



## The Events of the Year

36 (cont'd)

(JUNE 30, 656—JUNE 18, 657)



### *The Departure of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib for Ṣiffīn*<sup>1</sup>

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According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī—his father—  
Sulaymān—'Abdallāh—Mu'āwiyah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Abū Bakr

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1. For the background to the following reports about the prelude to the Battle of Ṣiffīn and the fighting there, see Translator's Foreword to the present volume. For further information, discussion, and references to sources and secondary materials, see *EP*, s.vv. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Ṣiffīn, etc.; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam* (henceforth *Ann.*), vol. IX, 36 A.H., §346ff.; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 75-112; Hinds, "Banners and Battle Cries," 3ff.; idem, "The Ṣiffīn Arbitration Agreement," 93ff. For parallel versions and other accounts, in addition to the materials compiled and translated into Italian in *Ann.* (including references to the editions and manuscripts used), see especially Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minqarī, *WṢ*; and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *SNB*. Material relating to the Battle of Ṣiffīn is scattered throughout the twenty volumes of *SNB*, but see especially vol. III, 165ff., 244ff.; vol. IV, 13-32, 175-258; vol. V, 302-17; vol. VIII, 9-102; vol. IX, 301-3; vol. X, 102-7; vol. XV, 104, 12-24. *WṢ* is frequently cited in *SNB*. Material from the relevant part of al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashraf* is available in Italian in Levi Della Vida, "Il Califato di Ali secondo il *Kitāb Ansāb al-ashraf* di al-Balādhurī" (see pp. 449ff. for the events narrated here), as well as scattered throughout vols. IX and X of *Ann.*

al-Hudhalī:<sup>2</sup> When 'Alī had appointed 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās as his deputy over al-Baṣrah,<sup>3</sup> went from there to al-Kūfah, where he got ready to go to Şiffin. He asked for advice about that. Some advised him to send his forces but remain in al-Kūfah himself, whereas others recommended that he go with the men. He insisted on taking command himself, and he prepared his men.

[3257] News of that reached Mu'āwiyah, who summoned 'Amr b. al-Āṣ<sup>4</sup> and asked his advice. 'Amr said, "Since you have heard that 'Alī is on his way, set out yourself and be sure to confront him with your views and your strategies." Mu'āwiyah replied, "In that case, Oh Abū 'Abdallāh, prepare the men!"

'Amr proceeded to work them up and to disparage the strength of 'Alī and his followers, saying, "The men of Iraq have split among themselves, sapped their own strength, and blunted their cutting edge. Moreover, the Baṣrans are opposed to 'Alī, who has done them harm and dealt death to them.<sup>5</sup> Their leaders and those of the Kūfans wiped each other out at the Battle of the Camel, and 'Alī has set out with only a band few in number, among whom are those who killed your caliph. Fear God, lest you forfeit your right to claim vengeance and allow the blood of 'Uthmān<sup>6</sup> to go unavenged."

Mu'āwiyah conscripted men into the armies of the Syrians<sup>7</sup> and tied his banner for 'Amr,<sup>8</sup> and 'Amr in turn tied one for, among

2. The chain of transmission from al-Marwazī to 'Abdallāh [b. al-Mubārak] (d. 181/797; see *GAS*, I, 95) was frequently cited by Ṭabarī; for Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī (d. 167/783–784), see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 46, no. 180.

3. For 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, cousin of the Prophet and ancestor of the future dynasty of 'Abbāsid caliphs, see *EP*, s.v.; for his appointment over al-Baṣrah following 'Alī's victory at the Battle of the Camel, see Ṭabarī, I, 3230.

4. 'Amr b. al-Āṣ (Abū 'Abdallāh) was the conqueror of Egypt and had been its governor for a time. In the struggle between Mu'āwiyah and 'Alī, 'Amr appears as Mu'āwiyah's right-hand man (see *EP*, s.v.; and, for the historical image of 'Amr in this struggle, Petersen, *Alī and Mu'āwiyah*).

5. The Baṣrans generally had fought against 'Alī and his Kūfan supporters at the Battle of the Camel (see *EP*, s.v. *Djama*l).

6. Literally, "your blood," but see *Gloss.*, s.v. *b-ṭ-l*.

7. *Wa-kattaba fi ajnādi ahli al-Sha'm*; the preposition *fi* suggests this translation, rather than "he formed troops into *katā'ib*." See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *k-t-b*, forms 2 and 8.

8. *'Aqada liqā'ahu li-fulān*, "he tied his banner for so-and-so," is a stock expression for "he appointed so-and-so to the command." On the use of banners among the Arabs, see *EP*, s.v. 'Alam; and the literature cited in Hinds, "Banners and Battle Cries," p. 8, nn. 28, 29; and Athamina, "Black Banners," 307–26, esp. p. 316.

others, his attendant (*ghulam*) Wardān<sup>9</sup> and his two sons 'Abdallāh and Muḥammad.<sup>10</sup> 'Alī appointed his *ghulam* Qanbar. Consequently 'Amr said:

Will Wardān suffice me against Qanbar,  
and the Sakūn against the Ḥimyar,  
When the men of courage don the armor?<sup>11</sup>

'Alī heard that and replied:

I shall meet al-'Āṣī b. al-'Āṣī<sup>12</sup>  
with 70,000 men ready for war,<sup>13</sup>  
Riding the horses and the young camels side by side  
and tying to their hind parts the links of the chain mail.<sup>14</sup>

When Mu'āwiyah heard that, he said (to 'Amr), "It seems to me that Ibn Abī Ṭālib is a match for you (*qad wafā laka*)," and he began to proceed more cautiously. He wrote to everybody he thought was afraid of 'Alī or had spoken evil of him<sup>15</sup> and to everybody who considered the shedding of 'Uthmān's blood to have been a grave matter, and he asked for their help against him. When al-Walid (b. 'Uqbah)<sup>16</sup> saw that, he sent to Mu'āwiyah,

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Indeed tell Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥarb:

"You are held to shame by a man of trust.

