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Fulfilling The Stipulations

From the previous chapters, we have known the objectives that urged the two sides (i.e., al-Hasan and Mu'awiya) to make peace with each other and the conditions which both sides regarded as guarantees for their objectives.

After that, we have known that the two sides inclined practically to make peace with each other so that they held a meeting in Kufa. At that historical meeting, they were about to conclude an agreement, while they were unable to conclude such an agreement through their written documents and official letters when they intended to make peace with each other. However, it was Mu'awiya who made all those efforts go in vain though he was facing the most critical situation in his policy and his character as a king who wanted to rule the people who had not loved him since they hated him, as al-Ahnaf b. Qays said. So Mu'awiya met al-Hasan, but it was as b. Abu Sufyan met the son of the conqueror of Mecca, not as two fighters who laid their arms and exchanged the documents of peace. This was the firm manner of Mu'awiya though he sometimes affected much patience. Al-Hasan took advantage of this manner of Mu'awiya during the organized campaign which he launched against him in his second field as we have mentioned at the end of the previous chapter.

We have known all that in the near previous chapters so that we must understand whether both sides fulfilled their stipulations or broke them. Now, in this stage, we are facing the most sensitive point which has been studied very much in history.

We do not want to study this subject in detail, for such details will move memories. Some of these memories are painful; some of them are obvious scandals; and some of them disagree with the glories in history. In this book I have taken upon myself that I must depend on a clear analytical study about the matter of al-Hasan and Mu'awiya. So I must not ignore the elements of the subject. For they had the most wonderful effect on the results which al-Hasan b. 'Ali wanted to achieve through his Peace Treaty with Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan. As these details are very important for my subject, it is necessary for me to follow this subject step by step till I conclude clear results from the axiomatic premises, for these results will indicate the glory of the oppressed one (who was victorious) and the disgrace of the

oppressive one (who was defeated). In this connection we say:

1. Fulfilling the first Stipulation

This was the only stipulation with which al-Hasan bound himself to fulfill for Mu'awiya.

This was the only condition which found fulfillment, while the other conditions were never fulfilled.

It was impossible for al-Hasan, after he had signed the Peace Treaty, to attempt to break this condition of his, not to talk about that, nor to accept any talk concerning that.

After Mu'awiya had declared that he would not fulfill his conditions, the leaders of the Shi'a went to al-Hasan, when he had returned to Medina, and told him that they and their followers were ready to wage holy war (jihad) under his leadership against Mu'awiya. In the meantime the Kufans promised that they would dismiss the Umayyad governor from Kufa, and that they would provide al-Hasan with men and weapons to attack Sham (Syria) again. However, all these suggestions of the zealous supporters did not shake al-Hasan.

For example, Sulayman b. Sirt, who was the lord and chief of the Iraqis (as b. Qutayba said concerning him), said to al-Hasan: "He (i.e., Mu'awiya) said openly to the people what you have heard: 'I have made conditions for the people, made promises to them, and made them desire (for that). Indeed all that is under these two feet of mine.' By Allah, with that, he meant nothing but that he has violated what is between you and him, so turn the war into a trick, and permit me to go to Kufa to dismiss its governor, and to declare his dismissal in it. Indeed Allah does not guide the cunning of traitors.

"Then b. Sirt kept silent, so all those who attended al-Hasan's meeting spoke as he did. All of them said: 'Send Sulayman b. Sirt and send us with him. Then follow us when you know that we have dismissed his (Mu'awiya's) governor and declared his dismissal.'"¹

Also Hujr b. `Adi al-Kindi whose strong position was in Iraq went to al-Hasan, as you will know very soon.

Al-Musayyab b. Nujayya went to him, too. Worth mentioning, al-Musayyab was the only hero at Mudar, the red (al-Hamra'). If ten of its noble men were counted, he would be among them, as Zafr b. al-Harith al-Kilabi said concerning him.

Others like these great figures went to him. All of them found nothing with al-Hasan except a good answer and asking to wait till Mu'awiya's death. That is because al-Hasan was unable to break the promise which he made with Mu'awiya. Moreover, he made use of the Kufans attitude towards him so that he was in no need of any other experience.

