

Was Religious Reform an Aim of Imam Hussein's Revolution?

"In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful"

Dedication

To my honorable parents, I dedicate this book thanking their favor & praying for their health and welfare.

Introduction

The answer to the question regarding the aim of Imam Hussein's revolution has been the aspiration of many researchers. It has motivated their minds and excited their pens in order to clarify the goals which Imam Hussein had planned to achieve and to discover the accomplishments of his revolution.

Before delving into the revolution of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) and its goals and achievements, we must first determine a set of preambles and postulates which constitute the basis of our research. For example, the adherents of the Household of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Family) believe in the infallibility of the Imams, and this infallibility also applies to the Imams' social and political conduct. Thus, this inevitably leads to regarding Imam Hussein's entire political and military course of action from the instant he departed from Medina and declared his revolution as infallible.

Thus, the purpose of the research is to determine the aims of Imam Hussein's revolution and what he achieved through his martyrdom. He had been aware of his fate and wanted to accomplish through his martyrdom a set of achievements which would not have come into actualization otherwise.

It is important to discuss the goals and achievements of Imam Hussein's revolution- it must be done in a thorough manner and none can claim that it has been wholly accomplished.

The statements which were issued throughout the revolution have clarified a set of specific aims such as reform, the promotion of virtue and prevention of vice and opposition to tyranny.

Many who have discussed Imam Hussein's intention to reform have concentrated on social, political, and economic reform, but they either did not mention religious reform or merely alluded to it.

Here we ask: Was religious reform a purpose of Imam Hussein's revolution?

The question regarding religious reform leads us to a set of questions such as: What is the meaning of religious reform? Was it the aim of the Prophets and Imams (peace be upon them)? Did Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) have religious reform in mind when he was planning his blessed revolution, or was he unconcerned with it? And if he had been considering religious reform, to what extent did he regard it to be important?

We also ask: Was there any religious corruption in that era? Was it on a serious level to compel Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) - the infallible Imam- to sacrifice himself and his family?

Did the Umayyad authority give importance to religious knowledge or did it possess its own intellectual and cultural scheme? If it did have such a scheme, then what were its dimensions, means, and results? To what extent was the Umayyad authority able to maintain such a scheme and what was it able to achieve?

It is doubtless that all the aforementioned questions are enough to inspire a researcher to explore this issue because it sheds light on an important aspect in the conflict between Prophet Muhammad's enterprise- which was represented by his Household- and the Umayyad scheme which was represented by the Umayyad authority.

The nature of the conflict was an epistemic and religious opposition between the school of thought of the Umayyad authority and that of the Prophet's Household; the former was intent on granting religious justification to all its actions and political activity even if they essentially contradicted with Islamic law and breached Islam, while the latter was striving to present the ideal example of Islam according to religion and the Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household).

The Umayyad authority created a school of thought to serve its purposes while Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household) had previously constructed a school of thought which functioned according to what he prepared it for and in fulfillment of the duties which he entrusted it with.

The Umayyad school of thought spread the concept of the sanctity of the caliph and of his religious status and every behavior. This is evident through the religious titles with which the Ummayyad caliphs were stylized. The Umayyad authority became deeply involved in religion due to the fact that legitimacy of rule depended upon the connection between religion and politics, and because religion formed a power which had an effect on society and politics.

This posed a threat because the Umayyad authority targeted religious knowledge and religious texts. The Umayyads were aware of the critical role of true religious knowledge and texts, and that if these remained intact then they would not be able to achieve their interests or keep what they had gained. Therefore, they launched an attack on religion, which was represented by the school of thought of the Prophet's Household, and they strove to strike the prominent figures of that school of thought and to debase them religiously and morally.

The Umayyad authority used every possible means to achieve its aim such as killing its opponents by the sword, poisoning them, or imprisoning them. They also paid money to buy people's consciences. However, the most dangerous course of action was through exploiting religion. The Umayyads placed false ideas in religion and distorted religious concepts. They presented an outward image of being adherents to Islam but were actually presenting a dark, distorted, and repelling image of it.

If we realize the high level of threat upon Islam during that era, we can surely state that the only thing which could save religion from that danger, remove the fake religious mask of the Umayyad authority, and destroy its school of thought, was solely the martyrdom of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him); his blood, his severed head, and his chest which was trampled by horses.

