al-Ḥaffār related this sermon to us. He related it from Abū al-Qāsim (Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Alī) ad-Di‘bilī, and he from his father, and he from his brother Di‘bil (ibn ‘Alī al-Kuzā’ī), and he from Muḥammad ibn Salāmah ash-Shāmī, and he from Zurārah ibn A‘yan, and he from Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī (a.s.), and he from Ibn ‘Abbās. (al-Amālī, p. 372)

(14) ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn an-Nu‘mān, d. 413 A.H.) who was the teacher of as-Sayyid ar-Raḍī writes about the chain of authorities of this sermon: A number of relaters of traditions have related this sermon from Ibn ‘Abbās through numerous chains. (al-Irshād, vol. 1, p. 287)

(15) ‘Alam al-Hudā (the ensign of guidance) as-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā who was the elder brother of as-Sayyid ar-Raḍī has recorded it on p. 392 of his book ash-Shāfi.

(16) Abū Manṣūr at-Ṭabrisī writes: A number of relaters have given an account of this sermon from Ibn ‘Abbās through various chains. Ibn ‘Abbās said that he was in the audience of Amīr al-Mu‘minīn at ar-Raḥbah (a place in Kūfah) when conversation turned to Caliphate and those who had preceded him as Caliphs; so Amīr al-Mu‘minīn breathed a sigh and delivered this sermon. (al-Iḥtijāj, vol. 1, p. 281)

(17) Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654 A.H.) writes: Our ash-Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim ibn an-Nafīs al-Anbārī related this sermon to us through his chain of authorities that ends with Ibn ‘Abbās, who said that after allegiance had been paid to Amīr al-Mu‘minīn as Caliph, he was sitting on the pulpit when a man from the audience enquired why he had remained quiet till then whereupon Amīr al-Mu‘minīn delivered this sermon extempore. (Tadhkirat Khawāṣṣ al-Ummah, p. 73)

(18) al-Qāḍī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, ash-Shihāb al-Khafājī (d. 1069 A.H.) writes with regard to its authenticity: It is stated in the utterances of Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī (May Allāh be pleased with him) that: “It is strange that during his lifetime he wished to be released from the caliphate but he confirmed it for the other one after his death.” (Sharḥ Durrat al-Ghawwāṣ, p. 17)

Amīr al-Mu‘minīn, Sayyid al-‘Ārifīn, ‘Alī (a.s.), has stated in one of his brilliant Sermons “this is the Shiqshiqīyah that burst forth.” (al-‘Urwah li-Ahl al-Khalwah wa al-Jalwah, p. 4, manuscript in Nāṣiriyyah Library, Lucknow, India)

(20) Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maydānī (d. 518 A.H.) has written in connection with the word Shiqshiqīyah: Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī has a sermon known as al-Khuṭbah ash-Shiqshiqīyah. (Majma‘ al-Amthāl, vol. I, p. 363)

(21) In fifteen places in an-Nihāyah while explaining the words of this sermon Majd ad-Dīn ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī has acknowledged it to be Amīr al-Mu‘minīn’s utterance.

(22) Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir Paṭnī, while explaining the same words in Majma‘ al-Biḥār al-Anwār, affirms the sermon to be that of Amīr al-Mu‘minīn by saying, “From it is the ḥadīth of ‘Alī.”

(23) Abū al-Faḍl ibn Manẓūr (d. 711 A.H.) has acknowledged it as Amīr al-Mu'minīn's utterance in Lisān al-'Arab, vol. 12, p. 53, by saying, "In the sayings of 'Alī in his sermon 'It was like the foam of a Camel which gushed out but subsided'."

(24) Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 816/817 A.H.) has recorded under the word "Shiqshiqīyah" in his lexicon (Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ, vol. 3, p. 251): Khuṭbah ash-Shiqshiqīyah is attributed to 'Alī, and was so named because when Ibn 'Abbās requested him to resume it where he had stopped, he replied: "O Ibn 'Abbās! it was like the foam of a Camel which gushed out but subsided."

(25) The compiler of Muntahā al-'Arab writes: Khuṭbah ash-Shiqshiqīyah is an 'Alawī sermon attributed to 'Alī — may Allāh honour his face. (Second quarter of the book, p. 477)

(26) ash-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, the Muftī of Egypt, recognising it as the utterance of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, has written a commentary on it.