Al-Hasan's final answer to his companions was: "Every man of you should sit in his house as long as

Mu'awiya is living. If Mu'awiya perished and you and I were alive, we would ask Allah for a decision to guide us, to help us in our matter, and not to leave us alone. Indeed Allah is with those who fear (Him) and who do good deeds."²

2. Fulfilling the second Stipulation

The neutral and the partial historians have unanimously agreed on that the condition which Mu'awiya gave to al-Hasan within the conditions of the Peace Treaty was that the former should not hand over the authority to anyone after him. This means that he had to hand it over to its legal owner, namely al-Hasan b. 'Ali. If al-Hasan died, the authority had to be handed over to his brother al-Husayn according to the condition that said that handing over the authority to Mu'awiya was limited to his lifetime, and that he had no right to hand it over to anyone after him.

Also the historians have unanimously agreed on that Mu'awiya violated this condition openly and appointed his son Yazid as a successor after him.

Now, we do not intend to discuss with Mu'awiya about the stipulation which he made, and then violated. However, he added this error to his errors which the Peace Treaty indicated whether he knew that or not. We have discussed the attitude of Mu'awiya towards his promises several times, so there is no need to discuss the most dangerous error which Mu'awiya made when he appointed his son Yazid as a successor after him.

In this connection we say: Through this ugly act, Mu'awiya committed the gravest sin in his religion, and the most horrible crime towards the public interest. Because of this impudent improvised act of Mu'awiya, the leadership of Islam deviated from its righteous way, the subjects lost their practical example, selfishness prevailed that society, the individuals and the groups mistreated each other, and the relationship between the leaders and their followers ended.

Accordingly, the people's inclinations became various and their aims became different. Besides the Umayyad authority was leading them to corruption so that they got ready to declare their bloody revolts and their internal uprising that were necessary to correct the errors and to warn the others against the dangers. Apart from this, the person must know what has been said about Yazid, and about his personal and moral abilities with which history is abound from his day to this day of ours, and which had obvious results during his authority. We do not want to write in detail about Yazid. However, we want to draw the attention of the gentle reader to the great error which Mu'awiya made, and through which he took the reins of the Islamic authority and violated all Islamic rules freely. Mu'awiya used strange ways to appoint his son as a successor over the Muslims. The friends and the enemies of Mu'awiya have narrated all these ways that are enough for us to be sure of his behavior as a Muslim and caliph.

These ways were the worst of all ways in history, and the farthest of them from the essence of Islam and its meaning and objectives. The results of these ways indicate the character of Mu'awiya and of the

people who lived during his lifetime. If they were not among the sources of our wide research through which we want to explain the reason why al-Hasan made peace with Mu'awiya, we would not mention them. Rather we would cover them though they have been exposed for thirteen centuries.

Now, we will mention some texts of the historians without any explanation or comment, for these texts themselves are in no need of explanation and comment.

In this Manner Mu'awiya pledged Allegiance to Yazid

Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani said: "Mu'awiya wanted the pledge of allegiance to his son Yazid. Nothing was heavier with him than the matter of al-Hasan and Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas. So he gave them poison (to drink). Then they died of it."³

Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari said: "In a short time after the death of al Hasan, Mu'awiya pledged allegiance to Yazid in Sham (Syria), and wrote to the cities concerning the pledge of allegiance to him."⁴

Ibn al-Athir said: "He (i.e., Mu'awiya) started that (i.e., the pledge of allegiance to his son). Al-Mughira b. Shu'ba was the first (to suggest) that. That is because Mu'awiya wanted to remove him from Kufa and to appoint Sa'd b. al-'As instead of him. So he (i.e., al Mughira) heard of that and said: 'I think that I had better go to Mu'awiya and tender my resignation to show the people that I hate the authority.' So he went to him and said to his companion when he reached him: 'Now, if I do not make you win an authority or an emirate, I will never do that.' Then he went till he came to Yazid and said to him: 'Indeed the notables from the companions of the Apostle

of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, and the chiefs and the old men of Quraysh died.⁵ No one but their children has remained (alive). You are the best of them! You are the best of them in opinion, and the most knowledgeable of them in Sunna and policy! I do not know what prevents the Commander of the faithful (i.e., Mu'awiya) from pledging allegiance to you.' He (i.e., Yazid) said: 'Do you think that (this suggestion) will happen?' 'Yes', replied al-Mughira. So Yazid went to his father and told him about what al-Mughira had said. So Mu'awiya summoned al-Mughira and said to him: 'What has Yazid said?' So al-Mughira said: 'Commander of the faithful, you have seen the bloodshed and the differences after 'Uthman. Yazid should be a successor. Pledge allegiance to him. If a certain accident happens to you, Yazid will be a shelter for the people and your successor. So do not shed blood. Do not create discord.' Mu'awiya said: 'Who will help me with that?' Al-Mughira said: 'I will help you against the people of Kufa, and Ziyad will help you against the people of Basrah. After these two cities, no one shall oppose you.' Mu'awiya said: "Return to your work, talk with him whom you have confidence in about that. You will see and we will see."

