



A Historical Analysis of the Grounds and Political Reasons for the Opposition and Enmity with the Commander of the faithful Ali (a) From the Beginning to the End of the Umayyad Dynasty

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Abstract

This research essay will explore the abundance of opposition and enmity towards the Commander of the faithful (a) from various individuals and groups in an attempt to present a historical analysis regarding the emergence of this conduct. One of the axes of this conduct and enmity was the political aspect. On the basis of this axis, by studying the political history and by analyzing texts that are similar in theme, the main axis of this research essay will be presented in three segments: The causes and political grounds for this enmity, the tools and methods of expressing this opposition, and consequences of these actions throughout history. The findings of this research essay regarding the above-mentioned axes are that the successorship of the Commander of the faithful, Ali, (a) and his relationship with the Messenger of Allah (s) was the greatest factor in the arousal of jealousy and a hostile competition in the pursuit of power. Furthermore, the method in which he executed the laws of the religion and established the prophetic traditions resulted in the rebellion of a group and led them to express their opposition and enmity. From amongst the most important consequences of this matter was the transformation of the caliphate, which was a sacred and Divine affair, into a type of monarchical system and the establishment of the absolute rule of man upon the base of corruption and power-seeking.

Keywords: *Politics; the History of Islam; Caliphate; Opposition and Enmity with the Commander of the Faithful Ali; Saqīfa; Umayyads*

Introduction

By studying the general historical sources of the Muslims and even the orientalist, it is clear that a group of Muslims opposed and expressed enmity towards the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a). From a layman's point of view, by taking the tribal system of the Arabian Peninsula into consideration, and also

from a religious point of view considering that the appointment of the caliph is a Divine matter, the fact that the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), was always with and the greatest helper of the Messenger of God (s) and the choice of the Banī Hāshim for the successorship could be the main reason for the opposition and hostility.

Opposition and enmity can sometimes have a political background and nature or a social, cultural and even economic aspect. The opposition and antagonism were mainly from those near individuals, or in other words, those companions that didn't necessarily have any animosity towards the Imām (a). Furthermore, those who were with the Imām (a) but then later separated from him or those whom, from long before, stood in opposition to his line of thought and his conduct also expressed their enmity towards him. This was because the Imam (a) consistently remained an unwavering follower of the school of the Messenger of Allah (s) and there were some who were opposed to the prophetic lifestyle and traditions and were thus, opposed to the governance of the Imām (a) who would rule as the successor of the Messenger of Allah (s).

The books of history are a witness to the countless accounts and reports of the opposition and enmity however, these reports require an accurate analysis. Discovering the background and the main and sub-reasons of these oppositions and enmity will provide us with the ability to analyze intellectual, political, social and sociological affairs. In order to be able to make such analyses, it is essential to understand what the background and reasons for the opposition and enmity with the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), were. Because there are many angles from which this discussion can be analyzed and because the entire time period that must be analyzed is long, this analysis will be limited to the Umayyad period and it will be approached from the political lens.

From amongst all the published works whether they be articles or books, the history and various instances of the opposition towards the Commander of the faithful (a) have been mentioned however, none of them have ever paid attention to the context, reasons or analysis of this matter. Therefore, this research essay will be an analysis using the political-history approach and will make use ancient sources in the descriptive form. The method of this research essay in extracting and deducing the numerous instances of opposition and political enmity and eliciting its grounds and reasons will be by making use of the contents of the texts themselves or by making use of auxiliary reports. The goal is to only make reference to correct reports.

1. Understanding the Concepts

The word "opposition" means to oppose (defiance) and it is the opposite of acceptance.¹ It has also been mentioned that it means dispute, disagreement, contention or antagonism. It has further been mentioned that it can sometimes mean animosity, enmity, incompatibility, rebellion, revolt and objection.² In another definition, it means insubordination.³ The word "enmity" means rotten soul, ugly nature or lowly. In its technical definition, when it is attributed to an individual, group, country or anything else, it means that that entity is malicious, malevolent, malignant, at war with or contentious with regards to another.⁴ The term "enemy" is synonymous with the Qur'ānic term "‘*aduww*'". Rāghib Isfahānī (d. 1108) writes the following about the term "‘*aduww*'": "‘*Aduww* is a transgressing and bypassing of the limits which is in contradiction with healing, i.e., it is not the same as recovery and bringing about compatibility between two things."⁵

¹ Ahmad ibn Muhammad Fayūmī, *Al-Misbāh al-Munīr fī Gharīb al-Sharh al-Kabīr*, p. 179.

² Favād Afrām Bastānī, *Farhang -i- Abjadī*, Translation of Rezā Mahyār, p. 354, 793.

³ Muhammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 13, p. 422, Vol. 9, p. 90.

⁴ Dehkhodā, Alī Akbar, *The Dehkhodā Dictionary (Lughatnāme Farsī)*, Vol. 11, Under the word "enemy" (*dushman*).

⁵ Husain Rāghib Isfahānī, *Mufradāt -i- Alfāz -i- Qur‘ān*, Translation and research of Ghulām Rezā Khusrovī, Vol. 2, p. 566.

From the perspective of the linguistics, transgressing or quarrelling can be gradational⁶ and can take place in various ways. However, “opposition” means insubordination, defiance and the refusal to cooperate. Typically, when it comes to opposition, there is no battlefield or enmity involved and at most is manifested through silence and dissidence. In contrast, with regards to enmity, the extent of the dispute and fight is comparatively higher.

The term “politics” means government, leadership, encouraging and forbidding, punishment and chastisement, disciplining, nurturing, taking care of the affairs of the people in accordance with their interests and carrying out various actions on the basis of public interest⁷. The technical definition of politics in the opinion of the Islamic thinkers is, “managing and leading society⁸ in order to safeguard the material and spiritual interests of mankind”. The goal of politics in Islamic governance is to realize the Divine values and the rights of the people and to prevent oppression and corruption. The Islamic ruler is seeking the desirable and appropriate solutions to guide society towards prosperity.

From the Imāmi Shiite point of view, the management of society and the implementation of politics are among the characteristics of Divine leaders through whom human beings are trained on the path towards the goal of creation. In other words, the immaculate Imāms, because of their legitimacy or Divine appointment, are in charge of managing the affairs of the people in the realm of this world and the scope of religion.

2. The History of Opposition and Enmity

Before and after the death of the Messenger of God (s), some people expressed their jealousy, resentment and enmity towards the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), but what is interesting to note is the fact that this opposition and enmity towards the Imām (a) existed during the lifetime of the Messenger of God (a) as well. For example, people like ‘Amr ibn Shās Salmī would reproach the Commander of the faithful (a)⁹, some of the companions did not respect him¹⁰, some of them would slander and defame him¹¹, and some people like Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah or ‘Abdullah ibn Alqama would curse him all the way until the day of Ghadir al-Khumm¹². Likewise, some people objected to the lawful and the constitutional behavior of the Commander of the faithful (a) during the deployment to Yemen with regards to the way in which the *khums* [legal term referring to one fifth of particular material items that are given as religious tax] of the war booty was distributed, and began to spread false rumours. This ill-treatment of the Commander of the faithful (a) on the part of the companions was subsequently followed by the Messenger of God (s) defending the correct and constitutional actions of the Imām (a) and thereafter, he (s) even went on to introduce him as his successor.¹³

It can be said that although the event of Saqīfa was manifested as a political event and that the enmity and opposition towards the Imām (a) that existed was expressed through this event, this event had a social nature as well and the caliphs, due to familial jealousies, usurped the right of the family of the Prophet (s) to lead the people with respect to matters pertaining to this world and the religion.¹⁴ As Hārith ibn Mu'āwiyah said to the representative of Abū Bakr: “You were jealous of the family of the Prophet (s) and casted them aside. I cannot believe that the Holy Prophet (s) did not nominate anyone for the people

⁶ Muhammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manzūr, Lisān al- ‘Arab, Vol. 15, p. 37.

⁷ “Politics (*Al-Siyāsīyah*): Rising above a matter in the manner that is best for it.” Ibn Manzūr, Lisān al- ‘Arab, Vol. 6, p. 107; Fakhruddīn Tarīhī, *Majma’ al-Bahrain*, Vol. 4, p. 78.

⁸ Hamīd Enāyat, *Falsafeye Siyāsī Dar Gharb* (Political Philosophy in the West), p. 19; Muhammad Bāqir Heshmat Zādeh, *Masā’il Asāsī -i- ‘Ilm -i- Siyāsāt* (Essential Matters of the Science of Politics), p. 57.

⁹ Ismā’īl ibn ‘Umar ibn Kathīr, *Al Bidāyah wa an-Nihāyah*, Vol. 5, p. 105

¹⁰ Muhammd ibn ‘Alī ibn Bābawayh Qumī, *Al-Amālī*, p.111

¹¹ Muhammd ibn Hassan Tūsī, *Al-Amālī*, p. 134, 233.

¹² Muhammd ibn Ismā’īl Bukhārī, *Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, Vol. 4, p. 193, ‘Alī ibn Hassan ibn Hibatallah ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnatu al-Damishq*, Vol. 42, p. 229.

¹³ Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, Vol. 5, p. 356.