(27) Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, a Professor in the Faculty of Arabic Language at al-Azhar University, has written annotations on Nahj al-Balāghah and prefaced it with an introduction in which he acknowledges all such sermons containing disparaging remarks to be the utterances of Amīr al-Mu'minīn.

In the face of these well-documented testimonies and irrefutable evidences, is there any room to claim that it is not the utterance of Amīr al-Mu'minīn and that al-Sayyid al-Raḍī composed it himself?

[2] Amīr al-Mu'minīn has referred to Abū Bakr's accession to the Caliphate metaphorically as having dressed himself with it. This was a common metaphor. Thus, when 'Uthmān was called to give up the Caliphate he replied, "I shall not put off this shirt which Allāh has put on me." No doubt Amīr al-Mu'minīn has not attributed this dressing of Caliphate to Allāh but to Abū Bakr himself, because according to unanimous opinion his Caliphate was not from Allāh but his own affair. That is why Amīr al-Mu'minīn said that Abū Bakr dressed himself with the Caliphate. He knew that this dress had been stitched for my own body, and my position with relation to the Caliphate was that of the axis in the hand-mill, which cannot retain its central position without it, nor be of any use. Similarly, he held "I was the central pivot of the Caliphate, were I not there, its entire system would have gone astray from the pivot. It was I who acted as a guard for its organization and

order and guided it through all difficulties. Currents of learning flowed from my bosom and watered it on all sides. My position was so high that even the bird of thought could not reach it. But the lust of world-seekers for governance became a stumbling stone in my path, and I had to confine myself to seclusion. Dense darkness spread on all sides and dreadful gloom prevailed everywhere. The young grew old and the old departed for the graves, yet this patience-breaking period would not end. I kept watching with my eyes the plundering of my own inheritance and saw the passing of the cup of Caliphate from one hand to the other, but I kept swallowing the bitter draughts of patience, being unable—due to lack of means—to restrain their high-handedness.”

### THE NEED FOR THE PROPHET’S CALIPH AND THE MODE OF HIS APPOINTMENT

After the Prophet of Islām (ﷺ), the presence of such a personality was inevitable who could prevent the Ummah from disintegration and safeguard the Shari‘ah against change, distortion, and interference by those who wanted to twist it in accordance with their own desires. If this very need is denied, then there remains no sense in attaching so much importance to the question of the Prophet’s (ﷺ) succession that the assemblage at the Saqīfah of Banū Sā‘idah should have been considered more important than the burial of the Prophet.

If, however, this need is acknowledged, then the question arises whether the Prophet (ﷺ) himself was conscious of its necessity or not. If it is said that he could not turn his attention to it, and thus did not realise its necessity or lack thereof, then—despite having warned about the mischief of apostasy and the spread of innovations—to regard the Prophet’s (ﷺ) mind as devoid of concern and planning for their prevention would be the clearest proof of a lack of reason and insight.

And if it is said that he was conscious of it, but was compelled to leave it undecided due to some expediency, then that expediency should be openly stated instead of remaining concealed; otherwise, such unwarranted silence would amount to negligence in the duties of Prophethood. And if there existed any hindrance, it should be presented; otherwise, one must accept that just as the Prophet (ﷺ) did not leave any aspect of religion incomplete, he did not leave this matter unfinished either, and that he did lay down such a course of action that, if acted upon, the religion would have remained protected from the interference and domination of others.

The question now is what was that course of action.

If it is proposed that the criterion be the consensus (ijmā‘) of the community, then there is no scope for its actual occurrence, because consensus requires the agreement of every single individual; but taking into account the difference in human temperaments, it is impossible that they should all unite upon a single point of view. Nor is there any example where on such matters, there has been no single voice of dissent. How then can such a fundamental need be made dependent on the occurrence of such an impossible event — need on which converges the future of Islām and the good of the Muslims. Therefore, neither reason is prepared to accept this criterion, nor is tradition in harmony with it, as al-Qāḍī ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī has written in al-Mawāqif:

You should know that the establishment of the Caliphate does not depend upon ijmā‘ (consensus), because no rational or traditional (naqlī) proof can be advanced for it. (al-Mawāqif, vol. 3, p. 590, Dār al-Jīl, Beirut, 1997)