It was evident that an authority that would dare to kill Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) was one which had no link whatsoever to religion.

Through his martyrdom, Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) was able to separate between religion and the Umayyad authority. The sanctity of the caliphs and the religious legitimacy of the Umayyad authority crumbled down.

If Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) had not revolted, no one else would have been able to initiate the elimination of the Umayyad scheme, especially in its epistemic and cultural aspects. Only Imam Hussein due to his special rank in Islam could do so. The Imams descending from Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) undertook this feat after him.

The Imams of the Prophet's Household were aware of the threats of the Umayyad plot on Islam, and that these threats could undermine the very foundation of religion. The Umayyad scheme was to destroy religion in the name of religion. Islam had won the first battle which was that of Revelation, but the battle of interpretation had

commenced, and the Umayyads strove to fabricate religious principles and to distort true ones.

We cannot separate the revolution of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) from the battle of interpretation. Even if Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) had been aware of his martyrdom- and he was- then there were results which would not have been achieved without his martyrdom. Words and preachments had been expended, and nothing could wake the Islamic nation from its deep slumber and destroy the religious facade of the Umayyad authority and their falsity under the name of religion other than a great, echoing event. Such an event would awaken the Islamic nation, renew its determination, and expose the Umayyad authority.

Religion is not only perception; it is a combination of perception and emotions, words and feelings, thoughts and sentiments. The mind can rouse emotions and emotions might have an effect on the mind. Religion wants to exploit all the capacities of the innateness of Man to lead him to guidance and the right way. Man's natural disposition is characterized by sentimentality as well as awareness and it is possible to benefit from both.

In certain situations, the need for emotions might be greater than the need for perception and vice-versa. However, we always need them simultaneously.

We cannot be unmindful of the whirl of blood and awareness, and nor can we neglect the story of martyrdom and knowledge. One who understands the revolution of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) and how it terminated perceives the intricacy which combines them.

Were it not for the martyrdom of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him), Islam would have been terminated or it would have become a distorted religion-a religion which serves rulers, a religion of incompetency and justification, and not the religion of enlightenment and reform.

Introduction

It is not easy to encompass all the circumstances and aims of Imam Hussein's revolution at once. The aims were numerous, and they were linked to the general goals of Islam and to the duties of the Infallible Imamate on the social, political, intellectual, and educational levels.

Many researchers have studied the social and political aims of Imam Hussein's revolution, but only a few have discussed his revolution as an enterprise for religious reform.

An intellectual conflict had been taking place between two schools of thought: that of the Umayyad authority and that of the Prophet's Household. On the exterior, Imam Hussein's revolution did not seem as an intellectual undertaking but was a revolutionary movement to bring change on the social and political levels. However, its motives and aims were not distinct from the sphere of religious knowledge. The prominent leaders of the revolution were reared in such a sphere.

Close scrutiny of the Umayyad plot reveals the great threats which faced Islamic thought in all its aspects; doctrine, politics, and ethics. The Umayyad authority was systematically striving to greatly distort Islam with the aid of its political power and capacities in order to create a set of false religious concepts. These concepts would serve in granting the Umayyad authority religious legitimacy and would create an intellectual and doctrinal atmosphere convenient for the endurance of the Umayyads in power.

A deep revision of the epistemic history of that period reveals a heated intellectual conflict between the Household's school of thought and the school of thought of the Umayyad authority. The Umayyads considered political authority not only as an element of this conflict but as the central aim which they strove to maintain, even if that entailed the fabrication of a set of religious concepts which essentially contradicted with Islam.

Thus, the Umayyads considered religion as an epistemic means to serve their own limited political interests and as a means to create knowledge among the populace which would stand in the way of the rival true religious knowledge which posed a threat on the Umayyad authority and its continuance.

Hence, the conflict between the Prophet's Household and the Umayyad authority was not over power and it is shallow to consider it as such. When contemplating the battle of Karbala, we should not study it on the surface. We should carefully and deeply study that great historical event in Islam. It was not a sudden event nor was it an error but it was actually one of the series of incidents in the confrontation which Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household) had begun and which Imam Ali, Imam Hassan, and Imam Hussein (peace be upon them) successively continued.

