جاج في حكم أو أضاع خدًا أو قسم فلهم معدل [59] ولكن طلحة والزيز

وأخذت انما أخطأتهم الإمارة قاموا بتوليون عيان ويطيبون

بدءاً زعموا وقد كانوا من [أحد] الناس كفمهم على عيان حتى قتل و

اشتكم نكرةً ما صن واحرصهم على هلاكك فكمهم المسلمون يوم

الجل وذكرون بالله والإسلام إن بقوا عليهم فإن يعرضهم

قتلون فعدوا عليهم الحق وخرجوا إليهم حجاب الإسلام و

بدؤوه بالقتال فنصره [الله المسلمين وأراهم من عدوهم الذى

يُحبون هزومهم إذن الله وقتلوا ساداتهم ومن لا ينوي عدهم

ممنهم فكنو فيهم يحكم رسول الله في الخديتين من أهل قلته و

يحكمهم في عيان ومن قُتلوا معه [60] ثم ساروا حتى لقوا أهل الشام

معاوية وشيوعه متولون لعيان راضين بالأمر الذي كان

عليه ه فدعاه المسلمون إلى الحق وذكرون بالله والإسلام

إن بقوا عليهم وإن يعرضهم قتالهم فعدوا عليهم الحق

فاشقوا بصفين قسأتهما شديدًا حتى قرح الناس وكررت القتال

[61] ثم إن على رغب عن سبيل المسلمين التي مضوا عليها حكم غير

الله في أمر قد حكم الله فيه وقال الله [ونبى الله] يقضى بالحق والذين

يذعون من دونه لا يقضون بشيء إن الله هو السميع البصري [9]

وقال [ليلى النبي] بأحكام الحاكين [ه] وكان حكم الله في عدوهم أن

بيقانوه حتى يقيموا إلى أمر الله وحابي لا تكون فتح Они وكون الدين

الله فتعلوا

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HX "ـHX" HX "ـHX"

1 Cf. 49:9 (invoked at l. 503 below): "أين طائفتان من المؤمنين فاتقولا "أصلحوا بينكم فإن نفت"...

2 Cf. 61:13 (quoted at l. 130 above)

3 Cf. 3:152 (وقد صدّكم الله عدواً إذ نحن بهم) من بعد ما أراكما ما تفطر...

4 Cf. 49:9 (n. a above) 5 Cf. 2:193, 8:39

5 40:20 6 95:8 7 Cf. 49:9 (n. a above) 8 2:193, 8:39
he had judged unjustly, neglected a fixed penalty (*hadd*), or divided (revenues) unfairly.

59. But Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and their followers rose (up in arms), when the command eluded them, and declared for ʿUthmān, seeking vengeance for his blood — or so they said — they of all people, who had been among the fiercest opponents of ʿUthmān 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 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 ʿUthmān and the people they had killed along with him.

60. Then they went to meet the Syrians, Muʿāwiya and his party, who had declared for ʿUthmān 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 Šīffīn until people were wounded and many were killed.

61. Then ʿAlī 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 *fiima* and the religion
الله تعالى حكم الله في ذلك ورغبوا عنه وهو حكم كلام الله

عن مواضعهم وتأوّلوا القرآن على غير ما أنزله وقال الله

{4} Thiết dịch giả分数 من الله حكم لقوم يقولون 5

{5} وكان الذي رضوا بحكمة وتحكوا إليه من عدوهم وجعلوا

حكم الله يتع وحكمه من أشد له عداؤ واحرصهم على

هلكتهم {وأحدهم} 1 على إطفاء نور الله وقال الله ينيبه

{6} أفقي الله أنبغي حكم وهو الذي أرسل إليكم الكتاب

{7} فاستغنى على غير الله حكم وحكم أهل الحوار في دين

الله حيث أن لم يطاعة ربه فأأتي أن يحكم غير الله في

 أمر قد حكم الله فيه كافر ورئب منه الذمع وأتى أتباع سبيل

{8} أن يقول 3 المؤمنين وماواتهم قبل تحكم الحكيم ضلال و هو في

ذلك يتولاه ويرجو لهم بالحياة والترف عند الله ووزم 

{9} أن

من أقام على ما {1} كن هو عليه نفسه يوم قتل عتان ويوم

الجمل ودعا أهل الضلال إلى مراجعة الحق وإلّ خليفة المسلمين

والمراهقة من مضى من أمينة الظلم فإن تركوا ذلك وأعراضوا

 عليه جاهدة عليه ضلال 3 خلال له دمته و هو يزم أن له قد

{10} كن مسلما حرام الدم 5 {11} فلأي المسلمون تصمه حكم

الله ورغبهم عن سبيل من مضى من المهتدين وتركهم الأمر

{11} الذي جاهدوا عليه الناس عند نزول الفتنة وتحكيمه في دين الله

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1 or Madelung | 2 or Madelung | 3 or Madelung | 4 or Madelung | 5 or Madelung