In fact when those who advocated unanimity found that unanimity of all votes is difficult they adopted the agreement of the majority as a substitute for unanimity, ignoring the difference of the minority. In such a case also it often happens that the force of fair and foul, legitimate and illegitimate means, turns the flow of the majority opinion in the direction where there is neither individual distinction nor personal merit as a result of which competent persons remain suppressed while incompetent individuals stand forward. When capabilities remain so curbed and personal ends stand in the way as hurdles, how can there be expectation for the selection of a right personality? Even if it is assumed that all voters have independent unbiased view, that none of them has his own objective and that none has any other consideration, it is not necessary that every verdict of the majority should be correct, and that it cannot go astray. Experience shows that after experiment the majority has held its own verdict to be wrong. If every verdict of the majority is correct then its first verdict should be wrong because the verdict which holds it wrong is also that of the majority. In this circumstances if the election of the Caliph goes wrong who would be responsible for the mistake, and who should face the blame for the ruination of the Islāmic polity. Similarly on whom would be the liability for the bloodshed and slaughter following the turmoil and activity of the elections. When it has been seen that even those who sat in the audience of the Holy Prophet could not be free of mutual quarrel and strife how can others avoid it.

If with a view to avoid mischief it is left to the people of authority to choose anyone they like then here too the same friction and conflict would prevail because here

again convergence of human temperaments on one point is not necessary nor can they be assumed to rise above personal ends. In fact here the chances of conflict and collision would be stronger because if not all at least most of them would themselves be candidates for that position and would not spare any effort to defeat their opponent, creating impediments in his way as best as possible. Its inevitable consequence would be mutual struggle and mischief-mongering. Thus, it would not be possible to ward off the mischief for which this device was adopted, and instead of finding a proper individual the community would just become an instrument for the achievement of personal benefits of the others. Again, what would be the criterion for these people in authority? The same as has usually been, namely whoever collects a few supporters and is able to create commotion in any meeting by use of forceful words would count among the people of authority. Or would capabilities also be judged? If the mode of judging the capabilities is again this very common vote then the same complications and conflicts would arise here too, to avoid which this way was adopted. If there is some other standard, then instead of judging the capabilities of the voters by it why not judge the person who is considered suitable for the position in view. Further, how many persons in authority would be enough to give a verdict? Apparently a verdict once accepted would be precedent for good and the number that would give this verdict would become the criterion for future. al-Qāḍī 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī writes:

Rather the nomination of one or two individuals by the people in authority is enough because we know that the companions who were strict in religion deemed it enough as the nomination of Abū Bakr by 'Umar and of 'Uthmān by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān. (al-Mawāqif, Vol. 3, p. 590-591)

This is the reality of the “unanimous election” in the Saqīfah of Banī Sā'idah and the activity of the consultative assembly (Shūrā): that is, one man's action has been given the name of unanimous election and one individual's deed given the name of consultative assembly. Abū Bakr had well understood this reality that election means the vote of a person or two only which is to be attributed to common simple people. Therefore, without even attempting to give it the colour of ijmā' or shūrā, he openly nominated 'Umar, thereby disregarding the requirements of unanimous election, majority vote or method of choosing through electoral assembly. 'Ā'ishah also considered that leaving the question of caliphate to the vote of a few particular individuals means inviting mischief and trouble. Thus she sent the following message to 'Umar on his deathbed:

Do not leave the Islāmic community without a leader. Nominate a caliph for them and do not leave them after you without authority, as otherwise I apprehend mischief and trouble for them. [al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah, Ibn Qutaybah al-

Dīnawarī, p. 42, Dār al-Aḍwā', Beirut, 1991]

When the election by those in authority proved futile it was given up and only “might is right” became the criteria — namely whoever subdues others and binds them under his sway and control is accepted as the Caliph of the Prophet and his true successor.