Thus, the religious enterprise was a part of the conflict, and the Infallible Imams wanted to fulfill their duties and take charge of their missions. Religion was one of the elements of confrontation and it was the effective means which would bring upon victory. The Umayyads realized that if they did not make changes to Islam which the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) had delivered, then they would not be able to achieve their interests. Islam was a great obstacle in the face of the Umayyads,

and thus, they made all efforts to distort it and to fabricate a set of religious concepts which would enable them to achieve that goal.

During that period, people in the Islamic society believed in the connection between religion and politics- which meant the combination between religious authority and political power. This is where the danger lied because the Umayyad authority acted in the name of religion and presented itself as the extension of the Islamic Caliphate. Thus, the harm resulting from religious justification of the political activity of the Umayyads would not have been merely restricted to that period, but would have extended to all the successive historical phases. It would have become a distorted epistemic source which would only result in false concepts. The dangerous consequences of such an epistemic source which the Umayyad authority had forged in order to gain its narrow authoritarian aims would not have been limited to that period or temporary scheme. It would have become a poisonous epistemology which would threaten all later generations and would have an effect on individuals with traditionalistic concepts and doctrines who want that effect to extend to others in the name of religion and the Sharia of the Best of the Messengers (peace be upon him and his Household).

Such a serious distortion of Islam, corrupt actions in the name of religion, and the presentation of a false image of religion on the political and social scales would have led people to abandon Islam. Therefore, an enterprise for religious reform was necessary. It would remove the religious mask of the Umayyad authority, strip it from religious legitimacy, and destroy the epistemic source which the Umayyads had been striving to establish and spread by means of propaganda and paid scholars. The ultimate goal was the downfall of the Umayyad authority's school of thought.

It might be said that it is clear that the Umayyad plan was to gain authoritarian control and that there is no need to exaggerate the consequences of the Umayyad school of thought – supposing that there was actually such a school of thought.

In fact, the short period of time which separated between the early period of Islam and the period the Umayyads assumed authority, and the connection between political authority and religion drove the Umayyads to make changes to religious concepts to justify their acts and to maintain their political interests. Muawiyah son of Abu Sufian – the founder of the Umayyad scheme- presented himself as one of the Prophet's companions! In addition to this, the Umayyads had a great deal of means which they could benefit from to reach their goals. All of that posed a threat upon the intactness of Islam.

A close look at the Umayyad's formulated epistemology and conduct confirms the fact that their intellectual school had made great strides, and was meant to continue for the purpose of establishing a culture which would serve the authority's scheme and interests.

It should be noted that researching Imam Hussein's revolution taking into account religious reform enriches the information about Imam Hussein's revolution and

contributes in revealing an important aspect which is no less essential than the other aspects.

Linguistic Meaning of Reform

Reform in Arabic is “islah”. It is to bring about what is good, useful, and beneficial. To reform something means bringing about what is favorable concerning that thing. Al-Wasit dictionary mentions the meaning of reform as: "Reform in work or affairs is to bring about what is good and beneficial. Reformation of a thing is the elimination of what corrupts it.

“Islah” between people is to eliminate enmity and discord between them. Allah says in the Holy Quran: [If two groups of believers fight each other, reconcile between them.] (The Chambers, verse 9)

[So fear Allah, and keep straight the relations between yourselves]. (The Spoils of War, verse 1)

Allah’s reformation of the sons or money of someone is by making them good, as in the supplication: “Set my religion right for me”.¹

The Concept of Religious Reform

The concept of religious reform does not necessarily mean the formation of a new sect or the innovation of a new set of religious teachings. Religious reform extends to include the act of elimination of any intellectual school which acts under the guise of religion, but actually has no link to religion whatsoever.