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أ- Cf. 2:75 ( ...) and 4:46

{12} يُسمكون كلام الله ثم يجعلونه ( ... ) and 4:46

{13} يُسمكون كلام الله ثم يجعلونه ( ... ) and 4:46

{14} Cf. 9:32

{15} Cf. 9:32

{16} Cf. 9:32

{17} Cf. 9:32

{18} Cf. 9:32

{19} Cf. 9:32

{20} Cf. 9:32

{21} Cf. 9:32
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 Qur’ān 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 ‘Ali 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 ḥiṣna broke out, appointing someone other than God to be a judge in God’s religion,
غير الله وتروعه عن الأمر الذي باعوه عليه 1 من فئته

اإذن الله وعودونا 1 حتى تفعّل نفسه أو 2 يظهر دين الله خلعوه

وخرجوا بتجفون القرآن ورضون بجُمع الله 3 وهو خبر الحاكين 4 مفقراء له في ترك حُكم الله وإفراره هو الحكم من كان يشهد أنه

كافّر. إدخُلُ في شُهْوة الدنيا ولدتها وشرا الأنفس

اِبْعَاضَة مَرْضَى 3 الله 26] ثم تابعت على ذلك خواريخ المسلمين

بجُمع الله وحده ورضون سبيل من مضى قبلهم من المسلمين

لا يقللون ذُرتهم قومهم ولا يستحللون فروع نسائهم ولا

يسترضونهم ولا يحسمون أمواتهم ولا يقطعون المراث منهم

وقدون الأمانة إليهم وإلى غيرهم ويهنون بعهدهم [هم] 4 غيرهم

وبأم عندهم 4 الكاف وئل عزر من قومهم 4 من غير أن يكونوا

بجفون في ضلالهم [ولا يبلىون لهم] 5 بين الحق والباطل منزلة 6 يليس

عند الحق إلا الضلال 6 ويتصرف الرحمن 7 ويوقف حكى الجار و

الصاحب والطيب وابن السبيل وما ملكت أباهنهم 8 ويتولى مضاتهم

قاعدته 6 وعرف قاعدته 7 يضاهم أيضًا الفضيلة التي أعطاه الله 8 يتحملون بحب الله

1 Cf. 60:1 (n. i below) 2-b 7:87, 10:109, 12:80 3-c Cf. 2:207

(13) الين التطوع ما أمر الله به أن يَوصَل 21 الرائي (الذي تطور من متى نفس أُبياضة مرضى الله)

(2:27, 13:25); and cf. 4:90 f at ll. 242 f, 246 f above 4-c Cf. 10:32 (فماذا يَعدُ الحق إلا الضلال). 5-f The Qur'an

commends those who maintain blood-ties (13:21) rather than sever them (2:27, 13:25); and cf. 4:90 f at ll. 242 f, 246 f above 6-d Cf. 4:90 f at ll. 242 f, 246 f above

The most comprehensive list of those entitled to charity is at 4:36: 6:33; 36:6 7-g Cf. 33:30 8-h Cf. 4:95 at ll. 114–16 above

الْجَّبّين والصاحب بالجَّبّين وابن السبيل وما ملكت أباهنكم ...
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’an their judge, satisfied with the judgement of God, who is the best of judges (cf. esp. 10: 109), and separating from ‘Ali 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
ويتولى بعضهم بعضًا البَيْعَة مَرْضَى الله وَيَوْسِى غَنْيَهُم فَقِيرِهِم
لَبَيْعَة وَجْهَ الله وَالدَّار الآخرةٌ أَيُّهَا مَضْت مِنْهُم طَائِفَةً تَرْكَوْا مَن
خلَفُوهُم۸ من أوليائهم على عدُوَّهم۹ الحُجَّة الثانِيَة١۰ عند ذوى العقول
والعلم بِأَمَر الله فَقِيض على هَذَا تَم كَثِير مِن المؤمنين ه٥۶۱۱۲۱ كَثِير مِن
بعدهم۸۱۳۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱۲۱
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\(^1\) the ‘firm argument\(^2\) against their enemies (that counted) with people of understanding who knew God’s command. Large numbers of believers proceeded in this way.

\[\text{PART III}\]

[The Azāriqa]

66. Then

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\(^1\) Reading *khallafuhum*. The MSS read *khalafahum* ‘(the friends who) succeeded them’.

\(^2\) Cf. l. 56.