"Then al-Mughira saw off Mu'awiya and returned to his companions. His companions asked him: "What?" al-Mughira replied: 'I have put Mu'awiya's leg in a stitch that is far from the objective of the community of Muhammad, and I have made a tear for them, which will never be mended.'⁶

"Mu'awiya acted in collusion with the heads of the delegations who advised him (to appoint his son a successor) to deliver speeches and mention the qualities of Yazid. When the delegations, among them was al Ahnaf b. Qays, met Mu'awiya, the latter summoned al Dahhak b. Qays al-Fihri and said to him: `When I sit on the pulpit and end some of my sermon and speech, then you ask permission to stand up.

When they permit you, then you praise Allah, the Most High, and mention Yazid, praise him, then ask me to appoint him as a successor.' Then Mu'awiya summoned `Abd al-Rahman b. `Uthman al-Thaqafi, `Ubayd Allah b. Mis'ida al-Fazari, Thour b. Ma'an al Salami, and `Abd Allah b. `Isam al-Ash'ari. He ordered them to stand up when al Dahhak ended (his speech) and to confirm his words. These persons stood up and delivered speeches to praise Yazid. Then al-Ahnaf b. Qays, who was not among the actors, whom Mu`awiya prepared this scenario, and said: `May Allah reform the Emir, indeed, the people lived in the abominable past time and they have lived in the kind present time.

You have tried the times and experienced the affairs. So know him to whom you entrust the authority after you. Then you disobey him who orders you. He who advises you and does not look at you should not tempt you, though the Syrians and the Iraqis do not accept this and do not pledge allegiance to Yazid as long as al-Hasan is living."

Al-Ahnaf added: "Mu`awiya, you know that you have not conquered Iraq by force, nor had you influence on it. However, you have given al-Hasan b. 'Ali some promises which you know. 7 Indeed if you fulfill (your) promises, then you are appropriate for fulfillment. If you break (your conditions), then you will wrong (al-Hasan). By Allah, behind al-Hasan there are quick horses, strong arms, and sharp swords.

If you approach him through a span of treason, you will find a span of the outstretched arms of victory behind him. You know that the Iraqis have not loved you since they hated you, nor have they hated 'Ali and al-Hasan since they loved them. Nothing other than that has come down from the sky to them. The swords which they drew against you when they were with 'Ali at (the Battle of) Siffin are on their shoulders, and the hearts with which they hate you are among their ribs."8

I (i.e., the author) say: This speech of al-Ahnaf indicates clearly that Mu'awiya tried to take the pledge of allegiance to his son Yazid during al-Hasan's lifetime, while other authors have declared that the pledge of allegiance to Yazid occurred after the death of al-Hasan. Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani has denoted that when he said: "Indeed Mu'awiya poisoned al-Hasan and Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas to pave the way to the pledge of allegiance to his son Yazid."

We have already mentioned that. Therefore Mu'awiya had two attempts to carry out this plan: one of them was during al-Hasan's lifetime in spite of the promises, the oath, and the covenants. This attempt failed, for al Hasan was still alive. The other attempt was after the death of al Hasan, peace be on him. This attempt was achieved through the unjust ways, which most historians have mentioned.

"Mu'awiya removed Marwan from Medina when the latter was unable to take the pledge of allegiance to Yazid from the Medinans. Then Mu'awiya appointed Said b. al-`As as a governor over Medina. So Sa'd

showed rudeness, treated them with resolution and violence, and attacked all those who were slow in pledging allegiance to Yazid. Nevertheless the people were slow in paying homage (to Yazid), except very few (of them), especially the banu of Hashim. Indeed no one of them answered him."

"As for Marwan, he went to Sham (Syria) angrily. He met Mu'awiya through a long speech in which he said: `Ibn Abu Sufyan, reform the authority, and refrain from appointing the boys as rulers. Know that you have peers in your people. They help each other to show enmity towards you."

However, Marwan kept silent, for Mu'awiya gave him one thousand dinars a month.