¹⁴ Muhammad ibn Jurayr Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mamlūk*, Vol. 4, p. 223.

to follow.”¹⁵ After the death of the Messenger of God (s), the quantity and quality of the enmity and political opposition with respect to the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), intensified. The caliphs had laid the foundations for this enmity and then the Umayyads, who were the trustees of this movement themselves albeit, pursued the process of making this enmity and opposition seep into the public arena. Their efforts were such that in order for their work to prosper, they necessarily needed to change the opinion of the people. One example of their success in this regard was when the people who subscribed to the “*Uthmāniyyah* sect in Basra stoned the house of Abū al-Aswad D’ulī for following the path of Imām Ali (a).¹⁶

Attempts to change the religious population of Shiite cities, including Kūfa, was amongst the most critical acts of oppression committed by the Umayyads. With their support, Kūfa was filled with the followers of the “*Uthmāniyyah* sect.¹⁷ Their efforts were such that at the end of it all, by force, intimidation¹⁸ or deception, some of the lovers and companions of the Commander of the faithful (a) and a few Alawites joined the “*Uthmāniyyah* sect during the battle Siffīn¹⁹. According to Ibn al-Mashhadī (d. 610), the tribe of Banī Taim in Kūfa hated the Commander of the faithful (a)²⁰, and the tribe of Bani Awd considered cursing the Commander of the faithful (a), Imam Hassan (a), Imam Husain (a) and Lady Zahra (s) as one of their sources of honour and pride and they would teach this custom to their children²¹. Similarly, ‘Ubaydullah ibn Ziyad built four mosques in Basra for the purpose of cursing Ali ibn Abī Tālib (a)²². In another report, the people of Basra stoned the house of Abū al-Aswad Du’lī for following the Imām (a)²³. In the Wardan region of Egypt, the Dhikr Mosque was also well-known for being a place for cursing the Commander of the faithful (a)²⁴ and they forced the Alawite people of Egypt to renounce their beliefs and become followers of the “*Uthmāniyyah* sect²⁵.

3. The Grounds and Reasons for the Political Opposition and Hostility

When examining the grounds and reasons for the political opposition and enmity with the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), it should be noted that sometimes the position, actions or role that the Commander of the faithful (a) had in the administration of the Islamic society was the basis of opposition for those who did not accept his way of governing or the principles that he adhered to. Furthermore, the policies of the opposers and the enemies were basically such that in order to dominate the Islamic society, they would make decisions for the sake of increasing the intensity of the hostility and opposition towards Imām Ali (a). Thus, in this research essay, both of these angles will be addressed.

a. The Position and Political Role of the Commander of the Faithful (a)

1. Determining the Successorship of the Commander of the Faithful (a) by the Messenger of God (s)

Certainly, the decision of the Messenger of God (s) to appoint the Commander of the faithful (a) to be his successor and to run the Islamic society was not acceptable in the eyes of those who had a worldly view

¹⁵ Muhammad ibn ‘Umar Wāqidi, *Ar-Radduhū*, 176; Ahmad ibn A’tham Kūfī, *Al-Futūh*, Vol. 1, p. 48.

¹⁶ Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Hajar ‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Vol. 7, p. 367.

¹⁷ Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Hajar ‘Asqalānī, *Muqaddamatu Fathil Bārī bi Sharh Sahīh Bukhārī*, Vol. 6, p. 132.

¹⁸ “Mughīrah ibn Shu’bah sought to prevent Hujr ibn ‘Adī from rising up by gifting him five thousand dirhams.” Ahmad ibn Dāwūd Daynūrī, *Al-Akhbār al-Atwāl*, p. 223.

¹⁹ “For example, Abū Wā’il Shaqīq ibn Salamah joined the “*uthmāniyyah* sect.” Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, *The Commentary of the Nahjul Balāgha*, Vol. 4, p. 99.

²⁰ Muhammad ibn Ja’far Mashhadī, *Fadhl al-Kūfa*, p. 20.

²¹ Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad Thaqafī, *Al-Ghārāt*, Vol. 2, p. 842; Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, *Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha)*, Vol. 4, p. 99.

²² Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad Thaqafī, *Al-Ghārāt*, Vol. 2, p.558; Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzari, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 5, p. 232.

²³ Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Hajar ‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Vol. 7, p. 367.

²⁴ Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad Thaqafī, *Al-Ghārāt*, Vol. 2, p. 843.

²⁵ ‘Ali ibn Hassan ibn Hibatallah ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnatu al-Damishq*, Vol. 9, p. 42

of the caliphate. These people either lived within the Islamic government or were amongst the polytheists of Quraysh who lived outside of the Islamic lands and exercised power.

With the appointment of Ali ibn Abi Talib (a) as the successor of the Holy Prophet (s) who also happened to be from the Hashemite clan, the other tribes of the Quraysh did not accept this decision and opposed and expressed enmity towards the Commander of the faithful (a) and they even expressed their opposition with regards to the decision of the Holy Prophet (s) itself. They argued that the matter of successorship is not a Divine matter but rather, based upon the Arab tribal structure. For this reason, the Ansār (the helpers) and the Muhājirūn (the emigrants) both quarreled over successorship and the caliphate and each considered the caliphate to be their right and brought arguments to defend their case²⁶. Other tribes besides the Ansār and the Muhājirūn were also greedy for the successorship and demanded it from the Prophet (s). For example, it has been mentioned in a report that when the Messenger of God (s) invited the tribe of “Bani ‘Amer ibn Sa’sa’ah” to Islam, a man from amongst that tribe named Bayhara ibn Firās said: “I swear by God that if I acquire this young man from the Quraysh, I will dominate over the Arabs with his power.” Then he said to the Messenger of God (s), “tell me, if we follow you in this matter and then you become victorious with the help of God, will this matter (the caliphate and successorship) fall into our hands after you?” The Messenger of God (s) said, “the authority of this matter - succession - is in the hands of God and He places it wherever He wills.”²⁷

In the words of Abbas, the Prophet's (s) uncle, by the Lord of the Ka’bah, the Muhājirūn and the Ansār had no doubt regarding the caliphate of Ali (a).²⁸ Therefore, it seems that a pre-planned plan was hatched to remove Ali from the caliphate and appoint Abū Bakr in his place instead. Therefore, meetings were held even before the event of Ghadir Khumm by some of the Muhājirūn and Ansār, including Abū Bakr, Umar, Abū ‘Ubaydah, Usayd ibn Hudair, the elders of the Quraysh and many individuals from the *tulaqā* (group who opposed the Prophet and converted resentfully), and an agreement was written according to which, it was decided that all of the dimensions of the issue of successorship should be considered and decided upon and that this matter should not be delayed until after the death of the Prophet (s)²⁹. The Commander of the faithful (a) made reference to this hidden scripture when he stood in front of Umar's corpse.³⁰

Those who laid the foundation of Saqīfa tried to, alongside preventing the Holy Prophet (s) from writing his final will during the last days of his life, invalidate the explicit appointment of Imām Ali (a) by the Prophet (s) during the event of Saqīfa and attempted to hand over the caliphate to Abū Bakr instead. Abdullah ibn Abbas, with tears streaming down his cheeks, said, “The entire calamity and misery is this fact that with their disputes and by causing a commotion, they prevented Messenger of God (s) from writing his will and they claimed that the Prophet (s) had become delusional”.³¹ Later on, ‘Umar confessed that the Holy Prophet, during that illness, intended to specify Ali (a) as his successor by name and thus, for the sake of Islam, I prevented it³².

The Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), always considered the caliphate to be his right and objected to Abū Bakr on account of him usurping his right. Interestingly, Abū Bakr also stated in response, “Yes - the caliphate is your right. However, the fear of sedition and unrest led us to ignore your right”³³. Zayd ibn Arqam Khazrajī, in response to the caliphs' opposition to the rule of the Commander of the faithful (a), said: “If the Quraysh were satisfied with the caliphate of Ali (a), there would be no

²⁶ Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha, Vol. 2, p. 42-43.

²⁷ Muhammad ibn Jurayr Tabarī, Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mamlūk, Vol. 2, p. 350.

²⁸ Ahmad ibn Abī Wāzih Ya’qūbī, Al-Tārīkh, Vol. 2, p. 124.

²⁹ Hassan ibn Muhammad Daylamī, Irshād al-Qulūb ilā al-Sawāb, Vol. 2, p. 334-336.

³⁰ Muhammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Bābawayh Qumī, Ma’ānī al-Akhbār, p. 412.

³¹ Muhammad ibn Sa’d ibn Manee’, Al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā, Vol. 2, p. 242.

³² Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha, Vol. 12, p. 21.

³³ Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzari, Ansāb al-Ashraf, Vol. 1, p. 579; ‘Alī ibn Hassan Mas’ūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma’ādin al-Jawhar, Vol. 1, p. 301.

differences in society.”³⁴ ‘Umar and Uthman ignored the right of Ali (a) to the caliphate later on as well. After them, Mu’āwiyah and the Umayyads increased their opposition and chose to be hostile with regards to caliphate of the Commander of the faithful (a). Their hostility was so intense that they planned several wars against him and his government during his short reign.

The formation of the event of Saqīfa, the attacking of the house of Lady Zahra (s), making the Commander of the faithful (a) sit at home with little involvement in the political sphere³⁵, the Battle of Jamal, Siffīn and Nahrawān, the coming to power of the Umayyads and the lootings of Mu’āwiyah are among the effects and signs of the beginning of the opposition and political enmity with the caliphate of the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a). However, when Ali (a) was forcibly taken to the mosque, he refused to pledge allegiance and considered the caliphate as his undeniable right³⁶. In another report on the role of the Umayyads in the political enmity with the Commander of the faithful (a), Harith ibn Jaish said, “When I went to the Commander of the faithful (a), I read the letter of Sa’īd ibn ‘Ās for him. The Imām (a) said, ‘How difficult it is that the Umayyads to make the inheritance of Muhammad (s) unlawful for me. I swear by God, if I become in charge of it – the caliphate-, I will get rid of them the way a butcher throws away the dirty and inedible pieces of [an animal’s] stomach and liver’”.³⁷ He (a) also said: “The Umayyads are the enemies of God, the Qur’ān, the Prophetic tradition, and the enemies of Islam.”³⁸ “By God, the Umayyads will continue to oppress until there is no forbidden (*harām*) act left that they have not considered to be lawful, and until there is no agreement left that they have not violated.”³⁹

2. The Attempt of the Commander of the Faithful to Establish a Religious Government

Another reason for the formation of opposition and enmity with the Commander of the faithful (a) was his efforts to establish a religious government. At the very beginning of the caliphate of the Commander of the faithful (a), some did not pledge allegiance to him and wanted a greater share of the public treasury. The *nākitheen* or “allegiance-breakers” (Talha, Zubair and ‘Ā’isha) also fled Madīna and sought to divide the Islamic society by occupying Basra and became hostile towards the Shiites of the Imām (a)⁴⁰. In order to gain political power, they expressed their opposition and enmity and tried to prevent the solidification of the rule of the Commander of the faithful (a) at any cost.

The Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), after rescuing Basra⁴¹ and settling in Kūfa, faced the enmity of Mu’āwiyah and the battle of Siffīn, which was ultimately dragged into the unfortunate event of the “arbitration”, or *hakamiyyah*, by the blindness of the troops of the Imām (a) and the sinister plot of Mu’āwiyah and ‘Amr ibn ‘Ās⁴². From the heart of these blind people came the Khārījite movement that the Imām (a) had to correct. However, because that group committed various serious crimes, the Imām (a) had no choice but to fight them⁴³.

In the continuation of the increasing Umayyad opposition and enmity to destroy the Islamic government, the Commander of the faithful (a) witnessed the brutal lootings the Islamic lands carried out

³⁴ Zubair ibn Bakkār, *Al-Akhbār al-Muwaffaqiyyāt*, p. 578 – 579; Muhammad ibn Jurayr Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mamlūk*, Vol. 3, p. 202.

³⁵ Ahmad ibn Abī Wāzih Ya’qūbī, *Al-Tārīkh*, Vol. 1, p. 527; Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzari, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 587.

³⁶ ‘Alī ibn Hassan Mas’ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma’ādin al-Jawhar*, Vol. 1, p. 657.

³⁷ Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, *Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha)*, Vol. 6, p. 174.

³⁸ “Ali (a) said: Move forward [to fight] the enemies of Allāh, the enemies of the prophetic tradition and the Qur’ān, and the remnants of the ignorant groups.” Nasr ibn Muzāhim Manqarī, *Waqa’atu al-Siffīn*, p. 94; Muhammad ibn ‘Abdullāh Askāfī, *Al-Mi’yār wa al-Mawāzinah*, p. 125.

³⁹ Muhammad ibn Husain Mūsavī (Sayyid Radhī), *Nahjul Balāgha*, Sermon 98, p. 143.

⁴⁰ Nasr ibn Muzāhim Manqarī, *Waqa’atu al-Siffīn*, p. 5; “Abu al-Aswad, in a debate with ‘Ā’isha, ardently defended the guardianship and right of the Commander of the faithful (a) and criticized the decision of the troops of Jamal.” Muhammad ibn Jurayr Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mamlūk*, Vol. 4, p. 461 – 464.

⁴¹ “The Banī Abdul Qays and the Banī Bakr ibn Wā’il were from amongst the Shiites who supported the Commander of the faithful (a) in the defense of Basra and in the Battle of Jamal.” ‘Abdullāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaybah Daynūrī, *Al-Ma’ārif*, p. 339.

⁴² Muhammad ibn Jurayr Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mamlūk*, Vol. 5, p. 64.

⁴³ Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzari, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 2, p. 360 – 377.

by the Umayyads. Just a few segments of Mu'āwiyah's plan to overthrow the Islamic government was creating chaos and looting the wealth of the state and the public with the help of Zuhhāk ibn Qais, Sufyān ibn 'Awf Ghāmedi, Yazīd ibn Shajarah, 'Abdullāh ibn Hazramī, Ma'an ibn Yazīd Sullamī, Abdur Rahmān ibn Qabbāth and Busr ibn Abī Artāh⁴⁴ with the aim of creating doubt and confusion amongst the people or sparking sedition so that the people would think that the government is ineffective⁴⁵. According to the confession of Mu'āwiyah, the purpose of these lootings was to escape from the government of Ali (a). Similarly, Mu'āwiyah told his military commander, Sufyān ibn 'Awf, during the attack on Hit and Anbār: "By God, after a short time, the Iraqi people will flee from Ali and come towards us."⁴⁶

3. Dismissal of the Inefficient and Corrupt Governors

Another action of the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), which led to the formation of opposition or enmity among some of the companions and the Umayyads was the dismissal of the officials of the previous government. After establishing his government, he replaced most of 'Uthmān's officials and governors who were inefficient and corrupt. The Imām (a) made this decision right away and so, this explicit behavior also led to the beginning of the opposition of the companions. People like ibn 'Abbās thought that the Imām would tolerate Mu'āwiyah for some time in order to strengthen the pillars of his government. Ibn 'Abbās said to the Imām (a): "Do you not see that Mu'āwiyah, the cousin of 'Uthmān, is the ruler of the Levant (*shām*) and that I am not safe from the actions Mu'āwiyah?! In my opinion, write to Mu'āwiyah and let him continue to remain the ruler of the Levant. When he has paved the way for you, then send me to the Levant."⁴⁷ However, the Imām responded unwaveringly with complete resoluteness: I swear by God, I will not give him anything except for a bloody sword."⁴⁸ Furthermore, when the Imām (a) was in Basa, he said the following about Marwān ibn Hakam: "I do not need his allegiance because he is a breaker of allegiance and his hand is like the hand of a Jew and a traitor. If he swears allegiance openly with his hand, he turns around and secretly breaks it and makes a mockery [of his allegiance]."⁴⁹

Another example of the opposition of some of the companions to the dismissal of 'Uthmān's officials, including the dismissal of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, is the opposition of Mālik al-Ashtar. He thought that Abū Mūsā, because of his position and his popularity among the people, might pose a challenge to the rule of the Imām which was still in its infancy stages. Thus, he suggested to the Imām that Abū Mūsā should be tolerated. It should be noted that although Abū Mūsā and his son Abū Bardah pledged allegiance to the Commander of the faithful (a) as a result of being forced by the people of Kūfa, they soon became opponents to the Imām's rule.⁵⁰ As' Abdur Rahmān ibn Jundab said: "Abū Bardah testified before Ziyād ibn Abīh that Hujr ibn 'Adī, like his master, Ali, had become an infidel."⁵¹ Although the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), did not accept Mālik's advice, he acted on it. When Abū Mūsā defied the general mobilization of the people of Kūfa to fight against the movement of Jamal, the Imām reminded Mālik of the mistake in keeping Abū Mūsā in his post and ordered him to prepare the grounds for his removal.⁵²

4. Reprimanding the Allegiance Breakers

The Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), was very strict in his admonishing, reprimanding and punishing of the traitors and those violators who stole from the public treasury and the rights of the

⁴⁴ To study further, refer to: Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad Thaqafī, *Al-Ghārāt*, Vol. 1, p. 173 – 174; 'Alī ibn Muhammad ibn Athīr, *Asad al-Ghābah fī Ma'rifatu al-Sahābah*, Vol. 1, p.99.

⁴⁵ To study further, refer to: Nasr ibn Muzāhim Manqarī, *Waqa'atu al-Siffīn*, Vol. 2, p. 591; Javād Sulaymānī, 'Edālat dar Gerdāb, Qum, *Ishrāq -i- Hikmat*, 8th ed., 1395.

⁴⁶ Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad Thaqafī, *Al-Ghārāt*, Vol. 2, p. 465.

⁴⁷ Ibn Qutaybah Daynūrī, *Al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*, Translation, p. 73 – 74.

⁴⁸ Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, *Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha)*, Vol. 10, p. 158.

⁴⁹ Muhammad ibn Husain Mūsavī (Sayyid Radhī), *Nahjul Balāgha*, Sermon 73, p. 102.

⁵⁰ Ahmad ibn A'tham Kūfī, *Al-Futūh*, Vol. 2, p. 438.

⁵¹ Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad Thaqafī, *Al-Ghārāt*, Vol. 2, p. 565

⁵² Muhammad ibn Jurayr Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mamlūk*, Vol. 4, p. 482.

people⁵³. The Imām (a) dealt with the transgressors seriously and therefore, he would sometimes dismiss some of them, charge them with fines or imprison them. This behaviour of his and these interactions caused the perpetrators to harbor resentment towards the Imām (a) and express their opposition or hostility. For example, the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), expelled Mundhir ibn Jārūd from his position as the Imām's (a) agent Istakhr in the province of Fars, Persia and imprisoned him for rebellion.⁵⁴ He also dismissed Yazīd ibn Hujjāh Tamīmī, his (a) agent in Ray, for treason with regards to his handling of 30,000 dirhams and arrested him in Kūfa.⁵⁵

One of the other moves of the Commander of the faithful (a) in opposition to those who sought to cause a rift and shake the core of the Islamic society was his decision to deport and destroy the houses of those violators and trouble makers. In addition to the destruction of the house of Masqalah ibn Hubārah⁵⁶, Jarīr ibn Abdullāh and some of his companions who had betrayed him and joined Mu'āwiyah⁵⁷, a report states that when Hanzal ibn Rabī', who was one of the soldiers of the Imām (a) in the Battle of Siffīn, left the side of the Imām (a) and joined the army of Mu'āwiyah, the morale of the Imām's (a) troops weakened and they were shook the even warned the Imām (a) against fighting Mu'āwiyah. At first, the Imām (a) asked him: "Are you with us or against us?" He replied, "I am not against you nor am I with you". With respect to the sensitive and critical moment that he had decided to defect to the side of Mu'āwiyah, the Imām (a) exiled Hanzala to Ruhā (a city between Mosul and the Levant). However, he violated the sentence, fled Kūfa at night and joined Mu'āwiyah. The Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), also firmly ordered that his house in Kūfa be demolished⁵⁸ as a lesson for others.

The Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), in order to be aware of the performance of his agents in various fields, he constantly monitored how they functioned and if they committed any transgression, he reprimanded and rebuked them. It was for this reason that he sent stern letters to Ash'ath ibn Qays, the governor of Azerbaijan, Ziyād Ibn Abīh, the deputy of Abdullah ibn Abbas in Persia, Shurayh ibn Hārith, the judge of the city of Kūfa, 'Uthmān Ibn Hunayf Ansārī, his agent in Basra, Qudāma ibn 'Ajlān, his agent in Kashkar, Masqalah ibn Hubārah Shaybanī, the governor of Ardešhīr Khwarra, and Mundhir ibn Jārūd 'Abdī, his agent in Istakhr⁵⁹. Furthermore, he also rebuked 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās for seizing the public treasury of Basra and fleeing to Makkah.⁶⁰

The reprimands of the Commander of the faithful (a) later became grounds for some to become his opponents and enemies. For example, when Ash'ath ibn Qays was dismissed⁶¹, he expressed malicious behaviour. He first corresponded with and wrote to Mu'āwiyah to separate from the Imām, but under the influence of his tribe, he came to Kūfa and it was in Kūfa that he expressed his clear opposition and enmity.⁶² Ash'ath agreed to remove the title of "The Commander of the faithful" from Imām Ali ibn Abi Tālib (a) during the issue of the arbitration.⁶³ He insulted the Imām (a) and slandered him claiming that he

⁵³ "For example, he admonished Ziyād ibn Abīh for stealing from the public treasury." Muhammad ibn Husain Mūsavī (Sayyid Radhī), *Nahjul Balāgha*, Letter 20, p. 377.

⁵⁴ Ahmad ibn Abī Wāzih Ya'qūbī, *Al-Tārīkh*, Vol. 2, p. 204.

⁵⁵ "He escaped from prison and joined Mu'āwiyah." Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad Thaqafī, *Al-Ghārāt*, Vol. 2, p. 526, 'Alī ibn Muhammad Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, Vol. 3, p. 28.

⁵⁶ Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad Thaqafī, *Al-Ghārāt*, Vol. 1, p. 248.

⁵⁷ "According to a report from Ismā'īl, the son of Jarīr, the Commander of the faithful (a) demolished the home of Jarīr twice." Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, *Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha)*, Vol. 4, p. 74.

⁵⁸ Nasr ibn Muzāhim Manqarī, *Waqa'atu al-Siffīn*, p. 97.

⁵⁹ To research further, refer to: Muhammad ibn Husain Mūsavī (Sayyid Radhī), *Nahjul Balāgha*, Letter 71, Letter 5, Letter 45, Letter 19, Letter 3.

⁶⁰ Muhammad ibn Husain Mūsavī (Sayyid Radhī), *Nahjul Balāgha*, Letter 41, p. 413.

⁶¹ Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzarī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol. 2, p. 159.

⁶² Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzarī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Vol. 2, p. 296.

⁶³ Ahmad ibn Abī Wāzih Ya'qūbī, *Al-Tārīkh*, Vol. 2, p. 189.

(a) prefers the non-Arabs over the Arabs⁶⁴. In the words of Ibn Abī-al-Hadīd (d. 656 AH): “The root of all corruptions, anxieties and troubles in this period goes back to Ash'ath.”⁶⁵

5. Implementing the Legal Punishments and Emphasizing the Prophetic (s) Tradition

Another issue that prepared the grounds for political opposition and enmity with the Commander of the faithful (a) was his political behaviour with regards to the effort that he made to implement the legal punishments and establish the prophetic tradition from the position of being the ruler of the Islamic society. The Commander of the faithful also considered it his duty to enforce and establish the legal punishments and the *sharī'a*, and said in this regard: “The governor should not stop stating the rules and red lines, and he should not be someone who abandons the prophetic tradition so that the Islamic nation is destroyed.”⁶⁶

The Imām (a) put in a lot of effort to take back the caliphate, which was his Divine right, from the caliphs because part of his goals, aside from preventing the alteration of the Divine commands, was to implement and establish the Divine limits and the *sharī'a*. He warned his companions against letting this rule fall into the hands of the Umayyads, otherwise, not even the name of the religion of God would remain and the Divine limits would be abandoned. As he (a) said: “If the Umayyads take matters into their own hands, they will violate the sanctum and sanctity of God's commandments. They commit sins until its ugliness is eliminated [seen as normal and not taken seriously]. By God, the Umayyads will continue to oppress until there is no forbidden thing left that they have not made lawful, and there is no covenant except that they have broken it.”⁶⁷

According to the words of Imām Sādiq (a), “The Commander of the faithful (a) carried out all the Divine punishments and rules”.⁶⁸ Therefore, the judgments of the Imām (a) during the lifetime of the Holy Prophet (s) and paying close attention to the implementation of the Divine limits and punishments as well as the prophetic tradition during the rule of the caliphs were parts of the Imām's (a) life which led to the forming of opposition and even enmity from some companions towards him. For example, ‘Uthmān's many mistakes in issuing edicts and the changes that he made in the religion⁶⁹ caused Ali ibn Abi Tālib (a) to raise his voice and to not remain silent in front of him. This action of the Imām (a) provoked ‘Uthmān's protest and he said: “You criticize us a lot and many of your edicts are in opposition to our opinion.”⁷⁰ The Imām's (a) objections to ‘Uthmān were so strong and numerous that sometimes ‘Uthmān wanted to beat the Imām⁷¹. Also, when ‘Uthmān forbade wearing the *ihram* attire for both ‘Umrah and Hajj at the same time, the Commander of the faithful (a) did not pay attention to ‘Uthmān's prohibition and wore the *ihram* for both. ‘Uthmān said: You can see that I have forbidden this and yet you do it?” The Commander of the faithful (a) replied: “I will not abandon the tradition of the Messenger of God (s) for anyone.”⁷²

Factors such as the danger of division, the civil wars, Mu'āwiyah's looting of the Islamic land, the doubts and fears of some tribal leaders such as Ash'ath ibn Qays, the obstruction of the unperceptive and the extravagance of the profit seekers, all slowed down the Imām's (a) process of bringing about change however, he never held back or waived from implementing and establishing the Divine limits. The situation was such that when the Commander of the faithful (a) was explaining the way of thinking and

⁶⁴ “In order to show disrespect, Ash'ath would kick the pulpit of the Commander of the faithful (a).” Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha), Vol. 20, p. 284.

⁶⁵ Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha), Vol. 2, p. 279.

⁶⁶ Muhammad ibn Husain Mūsavī (Sayyid Radhī), Nahjul Balāgha, Sermon 303, p. 333, Sermon 131, p. 189.

⁶⁷ Muhammad ibn Husain Mūsavī (Sayyid Radhī), Nahjul Balāgha, Sermon 98, p. 144.

⁶⁸ Muhammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī, Al-Kāfi, Vol. 3, p. 536, Hadīth 1.

⁶⁹ Muhammad ibn Jurayr Tabarī, Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mamlūk, Vol. 4, p. 268.

⁷⁰ Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Musnad, Vol. 1, p. 100.

⁷¹ Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzarī, Ansāb al-Ashrāf, Vol. 2, p. 183.

⁷² Umar ibn Shabah al-Namīrī, Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, Vol. 3, p. 1043.

the actions of the people of Nahrawān (Kharijites), a young man intended to kill the Imām (a).⁷³ In this same sermon, before making mention of the various innovations, he (a) said: “If I undo these innovations, my army will disintegrate and unity will be destroyed.” This statement is confirmed and supported by a narration of Imām Bāqir (a) in response to a question posed by Muhammad ibn Ishāq, where he said: “The Commander of the faithful, Ali, (a) did not want to be accused of going against Abū Bakr and ‘Umar!”⁷⁴

Furthermore, another proof of the presence of the shadow of that incorrect way of thinking and the persisting authority of the caliphs in the Islamic society is the request of the prominent individuals in society who said to the Imām (a): “If you act against the tradition of the two *sheikhs*, we will separate from you.”⁷⁵ Similarly, Mughīrah, Ash'ath, and others requested the Commander of the faithful (a) to follow the tradition of ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān in the majority of governmental matters, to which the Imām (a) responded.⁷⁶ In another report, when the Commander of the faithful (a) encountered the corruption of the Kharijites, he sent Qais ibn Sa'd to them to put an end to their mischief and corruption, but the Kharijites asked the Imām (a) to deal with them in accordance with the method of ‘Umar, but the Imām (a) did not accept their request.⁷⁷

The likes of Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī, while stating that he was still loyal to his allegiance to ‘Uthmān, also invited people to the authority of ‘Uthmān.⁷⁸ Therefore, the authority of the school of thought of the caliphs and the fact that they were still seen as valid points of reference had caused jurists such as Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī to be in the spotlight. The objective manifestation of this authority was the people making reference and turning to him and subsequently accepting his arbitration and judgment after the Battle of Siffīn.⁷⁹ In another report, ‘Ubaydah Salmānī disagreed with the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), on the issue of inheritance and accepted ‘Umar's opinion in protest against the Imām (a).⁸⁰

6. Acceptance of the Arbitration

Another reason for the political opposition and enmity towards the Commander of the faithful (a) was the issue of his acceptance of the arbitration or making peace with Mu'āwiyah after the Battle of Siffīn against the *Qāsītīn*. The acceptance of the arbitration was the result of Mu'āwiyah's deception and this matter was imposed on the Imām (a) by the people from his (a) own army who were deceived. The Kharijites and some of the elites from the Imām's (a) army were deceived and they prevented the battle from continuing. However, the Commander of the faithful (a) was not pleased with this decision, and even with regards to the way that it was carried out, he had an opposing view to those who agreed with the decision to have an arbitration. Therefore, in order to preserve Islam and the Islamic government, he had no choice but to accept it. In other words, the inability to have a say, the weakness of the Kharijites in action, and the loneliness of the Imām (a) resulted in him accepting the ruling.⁸¹ Accepting the decision to hold an arbitration led a number of people who only wished to fight against Mu'āwiyah to separate from the Commander of the faithful (a) and to express their opposition and enmity towards him.

During the arbitration, some individuals from amongst the nobility of Kūfa opposed the Commander of the faithful (a). Among them, their prominent leader was Ash'ath ibn Qays. During the ruling, Ash'ath criticized and insulted the Imām (a). The Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), replied: “What do you know about those things which are to my benefit and those which are to my detriment?”