9. Wardān is often referred to as the *mawlā* of 'Amr (e.g., Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 215).

10. For 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, noted transmitter of *ḥadīth* and specialist in apocalyptic tradition, see Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v. For Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, see al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 411.

11. For the Banū al-Sakūn (of Kindah), see Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.; for the Banū Ḥimyar, *ibid.*, s.v.

12. Al-'Āṣī b. al-'Āṣī is a pun. In its full form the name of 'Amr's father was al-'Āṣī (generally shortened to al-'Āṣī and thence to al-'Āṣ), which can mean "the disobedient one" or "the rebel."

13. or, "full of anger"; see the expressions '*aqada liḥyatahu* and '*aqada nāṣiyatahu* in Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. '*aqada*.

14. Possibly the camels were ridden to the place of battle to conserve the horses, which were then used in the fighting.

15. The Arabic could be read to mean that Mu'āwiyah wrote to all those who thought that he (Mu'āwiyah) was afraid of 'Alī and who had said evil things about him. Possibly he was writing to Iraqis in an attempt to deflect them from supporting 'Alī.

16. Al-Walid b. 'Uqbah b. Abī Mu'ayt was a cousin of Mu'āwiyah and former governor of al-Kūfah (see al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 138ff.).

You have wasted time like the stallion camel of arousal,<sup>17</sup> confined  
and

bellowing in Damascus but unable to move.

You and your writing to 'Alī

are like a woman tanning a hid that has become worm-eaten  
and useless.<sup>18</sup>

Each band of riders for the emaciated camels of Iraq, tripping along,  
excites in you the desire for the rule.<sup>19</sup>

But he who seeks revenge does not hang back  
but seeks it relentlessly.

If you were the slain one,<sup>20</sup> and he ('Uthmān) were alive,

he would have drawn his sword, not turning aside, unflagging,

And not shirking from seeking vengeance until

he had slain in retaliation for it, not weary or sticking in one  
place.

Your family in Medina have been wiped out,  
cast down like chaff."

Narrators other than Abū Bakr (al-Hudhalī) say that Mu'āwiyah summoned his secretary Shaddād b. Qays<sup>21</sup> and told him, "Find me a scroll to write on." When he had brought him one, Shaddād took up the pen and began to write, but Mu'āwiyah said, "Do not rush! Write:

"How surprised (he is) by what he sees of our deliberateness,  
but, if war had buffeted him, he would not have said a word!"<sup>22</sup>

He then told Shaddād, "Roll up the scroll," and he sent it to al-Walīd (b. 'Uqbah), who, when he opened it, found only this one verse inside.

17. For *al-sadīm al-mu'annā*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.vv. It refers to a stallion camel that is led among females to arouse them then, having done so, is not allowed to couple but is taken away and tethered apart, bellowing in frustration.

18. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḥalima*; Freytag (tr.), *Arabum proverbialia* (= al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*), II, 346.

19. I find the sense of this line elusive. It perhaps continues the imagery of line 2, but, if so, the metaphor seems to obscure the meaning.

20. The text reads "if I were slain," but see *Add. et emend.*

21. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to him.

22. The verse is attributed to Aws b. Ḥajar (*Diwān*, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf Najm [Beirut, 1960], no. 48, verse 25 [p. 121]).

According to Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, when 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb marched to meet Mu'āwiyah, one of the men of Iraq wrote these two verses:

Tell the Commander of the Faithful  
when you arrive, O brother of Iraq,  
"Iraq and its people  
eagerly await you, so come."<sup>23</sup>

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According to 'Awānah (whose account is now resumed)<sup>24</sup>, 'Alī sent Ziyād b. al-Nadr al-Ḥārithī<sup>25</sup> ahead with 8,000 men as an advance guard and with him Shurayḥ b. Ḥānī<sup>26</sup> with 4,000. 'Alī set out from al-Nukhaylah<sup>27</sup> with his men, and, after he had entered al-Madā'in,<sup>28</sup> the fighting men stationed there left with him. He put Sa'd b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafi, the paternal uncle of al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd,<sup>29</sup> in charge of al-Madā'in and sent Ma'qil b. Qays<sup>30</sup> on from there with 3,000 men, telling him to go by way of al-Mawṣil<sup>31</sup> and then join him.

23. The verses do not seem to fit in with the events as reported: they make it appear that 'Alī was somewhere else and that the Iraqis were calling him to come (to lead them against Mu'āwiyah?). It might be possible to read "Commander of the Faithful" in the vocative and understand something like "O Commander of the Faithful, when you arrive tell any Iraqi (on the side of Mu'āwiyah) . . .," but the second verse would be more suitably addressed to 'Alī than to any ordinary Iraqi.

24. For 'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī, an important Kūfan collector and transmitter of tradition (d. ca. 153/770), see *EP*, s.v.; and *GAS*, I, 307–8. 'Awānah's material here is cited by Ṭabarī from 'Umar b. Shabbah from al-Madā'ini (see n. 401, below.) Ṭabarī's previous citation of the material from this source broke off at the point where this volume of translation begins. The story had reported how, following his unsuccessful sending of Ja'fir b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī to demand Mu'āwiyah's allegiance, 'Alī had moved out to the army camp at al-Nukhaylah, where he had been joined by Ibn 'Abbās and the men from al-Baṣrah.

25. For Ziyād b. al-Nadr (of the Banū Madhḥij), see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

26. For Shurayḥ b. Ḥānī (also of Madhḥij), see *ibid.*, s.v. Ṣuraiḥ.

27. The usual place for the gathering of the Kūfan army, apparently northwest of al-Kūfah on the road to Syria.

28. Al-Madā'in was the Arabic name for the former Sasanid capital, Ctesiphon, on the Tigris south of the subsequently built city of Baghdad (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 33ff.).