"Mu'awiya wrote to `Abd Allah b. `Abbas, `Abd Allah b. al Zubayr, `Abd Allah b. Ja'far, and al-Husayn b. 'Ali. He summoned them to pledge allegiance to Yazid."

Mu'awiya's letter to al-Hasan, peace be on him, is as follows: "Now then, affairs from you have come to my knowledge. I had not thought that they (the affairs) would issue from you, for you dislike them. Indeed the worthiest of all people in faithfulness is he who is like you in your importance, your honor, and your position in which Allah has installed you. Therefore do not dispute (with me) for your abandonment, and fear Allah. Do not lead this community to a discord. Think of yourself, your religion, and the community of Muhammad. Do not let those who are not sure (of Allah) disdain you."

In answer to Mu'awiya's letter, al-Husayn wrote the following: "Now then, your letter has come to me, in which you have mentioned that affairs (issued) from me have come to your knowledge, and that you had thought that they would not (issue) from me, for I dislike them, and that no one except Allah, the Most High, guides (people) to good deeds. As for what you have mentioned that (affairs issued) from me have come to your knowledge, they have been informed by the cajolers who inform against (the people) and sow dissension among the community.

The seducers and the apostates have told lies. I have wanted neither war nor disagreement. I fear Allah in leaving that because of you and your unjust party, the party of oppression and the helper of the cursed Satan. Aren't you who killed Hujr and his companions who were humble worshippers, and who regarded heresies as ugly (acts), enjoined (the people) to do good and prevented (them) from doing evil? You killed them because of oppression and enmity after you had given them strong covenants and certain promises showing impudence towards Allah and disdaining His covenant. Aren't you who killed `Amr b. al-Hamaq whose face of worship wore out? You killed him after you had given him pledges which if the white footed antelopes understood, they would come down from the tops of the mountains. Aren't you he who claims that Ziyad is the son of Abu Sufyan, (while) the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, has decided that the baby is to the bed (i.e., the baby is attributed to his father) and the prostitute is stoned?

Then you have empowered Ziyad over the Muslims to kill them, to cut off their hands and their legs on opposite sides, and to hang them on the trunks of the date-palms. Mu'awiya, glory be to Allah, it is as if that you do not belong to this community, nor does it belong to you. Aren't you who killed al-Hadrami

about whom Ziyad wrote to you that he followed the religion of 'Ali?

The religion of 'Ali is the religion of his paternal cousin, may Allah bless him and his family, who has installed you in the position in which you are. Were it not for that, your best honor and the honor of your grandfathers would suffer from the two journeys: the winter and the summer journey. However, Allah has relieved you of them through us as a favor for you.

"You have said: `Do not lead this community to a discord.' Indeed I do not know that there is a discord greater than your authority over it."

"You have said: `Think of yourself, your religion, and the community of Muhammad.' Indeed, by Allah, I do not know that there is a thing better than waging holy war against you. Indeed if I did (that), it would be (an act) to please my Lord. If I did not do (that), I would ask Allah to forgive me my sin, and I ask Him (to grant me) success to what He loves and accepts."

"You have said: `When you plot against me, I will plot against you.' Therefore, Mu'awiya, plot against me through what has appeared to you. By my life, in the past (the people) plotted against the righteous ones. Indeed I hope that you will harm (no one) but yourself, and destroy (no act) except yours. Therefore plot against me through what has seemed to you!"

"Mu'awiya, fear Allah! Know that Allah has a book that counts every small and big (act)! Know that Allah has not forgotten (the persons whom) you killed due to doubt, (whom) you punished because of accusation, and the boy (i.e., Yazid) whom you have appointed as emir, who drinks wine and plays with the dogs! I do not see but that you have degraded yourself, destroyed your religion, and ruined the subjects, greetings!"⁹

After that, Mu'awiya went to Medina. Many Syrian people were with him. Ibn al-Athir estimated them at one thousand horsemen. He (i.e., Ibn al-Athir) said: "Then Mu'awiya went to `A'isha, who had heard that the former mentioned al-Husayn and his companions, and said: `If they do not pledge allegiance (to Yazid), I will kill them.' So she (i.e., `A'isha) said: Treat them with kindness. They will achieve what you like, Allah willing."¹⁰

Having mentioned Mu'awiya's going to Medina, b. Qutayba al Dinawari said: "Then Mu'awiya sat down in the morning of the second day. He ordered his clerks to sit where they were able to hear his orders. Also he ordered his chamberlain not to permit anyone of the people even if he was a close relative. Then he sent for al-Husayn b. 'Ali and `Abd Allah b. `Abbas. Ibn `Abbas preceded (al-Husayn in coming). So Mu'awiya seated him on his left hand and made him busy with talking till al-Hasan came and entered. So Mu'awiya seated him on his right hand and asked him about the banu (sons) of al-Hasan and their old ones. So al-Husayn told him about them."

