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THE EPISTLE OF  
SALIM IBN  
DHAKWAN

PATRICIA CRONE  
AND  
FRITZ ZIMMERMANN

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485 جَارَ فِي حُكْمٍ أَوْ أَضَاعَ حَدًّا أَوْ قَسَمَ فَلَمْ يَعْدِلْ [59] وَلَكِنَّ طَلْحَةَ وَالزُّبَيْرَ  
 486 وَاتَّبَاعَهَا<sup>1</sup> لَمَّا أَخْطَأَتْهُمْ الْإِمَارَةَ قَامُوا يَتَوَلَّوْنَ عِثَانَ وَيَطْلُبُونَ  
 487 بَدْمَهُ زَعَمُوا وَقَدْ كَانُوا مِنْ [أَحَدٍ]<sup>2</sup> النَّاسِ كُلَّهُمْ عَلَى عِثَانَ حَتَّى قَتَلَ وَ  
 488 أَشَدَّهُمْ<sup>3</sup> نَكْرَةً لَمَّا صَنَعَ وَأَحْرَصَهُمْ<sup>4</sup> عَلَى هَلَاكِهِ فَكَلَّمَهُمُ الْمُسْلِمُونَ يَوْمَ  
 489 الْجَمَلِ وَذَكَرُوهُمْ بِاللَّهِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ إِنْ يَبْغُوا عَلَيْهِمْ<sup>a</sup> وَإِنْ يَعْضُوهُمْ  
 490 قَتَلَهُمْ فَتَعَدَّوْا عَلَيْهِمُ الْحَقَّ وَخَرَقُوا إِلَيْهِمْ حِجَابَ الْإِسْلَامِ وَ  
 491 بَدَّوْهُمْ بِالْقِتَالِ فَنَصَرَ<sup>b</sup> اللَّهُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَأَرَاهُمْ مِنْ عَدُوِّهِمُ الَّذِي  
 492 يُحِبُّونَ فَهَزَمُوهُمْ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ<sup>c</sup> وَقَتَلُوا سَادَاتِهِمْ وَمَنْ لَا يَحْصِي عَدَدَهُ  
 493 مِنْهُمْ فَحَكَمُوا فِيهِمْ بِحُكْمِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ فِي الْمَحْدِثِينَ مِنْ أَهْلِ قَبْلَتِهِ وَ  
 494 بِحُكْمِهِمْ<sup>5</sup> فِي عِثَانَ وَمَنْ قَتَلُوا مَعَهُ [60] ثُمَّ سَارُوا حَتَّى لَقُوا أَهْلَ الشَّامِ  
 495 مُعَاوِيَةَ وَشَيْعَتَهُ مَتَوَلَّيْنِ لِعِثَانَ رَاضِينَ بِالْأَمْرِ الَّذِي كَانَ  
 496 عَلَيْهِ هَ فَدَعَاهُمُ الْمُسْلِمُونَ إِلَى الْحَقِّ وَذَكَرُوهُمْ بِاللَّهِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ  
 497 إِنْ يَبْغُوا عَلَيْهِمْ وَإِنْ يَعْضُوهُمْ قَتَلَهُمْ فَتَعَدَّوْا عَلَيْهِمُ الْحَقَّ  
 498 فَاقْتَتَلُوا بِصِفِّينَ قِتَالًا شَدِيدًا حَتَّى قَرِحَ النَّاسُ وَكَثُرَتْ الْقَتْلَى  
 499 [61] ثُمَّ إِنَّ عَلِيًّا رَغِبَ عَنْ سَبِيلِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ الَّتِي مَضُوا عَلَيْهَا فَحَكَّمَ غَيْرَ  
 500 اللَّهِ فِي أَمْرِ قَدْحَمِ اللَّهِ فِيهِ وَقَالَ اللَّهُ<sup>d</sup> وَاللَّهُ<sup>e</sup> يَقْضِي بِالْحَقِّ وَالَّذِينَ  
 501 يَدْعُونَ مِنْ دُونِهِ لَا يَقْضُونَ بِشَيْءٍ إِنَّ اللَّهَ هُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ<sup>d</sup> ه  
 502 وَقَالَ<sup>e</sup> أَلَيْسَ اللَّهُ بِأَحْكَمَ الْحَاكِمِينَ<sup>e</sup> ه وَكَانَ حُكْمُ اللَّهِ فِي عَدُوِّهِمْ أَنْ  
 503 يَقَاتِلُوهُمْ<sup>f</sup> حَتَّى يَفِيئُوا<sup>7</sup> إِلَى أَمْرِ اللَّهِ<sup>f</sup> وَحَتَّى لَا تَكُونَ فِتْنَةً وَيَكُونَ الدِّينُ