29. For al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafi, a major figure in the subsequent history of al-Kūfah, see *EP*, s.v. He had been brought up by his uncle Sa'd, following the death of his father during the conquest of Iraq.

30. Of the Banū Tamīm (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.); for his subsequent role in the suppression of the revolt of al-Khirīr b. Rāshid, see pp. 181ff., below.

31. That is, Mosul in Mesopotamia.

*'Alī Orders the Construction of the  
Bridge over the Euphrates*

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alī—'Abdallāh b. 'Ammār b. 'Abd Yaghūth al-Bāriqī.<sup>32</sup> When 'Alī reached al-Raqqah,<sup>33</sup> he ordered the Raqqans, "Build me a bridge so that I can cross from this place to Syria." They, however, refused, having seized control over the boats (which would be used for the bridge). 'Alī therefore departed from them to cross from Jisr Manbij,<sup>34</sup> leaving al-Ashtar<sup>35</sup> behind over the Raqqans while he himself went to move on with his men to cross with them at Jisr Manbij.

[3260] Al-Ashtar summoned the Raqqans and addressed them: "People of this fortress! I swear to you by God that if the Commander of the Believers goes on without your having made a bridge for him by your town so that he can cross, I will bare the sword among you and kill the men, devastate the land, and seize your possessions." The Raqqans met one with another and said, "Does not al-Ashtar fulfill what he swears or perpetrate something even worse?" "Yes." Therefore, they sent to him, saying, "We will make a bridge for you, so approach." 'Alī came, they made the bridge for him, and he crossed over it with his baggage and footsoldiers. Then he ordered al-Ashtar, and he move up with 3,000 horsemen, until all of the men had crossed. Finally, al-Ashtar, the last of the men, crossed on foot.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alī—'Abdallāh b. 'Ammār b. 'Abd Yaghūth: When the cavalry crossed they were all jostling together and the hat (*qalansuwah*)<sup>36</sup> of 'Abdallāh b. Abi

32. For Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, important Kūfan scholar, d. ca. 206/821, see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kalbī; and *GAS*, I, 268–71; for Abū Mikhnaf, Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā, d. 157/774, see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.; *GAS*, I, 308–9; and U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*.

33. For al-Raqqah, on the east bank of the Euphrates at approximately the same latitude as Mosul on the Tigris, see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 101ff.; and *EI*<sup>1</sup>, s.v. Raqqā.

34. That is, "The Bridge of Manbij," considerably to the north of al-Raqqah; from there the road went to Manbij (ancient Hierapolis), northeast of Aleppo (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 107f.).

35. For Mālik (b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha'ī) al-Ashtar, 'Alī's right-hand man, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> s.v. al-Ashtar; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Mālik.

36. For the *qalansuwah*, a tall Persian headpiece, see Dozy, *Vêtements*, s.v.

al-Ḥuṣayn al-Azdī<sup>37</sup> fell off. He dismounted, picked it up, and rode on. Then the *qalansuwah* of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Azdī fell off, and he dismounted, picked it up, and rode on. He said to his companion:

If, as is said, the augur's idea is true,  
I shall be killed shortly and so will you.

'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Ḥuṣayn said, "Nothing that could happen would be dearer to me than what you have mentioned." And they were killed together at Šiffin.<sup>38</sup>

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Khālid b. Qaṭan al-Ḥārithī: When 'Alī had crossed the Euphrates, he summoned Ziyād b. al-Naḍr and Shurayḥ b. Hānī' and sent them ahead toward Mu'āwiyah as a vanguard in the same role in which they had left al-Kūfah. Having been sent by 'Alī from al-Kūfah, Ziyād and Shurayḥ had followed the (west) bank of the Euphrates from the desert adjoining al-Kūfah as far as 'Ānāt.<sup>39</sup> There they heard that 'Alī had taken the road to al-Jazīrah and also that Mu'āwiyah had set out from Damascus with the forces of the Syrians to meet 'Alī. They said, "By God, we do not think it good that we should go on, with this expanse of water between us and the Muslims and the Commander of the Faithful. It would be bad for us if we were to meet the armies of the Syrians with our few men, cut off from reinforcement and support." They went out to cross the river from 'Ānāt, but the people of that place prevented them and stopped them getting boats, and they had to go back and cross from Hīt.<sup>40</sup> Then they joined up with 'Alī at a settlement below Qarqīsiyā'.<sup>41</sup> They had intended to attack the

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37. On 'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Ḥuṣayn al-Azdī and 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Azdī, see further (p. 51, below); and for the latter, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

38. The Arabic *yawm Šiffin*, literally "on the day of Šiffin," recurs frequently throughout Muslim tradition. *Yawm* ("day") is a common word for "battle," but it is clear from the narrative that the events at Šiffin occupied several days. I have generally translated, therefore, by the less specific "at Šiffin" or "the Battle of Šiffin."

39. 'Ānāt on the west bank of the Euphrates (virtually due west of Takrīt on the Tigris) was counted by the medieval Muslim geographers as the most southerly major settlement on the Euphrates in al-Jazīrah (Mesopotamia) (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, index, s.v. 'Ānah).

40. For Hīt, also on the west bank and considerably south of 'Ānāt, see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and 65.

41. Qarqīsiyā' (Circesium), at the junction of the Khābūr and Euphrates Rivers about 200 miles below al-Raqqah, is far to the north of 'Ānāt; see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and 105.

people of 'Ānāt, but the latter fortified themselves, so they withdrew.