Then Mu'awiya delivered a sermon in which he praised Allah and His Apostle, and he mentioned the two Shaykhs (i.e., `Umar and Abu Bakr) and `Uthman. Then he mentioned the matter of Yazid. He

mentioned his knowledge in the Qur'an and the Sunna (the Prophet's practices), and his clemency.

(Then he mentioned) that Yazid was the best of them in policy and debate though they were older than him and better (than him) in relationship (to the Prophet). 11 Then he mentioned that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family, appointed `Amr b. al-`As as commander over Abu Bakr, `Umar, and the elder Companions at the Campaign of Dhat al-Salasil. Then he asked them about what he had mentioned.

"So b. `Abbas got ready to speak. However, al-Husayn said to him: `Slowly! He means me, 12 and my share in the accusation is more."

Al-Husayn rose. He thanked Allah, the Most High, and asked Him to bless the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family, and said:

"Mu'awiya, though the sayer elaborates on the outstanding merits of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family, he cannot mention them all. I have understood what you have coated the successors after the Apostle of Allah, such as the brief quality and turning away from mentioning the pledge of allegiance. 13 Mu'awiya, how far! How far! The morning has exposed the darkness of night, and the sun has dazzled the lights of the lamps.

You have preferred (some people to others) till you went too far. You have appropriated (the authority) to the extent that you have become unjust. You have prevented (the people from taking their rights) to the extent that you have become miserly. You have wronged (the people) to the extent that you have exceeded (the proper limits). You have not given the people their shares of their rights so that the Satan has taken his perfect share. 14

"I have understood what you have mentioned concerning Yazid, (namely concerning) his perfect (qualities) and his policy for the community of Muhammad. You want to deceive the people in Yazid. It is as if that you are describing a hidden one or qualifying an absent one or telling (us) about certain knowledge which you have contained, while Yazid himself has indicated his real idea. Then take to Yazid what he has taken for himself (such as) following the quarreling dogs, the pigeons that precede their mates of the same age, the songsters with stringed instruments, and the various amusement centers. (In these things) you will find him a helper.

"Put aside what you attempt. That you will meet Allah with sin of these creatures does not suffice you more than what you will meet Him with. By Allah, you are still strike falsehood with oppression, and rage with injustice to the extent that you have filled the (water) skins. There is (nothing) between you and death except a wink. So you will see your act kept on the Day of Resurrection, then it will be too late to escape.

"You have reminded the people of the leadership of the man (i.e., `Umru b. al-`As) during the time of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family. When `Amr had assumed that at that time, the

people disdained his leadership, hated his priority (over them), and counted his acts against him.

So the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, said: 'Group of Emigrants (muhajirin), without a doubt, he (i.e., 'Umru b. al-'As) shall not be a commander over you from today.' Therefore how do you advance the certain abrogated practice of the Prophet as a plea? Or how do you match through a later companion (while) there are, around you, (people) who are honest in their companionship and reliable in their religion and kinship? You (want) to abandon them (and depend on) a wasteful, fascinated one. You want to coat the people with a suspicion with which the living one is happy, and with which you will be unhappy in your next life. Indeed this is the obvious loss. I ask Allah's forgiveness for both me and you."

"So Mu'awiya looked at b. 'Abbas and said: 'Ibn 'Abbas, what is this? Indeed what you have is stronger and more disastrous.' Then b. 'Abbas said: 'By Allah, he (al-Husayn) is among the progeny of the Prophet, among the people whom the Prophet covered with his cloak (ashab al-kisa), and among the purified House. So ask him about what you want, for you are satisfied with the people till Allah judges with His order and He is the best of all judges.'"15

Then Mu'awiya went to Mecca as Ibn al-Athir and other historians tell us. He (i.e., Ibn al-Athir) said: "Al-Husayn b. 'Ali, 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abu Bakr, and b. 'Umar preceded Mu'awiya to Mecca. As it was his last days in Mecca, he summoned these (persons) and said to them: 'I wished to come to you. He who warns is excused. When I addressed you, some of you rose and accused me of lying openly. I bore that and forgave (you). I am going to make a speech. I swear by Allah, if any one of you opposes me with a word during this speech of mine, the sword shall hit his head before he says his second word. Therefore, the man should keep (no self) except his own self.'"