لله فاعطلوا

N يحكم S يحكم<sup>5</sup> MSS واحرصه<sup>4</sup> MSS اشده<sup>3</sup> MSS اشد<sup>2</sup> MSS واتباعهم<sup>1</sup> HX يحكم  
 HX يفؤ N يفوا S يفئوا<sup>7</sup> HX -<sup>6</sup>

وَأَنَّ طَائِفَتَانِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اقْتَتَلُوا فَأَصْلَحُوا بَيْنَهُمْ فَإِنْ بَغَتَ إِحْدَاهُمَا عَلَى الْأُخْرَى فَقَاتِلُوا الَّتِي تَبْغِي حَتَّى تَنِيءَ إِلَى أَمْرِ اللَّهِ ... (ولقد صدقكم الله وعده إذ تحسونهم بإذنه ... من بعد ما أراكم ما 3: 152 Cf. c- (above))  
 a-a Cf. 49: 9 (invoked at l. 503 below): b Cf. 61: 13 (quoted at l. 130  
 c-c Cf. 3: 152 ما أراكم ما 3: 152 Cf. c- (above))  
 d-d 40: 20 e-e 95: 8 f-f Cf. 49: 9 (n. a above) g-z 2: 193, 8: 39

he had judged unjustly, neglected a fixed penalty (*ḥadd*), or divided (revenues) unfairly.

59. But Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and their followers rose (up in arms), when the command eluded them, and declared for ‘Uthmān, seeking vengeance for his blood — or so they said — they of all people, who had been among the fiercest opponents of ‘Uthmān until he was killed, the strongest critics of his deeds, and the persons most bent on his destruction. The Muslims reasoned with them on the Day of the Camel and admonished them in the name of God and Islam not to transgress against them (cf. 49: 9) and not to put them in the position of having to kill them. But they violated their right (not to be attacked by fellow Muslims) and tore the veil of Islam (by charging?) towards them and starting to fight them. God helped the Muslims and showed them of their enemy what they wanted so that they routed them with God’s permission (cf. 3: 152) and killed their leaders along with countless others. They treated them according to the judgement passed by the Messenger of God on mischief-makers among the people of his *qibla* and the judgement applied by themselves to ‘Uthmān and the people they had killed along with him.

60. Then they went to meet the Syrians, Mu‘āwiya and his party, who had declared for ‘Uthmān and approved of his ways. The Muslims called them to what is right and implored them by God and Islam not to transgress against them and not to put them in the position of having to kill them. But they violated their right (to freedom from attack), and so they fought a fierce battle at Ṣiffīn until people were wounded and many were killed.

61. Then ‘Alī abandoned the path the Muslims had followed in the past by making somebody other than God the judge in a case already settled by God. God says, ‘And God shall decide justly, and those that they call on, apart from Him, shall not decide by any means; surely God is the all-hearing, the all-seeing’ (40: 20). And: ‘Is God not the justest of judges?’ (95: 8) God’s judgement concerning their enemy was that they should fight them till they reverted to God’s command (cf. 49: 9) and ‘till there is no *fitna* and the religion