These are those self-adopted principles in the face of which all the Prophet's sayings uttered in the Da'wat Dhū al-'Ashīrah (Feast of the Relatives), on the night of Hijrah, the expedition of Tabūk, on the occasion of conveying the Qur'ānic chapter al-Barā'ah (Chap. 9), and at Ghadīr Khumm were completely disregarded. The strange thing is that when each of the first three caliphates is based on one individual's opinion, and that individual's decision was readily accepted, how can this very right to choose be denied to the Prophet himself? Particularly when this was the only way to end all the dissensions, namely that the Prophet should have himself settled it and saved the community from future disturbances and spared it from leaving this decision in the hands of people who were themselves involved in personal aims and objects. This is the correct procedure which stands to reason and which has also the support of the Prophet's definite sayings.

[3] Ḥayyān ibn Samīn al-Ḥanafī of Yamāmah was the chief of the tribe of Banū Ḥanīfah and the master of fort and army. Jābir is the name of his younger brother while al-A'shā, whose real name was Maymūn ibn Qays ibn Jandal, enjoyed the position of being his bosom friend and led a life of comfort and ease through his patronage and generosity. In this verse he has compared his current life with the previous one: where were those days when he roamed about in search of livelihood, and where are these days which pass peacefully in Hayyan's company. Generally Amīr al-Mu'minīn's quoting of this verse has been taken to compare this troubled period with the peaceful days passed under the care and protection of the Prophet when he was free from all sorts of troubles and enjoyed mental peace. But taking into account the occasion for making this comparison and the subject matter of the verse it would not be far fetched if it is taken to indicate the difference between the unimportant position of those in power during the Prophet's lifetime and the authority and power enjoyed by them in the present state of affairs. In other words, at one time in the days of the Prophet no heed was paid to them because of 'Alī's personality but now the time had so changed that the same people were masters of the affairs of the Muslim world.

[4] When 'Umar was wounded by Abū Lu'lu'ah and he saw that it was difficult for

him to survive because of the deep wound, he formed a consultative council for the selection of the caliph and nominated for it 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, az-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, and Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh. He instructed them that within three days after his death they should select one of themselves as the Caliph, and that for those three days Ṣuhayb should act as Caliph. On receipt of these instructions, some members of the council requested him to indicate what ideas he had about each of them to enable them to proceed further in their light. 'Umar therefore disclosed his own view about each individual. Concerning Sa'd, he said that he was harsh-tempered and hot headed; 'Abd ar-Raḥmān was the Pharaoh of the community; az-Zubayr, when pleased, was a believer, and when angry, an unbeliever; Ṭalḥah was the embodiment of pride and haughtiness, if he was made caliph he would put the ring of the caliphate on his wife's finger; and 'Uthmān could see no one beyond his own clan and family. As regards 'Alī, he said that he was deeply desirous of the Caliphate, although he knew that he alone can run it on right lines.

Nevertheless, despite this admission, he thought it necessary to constitute the consultative council and in selecting its members and laying down the working procedure he made sure that the Caliphate would take the direction in which he wished to turn it. Thus, a man of ordinary prudence can draw the conclusion that all the factors for 'Uthmān's success were present therein. If one examines the members of the council, one finds among them 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, the brother-in-law of 'Uthmān [ 'Uthmān's mother Arwā bint Kurayz had previously been married to 'Uqbah ibn Abī Mu'ayṭ, from whom a daughter, Umm Kulthūm, was born; she was married to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān], and also Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ who, besides bearing malice and hostility towards 'Alī, was also a close relative and fellow clansman of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān. Neither of them can be expected to go against 'Uthmān. The third Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, about whom 'Allāmah Muḥammad 'Abduh writes in his annotation on Nahj al-Balāghah:

Ṭalḥah was inclined towards 'Uthmān, and is that reason not in itself sufficient, namely that he was against 'Alī, since he belonged to Banū Taym and Abū Bakr's accession to the Caliphate had created bad blood between Banū Taym and Banū Hāshim. [Nahj al-Balāghah, annotation by Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, p. 34, Dār al-Ma'rifah, Beirut]

As for az-Zubayr, even if he had supported 'Alī, what could his single vote achieve? According to narrations of aṭ-Ṭabarī and others, Ṭalḥah was not present in Madīnah

at that time, but his absence did not stand in the way of 'Uthmān's success. Rather, even if he were present, as he eventually did arrive at the meeting of the Shūrā, and even if he were assumed to be 'Alī's supporter, still there could be no doubt about 'Uthmān's success because 'Umar's sagacious mind had set the working procedure that:

If three agree about one person and the other three about another, then 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar should act as the arbitrator. The group in whose favour he gives his decision should choose the Caliph from among themselves. If they do not accept 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar's decision, support should be given to the group which includes 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf; but if the others do not agree they should be beheaded for opposing this verdict. (aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 3, pp. 294; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 3, p. 67).