⁷³ Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, *Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha)*, Vol. 2, p.272.

⁷⁴ Abū Bakr Jawharī Basrī, *Al-Saqīfa wa Fadak*, p. 118.

⁷⁵ ‘Imād al-Dīn Tabarī, *Kāmil al-Bahāī fī al-Saqīfa*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

⁷⁶ Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad Thaqaftī, *Al-Ghārāt*, Vol. 2, p. 495.

⁷⁷ Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzarī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 2, p. 371.

⁷⁸ Abdullāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutaybah Daynūrī, *Al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*, Vol. 1, p. 85.

⁷⁹ Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzarī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 2, p. 346.

⁸⁰ Muhammad ibn Hassan Tūsī, *Tahdhīb al-Ahkām*, Vol. 9, p. 259.

⁸¹ Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzarī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 2, p. 355.

May the curse of God and the curse of those who curse be upon you, O arrogant son of the arrogant, hypocrite son of the infidel! I swear by God, you were once captured during the time of disbelief and once again during the rule of Islam, and your wealth and kinship could not help you on both occasions. He who surrenders his relatives to the sword and draws death and destruction upon them, deserves that his relatives be angry with him and that strangers do not trust him."⁸²

Ibn Qutaybah al-Daynūrī (d. 276 AH) writes the following about what happened in Siffīn: "A group approached Ali and said to him: 'Respond to that which these people are calling you towards, otherwise, they will kill you just like they killed 'Uthmān'. Ali (a) ordered Ash'ath to go to the commanders of the army and stop them from fighting."⁸³ In a similar report, Manqarī (d. 212 AH) writes about the opposition of the Kharijites to the war with Mu'āwiyah saying, "Nearly 20,000 armed men, in front of whom were Mis'ar ibn Fadakī and Zaid ibn Huṣain and a group of the reciters of the Qur'ān, were moving towards the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a). They said, "O Ali (a)! Now that you have been called to the Book of God, answer these people, otherwise we will kill you as we killed 'Uthmān. I swear to God, if you do not respond positively to them, we will certainly do so".⁸⁴ They forced Imām Ali (a) to send someone to Mālik and prevent him from continuing the war. Therefore, the Imām (a) had no choice but to accept arbitration in order to preserve Islam and Islamic rule. Therefore, this inability to express his opinion and the weakness in the political behaviour of the Kharijites forced the Imām (a) to accept the ruling and said: "I was compelled as a consequence of the fault of the Kharijites."⁸⁵

7. The Struggle Against the Polytheists

Another political factor that led to the opposition and enmity with Ali ibn Abī Tālib (a) was his role in the fight against polytheism and struggling in the way of God. In other words, the substantial (*jihādī*) actions of the Imām (a) along with the Messenger of God (s) which were carried out against polytheism, infidelity and hypocrisy, led to the destruction of some of their leaders, and this issue transformed into resentment and remained in the hearts of the Quraysh tribe and in the hearts of others. Therefore, these individuals and political movements either expressed their opposition or had cursing and waging war against Ali ibn Abī Tālib⁸⁶ on their agenda.

The polytheists of Quraysh did not accept the Holy Prophet (s) and converted to Islam out of compulsion, hence, they were also called "*tulaqā'*" (freed slaves). They gained political status and authority in the government of the caliphs. 'Umar employed and gave positions to Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān, Sa'īd ibn 'Ās and Mu'āwiyah even though he knew that the Umayyads would divert the path of Islam, lead the people astray and destroyed the religion altogether⁸⁷. Contrary to this view, the Commander of the faithful (a) did not pay attention to this group, and at the very beginning of the caliphate, he dismissed Mu'āwiyah on the grounds of religious corruption and forced him to pledge allegiance, and in his place, he sent Sahl ibn Hunayf to Syria. However, Mu'āwiyah prevented him from entering.⁸⁸

They were not pleased with the fact that the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), as a meritorious personality on behalf of the legitimate Islamic government of the Holy Prophet (s), killed and sought to kill the polytheistic elders of Quraysh in the battles of Badr, Uhud, and Khandaq. Consequently, they used this affair as an excuse to oppose and express their enmity openly towards him. For example,

⁸² Muhammad ibn Husain Mūsavī (Sayyid Radhī), *Nahjul Balāgha*, Sermon 19, p. 62.

⁸³ Abdullāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutaybah Daynūrī, *Al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*, Vol. 1, p. 136.

⁸⁴ Nasr ibn Muzāhim Manqarī, *Waqa'atu al-Siffīn*, p. 489 – 490.

⁸⁵ Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzarī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 2, p. 355.

⁸⁶ Jubayr ibn Nufayr, one of the narrators from the Sunni school of thought, said: "I swear to God that the index finger of 'Uthmān that he used to point to the earth has more value than an earth filled with people like Ali." 'Alī ibn Hassan ibn Hibatallah ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnatu al-Damishq*, Vol. 39, p. 488.

⁸⁷ Muhammad ibn Sa'd Manī', *Al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā*, Vol. 3, p. 218.

⁸⁸ Muhammad ibn Jurayr Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mamlūk*, Vol. 4, p. 442; Vol. 2, p. 355, 'Alī ibn Husain Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawhar*, Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, *Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha)*, Vol. 10, p. 247.

‘Uthmān used to say to the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a): “What can I do if the Quraysh do not like you? Why did you kill seventy of them in Badr?”⁸⁹ Talha was also upset that he had killed his relatives in the wars. Talha's uncle, ‘Umar ibn ‘Uthmān, and his brothers, ‘Uthmān and Mālik, all three were with the pagan army in the Battle of Badr and were killed by the Commander of the faithful (a).⁹⁰ This issue had undoubtedly planted hatred in Talha's heart and potentially, this was the base of the formation of his hatred and jealousy towards the Imām (a).⁹¹

Ya'qūbī (d. 292 AH) writes about the initial days of the caliphate of the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), and the enmity of the Umayyads: “Walīd wrote to the Imām (a) on behalf of the opponents saying, ‘You have injured all of us, you beheaded my father (Uqba) after the battle of Badr, you killed the father of Sa’īd during the war, and whilst you were bringing Marwān's father to Madīna, you rebuked ‘Uthmān.”⁹² According to that which Abdullāh ibn Badīl ibn Warqā’ al-Khuzā’ī said in a report, the Quraysh would never surrender to him⁹³ because of their grudges against Ali (a)⁹⁴, and in the end, in the words of Abū al-Aswad: “The Quraysh were jealous of that young man because they could not reach his position, so they all became his enemies and opponents.”⁹⁵

The matter of insulting and libeling the Imām (a) was because of his active participation in the Islamic wars led by the Prophet (s) during different periods. Harīz Ibn ‘Uthmān (163 AH) would curse the Commander of the faithful (a) seventy times every morning and evening. The people were curious to know the reason for this and so he said, “He has cut off the heads of my fathers and ancestors”.⁹⁶ His grudge was such that he distorted the narration of *manzilah* (with respect to the authoritative position of Ali) and he stated that the Prophet (s) issued an order for the hand of Ali (a) to be cut off at the time of his (s) death.⁹⁷ Thawr ibn Yazīd Kalā’ī Himsī (d. 155 AH), a narrator from the Sunnī school of thought, said that because his grandfather was killed at the hands of the army of the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), in the Battle of Siffīn, whenever he heard the name of Commander of the faithful (a) he would say, “I do not like the man who killed my grandfather”.⁹⁸

b. The Destructive Actions of the Enemy in Increasing Their Opposition and Enmity

It was explained that the Commander of the faithful's (a) method of governing caused some people to become intolerant and to take on destructive measures to overthrow his government. There were those who, seeing the Islamic government and its efficient effects under the personal leadership of the Messenger of God (s), sought legitimacy in order to overthrow the government of Ali (a) and then rise to power. In order to gain power, they tried to increase the intensity of their hostility and opposition and bring the people into their line. Therefore, this movement, which mainly consisted of the Umayyads, carried out a series of measures, some of which will be discussed here.

1) Intensification of Opposition and Enmity

One of the grounds for the formation of opposition and enmity amongst the people with the Commander of the faithful (a) was the political provocations of the Umayyads. Mu’āwiyah, for example, sought to gain power through deception and particularly, he made use of the support that he received from

⁸⁹ Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha), Vol. 9, p. 23.

⁹⁰ Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Nu’ mān Mufīd, Al-Irshād fī Ma’rifati Hujaj Allāh ‘Ala al-Ibād, Vol. 1, p. 71.

⁹¹ Muhammad ibn Husain Mūsavī (Sayyid Radhī), Nahjul Balāgha, Sermon 31, p. 174.

⁹² Ahmad ibn Abī Wāzih Ya’ qūbī, Al-Tārīkh, Vol. 2, p. 178, p. 105.

⁹³ Nasr ibn Muzāhim Manqarī, Waqa’atu al-Siffīn, p. 102.

⁹⁴ ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā’īl ibn Kathīr, Al-Bidāyah wa An-Nihāyah, Vol. 2, p. 204.

⁹⁵ Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha), Vol. 1, p. 319.

⁹⁶ “Harīz is highly renowned figure in the Sunnī school of thought who has narrated a lot of narrations.” Muhammad ibn Habān, Al-Majrūhīn, Vol. 1, p. 269; Ahmad ibn Khatīb Baghdādī, Tārīkh Baghdād, Vol. 8, p. 261 – 262.

⁹⁷ Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha), Vol. 4, p. 70.