Then Mu'awiya summoned the commander of his guards and said to him: "Behind each of these (persons), make two men with two swords stand. If any one of them opposes me with a true or false word, then they (i.e., the swordsmen) should hit him with their own swords."

Then Mu'awiya went out and they went out with him till he went up on the pulpit. He praised Allah and lauded Him, and then he said: "Those persons are the lords of the Muslims and the good ones from them. Every matter shall be decided according to their own advice. Moreover, they have agreed to pledge allegiance to Yazid. Therefore pledge allegiance (to him) in the Name of Allah. Accordingly, the people pledged allegiance (to Yazid)."

After many hardships, this abominable pledge of allegiance was born. It was born while the swords were drawn over the heads of the men. In other words, it was the rest of plots, maneuvers, and terrorism!

If this was the succession to authority in Islam, then peace be on Islam.

In his book 'al-Sahih', al-Bukhari has narrated the following tradition on the authority of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family: "Every ruler who has power over subjects from the Muslims and dies

(while) he has deceived them, Allah shall deprive him of Paradise."

3. Fulfilling the third Stipulation

Ibn al-Athir said: "Indeed when Mu'awiya performed the special prayers (qunut), he cursed 'Ali, b. 'Abbas, al-Hasan, al-Husayn, and (Malik) al-Ashtar."¹⁶ In his book 'al-Radd 'ala al-Imamiya', Abu 'Uthman al-Jahiz has narrated: "Indeed Mu'awiya said at the end of his sermon: 'O Allah, indeed, Abu Turab (i.e., 'Ali) disbelieved in your religion, and prevented (the people) from Your way. Therefore curse him very much, and torture him painfully.' Concerning that, he wrote to the cities. So these words were mentioned from on pulpits."¹⁷

It was said to Marwan: "Why do you curse him ('Ali) on the pulpits? He said: 'The authority will not continue for us but through that.'"

History and the biographies are full of Mu'awiya's efforts concerning cursing 'Ali. According to this, Mu'awiya was the first to curse openly the Companions of the Prophet, and the first to open the door widely to those who came after him. We think that there was no person before Mu'awiya had cursed the Companions of the Prophet except 'A'isha when she said: "Kill Na'thal (i.e., 'Uthman), for he has disbelieved (in Allah)."

Also we think that no one of the Muslim scholars has called A'isha an unbeliever and Mu'awiya an apostate from the religion, for they deemed it lawful to curse the Companions of the Prophet or for they cursed them to the extent that they intended to accuse them of unbelief. Without a doubt the rule of the similar things is one that does not change due to the time. For this reason we find no justification to judge those who defame Mu'awiya or any other Companion of the Prophet but through the justification with which the Muslim scholars have judged Mu'awiya and A'isha when they defamed 'Ali and 'Uthman.

As for the claimed tradition that says: "If you follow anyone of them (the Muslims), you are guided," it has been limited to a certain group of the Companions, so its generality cannot be used as a proof. Otherwise those who cursed the Companions of the Prophet would be more appropriate than the others in putting it into effect. Mu'awiya would prevent his tongue from cursing the brilliant figures from the family of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and his family, while it was incumbent on him (Mu'awiya) to follow them to be guided. The people would prevent their tongue from cursing Mu'awiya and those oppressive ones who were like him. Religious fanaticism would die, and peace would occur through reforming the Muslims.

However, it was the evil seed that the man (i.e., Mu'awiya) planted intentionally. Then he and his kinship watered it. So it has become the tree of the boxthorn in the history of Islam. With it the Umayyads made the simple people heedless and confused the minds of the ignorant. The Umayyads made cursing 'Ali a sunna (practice) in history. So the Muslims followed it, celebrated it, and protested against those who left it.

Mu'awiya had no hoped excuse in what he had rendered to himself from these remaining acts, nor had he glory for which he was envied or flattered in what he had delayed for his history. Moreover, if cleverness is the failure of the man in what he had advanced and delayed, then Mu'awiya was the cleverest of all the clever!