When their advance force joined up with 'Alī, he said, "My vanguard has come to me from the rear!" Ziyād b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī and Shurayḥ b. Hānī' approached him and told him what they had thought when they heard about what was happening, and 'Alī said, "You acted rightly." Then 'Alī went on, and, having crossed the Euphrates, he sent them ahead toward Mu'āwiyah.

Reaching Sūr al-Rūm,<sup>42</sup> they met Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī 'Amr b. Sufyān<sup>43</sup> with an army of Syrians. They, therefore, sent a message back to 'Alī: "We have encountered Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī with an army of Syrians. We have appealed to them, but not one of them has responded. Tell us what we should do." In response 'Alī sent to al-Ashtar, saying:

Oh Mālik, Ziyād and Shurayḥ have sent informing me that they have encountered Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī with a body of the Syrians, and the messenger tells me that he left them confronting one another. Hasten to save your companions.<sup>44</sup> When you reach them you are in charge, but do not begin fighting the enemy, unless they attack you first, before meeting with them, appealing to them, and having been heard. "Do not allow their hatred to provoke you"<sup>45</sup> into fighting them before you have appealed to them and given them every chance, again and again, to change their views. Place Ziyād over your right wing and Shurayḥ over your left, and put yourself in the middle of your men. Do not approach close to them as if provoking war but do not keep at a distance as if fearing harm, until I come to you, for, God willing, I shall be hurrying on behind you.

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42. This is, apparently, Ṭabarī's only reference to Sūr al-Rūm, which is not mentioned by Yāqūt or Le Strange; the name occurs in the same form in the parallel passage in *WS*, 153—apparently its only occurrence in that work.

43. For the military activity of this man in the time of the Prophet and during the conquest of Syria, see Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, index, s.v. Abu 'l-A'war; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Amr b. Sufyān.

44. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *n-j-w*.

45. See Qur'ān, 5:2, 8.



Abū Mikhnaf said that the messenger was al-Hārith b. Jumhān al-Ju'fī.<sup>46</sup>

'Alī wrote to Ziyād and Shurayḥ: "I have appointed Mālik (al-Ashtar) over you. Take heed of what he says and obey him. He is someone from whom neither rashness,<sup>47</sup> nor erroneous conduct is to be feared, and neither slowness regarding what is best done quickly nor rushing into what is best held back from. I have given him orders similar to those I gave you—that he should not begin an attack before meeting them and appealing to them and giving them every chance."

Al-Ashtar departed and came to the enemy. He followed 'Alī's orders and refrained from fighting, and they continued confronting one another. Then, at evening, Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī attacked them, but they stood firm and swapped blows for a while, and the Syrians withdrew.

The next day Hāshim b. 'Utbah al-Zuhrī<sup>48</sup> went out against the Syrians with a troop of horsemen and footsoldiers, many in number and well-equipped. Abū al-A'war came out to meet him, and they fought for that day, the horsemen attacking the horsemen and the footsoldiers attacking the footsoldiers. The Syrians held firm, man to man, and then they withdrew. Al-Ashtar attacked them, and 'Abdallāh b. al-Mundhir al-Tanūkhī<sup>49</sup> was killed. Zabyān b. 'Umārah al-Tamīmī,<sup>50</sup> who was only a raw youth, killed him, while al-Tanūkhī was the leading horseman of the Syrians. Al-Ashtar started saying, "Woe to you! Show me Abū al-A'war!"

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Abū al-A'war called his men, and they went back to him, and he took up position behind the place where he had been at first. Al-Ashtar came and organized his men in lines in the place that Abū al-A'war had occupied. He told Sinān b. Mālik al-Nakha'ī,<sup>51</sup> "Go to

46. See [p. 44, below]. Of the Banū Madhhij (see n. 174), he sometimes appears as al-Hārith b. Juhmān (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. al-Hārīṭ b. Ġuhmān).

47. *Rahaq*; see Qur'ān 72:6, 13.

48. For Hāshim b. 'Utbah al-Zuhrī, al-A'war, al-Mirqāl, who had lost an eye at Yarmūk and been present at Qādisiyyah, see al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 263–64; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Hāšim, and see further later [p. 70ff.]

49. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to 'Abdallāh b. al-Mundhir al-Tanūkhī.

50. Cairo has Zabyān b. 'Ammār, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Zabyān b. 'Umārah.

51. The following seems to be Ṭabarī's only mention of Sinān, who does not appear in Ibn al-Kalbī. Al-Ashtar's subsequent address of him as "my nephew," if it is to be taken literally, could indicate that a name had been omitted from his *nasab*.

Abū al-A'war and challenge him to single combat." Sinān asked, "With me or with you?" Mālik (al-Ashtar) said, "If I told you to fight him singly, would you do it?" Sinān replied, "Yes. By God, if you asked me to go against their line with my sword, I would not come back until I had struck their line with my sword." Al-Ashtar said to him, "Oh my nephew, God give you long life! By God, my love for you has increased. I am not ordering you to fight him in single combat, but to challenge him to fight me. He would not come out to fight—if he agrees—unless against someone with the right seniority, equality of status, and nobility. You, may your Lord be praised, are of a family who have equality of status and nobility, but you are a raw youth in years, and he will not undertake single combat against young men. Call on him to fight against me." Sinān went and called out, "Give me safe conduct, for I am a messenger!" He was given safe conduct and he went on until he reached Abū al-A'war.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ Abū Zuhayr al-'Absī—Sinān: I drew near him and said, "Al-Ashtar summons you to fight against him in single combat." He gave me no answer for a long while, but then he said, "It was al-Ashtar's lack of sense and bad judgment that led to his driving out the officials of Ibn 'Affān—may God be pleased with him—from Iraq and his insubordination to him and thus his losing the fruits of his own good deeds. It was a result of al-Ashtar's lack of good sense and his bad judgment that he went to Ibn 'Affān in his house and dwelling place and joined in with those who killed him, and he has become liable for his blood.<sup>52</sup> Indeed I have no need to fight him in single combat." I told him, "You have had your say. Now listen while I answer you," but he replied, "No, there is no need for me to listen to you or for you to answer—get going!" His men shouted at me, and I left him, but, if he had given ear to me, I would have told him of my master's explanations and arguments.