The process of religious reform requires the actualization of a set of reformatory elements in the religious sphere, and we shall mention them as follows.

a) The Criteria of Reform

The criteria of reform are manifest in religion itself; in its intactness and principal sources which are the Holy Quran and the impeccable Sunnah. Thus, these two sources form the reference which people should resort to in order to correct all false concepts which have been attributed to religion.

b) The Leader of the Reformation Process

The leader who guides the reformation process should be wise and fully aware of all criteria, practical guidelines, and aims of the reformation process. This leader should be ready to sacrifice for religious reform no matter how great the sacrifice, driven

¹ p. 520

by a firm conviction of the necessity of this reform despite dangers. This is especially critical when religion and politics are linked and a political power displays a religious façade. Hence, the reformatory process becomes more dangerous and complicated.

c) Reasons for the Reformation Process

The cause for religious reform is when a deviation occurs in the religious sphere, and this deviation might have different forms. For example, an entire religious procession might deviate and thus the need for an endeavor to guide it to the right way arises. Another example is the emergence of a sect with a certain ideology or a religious school of thought which derive justification from religion to give a religious cover to their concepts and creeds despite their contradiction with religious texts and the adopted religious methodology in the formulation of concepts.

Therefore, this necessitates a reformist movement which reveals the inconsistency of those concepts and terms with religion and that they pose a threat on religion and its doctrines and concepts.

It must be emphasized that when we want to study the principles of religious reform, we should heed an important issue. When considering a certain act of religious reformation, we should not confine our thoughts concerning such a movement in a way where we lose the ability to conclude its main concepts.

We should be very precise when differentiating between the factors and laws that control a historical event and conceptualization which has its own criteria and rules.

For example, the Protestant Reformation was a rich experience which deserves to be studied carefully and through which we can discover the religious disputes which had occurred. However, we can undergo this only under the condition that we possess the ability to accurately generalize on the basis of a correct methodological reading of history.

An incorrect contemplation of historical events will lead to a false generalization, and this will inevitably lead to a misapplication on the social reality.

Thus, this term is not used to denote a certain historical event because if it were coined for a certain historical incident, then it would signify the aspects of that experience and this might lead to numerous misconceptions - only if the researcher strove to avoid it in one way or another. Thus, we derive this term from religious knowledge and it expresses the genuine meaning referred to in Islamic knowledge.

The Austrian researcher Mohamed Asad says: "It is an extremely harmful deceit when people try to apply non-Islamic terms to Islamic concepts and regulations. An

Islamic concept has its own special social system that is distinct in many ways from Western systems.”²

Reform in the Holy Quran

Allah mentions the term “islah” in many instances in the Holy Quran and we shall mention some of them.

1) The Benefits of Reform

The Noble Quran mentions many individual and social benefits of reform, and Allah bestows these benefits upon His reformist servants.

a-A reformer does not grieve and there is no fear concerning one who reforms:

{So whoever believes and reforms – there will be no fear concerning them nor will they grieve}. (Cattle, verse 48)

b-A reformer’s reward is due from Allah:

{Whoever pardons and reforms - his reward is [due] from Allah}. (The Consultation, verse 40)

c- Reform prevents punishment:

{And your Lord would not have destroyed the cities unjustly while their people were reformers}. (Hud, verse 117)

2) Reformation is the Aim of the Prophets (peace be upon them)

The Holy Quran mentions that reform is a main aim of all Prophets (peace be upon them). This is why their messages emphasized reform alongside prohibiting corruption and striving to eliminate all its forms.

Most of the suffering of the Prophets, their successors, and the Imams (peace be upon them) was due to their reformatory plans and activity which did not please those individuals whose interests depended on the spread of corruption. They feared that reform would threaten their interests and thus they opposed it through various ways and

² Tawhid Magazine, No.97, p 130

with all their efforts; through pressure, promising rewards to whoever abandoned reform, threatening reformists and imprisoning, torturing, banishing, and even murdering them.

Tyrants and worldly sovereigns did not fear religious ideology which did not oppose corruption or which did not call people to confront it. They were pleased with individuals who offered religious justification for the authority's corruptive acts and opposition to reform. They rewarded such individuals with money and gifts and strove to pay people money to buy their consciences and supportive stances

This is why tyrants were interested in religion and strove to benefit from it- even if that meant distorting religion or driving people to abandon it through various ways. This is the reason why religious reform was a main aim of the Prophets (peace be upon them). The Holy Quran states certain matters concerning this issue.

a- Prohibition of Corruption

Allah says in the Holy Quran: {Do not cause corruption in the earth after its reformation} (The Heights, verse 56).