⁹⁸ Muhammad ibn Sa’d, Al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā, Vol. 7, p. 324.

the caliphs.⁹⁹ He was the cause of the revolt and incitement of the people against the Ahlulbayt (a). His actions and proceedings were such that everyone came to believe that Ali (a) was the killer of ‘Uthmān.¹⁰⁰ The Umayyads, by deceiving useless elites such as Ash'ath, were able to make the people turn their backs on the Commander of the faithful (a). and even ultimately kill him.¹⁰¹ Similarly, Mu'āwiyah wrote letters to some of the elders of Kūfa, such as Ash'ath ibn Qays, and gave them money and made promises to them so that they would stop supporting Ali (a) in the war against Mu'āwiyah and to become lazy."¹⁰² They did the exactly what they were told and they consequently brought about an environment of weakness and disunity in the Commander of the faithful's (a) army.¹⁰³ Therefore, the Commander of the faithful (a) called for *jihād* again and rebuked them.¹⁰⁴

2) Ruining the Image and Political and Social Position of the Commander of the Faithful (a)

Another unjust step that the enemies took in manifesting their opposition, a project which began during the time of the Prophet (s), was slandering and destroying the image and position of the Commander of the faithful (a) amongst the Arab people and tribes. So much so that when ‘Uthmān saw the Imām (a), he slandered the Commander of the faithful (a) for escaping from Tabūk. He said to the Imām (a): “You were the one who did not take part in the battle of Tabūk and escaped from Tabūk. The Imām rebutted his allegation saying: “Were you not the one who ran away from the battle of Uhud?”¹⁰⁵

In the following periods and during the caliphate of the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), the Umayyads, and at the head of them, Mu'āwiyah, made efforts to ruin the position of the Imām (a). They insulted and cursed him in an attempt to diminish his status and Divine position and to make him seem to be an ordinary and normal person in the minds of the people and someone who deserves to be cursed for not supporting the ruler selected through the arbitration. As Ibn al- ‘Asākir (d. 571 AH) writes in a report from the era of the Umayyads: “Junayd ibn Abdur Rahmān says: ‘I came to the city from Haurān so that I could receive my share from the public treasury. So, I prayed the Friday prayer and then I proceeded towards the gate. There was an old man standing there known as Abū Shaybah the storyteller who told stories to the people. He called the people towards the Hereafter, so we too longed for the Hereafter, and He frightened us of the torment of the next world and thus, we cried. When he had finished speaking, he said: Bring this assembly to a close by cursing Abū Turāb; So, everyone cursed Abū Turāb! I looked at the person on my right and asked him, ‘Who is Abū Turāb?’ He replied, ‘He is Ali ibn Abī Tālib, the cousin of the Messenger of God, and the husband of his daughter, and the first person to convert to Islam, and he is the father of Hassan (a) and Husain (a)’. ”¹⁰⁶

In another report, when Abū Hurayrah came to Iraq with Mu'āwiyah during the year of the drought, he came to the mosque of Kūfa. When he saw the large crowd that had gathered, he sat down cross legged and then rubbed his hand on his bald head several times and said, “O’ people of Iraq! Do you think that I would ascribe a lie to God and the Messenger of God (s) and burn myself with fire? I swear to God that I heard the Messenger of God (s) say: ‘Every prophet has a sanctuary and my sanctuary is Madīnah which is situated between ‘Īr and Thawr. Thus, whoever causes a disaster to occur therein, the curse of God, the angels and all of humanity be upon him’. I take God as my witness that Ali was the

⁹⁹ Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Al-Musnad, Vol. 3, p. 482, Vol. 5, p. 347.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Alī ibn Muhammad ibn Athīr, Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh, Vol. 3, p.192; “Shurahbīl ibn Samt was ordered by Mu’āwiyah to spread propaganda against the Imām (a).” ‘Alī ibn Hassan ibn Hibatullāh ibn ‘Asākir, Tārīkh Madīnatu al-Damishq, Vol. 22, p. 462.

¹⁰¹ Muhammad ibn Ya’qūb Kulaynī, Al-Kāfī, Vol. 8, p. 167, Hadīth 187; Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha), Vol. 2, p. 279.

¹⁰² “Ash’ath exchanged letters back and forth with Mu’āwiyah.” Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzarī, Ansāb al-Ashrāf, Vol. 2, p. 296 – 297.

¹⁰³ Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzarī, Ansāb al-Ashrāf, Vol. 2, p. 383; Muhammad ibn Jurayr Tabarī, Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mamlūk, Vol. 4, p. 67.

¹⁰⁴ Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzarī, Ansāb al-Ashrāf, Vol. 2, p. 379 – 380.

¹⁰⁵ Abdullāh ibn Muhammad ibn Abī Shaybah, Al-Musnaf, Vol. 11, p. 355.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Alī ibn Hassan ibn Hibatullāh ibn ‘Asākir, Tārīkh Madīnatu al-Damishq, Vol. 11, p. 291.

cause of the occurrence of a disaster in Madīnah!”¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, Mu'āwiyah ordered a group of companions and followers (*tabi'īn* – the generation that succeeded the companions) to fabricate false narrations and traditions that indicate opposition towards and hatred of the Imām (a). He also set aside a salary for them and these individuals were which Abū Hurayrah, ‘Amr ibn al- ‘Ās and Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah, from among the companions, and ‘Urwa ibn Zubair, from among the followers.¹⁰⁸

2.1) Accusation of Lying

Human beings always consider themselves superior to others and attribute their weakness of understanding to the ambiguity of the speaker. In the case of Ali (a), they also fell into this deviation. It was because they did not understand the magnitude and greatness of his words that they called him a liar. As the Commander of the faithful (a) said: “I have heard you say that Ali ibn Abī Tālib is lying. May God fight you! To whom have I ascribed a lie to? To God? All the while, am I not the first person to have believed in Him and in His Prophet (s)? Was I not the first person to acknowledge him? By God, never! Rather, that which I am saying is speech that you are far away from understanding its meaning and you do not deserve to understand it and you are proud of your ignorance.”¹⁰⁹

2.2) Accusation of Performing Sorcery and Black Magic

Another accusation of the opponents and enemies that could have tarnished the image of the Commander of the faithful (a) was the false accusation that he performed magic. In the Battle of Jamal, ‘Āisha ordered that a young man who had severe enmity with the Imām (a) be brought to her so that she could send a letter to the Imām (a) through the young man. When the young man was brought, ‘Āisha said to him, “When you arrive, toss the letter into Ali's (a) arms and return quickly so that you will not hear his words. O’ young man! If Ali (a) offers you food or drink, do not eat Ali's (a) food”. The young man asked for the reason in surprise. ‘Āisha replied, “In Ali's (a) food, there is black magic and you will be enchanted”. The young man threw the letter into the arms of the Imām (a) and set off to leave when the Commander of the faithful (a) asked, “Have you been told not to eat my food?” The young man turned around in surprise. When he witnessed Ali's (a) knowledge of the unseen, he stayed with the Imām (a) and, after the Battle of Jamal, he was martyred in Siffīn.¹¹⁰

2.3) Accusation of Cowardice and Weakness in Command

Ali (a) did his best to tread the last available path to ensure the guidance of human beings. It was for this reason that he was never the instigator or initiator in any war and always ready to listen and answer the questions of the people. Sometimes, some people would claim that Ali (a) is incapable of leading the war. People who learned to wield a sword in war and to only shout out of anger saw Ali's (a) behaviour and thought him to be afraid of confronting the enemy, and sometimes, they arrogantly said that, “Ali (a) acted in such a way out of fear of death and war, or he hesitated in his move”. The Imām (a), in response to those who considered him to be afraid of death, said "I swear to God that I have no concern of being on the verge of death or that my death will come towards me.”¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha), Vol. 4, p. 67.

¹⁰⁸ Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha), Vol. 4, p. 64.

¹⁰⁹ “I have come to know that you say ‘Alī speaks lies? May Allāh fight you! Against whom do I lie? Whether against Allāh? But I am the first to have believed in him. Whether against His Prophet? But I am the first to have testified to him. Certainly not. By Allāh it was a way of expression which failed to appreciate, and you were not capable of understanding it.” Muhammad ibn Husain Mūsavī (Sayyid Radhī), Nahjul Balāgha, Sermon 71, p. 100.

¹¹⁰ Muhammad ibn Hassan Saffār, Basā'ir al-Darajāt fī Fazā'ili Āl Muhammad (s), Vol. 1, p. 243.

¹¹¹ Muhammad ibn Husain Mūsavī (Sayyid Radhī), Nahjul Balāgha, Sermon 55, p. 91.

2.4) Accusation of Killing 'Uthmān

Another accusation of the political and social enemies of the Commander of the faithful (a) was the slander of the assassination of 'Uthmān, through which they were able to make the opposition and enmity of Ali (a) more popular amongst the people and thus, achieve their goals of gaining power and removing the Banī Hāshim from the political scene. If we examine this issue carefully, we will find that Mu'āwiyah's omission and the actions of Marwān and the incitements of Talha, Zubair and 'Āisha laid the foundation of 'Uthmān's assassination. In other words, the people who provoked the people to rise against 'Uthmān' the most were Talha, Zubair and 'Āisha.¹¹² They later confessed to those actions of theirs.¹¹³

According to Ibn al-Qutaybah (d. 276 AH), most people accused Talha and Zubair of killing 'Uthmān, and both did not deny the charge.¹¹⁴ Zubair had also said to kill 'Uthmān because he has changed your religion.¹¹⁵ Moreover, 'Amr ibn al-'Ās strongly incited the people against 'Uthmān. Also, Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr was also one of the rebels and protesters.¹¹⁶ 'Āisha was also a staunch opponent of 'Uthmān and told the people that, "'Uthmān has made the prophetic tradition obsolete". Also, 'Āisha sarcastically addressed the protesters saying, "Kill *Na'thal* (a title she gave to 'Uthmān because he had a long beard), may God kill him". Addressing 'Uthmān himself, she said, "O 'Uthmān! You appropriated the public treasury of the Muslims to yourself and made the Umayyads dominant over the lives and property of the people". She also addressed Marwān saying, "I wish to put 'Uthmān in a sack that I can carry and throw him into the sea".¹¹⁷ She also addressed Ibn Abbās saying, "Do not stop the people from killing this tyrant (*tāghut*)".¹¹⁸ However, later on, 'Āisha would refer to 'Uthmān as being an oppressed caliph and cursed his killers.¹¹⁹