I went back to al-Ashtar and told him that Abū al-A'war had declined the challenge, and he said, "He is concerned to save himself."

52. For details of al-Ashtar's role in the anti-'Uthmān movement, see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ashtar: "Liable for his blood" = *muttaba'an bi-damihi* (see Qur'an 2:178 for *ittibā'* in a similar context).

We stood facing them until night drew its veil between us. We passed the night taking turns at guard duty, but the next day we saw that they had withdrawn under cover of night. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb joined us early in the morning. He sent al-Ashtar on ahead with those who were with him in the vanguard, and the latter came to Mu'āwiyah and took up position facing him. 'Alī came along behind him and quickly joined up with al-Ashtar. He took up position, and the two sides faced one another for a long time.

Then 'Alī sought a camping place for his army. Having found it, he ordered his men to lay down their baggage. When they had done so, the youth and young men went to get water, but the Syrians prevented them, and they fought one another by the water.<sup>53</sup> Previously al-Ashtar had said to 'Alī, "The enemy has beaten us to the drinking place, the most comfortable spot, and the pleasant camping ground. If you think it sound, let us go on. We shall pass beyond them to the settlement from which they came, and they will set out after us. When they catch up with us we shall have camped and we shall be on equal terms with them." But 'Alī disapproved of that, saying, "Not all the men are able to travel on," and he had them make camp.

### *The Battle "by the Water"*

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Tamīm b. al-Hārith al-Azdī—Jundab b. 'Abdallāh: When we came upon Mu'āwiyah, we found that he had set up camp in a flat and broad space, which he had chosen before we arrived, alongside a watering place in the Euphrates. In that area there was no other place to obtain water, and Mu'āwiyah had put it under his control and sent Abū al-A'war to deny access to it and to guard it. We went farther up the Euphrates in the hope of finding some other drinking place that would do for us, but we did not and so went back to 'Alī. We told him about the thirst the men were suffering and that we had found no other place in which to get water but that of the enemy, and he said, "Fight them for it!"<sup>54</sup>

[3265]

53. *'alā al-mā'*, i.e., by the Euphrates. It is possible to understand *'alā* as indicating the object of or motive for the fighting, rather than where the fighting occurred, but in what follows it seems generally to have the latter sense; compare the phrase *jalasa 'alā al-nār*, "he sat by the fire."

54. *Qātilūhum 'alayhā*: here *'alā* must indicate the object of the fighting rather than where it should take place (see preceding note).

Al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī<sup>55</sup> came to him and said, "Shall I go against them?" and 'Alī said, "Do so." He did, and we went with him. When we approached the water, they rose up ahead of us and showered us with arrows while, by God, we loosed arrows at them for a while. Then we thrust at each other with spears for a long time, and finally we and they had recourse to swords and fought with them for a while. Next Yazīd b. Asad al-Bajalī<sup>56</sup> came to reinforce the enemy with cavalry and footsoldiers, and they advanced toward us. I said to myself, "Will the Commander of the Faithful not send anyone to us to cancel them out?" I went and turned around and saw a number of men similar to that of the enemy, or more, whom 'Alī had sent to us to counteract Yazīd b. Asad and his men. Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Riyāhī<sup>57</sup> led these new troops, and the fighting increased in intensity.

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ came out against us from Mu'āwiyah's camp with a large force, and he began to give support to Abū al-A'war and Yazīd b. Asad, but al-Ashtar came from 'Alī with a mighty body of men. When al-Ashtar saw 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ reinforcing Abū al-A'war and Yazīd b. Asad, he sent help to al-Ash'ath b. Qays and Shabath b. Rib'ī and our fighting became fiercer. I will never forget what 'Abdallāh b. 'Awf b. al-Aḥmar al-Azdī<sup>58</sup> said:

- [3266] Give us access to the flowing waters of the Euphrates,  
 or stand fast against a host many in number,  
 Defying death against every warrior and selling themselves dearly,  
 thrusting with their lances and wheeling to the attack,  
 Striking their enemies' skulls and full of daring.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—a man from the family of Khārijah b. (al-Ṣalt?) al-Tamīmī:<sup>59</sup> Zabyān b. 'Umārah kept fighting on that day while saying:

55. The leader of the Banū Kindah in al-Kūfah (see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ash'ath b. Qays; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ma'dikarib b. Qais; and Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 110).

56. Leader of the Banū Bajilāh in Syria and grandfather of the future governor Khālid al-Qasrī (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 102).

57. A leader of the Banū Tamīm in al-Kūfah (see Ibn Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Šabat b. Rib'ī al-Riyāhī; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 118).

58. A participant in many of the events of the period and often cited as an authority by his fellow Azdī Abū Mikhnaf (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

59. The name of Khārijah's father, missing in the text, is suggested by the editor, referring to I, 3214, l. 14; *WŚ*, 172, has Khārijah b. al-Ṣalt.

Can you, Oh Zabyān, endure life  
 without water among those who inhabit the earth?  
 No, by the God of earth and heavens—  
 so strike the faces of the faithless enemies  
 With the sword in the ferocious clamor  
 until they render you equality.

Zabyān said: "By God we smote them until they gave us access to the water."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—his father, Yahyā b. Sa'id—his paternal uncle, Muḥammad b. Mikhnaf: At that time I was with my father Mikhnaf b. Sulaym. I was seventeen years old and not yet enrolled for pay (*lastu fī 'aṭā'*).<sup>60</sup> When the men were denied access to the water, my father said to me, "Keep close to the encampment!" But when I saw the Muslims going toward the water I lost patience, took up my sword, set out with the men, and took part in the fighting.