Here, disagreement with the verdict of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar has no meaning, since he had already been directed to support the group which included 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf. Thus, he instructed 'Abd Allāh that: O 'Abd Allāh! If the people differ, you should side with the majority; but if three of them are on one side and the other three on the other, then you should side with the group which includes 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf. (aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 3, p. 265; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 3, pp. 51, 67).

In this admonition, siding with the majority also meant supporting 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, because how could the majority possibly be on the other side, when fifty blood-thirsty swords, under the leadership of Abū Ṭalḥah al-Anṣārī, had been poised on the heads of the opposition group with orders to fall on their heads on 'Abd ar-Raḥmān's behest. Thus, Amīr al-Mu'minīn's discerning eye had foreseen it at that very moment that the caliphate was going to 'Uthmān, as is evident from his following words which he spoke to Ibn 'Abbās: "The Caliphate has been turned away from us." Ibn 'Abbās asked, "How do you know?" He replied, "'Uthmān has also been placed alongside me, and it has been laid down that the majority should be supported; but if two agree on one and two on the other, then support should be given to the group which includes 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf. Now Sa'd will support his paternal cousin 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, who is, of course, the husband of 'Uthmān's sister." (ibid.)

However, after 'Umar's death, this meeting took place in the chamber of 'Ā'ishah, and on its door stood Abū Ṭalḥah al-Anṣārī with fifty men having drawn swords in their hands. Ṭalḥah initiated the proceedings, and inviting all others to be witness, declared that he gave his right of vote to 'Uthmān. This stirred az-Zubayr's sense of honour, as his mother Ṣafiyyah bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the paternal aunt of the

Prophet, so he gave his right of vote to 'Alī. Thereafter, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ transferred his right of vote to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān. This left only three members of the consultative council, out of whom 'Abd ar-Raḥmān said that he was willing to relinquish his own right of vote if 'Alī (a.s.) and 'Uthmān gave him the authority to choose one of them, or that one of them relinquish his claim and grant him that right. This was a trap in which 'Alī had been entangled from all sides: either he should abandon his own right, or else allow 'Abd ar-Raḥmān to do as he wished. The first option was not possible for him: that he should abandon his own right and elect 'Uthmān or 'Abd ar-Raḥmān. Therefore, he stood firm on his right, while 'Abd ar-Raḥmān separating himself from it and assumed this authority and said to Amīr al-Mu'minīn: I pledge allegiance to you on the condition that you follow the Book of Allāh, the Sunnah of the Prophet, and the conduct of the two Shaykhs, Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

'Alī replied: Rather, I will follow the Book of Allāh, the Sunnah of the Prophet, and my own judgment. [al-Ḥāwī al-Kabīr, 'Allāmah Abū al-Ḥasan al-Māwardī, Vol. 16, p. 314, maṭbū'ah Dār al-Fikr, Beirut; Sharḥ Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, Vol. 1, p. 188.]

When he got the same reply even after repeating the question thrice, he turned to 'Uthmān saying, "Do you accept these conditions?" He had no reason to refuse and so he agreed to the conditions and allegiance was sworn to him. When Amīr al-Mu'minīn saw his rights being thus trampled, he said: This is not the first day that you have wronged us. I have only to keep good patience. Allāh is the Helper against whatever you say. By Allāh, you have not made 'Uthmān caliph but in the hope that he would later hand the caliphate back to you. (aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 3, p. 237)

After recording the events of ash-Shūrā (consultative council), Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has written that when allegiance had been paid to 'Uthmān, 'Alī addressed 'Uthmān and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān saying: May Allāh sow the seed of dissension among you.

And so it happened that each turned a bitter enemy of the other, and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān did not, after that, speak to 'Uthmān until his death. Even on deathbed, he turned his face on seeing him.