504 لله<sup>z</sup> فَعَطَّلُوا حَكْمَ اللَّهِ فِي ذَلِكَ وَرَغَبُوا عَنْهُ وَحَرَّفُوا كَلَامَ اللَّهِ  
 505 عَنْ مَوَاضِعِهِ<sup>a</sup> وَتَأَوَّلُوا الْقُرْآنَ عَلَى غَيْرِ مَا أَنْزَلَهُ اللَّهُ وَقَالَ اللَّهُ  
 506 <sup>b</sup>أَفْخُكُمُ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ يَبْغُونَ وَمَنْ أَحْسَنُ مِنَ اللَّهِ حُكْمًا لِقَوْمٍ يُوقِنُونَ<sup>b</sup> ه  
 507 [62] وَكَانَ الَّذِي رَضُوا بِحُكْمِهِ وَتَحَاكَمُوا إِلَيْهِ مِنْ عَدُوِّهِمْ وَجَعَلُوا  
 508 حُكْمَ اللَّهِ تَبَعًا لِحُكْمِهِ مِنْ أَشَدِّهِمْ لَهُ عِدَاوَةٌ وَأَحْرَصَهُمْ عَلَى  
 509 هَلَكَتِهِمْ [وَأَحَدَهُمْ]<sup>1</sup> عَلَى <sup>c</sup>إِطْفَاءِ نُورِ اللَّهِ<sup>c</sup> وَقَالَ اللَّهُ لِنَبِيِّهِ  
 510 <sup>d</sup>قُلْ<sup>d</sup> 2 أَفَعَبَّرَ اللَّهُ أَلْتَبَغَى حُكْمًا وَهُوَ الَّذِي أَنْزَلَ إِلَيْكُمُ الْكِتَابَ  
 511 مُفَصَّلًا<sup>d</sup> ه فَابْتَغَى عَلَى غَيْرِ اللَّهِ حُكْمًا وَحَكَّمَ أَهْلَ الْجَوْرِ فِي دِينِ  
 512 اللَّهِ [63] وَزَعَمَ أَنَّ مَنْ لَزِمَ طَاعَةَ رَبِّهِ فَأَبَى أَنْ يَحْكُمَ غَيْرَ اللَّهِ فِي  
 513 أَمْرٍ قَدْ حَكَّمَ اللَّهُ فِيهِ كَافِرٌ بَرَّتْ مِنْهُ الذِّمَّةُ وَأَنَّ اتِّبَاعَ سَبِيلِ  
 514 قَتْلَى<sup>3</sup> الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَمَوْتَاهُمْ قَبْلَ تَحْكِيمِ الْحَكَمِينَ ضَلَالَةٌ وَهُوَ فِي  
 515 ذَلِكَ يَتَوَلَّاهُمْ وَيَرْجُو لَهُمْ <sup>e</sup>بِالْحَيَاةِ وَالرِّزْقِ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ<sup>e</sup> ه وَزَعَمَ <أَنَّ  
 516 مَنْ أَقَامَ عَلَى مَا<sup>4</sup> كَانَ هُوَ عَلَيْهِ نَفْسَهُ يَوْمَ قَتَلَ عِثْمَانَ وَيَوْمَ  
 517 الْجَمَلِ وَدَعَا أَهْلَ الضَّلَالَةِ إِلَى مَرَاجَعَةِ الْحَقِّ وَإِلَى وِلَايَةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ  
 518 وَالْبِرَاءَةِ مِمَّنْ مَضَى مِنْ أَيْمَةِ الظُّلْمِ فَإِنْ تَرَكَوْا ذَلِكَ وَأَعْرَضُوا  
 519 عَنْهُ جَاهَدَهُمْ عَلَيْهِ ضَالٌّ<sup>5</sup> حَلَالٌ لَهُ دَمُهُ وَهُوَ يَزْعُمُ أَنَّهُ قَدْ  
 520 كَانَ مُسْلِمًا حَرَامَ الدَّمِ ه [64] فَلَمَّا رَأَى الْمُسْلِمُونَ تَسْفِيهِهِ حُكْمَ  
 521 اللَّهِ وَرَغَبْتَهُ عَنْ سَبِيلِ مَنْ مَضَى مِنَ الْمُهْتَدِينَ وَتَرَكَهُ الْأَمْرَ  
 522 الَّذِي جَاهَدُوا عَلَيْهِ النَّاسَ عِنْدَ نَزُولِ الْفِتْنَةِ وَتَحْكِيمِهِ فِي دِينِ اللَّهِ

S N قتلا<sup>3</sup> -ST<sup>2</sup> HX واحدهم N واحدهم S واحدهم [ Madelung ] وأجدهم<sup>1</sup> or  
 MSS ضلال<sup>5</sup> MSS من<sup>4</sup> HX قتل

<sup>a-a</sup> Cf. 2: 75 (... يَسْمَعُونَ كَلَامَ اللَّهِ ثُمَّ يُحَرِّفُونَهُ ...) and 4: 46  
 (... يُحَرِّفُونَ الْكَلِمَ عَنْ مَوَاضِعِهِ ...) , sim. 5: 13, 41 (always of Jews) <sup>b-b</sup> 5: 50 <sup>c-c</sup> Cf. 9: 32  
 (... يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يُطْفِئُوا نُورَ اللَّهِ ...) , sim. 61: 8 <sup>d-d</sup> 6: 114 <sup>e-e</sup> Cf. 3: 169 at ll. 123 f above

is God's' (2: 193, 8: 39). But they suspended God's judgement in this case, shunning it, and they distorted God's word by taking it out of context (cf. 4: 46 etc.) and interpreted the Qurʾān in a sense other than that in which it was sent down. God says: 'Is it the judgement of paganism, that they are seeking? Yet who is fairer in judgement than God, for a people having sure faith?' (5: 50).