Then I saw a slave lad of one of the men of Iraq, and with him he had a waterskin. When he saw that the Syrians had left open the way to the watering place, he pushed forward and filled his waterskin. Then he headed back, but one of the Syrian soldiers attacked him and threw him to the ground, so that the waterskin fell from his grasp. I assailed the Syrian, struck him, and laid him low, but his companions fought hard and rescued him. However, I overheard them saying to him (as they took him away), "We are not sure about your chances." I went back to the slave and carried him, and he could talk to me, even though he had a gaping wound. Quickly his master came, and he went off with him, while I took his waterskin, which was full, and brought it to my father, Mikhnaf. He asked, "From where did you get this?" and I said, "I bought it," for I did not want to tell him the story and make him angry with me. He said, "Let the men drink!" I did that, and he was the last to drink.

[3267]

By God, my soul urged me on to fight, and I hurried forward with those who were fighting, and we battled with the enemy for a while. Then I saw that they had left the way to the water open to us, and by evening we could see our water carriers and theirs crowded

60. On this system of payment in the early Muslim armies, see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'aṭā'

together at the watering place without harming one another. I turned back and came upon the master of the lad who had had the waterskin, and I said to him, "We have your waterskin with us—send someone to get it or tell us where you are so that I can send it to you." He replied, "God's mercy on you, we have enough with us." I then turned away, and he went off. Next morning he passed by my father, stopped and greeted him, and saw me by his side. "This young man is not yours?" he said; and my father replied, "It is my son." The man said, "May God show you joy in him. Last evening God through him rescued my lad from death, and the young men of my clan told me that he was the bravest of the men at that time." My father gave me a look, and from his face I could see that he was angry. He kept quiet, and then, when the man had gone on, he said, "Is that what I instructed you?" and he made me swear that I would not go out to fight without his permission. So that was the only engagement I took part in until a later time.

[3268] According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq al-Sabī'ī—Mihrān, client (*mawlā*) of Yazīd b. Hānī':<sup>61</sup> By God, my patron, Yazīd b. Hānī', was fighting "by the water" with the waterskin in his hand. When the Syrians withdrew from the water I turned around to drink, fighting and firing arrows in between.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—'Abdallāh b. 'Awf b. al-Aḥmar: When we reached Mu'āwiyah and the Syrians at Ṣiffīn, we found that they had chosen an even, wide, and spacious position. They had seized the watering place, and it was in their possession. Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī had lined up horsemen and footsoldiers by it, and he had placed the archers in front of his men. He had formed a row with spears and shields, and helmets on their heads, and they had resolved not to let us reach the water.

In alarm we went to the Commander of the Faithful and told him about that, and he summoned Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Ṣūḥān.<sup>62</sup> He told him, "Go to Mu'āwiyah and say this: 'We have come to you like this but are reluctant to fight you before exhorting you by all possible means. But you have advanced your horsemen and footsoldiers against us and have attacked us before we attacked you. You began the fighting against us while we considered that we should hold back from

61. See p. 80, below, for Yazīd b. Hānī'.

62. Of the Banū 'Abd al-Qays/Rabī'ah (Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

fighting you until we had appealed to you and put before you our arguments. And this is another thing that you have done—you have barred our men from the water, and they will not stop fighting unless they have drunk. So send to your men to allow mine access to the water and to hold off from fighting until we consider our dispute and what we have come for and what you have come for. But, if you prefer that we should give up what we came for and leave the men to fight at the water, so that only the victors drink, we will do so."

[When he heard that] Mu'āwiyah said to his men, "What do you think?" Al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah<sup>63</sup> answered, "Keep water from them, just as they kept it from 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, may God be pleased with him. They besieged him for forty days, allowing him neither the coolness of water nor the comfort of food. Make them die of thirst. May God make them die of thirst!" But 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ said, "Let them get to the water, for surely the men will not thirst when you have drunk sufficiently. But, leaving aside the water, consider the dispute between you." Al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah repeated what he had said, and 'Abdallāh [b. Sa'd] b. Abī Sarḥ<sup>64</sup> said, "Keep them from the water until night, for if they cannot get to it they will go back. If they go back, their return will be a flight. Keep them from the water, and may God keep it from them on the day of resurrection."

[3269]

Ṣa'ṣa'ah ('Alī's messenger) retorted, "God will keep it on the day of Resurrection only from the infidels, the wanton ones, and the drinkers of wine—like you and this wanton one (meaning al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah)!" They rushed at him, verbally abusing him and threatening him, but Mu'āwiyah said, "Keep away from the man, for he is simply a messenger."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—'Abdallāh b. 'Awf b. al-Aḥmar: Ṣa'ṣa'ah came back to us and told us what he had said to Mu'āwiyah, what the answer had been, and how he had replied. We asked him how Mu'āwiyah had responded to that, and he said, "When I desired to leave his presence, I asked, 'How do you answer me?' and he answered, 'You will learn of my decision.'"

63. See n. 16, above.

64. The name of 'Abdallāh's father, Sa'd, is missing from the text. It is generally accepted that this former governor of Egypt, who joined Mu'āwiyah upon the murder of 'Uthmān, died before Ṣiffin and was not present there (see further *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.).

By God, the next thing we knew, Mu'āwiyah was sending troops of horsemen to Abū al-A'war to stop our men from getting to the water. 'Alī sent us against them, and we fired arrows and thrust with spears and then gave blows with the swords. We were granted victory over them, and the water came into our hands. We said, "By God we will not allow them to drink from it," but 'Alī sent to us, saying, "Take what water you need and return to your camp. Leave them alone, for God has given you victory over them because of their evil and oppression."