Among the most wonderful aspects of the cleverness of Mu'awiya was his attitude towards peace, which he made with al-Hasan, peace be on him. That is because this Peace Treaty brought upon him spiritual and historical disasters during his lifetime and after his death.

In the opinion of the people, the meaning of peacemaking (I mean the peace on which Mu'awiya insisted) was that he had to break his spearhead, to muzzle his mouth, and to leave al-Hasan alone, according to the items which the two sides decided when they signed the Peace Treaty. So the third item of their agreement was clear in refraining from cursing. Accordingly, Mu'awiya had to refrain from that if he had wanted real peace or if he had wanted to fulfill the stipulations that were obligatory due to the protection, the covenant, and the oath.

However, Mu'awiya insisted on making peace with al-Hasan to disband his soldiers and to be safe from the disaster of his war against al-Hasan, the grandson of the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, as we have already mentioned. He did not want to conform to the decisions of the Peace Treaty, nor did he pay attention to the agreements. He signed the Peace Treaty, but it was mere ink on paper.

He took an oath and made covenants, but they were in vain. He went to Kufa, went up on the pulpit, mentioned 'Ali and al-Hasan and defamed them. Al-Husayn rose to refute him, so al-Hasan took him by the hand and made him sit. Then al-Hasan got up, and said wise words to summon Mu'awiya to the straight path, as we have said in chapter 18.

Mu'awiya was dissatisfied when the people hailed the speech which al-Hasan made before him. At that time Mu'awiya was pleased with his imaginary victory. So he thought that it was better for him to resort to cursing and defaming the people. Noteworthy, the Islamic ideal manners oppose such kind of behavior, prevent the people from adopting it, and order them to have mercy on each other, to love each other, and to associate as brothers in the religion. For example, some of the Islamic ideal manners are: "The believer does not abuse, does not say obscene words, does not defame, and does not curse."

"In his book `al-Ahdath, Abu al-Hasan 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Abu Yousif al-Mada'ini said: After the Year of al-Jama'a (a unified group of people), Mu'awiya wrote a letter. In the letter he said: I am innocent of him who narrates something concerning the outstanding qualities of Abu Turab (i.e., 'Ali, peace be on him and his family). So in every district and on every pulpit, the orators cursed 'Ali, renounced him, and defamed him and his household. At that time, the tribulation of Kufa was more difficult than that of the other (cities), for it had many Shi'a of 'Ali, peace be on him." 18

After the Peace Treaty, Mu'awiya decided to appoint al-Mu'ghira b. Shu'ba as a governor over Kufa. So

he summoned him and said to him: "Now then, before this day, the stick had not been beat for the clement one. The clement one does not replace you without teaching. I had wanted to recommend to you many things. I will leave them to depend on your idea. However, I will not leave recommending you one quality. Do not leave cursing and dispraising 'Ali.'"¹⁹

Then Ziyad became the governor over Kufa after al Mughira:"Ziyad gathered the people at the gate of his palace and provoked them to curse 'Ali. Whoever refused (to do that), he (i.e., Ziyad) exposed him to the sword." ²⁰

As for Basrah, Mu'awiya appointed Bisr b. Artat over it. So he made speeches on its pulpit and cursed 'Ali, saying: "I will make every man swear by Allah to believe me when I am truthful and to accuse me of lying when I am a liar." In his book `Ta'rikh', al-Tabari said: "So Abu Bakra said to Ziyad: `By Allah, we do not know you but a liar.' He (i.e., al-Tabari) said: Zyydd ordered him to be brought, so he strangled him, then they (i.e., the people) saved Abu Bakra from him."²¹

As for Medina, Mu'awiya appointed Marwan b. al-Hakam as a governor over it. So the latter cursed 'Ali on the pulpit every Friday. Ibn Hajar al-Maliki said: "Al-Hasan knew of that. So he did not enter the mosque except during the establishment of the regular prayers (iqama). Marwan refused to accept that. For this reason, he sent (some men) to al-Hasan's house to curse his father and him strongly."

After the Peace Treaty, Mu'awiya went to Mecca to perform the hajj. He circumambulated the Kaaba. Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas was with him. When he ended that, he went to the House of the Council (dar alnadwa). Mu'awiya seated Sa'd beside him on his bed and began to curse and defame 'Ali. So Sa'd moved aside, and then he said: `You have seated me by you on your bed and began cursing 'Ali! By Allah, if I had a quality of 'Ali's qualities, it would be better for me than what the sun rises over! By Allah, if I was the son- in- law of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family, and had sons as 'Ali had, it would be better for me than what the sun rises over! By Allah, if the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, had said to me what he said at the campaign against Khaybar: "Indeed, tomorrow, I will give the standard to a man whom Allah and His Apostle love, and who loves Allah and His Apostle.