There are many interpretations for this holy verse. In one interpretation, Imam Muhammad Al-Baqir (peace be upon him) explained that the earth was corrupt, and Allah reformed it by His Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household). There is no doubt that religious reform was one of the most important aims of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household).

b- The Reform of Prophet Shu'ayb (peace be upon him)

{I only intend reform as much as I am able} (Hud, verse 88).

The Holy Quran mentions the corruption which was widespread in the society of Prophet Shu'ayb (peace be upon him) who warned his people about corruption and its consequences. He told them: {Do not commit mischief in the land, causing corruption}(Hud, verse 85).

He informed them that he only wanted reform through his message, and that his message was a reformatory one.

c- Reform Results in Benefit:

{And do not cause corruption in the earth after its reformation. That is better for you} (The Heights, verse 85).

Allah prohibits corruption in the earth after its reformation and He clarifies that reform results in benefits for humans. It is doubtless that these benefits are not restricted to a certain sphere but encompass many domains such as society and economics.

3-Human Reformation

Even though the Holy Quran mentions reform generally, but it also refers in some verses to reform in certain domains. The Quran propels people toward general reform through displaying its effects in the worldly life and the hereafter. In addition to this, the Holy Quran specifies and explains the importance of human reform on many individual and social levels.

a- Reform in the Family

The Quran mentions reconciliation between spouses:

{There is no sin upon them if they make terms of reconciliation between them - and reconciliation is better}. (The Women, verse 128)

b- Reconciliation between People

The Quran emphasizes the necessity of reconciliation between people and links it to piety since piety inevitably results in reform. Allah says: {So fear Allah and set your relations straight}. (The Spoils of War, verse 1)

c- Reconciliation between Believers

Allah says in the Holy Quran: {The believers are but brothers, so make reconciliation between your brothers}. (The Chambers, verse 10)

d- Reconciliation between Religious Sects

{And if two groups of believers fight each other then make reconciliation between them}. (The Chambers, verse 9)

Thus, we can conclude from the aforementioned explication that the Noble Quran gives special significance to reform and considers it an essential religious issue. The Holy Quran mentions many aspects of reform which render it as an important aim of Prophets (peace be upon them), and it demonstrates some of their reformatory feats in ancient history. It also grants reform an aspect of devoutness and it is doubtless that piety is the basis of religion.

The Greatest Reformer

The greatest reformer ever is Allah's Messenger Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household). He led the greatest enterprise for reform in humanity and made an effort to establish reform in all domains- religion, politics, society, and education.

The enterprise for reformation which he led was related to the divine outlook on creation and life, and to religious philosophy concerning human existence, taking into account that man has a free choice, a purpose which is to know God, and a yearning for perfection, welfare and happiness. God entrusted man with the divine charge and made him His vicegerent on earth.

Therefore, religious reform was a main aim of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household) which he undertook by confronting polytheism and all erroneous pre-Islamic religious beliefs which had shackled society and prevented man from proceeding to achieve happiness. The target of his monotheistic reformatory movement was the inaccurate religious beliefs which were widespread in that era.

The pre-Islamic society was not an irreligious society; people had a religion but it was full of false doctrines and incorrect beliefs that had an impact on people's convictions and concepts. { You have your religion and I have mine } (The Disbelievers, verse 6)

It is clear that the doctrines of a populace have an effect on society, politics, and education.

The belief that Allah has sole power over causes and effects (meaning that He created these causes and effects and gave them the capacity to affect and that he is able to deprive them of this capacity), that nothing can be hidden from Him, and that He is merciful and clement to the believers, contributes to the formation of an awareness which becomes manifest in all the behavior of an individual. It also contributes to the formation of new convictions on political and social levels.

A Prophet's enterprise might not succeed in attaining a fixed result at the level of political and economic reform –like what happened to Prophet Shu'ayb (peace be upon him). However, this does not mean that the reformation process completely failed. Even in instances when people rejected the prophets and opposed their enterprises – usually bringing divine punishment upon themselves- religious reform could make a number of achievements or gain certain ground.

The religious reform of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household) covered both the periods in Mecca and in Medina because there were still remnants of the false religious beliefs of Pre-Islam. It was possible that under certain circumstances those beliefs would have emerged and posed a threat upon the Divine Message.