62. The enemy whose judgement they were so happy to accept as to make him their judge, and thus to subordinate God's judgement to his, was among those most hostile to God, most bent on the destruction of the Muslims, and most eager to extinguish the light of God (cf. 9: 32 etc.). God says to His prophet: 'Say: What, shall I seek after any judge but God? For it is He who sent down to you the Book well-distinguished' (6: 114). But 'Alī did seek after a judge other than God, appointing people of injustice as judges in God's religion.

63. He claimed that those who clung to obedience to their Lord and who refused to let anyone but God be their judge of anything already settled by God were infidels who had forfeited their covenant of protection, and that it was misguided to follow the path of the believers who had been slain and died before the appointment of the two judges, though he was still declaring for them and hoping that they would find eternal life and sustenance with God (cf. 3: 169). He also branded as misguided those who upheld the principles on which he himself had acted on the day 'Uthmān was killed and on the Day of the Camel, (in other words those) who had called on the people of error to return to what is right (*ḥaqq*) by siding with the Muslims, disowning past imams of wrongdoing, (warning them that,) if they refused and turned away, they would fight them over it in holy war (*jihād*) — those, he claimed, had forfeited their lives, though he admitted that they had (previously) been Muslims whose lives it would (therefore) have been unlawful to take.

64. When the Muslims saw how he was making a mockery of God's judgement, shunning the path of those who had been rightly guided in the past, abandoning what they had fought for when the *fitna* broke out, appointing someone other than God to be a judge in God's religion,

- 523 غير الله وزوعه عن الأمر الذى بايعوه عليه<sup>1</sup> من قتاله
- 524 <sup>a</sup>عدوّ الله وعدوّهم<sup>a</sup> حتى تفتى نفسه أو<sup>2</sup> يظهر دين الله خلعوه
- 525 وخرجوا يحكمون القرآن ويرضون بحكم الله<sup>b</sup> وهو خير الحاكمين<sup>b</sup>
- 526 مفارقين له في تركه حكم الله وإقراره بحكم من كان يشهد أنه
- 527 كافر عدوّ لله فتركوا شهوة الدنيا ولذتها<sup>c</sup> وشروا الأنفس
- 528 ابتغاء<sup>c</sup> مرضاة<sup>3</sup> الله<sup>c</sup> [65] ثم تتابعت على ذلك خوارج المسلمين
- 529 يحكمون الله وحده ويرضون سبيل من مضى قبلهم من المسلمين
- 530 لا يقتلون ذرية قومهم ولا يستحلون فروج نسائهم ولا
- 531 يستعرضونهم ولا يخمسون أموالهم ولا يقطعون الميراث منهم
- 532 ويؤدّون الأمانة إليهم وإلى غيرهم ويوفون بعهودهم [ومن]<sup>4</sup> غيرهم
- 533 ويأمن عندهم<sup>d</sup> الكافئ<sup>d</sup> والمعتزل من قومهم<sup>d</sup> من غير أن يكونوا
- 534 يشكّون في ضلالتهم [ولا ينزلون لهم]<sup>5</sup> بين الحق والباطل منزلة<sup>e</sup> وليس
- 535 بعد الحق إلا الضلال<sup>e</sup> ه ويصلون الرحم<sup>f</sup> ويعرفون<sup>g</sup> حق الجار و
- 536 صاحب اليتيم وابن السبيل وما ملكت أيمنهم<sup>g</sup> ويتولّى ماضيهم
- 537 قاعدتهم<sup>6</sup> < ويعرف قاعدتهم ><sup>7</sup> لماضيهم<sup>h</sup> الفضيلة التي أعطاه الله<sup>h</sup> يتحابّون بحب الله

<sup>1</sup> MSS او يؤمن + <sup>2</sup> MSS و [Madelung] <sup>3</sup> MSS ST مرضات <sup>4</sup> MSS  
(cf. l. 846 below) ]? <sup>5</sup> S N ولا تتخاذلهم <sup>6</sup> HX (thus all MSS at l. 850 below)  
<sup>7</sup> Cf. l. 926 below <sup>8</sup> S N وقاعدتهم