After 'Uthmān was killed and Imām Ali (a) came to power, the opportunists, with the excuse of avenging the blood of 'Uthmān while in reality, only seeking to rise to power, accused Ali (a) of killing 'Uthmān. All the while, these people knew exactly who the killers of 'Uthmān were and they knew exactly what the true motivation for rising up was. In other words, Mu'āwiyah, instead of reprimanding the true killers, he accused Ali (a) and his followers of being responsible for the murder of 'Uthmān. At the same time, Shabath ibn Rabī' would tell Mu'āwiyah that, "We know that you failed in assisting 'Uthmān and you wanted him to be killed so that after him, you could take the caliphate for yourself".¹²⁰

The Commander of the faithful (a) also referred to the fact that Mu'āwiyah did not help 'Uthmān and that the main killer of 'Uthmān was Mu'āwiyah.¹²¹

2.5) Accusation of Being Belligerent

Another accusation of the opponents and enemies was the false claim that the Commander of the faithful (a) was belligerent. Mu'āwiyah's propaganda reached a point where most of the people in Kūfa would say, "He does not know politics and the science of war; the second caliph was more political than Ali."¹²² In other words, they sought to label the Imām (a) as being the initiator of the hostilities. For example, in several letters exchanged between Mu'āwiyah and the Commander of the faithful (a), Mu'āwiyah tried to

¹¹² Ahmad ibn Abī Wāzih Ya'qūbī, *Al-Tārīkh*, Vol. 2, p. 175.

¹¹³ Ahmad ibn Muhammad Qastalānī, *Irshād al-Sārī*, Vol. 10, p. 167.

¹¹⁴ Abdullāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutaybah Daynūrī, *Al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*, Vol. 1, p. 46.

¹¹⁵ Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, *Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha)*, Vol. 2, p. 36.

¹¹⁶ Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, *Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha)*, Vol. 2, p. 143.

¹¹⁷ Abdullāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutaybah Daynūrī, *Al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*, Vol. 1, p. 72; Ahmad ibn A'tham Kūfī, *Al-Futūh*, Vol. 2, p. 421, 148 – 149; Ahmad ibn Abī Wāzih Ya'qūbī, *Al-Tārīkh*, Vol. 2, p. 175 – 176.

¹¹⁸ Muhammad ibn Muhammad Nu'mān Mufīd, *Al-Jamal*, p. 149.

¹¹⁹ Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Jābir Balāzarī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 5, p. 596.

¹²⁰ Muhammad ibn Jurayr Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mamlūk*, Vol. 4, p. 573 -574.

¹²¹ Muhammad ibn Husain Mūsavī (Sayyid Radhī), *Nahjul Balāgha*, Letter 37, Letter 10.

¹²² Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, *Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha)*, Vol. 10, p. 212.

accuse the Imām (a) of causing the bloodshed between the Muslims.¹²³ A report states: “Even though Marwān ibn Hakam was in the enemy army in the battle of Jamal, he fired at both sides and said, ‘If an arrow hits any of them, it is a victory, because the slander will be attributed to both sides.’”¹²⁴ It is noteworthy that Marwān, an Umayyad in ‘Āisha's army, intended to accuse Ali ibn Abī Tālib (a) and his army of the murder. Historical sources state that the killer of Talha in the Battle of Jamal was Marwān.¹²⁵ The result of Marwān's action was that Mu‘āwiyah, as the head of the Umayyads, formally accused the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), of killing Talha and Zubayr. The Imām (a) answered him saying, “These are matters with which you [Mu‘āwiyah] have no concern”.¹²⁶

In another report regarding the destructive role of the opposition and the enemies in slandering the Commander of the faithful (a) saying that he is belligerent and does nothing but kill, it has been said that, “The Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), had a friend named Abū Maryam in Madīna. When he heard that the conflicts in Kūfa had increased and the people were divided, he came to Kūfa. Seeing Abū Maryam, the Imām (a) recognized him and said: ‘Why did you come all the way from Madīna to Kūfa? Do you need money?’ Abū Maryam said, ‘No. I have come to speak with you. We thought that if the government came into your hands, you would suffice for these people and you would bring peace in society, but this did not happen’. Ali replied, ‘O Abū Maryam! I am your friend. You must accept what I say, not what Mu‘awiyah's allies say. I am afflicted with the worst people on earth whom I invite, but they do not obey.’”¹²⁷

4. The Political Consequences of the Opposition and Enmity with the Commander of the faithful (a)

4.1) The Formation of Saqīfa and the System of the Earthly Caliphate

One of the consequences of the establishment of political structure of the rule of the caliphs and the Umayyads was the formation of a system wherein there was an infiltration and derailing in the path of pure Islam. Considering the ethnic and tribal connections and rivalries and life based on the social system of the time of ignorance, it was not possible for the emigrants to cut ties with the infidels and pagans. Therefore, the exchange of power in this structure was perceived as being normal. The policy of the caliphs was to take advantage of the united Islamic nation as the best tool to involve the *tulaqā* in the policy-making of the Islamic society. Moreover, the emphasis on being from the Quraysh was with respect to their rivalry with the Ansār to remove them from politics. Another effect of the establishment of this system was the revival of the spirit of that ideology and thought based on ignorant dogma and prejudice which made it clear that the structure of the social system of the Quraysh was still alive. Also, another result of Saqīfa was the casting aside of Imām Ali (a) and the coming to power of the Umayyads and the Banī Abbas along with the separation of religion and politics.

Undoubtedly, the enmity and opposition towards the Commander of the faithful (a) had profound political effects in that same era and during later periods of Islamic history. The greatest effect of these actions was the schism in the Islamic society and the change of the path of pure Islam which revolved around the Infallible Imam (a) who was appointed by the Messenger of God (s). The establishment of a Divine government could have been the basis for the implementation of the Divine legal limits and justice in Islamic society. However, this move would not have been beneficial to some, especially the aristocracy or the companions who possessed power and wealth. Therefore, jealousy and resentment led the caliphs,

¹²³ Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha), Vol. 14, p. 42.

¹²⁴ Ahmad ibn ‘Alī Tabarsī, Al-Ihtijāj ‘Ala Ahl al-Lujaj, Vol. 1, p. 164.

¹²⁵ Yusuf ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Abdul Barr, Al-Istī‘āb fī Ma‘rifat al-Ashāb, Vol. 2, p. 766.

¹²⁶ “You have stated that I killed Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr, forced ‘Ā’ishah out of her house and adopted residence between the two cities (Kūfa and Baṣra). These are matters with which you have no concern nor do they involve anything against you. Therefore, no explanation about them is due to you.” Muhammad ibn Husain Mūsavī (Sayyid Radhī), Nahjul Balāgha, Letter 64, p. 454.

¹²⁷ Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad Thaqafī, Al-Ghārāt, Vol. 1, p. 44.

and later on, the Umayyads and the Abbasids, to prevent the realization of the Divine rule under the leadership of the Commander of the faithful (a), who was firm on the path of Islam.

The founders of Saqīfa tried to invalidate his explicit position of successorship during the event of Saqīfa and instead brought Abū Bakr to the caliphate during the last moments of the Messenger of God's (s) life while also preventing the Messenger (s) from writing his last will. Abdullāh ibn Abbās, with tears streaming down his cheeks, said, "The entirety of calamity and misery is in this that with their opposition and by causing a commotion, they prevented the Messenger of God (s) from writing his will and said that the Prophet (s) was deluded".¹²⁸ Later on, 'Umar confessed that the Prophet (s) intended to specify Ali (a) as his successor by name in his sick state but I forbade it for the sake of Islam.¹²⁹ Similarly, he addressed 'Abdullāh ibn Abbās saying, "We were jealous and took the caliphate".¹³⁰ The Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), has also mentioned this usurpation and motivation in his sermon of Shiqshaqīyyah and in other places as well. He also addressed 'Abdur Rahmān ibn 'Awf, saying, "May God cause division amongst you. This is not the first time that you have rallied against us and denied us our rights. This has turned into a tradition against us. I swear by God, the Quraysh will never give us the caliphate out of their own free will."¹³¹

Another political effect of the government of the caliphs was the rise of the corrupt and oppressive agents who ridiculed the culture and religion of the people and promoted complete freedom without any restraints. For example, 'Umar, the second caliph, who was very confused after there had been several different governors of Kūfa, asked Mughīra: "Who do you think is suitable to be govern over Kūfa?" Mughīra said: "Make me the governor of that city." 'Umar said: You are a wicked (*fāsiq*) man! Mughīrah said: "My adequacy (in management) remains for you and my immorality for myself." 'Umar was impressed by his answer and appointed Mughīrah to rule over Kūfa.¹³² This was considering the fact that Mughīrah was the former ruler of Basra before this appointment and he had committed adultery with a married woman and 'Umar had supported him and prevented him from being punished.¹³³

The rise of the Umayyads was another effect of the opposition and enmity with the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a). This illegitimate dynasty did its best to eliminate the government of Ali (a) and establish the ideological system of ignorance. The *tulaqā'* or polytheists of Quraysh from the Umayyad tribe, who harbored the most enmity with Islam and expressed the most political opposition towards the religion and particularly towards the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), always sought to establish political power through which they could stand up against the force of truth and achieve their social and political goals. 'Umar was the first to give them attention and worth. Although he knew that that the Umayyads would lead Islam astray and ultimately destroy it and while he was aware of the fact that they drank wine¹³⁴ and committed other sins, he employed some of the "*tulaqā'*" including Yazid ibn Abī Sufyān, Sa'īd ibn 'Ās and Mu'āwiyah.¹³⁵

'Umar had an intense affection for Mu'āwiyah. Even though he would call him the Kasrā (Persian king) of the Arabs, he would not oust Mu'āwiyah from his post.¹³⁶ He once told him that he does not command or forbid him,¹³⁷ and in the face of the people's protest against Mu'āwiyah, 'Umar handed the

¹²⁸ Muhammad ibn S'ad ibn Manī', Al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā, Vol. 2, p. 242.