[3270] *'Alī Calls Mu'āwiyah to Obedience and Unity*

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ḥurrah al-Ḥanafī: 'Alī said, "On this day you have been given victory through zeal." The men went back to their camp, and 'Alī remained two days, during which he and Mu'āwiyah did not exchange messengers. Then 'Alī summoned Bashīr b. 'Amr b. Miḥṣan al-Anṣārī,<sup>65</sup> Sa'īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī,<sup>66</sup> and Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Tamīmī and said, "Go to this man and summon him to God, to obedience, and to unity."<sup>67</sup> Shabath b. Rib'ī asked, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, will you not tempt him with an offer of an office of authority and a position in which he will have influence with you if he gives you the oath of allegiance?" 'Alī replied, "Go to him and argue with him and find out his opinion." This was at the beginning of Dhū al-Hijjah [May–June 657].

They came and entered in upon Mu'āwiyah, and Abū 'Amrah Bashīr b. 'Amr praised God and extolled him.<sup>68</sup> Then he said, "Oh Mu'āwiyah, this world is transitory, but to the next you are returning. God will assess you according to your deeds and recom-

65. See Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Bašīr b. 'Amr.

66. Leader of the Banū Ḥimyar in al-Kūfah, said to be descended from the ancient south Arabian kings (Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v.; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 119).

67. *Al-jamā'ah*. Literally, the word indicates "community" and has a positive value in contradistinction to the implications of *fitnah*. "Splitting the staff of the community" or "of the Muslims" (*shaqq 'aṣā al-jamā'ah/al-muslimīn*) is a charge frequently brought against rebels, and the year in which Mu'āwiyah ended the *Fitnah* and established his rule over all the lands of the Arabs is known in tradition as the "year of unity" (*'ām al-jamā'ah*).

68. *Ḥamida 'llāh wa-athnā 'alayhi*, a stereotyped formula used to open a religious exhortation.



pense you 'for what your hands have offered.'<sup>69</sup> I implore you by God not to split the unity of this community and not to shed its blood in internal conflict." But Mu'āwiyah cut him off, saying, "Have you not commended that to your master?" Abū 'Amrah replied, "My master is not like you. Of all of creation, he has the most right to this position of authority by virtue of his merit, his religion (*dīn*), his precedence in Islam, and his relationship with the Messenger of God." Mu'āwiyah asked, "What does he say?" and Abū 'Amrah replied, "He asks you to fear God and to respond to your cousin in acknowledging the truth to which he calls you. It is safer for you regarding your life in this world and better for you regarding your final end." Mu'āwiyah said, "And are we to make the blood of 'Uthmān count for naught? No, by God, never!"

[3271]

Sa'id b. Qays went to speak, but Shabath b. Rib'i plunged in first, saying, after praising God and extolling him:

Mu'āwiyah, I understood your reply to Ibn Miḥṣan, and, by God, we are not unaware of what you intend and seek. The only way you could find to misguide the people, pervert their desires, and get from them their obedience was by saying "Your Imam was killed unjustly, and we seek revenge for his blood!" Some stupid riffraff responded to it, but we know that you delayed in giving 'Uthmān help and that you desired his killing so that you might obtain this position that you now seek.<sup>70</sup> There is many a one who desires something and seeks it, but God prevents it by His power, and sometimes he who desires a thing is granted his wish or even more than it. But, by God, there would be no good for you in either of the cases. If you fail to attain what you hope for, then you will be the most wretched of the Arabs as a result, while, if you achieve what you desire, you will have achieved it only by deserving the flames of hell from

69. Qur'an 22:10.

70. It was commonly held, by the opponents of the Umayyads, that the murder of 'Uthmān was the result of plotting by members of his (Umayyad) family who feared that the caliphate would pass into the hands of 'Alī if 'Uthmān were to die a natural death. The accusation that Mu'āwiyah deliberately delayed in responding to the appeals for help that were made to him by 'Uthmān is part of the argument in support of this theory (see further, N. A. Faris, "Development in Arab Historiography," 435-41).

your Lord. Fear God, oh Mu'āwiyah. Leave off what you are about, and do not contest authority with its rightful possessor.

[3272] Mu'āwiyah praised God and extolled him, and then he said, "The first thing in which I recognized your stupidity and low level of maturity was your interrupting the speech of this respected and high-born man, who is the leader of his people [i.e., Sa'id b. Qays]. Then afterward you meddled with something about which you know nothing. You have lied and been base, you rude and uncouth bedouin, in everything you have referred to and described. Get out of my presence, all of you! Between you and me there is nothing but the sword." He was furious.

The deputation departed with Shabath saying, "Do you threaten us with the sword? I swear by God that it will soon be raised against you." They came to 'Alī and told him what Mu'āwiyah had said. That was in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (36, i.e., May–June 657).

Following this, 'Alī would give orders to certain individual leaders of high status, and a band of men would go out to fight in support while another man of rank, a follower of Mu'āwiyah, would come out against him with a group of his followers. The two of them would fight with horse- and footmen and then retire. They were reluctant to confront the Syrians with the whole body of the Iraqis because of the fear that it would entail mass slaughter and destruction.

At different times 'Alī sent out al-Ashtar, Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī,<sup>71</sup> Shabath b. Rib'ī, Khālid b. al-Mu'ammār,<sup>72</sup> Ziyād b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī, Ziyād b. Khaṣafah al-Taymī,<sup>73</sup> Sa'id b. Qays, Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāhī,<sup>74</sup> and Qays b. Sa'd.<sup>75</sup> The one who was sent out most often was al-Ashtar. Mu'āwiyah sent out against the men of Iraq, at

71. The leader in al-Kūfah, in 51/670, of what is often seen as the first pro-'Alid anti-Umayyad movement after the death of 'Alī, and a rival of al-Ash'ath for the leadership of the Banū Kindah in al-Kūfah (see further *EI* 2, s.v. Ḥudjr b. 'Adī al-Kindī).