<sup>a-a</sup> Cf. 60:1 (n. i below) <sup>b-b</sup> 7:87, 10:109, 12:80 <sup>c-c</sup> Cf. 2:207  
(ومن الناس من يشترى نفسه أبتغاء مرضاة الله ...) <sup>d-d</sup> Cf. 4:90 f at ll. 242 f, 246 f  
above <sup>e-e</sup> Cf. 10:32 (... فماذا بعد الحق إلا الضلال ...) <sup>f-f</sup> The Qurʾān  
commends those who maintain blood-ties (13:21) rather than sever them (2:27, 13:25) (أن يقطعوا أرحامكم 47:22, يقطعون ما أمر الله به أن يوصل 13:25); and cf. 8:75, 33:6 (... وأولو الأرحام بعضهم أولى ببعض في كتاب الله ...) <sup>g-g</sup> Cf., e.g., 30:38  
(فآت ذا القربى حقه والمسكين وابن السبيل ...). The most comprehensive list of those entitled to charity is at 4:36: وبالوالدين إحساناً وبذي القربى واليتامى والمسكين والجار ذى القربى والجار الجار ...  
... الجنب والجنب بالجنب وابن السبيل وما ملكت أيمنكم <sup>h-h</sup> Cf. 4:95 at ll. 114–16 above

and betraying the cause in which they had given him their allegiance, namely to fight God's enemy and theirs (cf. 60: 1) till he perished or God's religion prevailed, then they deposed him and went out (to fight), making the Qur'ān their judge, satisfied with the judgement of God, who is the best of judges (cf. esp. 10: 109), and separating from 'Alī because he was rejecting the judgement of God and accepting the judgement of a man he used to declare an infidel and enemy of God. They gave up (all) desire for this life and its pleasure(s) and sold themselves out of desire for the approval of God (cf. 2: 207).

65. Then the Khārijite Muslims followed one another, adhering to that way. They would make God their sole judge and accept the path of the Muslims who had gone before them. They would not kill the offspring of their *qawm* or hold sexual intercourse with their women to be lawful. They would not expose their *qawm* to indiscriminate slaughter, treat their property as booty, or sever relations of inheritance with them. They would discharge their trusts to them and others, and honour their contracts [with them and?] others. Those members of their *qawm* who restrained (their hands and tongue) and withdrew from them would be safe with them, even though (the Muslims) would neither doubt their error [nor grant them?] a position between right and wrong, for there is nothing after truth but error (cf. 10: 32). They would maintain blood ties (cf. 13: 21, etc.) and respect the rights of neighbours, companions, orphans, travellers, and slaves (cf. 4: 36, etc.). Those who went out (to fight) would affiliate to those who stayed at home, <and those staying at home would acknowledge> the superiority which God has granted to those who go out (cf. 4: 95). They would love one another for the love of God



- 538 ويتولّى بعضهم بعضاً ابتغاءَ مرضاةِ الله<sup>i</sup> ويواسى غنيهم فقيرهم
- 539 ابتغاءَ وجهِ الله والدارِ الآخرةِ إذا مضت منهم طائفةٌ تركوا لمن
- 540 [خلفوهم]<sup>8</sup> من أوليائهم على عدوهم<sup>k</sup> الحجّة الثابتة<sup>k</sup> عند ذوى العقول
- 541 والعلم بأمر الله فمضى على هذا بشر كثير من المؤمنين ه [66] ثم خرج من

بعدهم

<sup>8</sup> MSS خلفهم

<sup>i-i</sup> Cf. 2: 207 (n. c above) and esp. 60: 1 بالمودة إليهم بالموادّة (... لا تتخذوا عدوئى وعدوكم أولياء تلقون إليهم بالمودة 1) ... إن كنتم خرّجتم جهاداً فى سبيلى وابتغاء مرضاتى (...)

<sup>j-j</sup> see ll. 376 f above <sup>k-k</sup> see ll. 56 f above

and affiliate to one another out of desire for God's approval (cf. esp. 60: 1). The rich among them would share with the poor out of desire for God's face (2: 272 etc.) and the last abode (cf. 28: 77). When a party of them went (out? passed away?), they would leave to the friends they left behind<sup>1</sup> the 'firm argument'<sup>2</sup> against their enemies (that counted) with people of understanding who knew God's command. Large numbers of believers proceeded in this way.

PART III

[The Azāriqa]

66. Then

<sup>1</sup> Reading *khallaḥūhum*. The MSS read *khalafahum* '(the friends who) succeeded them'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. l. 56.