¹²⁹ Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha), Vol. 12, p. 21.

¹³⁰ Fadhl ibn Shādhān al-Azdī, Al-Idhāh, p. 169, Ahmad ibn Yahyā Balāzarī, Ansāb al-Ashrāf, Vol. 10, p. 379; Muhammad ibn Jurayr Tabarī, Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mamlūk, Vol. 4, p. 223, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdu Rabbuh, Al-'Aqd al-Farīd, Vol. 4, p. 265.

¹³¹ Muhammad ibn Jurayr Tabarī, Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mamlūk, Vol. 4, p. 233; Abdul Hamīd ibn Abil Hadīd, Comments on the Peak of Eloquence (Sharh Nahjul Balāgha), Vol. 1, p. 187 – 188.

¹³² Ahmad ibn Abī Wāzih Ya'qūbī, Al-Tārīkh, Vol. 2, p. 155.

¹³³ Ahmad ibn Abī Wāzih Ya'qūbī, Al-Tārīkh, Vol. 2, p. 146.

¹³⁴ Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Al-Musnad, Vol. 3, p. 482, Vol. 5, p. 347.

¹³⁵ Muhammad ibn S'ad ibn Manī', Al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā, Vol. 3, p. 218.

¹³⁶ Yūsuf ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abdul Barr, Al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rīfat al-Ashāb, Vol. 3, p. 1417.

¹³⁷ Ahmad ibn Yahya Balāzarī, Ansāb al-Ashrāf, Vol. 5, p. 147.

governorship of the Levant over to him¹³⁸ and told the people, “Do not bother the young man from the Quraysh and his son”.¹³⁹ Judge Abdul Jabbār (d. 415 AH) writes: “Although ‘Umar was extremely scrutinizing with regards to the agents and officials that he chose and in making replacements, he did not treat Mu'awiyah in such a [strict] way.”¹⁴⁰

With the rise of the caliphs and the formation of ‘Uthmānī thought against the Alawites, the Shiite socio-political history faced serious and new challenges. Although the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a), and Imām Hassan al-Mujtabā (a) ruled for a short period of time and began to reform the political structure of society, the Umayyads, who came to power through the decree of the caliphs in the Levant, also tried to continue the ‘Uthmānī way of thinking. They did their best to disperse the people from associating with the Ahlulbayt and ultimately, to eliminate the Shiites from the socio-political scene. According to Mālik al-Ashtar, “The Umayyads have added nothing to Islam except betrayal, and if they dominate a tribe of Muslims, they will anger God, kill the tradition of the Prophet (s), and revive the innovations. Whenever they become angry with someone, that individual is imprisoned or expelled from their homeland or deprived of their social rights”.¹⁴¹

On the first day after the selection of Uthmān to become the caliph, Abū Sufyān came to Uthmān and said, “Is there anyone here other than the Umayyads?” He said, “No”. Abū Sufyān said, “O Umayyads! Since the caliphate fell to Taym and ‘Adī (elders of the Quraysh), I have been greedy for it to reach you. Now that it has reached you, give the caliphate to each other like a child throwing a ball in a game and do not let it leave you [this family] because there is neither heaven nor hell!” Yes, he swore that there was no life after death and called on 'Uthman to establish the caliphate in the style of the time of ignorance.¹⁴² Although 'Uthman shouted at him¹⁴³, the Umayyads came to power at his request. According to another narration, Abū Sufyān ordered 'Uthmān to make all of the agents and governors of the country to be from Umayyads.¹⁴⁴

Mu'awiyah allowed people such as Ka'b al-Ahbār, Abdullāh ibn Salām, and Wahb ibn Munabbah to spread lies and fabricated stories in the Levant,¹⁴⁵ and commissioned a group to fabricate and narrate false narrations about the virtues of the caliphs and Mu'awiyah.¹⁴⁶ According to Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 AH): “When they converted to Islam, they remained upon their same [beliefs] that had nothing to do with the Islamic legal rulings regarding which they observed with caution, such as the tales of the beginning of creation and other beliefs rooted in stories and prophecies.”¹⁴⁷ “The Umayyads and the Banū Abbās forgot religion by engaging in political affairs.”¹⁴⁸

In order to achieve all of their goals, the Umayyads used cultural, social, economic and religious policies. Most of these measures come under the category of the soft war. In this method, destroying the dignity and status of the Imām and creating a platform for greater participation of the people in attacking the Imām (a) was of great importance to them and to some extent, they took advantage of the weakness of the people's opinion and ignorance regarding the Imām (a) and achieved some of their goals.

¹³⁸ Kahlīfah ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh Khalīfah*, p. 106.

¹³⁹ Muhammad ibn Jurayr Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mamlūk*, Vol. 5, p. 330; ¹³⁹ Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar ibn Kathīr, *Al Bidāyah wa an-Nihāyah*, Vol. 8, p. 124.

¹⁴⁰ Qādhī 'Abdul Jabbār Hamedanī, *Tathbīt Dalā'il an-Nubuwwah*, p. 593.

¹⁴¹ Muhammad ibn 'Abdullāh Iskāfī, *Al-Mi'yār wa al-Mawāzinah*, p. 126 – 129; Nasr ibn Muzāhim Manqarī, *Waqa'atu Siffīn*, p. 93.

¹⁴² 'Alī ibn Hassan ibn Hibatallah ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnatu al-Damishq*, Vol. 23, p. 471.

¹⁴³ Yūsuf ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abdul Barr, *Al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rīfat al-Ashāb*, Vol. 4, p. 1679.

¹⁴⁴ 'Abdul Qādir Badrān, *Tārīkh al-Damishq al-Kabīr*, Vol. 6, p. 409.

¹⁴⁵ Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī, *Al-'Isābah fī Tamyīz al-Sahābah*, Vol. 5, p. 482 – 483.

¹⁴⁶ 'Alī ibn Hassan ibn Hibatallah ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnatu al-Damishq*, Vol. 24, p. 91; ¹⁴⁶ 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa An-Nihāyah*, Vol. 1, p. 307, 159, 114, 48, Vol. 2, p. 63.

¹⁴⁷ 'Abdur Rahmān ibn Khaldūn, *Dīwān al-Mubtada'* wa al-Khabar fī Tārīkh al-'Arab wa al-Barbar, Vol. 1, 555.

¹⁴⁸ 'Abdur Rahmān ibn Khaldūn, *Dīwān al-Mubtada'* wa al-Khabar fī Tārīkh al-'Arab wa al-Barbar, Vol. 1, 191.

5. 2- 3) Changing or Erasing the Prophetic (s) Tradition

Another effect of the opposition and enmity with the Commander of the faithful (a) was the change or elimination of the prophetic tradition. In other words, the lifestyle of Ali (a) was the lifestyle of the Messenger of God (s), and if they were to accept the leadership of the Imām (a), they would have had to adhere to the prophetic tradition. Hence, according to that which Nasā'ī wrote, "Ibn 'Abbās said to Mu'āwiyah: 'O God! Curse these men because they abandoned the tradition of the Prophet (s) because of their enmity with Ali (a)'"¹⁴⁹.

Mu'āwiyah explicitly stated that he wanted to remove the names of the Bani Hāshim and the Messenger of God (s) from the call to prayer and from the pulpit.¹⁵⁰ He allowed people such as Ka'b al-Ahbār, Abdullāh ibn Salām and Wahb ibn Munabbah to spread lies and fabricated stories in the Levant¹⁵¹, and commissioned a group to fabricate and narrate false narrations about the virtues of the caliphs and Mu'āwiyah.¹⁵² According to Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 AH): "When they converted to Islam, they remained upon their same [beliefs] that had nothing to do with the Islamic legal rulings regarding which they observed with caution, such as the tales of the beginning of creation and other beliefs rooted in stories and prophecies."¹⁵³ "The Umayyads and Banū Abbās forgot religion by engaging in political affairs."¹⁵⁴

Conclusion

After examining the political grounds and reasons for the opposition and enmity with the Commander of the faithful (a), it was concluded that since he was from the Banī Hāshim tribe and received the caliphate, this matter was heavy on the Quraysh and they tried to, by any means necessary, create the grounds for enmity and opposition towards the Imām (a). The role of the Quraysh in provoking society, changing the social environment and using propaganda tools to change the social culture were some of their strategies in order to destroy the position and political role of the Commander of the faithful, Ali (a). War, rumors, slander, threats and other such methods were the tools of the Quraysh and they were able to turn the internal forces of the Imām's (a) government into his opposition and even into his enemies. Although they had some successes in this way, however, the Imām (a) also stood firmly before them and exposed the true face of their movement, and as a result, he remained a supporter of the school of the Ahlulbayt (a).

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¹⁴⁹ Ahmad ibn Shu'ayb Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, Vol. 5, p. 253.

¹⁵⁰ 'Alī ibn Husain ibn 'Alī Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawhar*, Vol. 2, p. 454.

¹⁵¹ Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī, *Al- 'Isābah fī Tamayiz al-Sahābah*, Vol. 5, p. 482 – 483.

¹⁵² 'Alī ibn Hassan ibn Hibatallah ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnatu al-Damishq*, Vol. 24, p. 91; ¹⁵³ 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa An-Nihāyah*, Vol. 1, p. 307, 159, 114, 48, Vol. 2, p. 63.

¹⁵³ 'Abdur Rahmān ibn Khaldūn, *Dīwān al-Mubtada' wa al-Khabar fī Tārīkh al- 'Arab wa al-Barbar*, Vol. 1, 555.

¹⁵⁴ 'Abdur Rahmān ibn Khaldūn, *Dīwān al-Mubtada' wa al-Khabar fī Tārīkh al- 'Arab wa al-Barbar*, Vol. 1, 191.

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