72. Of the Banū Shaybān/Bakr b. Wā'il (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ḥālid b. al-Mu'ammār).

73. Of the Banū Taym Allāh/Bakr b. Wā'il (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ziyāda b. Ḥaṣafah).

74. See n.30.

75. Son of Sa'd b. 'Ubādah of the Banū Khazraj/Anṣār, he had been governor of Egypt for 'Alī; for an account of his removal from there and his joining 'Alī, see pp. 142–44, below (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Qais b. Sa'd).

various times, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid al-Makhzūmī,<sup>76</sup> Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī, Habīb b. Maslamah al-Fihri,<sup>77</sup> Dhū al-Kalā' al-Himyarī,<sup>78</sup> 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,<sup>79</sup> Shuraḥbil b. al-Simṭ al-Kindī,<sup>80</sup> and Ḥamzah b. Mālik al-Hamdānī.<sup>81</sup> They fought for the whole of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, sometimes twice in one day, at its beginning and at its end.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Āṣim al-Fā'ishī: One of my fellow tribesmen<sup>82</sup> told me that one day al-Ashtar went out to fight at Ṣiffin among some men of the *qurrā'*<sup>83</sup> and some of the bedouin horsemen. "The battle became fierce, and there came out against us a man taller and mightier than whom I have rarely seen. He put out a challenge to single combat, and no one responded to him except al-Ashtar. They exchanged blows and al-Ashtar struck him and killed him. I swear by God that we had been fearful for al-Ashtar and asked him not to answer the challenge. When al-Ashtar killed him, one of the dead man's heralds proclaimed:

[3273]

Oh Sahn, Sahn Ibn Abī al-'Ayzār,  
the best whom we know of Zār.<sup>84</sup>

[Zārah is a clan of Azd.] And he said, "I swear by God that either I will kill your killer, or he will kill me." He came out and attacked al-Ashtar, who turned toward him and struck him, and suddenly

76. Son of the famous Khālid b. al-Walid, settled in Ḥimṣ (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdarrahmān b. Hālid).

77. Of Quraysh, he had been put in charge by Mu'āwiyah of the force that he sent, too late, to help 'Uthmān (see n.70; and see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

78. Leader of an important family of the Banū Himyar settled in Ḥimṣ (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ṣamayfa' b. Nākūr; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 95). Delete text's "Ibn"?

79. A son of the second caliph (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

80. A rival of al-Ash'ath for the leadership of the Banū Kindah in al-Kūfah, he had subsequently settled in Ḥimṣ and supported Mu'āwiyah (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Shuraḥbil b. al-Simṭ; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 101).

81. *WS*, 44, refers to him among a group of the leaders of Qaḥṭān and Yaman who were trusted by Mu'āwiyah. For his role in witnessing on behalf of Mu'āwiyah the "arbitration document" signed at Ṣiffin, see p. 87, below.

82. There are two groups called Fā'ish among the Banū Hamdān.

83. The *qurrā'* are frequently referred to throughout this volume and in connection with certain other events of early Islamic history. Traditionally they have been associated with the Qur'ān and are often described as "Qur'ān reciters/readers." A number of scholars have recently been dissatisfied with that interpretation and have suggested others. For the literature, see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *qurrā'*; and Calder, "The *Qurrā'* and the Arabic Lexicographical Tradition," 297-307.

84. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to Sahn b. Abī al-'Ayzār.

the man was down on the ground in front of al-Ashtar's horse, but his companions bore down on him and carried him off wounded. Abū Rufayqah al-Fahmī said, "This was a fire, but he came upon a whirlwind."<sup>85</sup>

The men fought for the whole of Dhū al-Hijjah, but when it was the end of the month they called on one another to refrain from fighting for the month of Muḥarram<sup>86</sup> and perhaps God would bring about peace or an agreement. So they refrained from fighting one another.

In this year 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib led the pilgrimage (*hajj*)<sup>87</sup> in accordance with 'Alī's appointment of him. That is what I was told by Aḥmad b. Thābit from someone who told him on the authority of Iṣḥāq b. 'Īsā, who had it from Abū Ma'shar.<sup>88</sup>

[3274] In this year, too, Qudāmah b. Maz'ūn<sup>89</sup> died, according to the claim of al-Wāqidi.<sup>90</sup>

85. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to Abū Rufayqah. *WS*, 196, has al-Sahmī instead of al-Fahmī.

86. Although our information is rather confused, the month of Muḥarram is said to have been one of the sacred months in pre-Islamic Arabia, during which fighting was prohibited. The Qur'ān thrice refers to the sacred month (in the singular) and once to there being four sacred months (see further *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muḥarram).

87. The annual complex of rituals performed at various places in and around Mecca during the month of Dhū al-Hijjah (see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hadjī).

88. Abū Ma'shar is a well-known collector of tradition who died in 171/787 (see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.; *GAS*, I, 291–92). He is said to have composed a *Ta'riḫ al-khulafā'* and it is apparently this work that Ṭabarī frequently cites with the *isnād* used here. Ṭabarī's immediate authority, al-Rāzī, is categorized as a liar (*kadhhdhāb*) in Ibn Abī Ḥātim's *Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa'l-ta'dīl*, I/1, 44.

89. An early follower of the Prophet Muḥammad, from Banū Jumāh/Quraysh, who had refused to give allegiance to 'Alī (see Ibn al-Kalbi, index, s.v.).

90. On this scholar, d. 207/822–823, important especially in the field of the biography of the Prophet, see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Wāqidi; *GAS*, I, 294–97.