On seeing these events, the question arises whether ash-Shūrā (consultative council) means confining the matter to six persons, thereafter to three, and finally to a single individual. It also raises the question whether the condition of following the conduct of the two Shaykhs for caliphate was put by 'Umar, or it was just a hurdle put by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān between 'Alī (a.s.) and the Caliphate; whereas the first

Caliph did not put forth this condition at the time of nominating the second Caliph, namely that he should follow the former's footsteps. What then was the occasion for introducing such a condition here?

However, Amīr al-Mu'minīn had agreed to participate in it in order to prevent mischief and disorder and to complete the proof (ḥujjah), so that their minds should be sealed and they should not be able to claim that they would have voted in his favour, but that he himself had withdrawn from the consultative council and did not give them an opportunity of selecting him.

[5] About the reign of the third caliph, Amīr al-Mu'minīn says that soon on 'Uthmān's coming to power, Banū Umayyah gained strength and began plundering the Bayt al-māl (public fund), and just as cattle on seeing green grass after drought trample it away, they likewise fell upon the wealth of Allāh without restraint and destroyed it. At last this self-indulgence and nepotism brought him to the stage when people besieged his house, put him to sword, and made him vomit all that he had swallowed.

The maladministration that took place in this period was such that no Muslim can remain unmoved to see that Companions of high position were lying uncared for, they were stricken with poverty, and destitution had surrounded them, while control over Bayt al-māl (public fund) lay in the hands of Banū Umayyah; government positions were occupied by their young and inexperienced persons; special Muslim properties were appropriated by them; meadows provided grazing but to their cattle; houses were built for them; and orchards were established for them. If any compassionate person spoke about these excesses, his ribs were broken, and if someone agitated this capitalism he was expelled from the city. The uses to which zakāt and charities, which were meant for the poor and the wretched, and the public fund which was the common property of the Muslims, were put may be observed from the following few illustrations:

(1) al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-Āṣ, who had been exiled from Madīnah by the Prophet, was allowed back in the city not only against the Prophet's Sunnah but also against the conduct of the first two Caliphs, and he was granted three hundred thousand dirhams from the public fund. (al-Ma'ārif, Ibn Qutaybah, p. 94)

(2) al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah, who has been named hypocrite in the Qur'ān, was given one hundred thousand dirhams from the Muslim's public fund. (al-'Iqd al-Farīd, vol. 3, p. 94)

(3) The Caliph married his own daughter Umm Abān to Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and paid him one hundred thousand dirhams from the public treasury. (Sharḥ Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, vol. 1, pp. 198–199)

(4) He married his daughter ‘Ā’ishah to al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ḥakam and granted him one hundred thousand dirhams from the public treasury. (Sharḥ Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, vol. 1, p. 39)

(5) Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb was granted two hundred thousand dirhams. (Sharḥ Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, vol. 1, p. 39)

(6) ‘Abd Allāh ibn Khālīd was granted four hundred thousand dirhams. (al-Ma‘ārif, Ibn Qutaybah, p. 84)

(7) The khums (one-fifth religious levy) from Africa, amounting to five hundred thousand dīnārs, was given to Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam. (al-Ma‘ārif, p. 84)

(8) Fadak, which was withheld from the angelic daughter of the Prophet on the ground of being general charity, was given as a royal gift to Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam. (al-Ma‘ārif, p. 84)

(9) Bazūr, a place in the commercial area of Madīnah which had been declared a public trust by the Prophet, was gifted to al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ḥakam. (al-Ma‘ārif, p. 84)

(10) In the meadows around Madīnah, no camels except those of Banū Umayyah were allowed to graze. (Sharḥ Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, vol. 1, p. 199)

(11) After his (‘Uthmān’s) death, one hundred and fifty thousand dīnārs (gold coins) and one million dirhams (silver coins) were found in his house. There was no limit to tax free lands; the estimated value of only a few of those estates amounted to one hundred thousand dīnārs. There were countless camels and horses. (Murūj al-Dhahab, vol. 1, p. 435)

(12) The Caliph’s relations ruled all the principal cities. Thus, al-Walīd ibn ‘Uqbah was governor over Kūfah, but when, being intoxicated with wine, he led the morning prayer in four rak‘āhs instead of two, he was removed on account of the public outcry; but the Caliph put in his place a transgressor like Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ. In Egypt ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ, in Syria Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, and in Baṣrah, ‘Abd

Allāh ibn ‘Āmir were the governors appointed by him (Murūj al-Dhahab, vol. 1, p. 435)