He does not escape. Allah will make a conquest through him," it would have been better for me than what the sun rises over! By Allah, if the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, had said to me what he said at the Campaign of Tabuk: "You are in the same position with respect to me as Aaron (Harun) was to Moses (Musa) except that there is no prophet after me," it would have been better for me than what the sun rises over. By Allah, I will not enter a house belongs to you as long as you are living."²²

Al-Mas'udi has narrated Mu'awiya's answer to Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas. However, we think that it is not appropriate for us to mention his answer, for it is ugly. Still it is a new proof for Mu'awiya's lowliness in morals, decencies, and compliments.

4. Fulfilling the fourth Stipulation

In his book `Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 95.¹ al-Tabari said: "The people of Basrah prevented him (i.e., al-Hasan) from receiving the land tax of Dar Abjard, and they said: 'It is our booty (fayy)'."

In his book `al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 162.² Ibn al-Athir said: "Their prevention (i.e., the prevention of the people of Basrah) was according to Mu'awiya's order, too."

5. Fulfilling the fifth Stipulation

As you have known, this condition was concerning the covenant of security for people in general, and the Shi'a of 'Ali in particular, and concerning that Mu'awiya had to avoid doing any disaster secretly and openly towards al-Hasan, al-Husayn, and their household.

The historians have many texts concerning the matter of this condition: some of these texts concern the evil disasters which the Umayyad rulers committed against the Shi'a during the time of Mu'awiya; some of them concern the disasters which Mu'awiya himself committed against the excellent figures from the Companions of the Commander of the faithful; some of them concern Mu'awiya's treason towards al-Hasan and al-Husayn in particular. For this reason, we will present these texts according to this order, too.

1. Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, vol. 1, p. 151.

2. Ibid, p. 152.

3. Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, p. 29.

4. Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, vol. 1, p. 160.

5. In his book (al-Mahasin wa al-Masawi', vol. 1, p. 108) al-Bayhaqi has mentioned the opinion of al-Mughira b. Shu'ba. However, he has narrated that al-Mughira offered his opinion to Mu'awiya first, and that when the latter was sure of the former, he returned him to his work and said to him: "Go to your work and strengthen the matter for the son of your friend."

6. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 198- 201.

In this text is what makes you feel the spirit of al-Mughira b. Shu'ba and the extent of this companion who made a tear for the community of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and his family.

7. Many writers have misunderstood this period of time. For example, (in his book al-Dawla al-Amawiya, p. 70) Hasan Murad said: "From here we see that it was unexpected change when Mu'awiya pledged allegiance to his son Yazid." From the words of al-Ahnaf and from our foregoing studies you have known that it was unexpected change.

8. Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, vol. 1, pp. 156- 8. Al-Mas'udi, Hamish b. al Athir, vol. 6, pp. 100- 102.

9. Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, vol. 1, pp. 63- 5.

10. I (i.e., the author) say: From these words we must understand that the mother of the believers (i.e., `A'isha) achieved what Mu'awiya wanted when she pledged allegiance to Yazid.

11. We have already mentioned that Mu'awiya claimed that he was more appropriate for the succession to authority than al-Hasan, for he was older than him.

12. That is because he was the successor to authority after al-Hasan: first, his grandfather the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family, nominated him. Second, the Peace Treaty nominated him, too.

13. Al-Husayn refers to Mu'awiya's turning away from mentioning the Commander of the faithful, peace be on him, when

he mention those who succeeded the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family.

14. He means that this intentional inequity is the wish of Satan in setting people against each other.

15. Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari, al-Imama wa al-Siyasa, vol. 1, pp. 168-172.

16. Muhammad b. `Aqil, al-Nasa'ih al-Kafiya, pp. 19- 20.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibn Abu al-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, vol. 3, p. 15.

19. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 187. Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 141.

20. Al-Mas'udi, Hamish b. al-Athir, vol. 6, p. 99.

21. Al-Tabari, Ta'rikh, vol. 6, p. 96. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh, vol. 3, p. 105.

22. Al-Mas'udi, Hamish b. al-Athir, vol. 6, pp. 81- 2.

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