Imam Ali (peace be upon him) said, describing Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household):

“[Through Prophet Mohammad], Allah revealed the unknown legislations, quelled heresies [which had entered into religion], and clarified separated laws.”³

Up till now, it is clear that religious reform does not only mean the formation of a new sect based upon a religious view which was able to mark off an old sect through discovering the errors, deficiencies and the invalidity of a set of its creeds or its deviation. Religious reform includes the emergence of a reformatory religion which opposes another religion filled with false beliefs, lies, and myths just like what happened in the confrontation between Islam and polytheism.

The religious reform of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household) which he strove to apply was able to achieve great success. He wanted to establish reform and increasingly put it in effect after his death. Thus, the Infallible Imamate was the extension of the Prophet’s role, and the Imams continued in the performance of all the duties of the Prophet. Only Revelation ended with his death.

Imamate represented the fortress of religious reform, the protection of religion, and the resistance towards intellectual, doctrinal, and jurisprudential misconceptions which might surface - depending on certain circumstances and on the means of the authority - to take a place in religious knowledge.

Hence, the Imams had great and crucial responsibilities to fulfill. Economic, political, or social reform might suffer a retreat and this causes great damage. It is necessary to combat corruption on all of these levels, but if corruption takes place at the level of religious knowledge then the ensuing harm will not be limited to the specific period when these religious misconceptions emerged, but will extend to other subsequent periods.

It is important to state that under certain circumstances it might be difficult to fulfill political, social, or economic reform. However, it remains easier to carry out religious reform and maintain its accomplishments, even if only in certain domains in a way which does not directly raise the suspicions of the authority.

It is true that religious reform- even in certain domains- cannot be separated from politics and society at the theoretical level, but they can be separated during implementation.

This separation might be necessary under some political and social conditions. Thus, it is better for the reformist to fulfill reform in the limits of religious knowledge and to proceed quietly and on a small-scale for the sake of preserving the reformation process and its endurance. At times, certain circumstances and conditions are not yet convenient

³ Nahjul Balagha: Speech 161

for the shift of the reformation process to the social level, and this poses a threat to the entire reformation process.

Here, I can briefly state that the Imams (peace be upon them) took charge of the duty of religious reform and were able to accomplish many achievements despite the difficult circumstances and critical phases they lived in.

The Reform of Imam Ali (peace be upon him)

After the death of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household), the state of the Caliphate emerged. This made way for the possibility of committing errors on many levels of religious knowledge because the view was that whoever possessed political authority had religious authorities. This view had been previously manifested in Prophet Muhammad's leadership of the Islamic society in all domains. Religion encompasses all life aspects such as doctrine, society, and conduct, and Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household) presented to people what would guide them in matters of the worldly life and the hereafter.

Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household) took charge of all aspects. For example: He did not neglect the practical aspect of Islam while stressing the theoretical aspect and nor did he emphasize practice while neglecting religious knowledge. In fact, he cared for both. Thus, the Caliphs strove to apply that view which had solidified up till that time and to benefit from it in the administration of state and society.

The result of this connection between politics and religion sometimes led the Caliphs to adopt certain stances which Imam Ali (peace be upon him) did not agree with because they contradicted with the legacy of knowledge which he had inherited from Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household). Many people acknowledged that he possessed this legacy of knowledge.

It should be noted that the discussion of Imam Ali's religious reform requires us to methodologically display his intellectual rank. When we prove that the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him and his Household) assigned Imam Ali as the authority on religious knowledge for Muslims so that he would clarify religious texts and have the final word in epistemology, then Imam Ali becomes the criterion for any religious reform; what he accepts is right and what he refuses is rejected at the religious level.

Sheikh Al-Mufid specifies an entire chapter in his book: "Al-Ershad" under the heading: "Imam Ali (peace be upon him) Was the Most Knowledgeable Man", in which he mentions some sayings of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household):

Ibn Abbas said: “I heard the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him and his Household) say: ‘Ali son of Abu Talib is the most knowledgeable in my Nation and the one who judges best [in issues which the Muslims] disagree upon after me.’ ”

Hamza Ibn Abi Sa’id Al-Khidri said: “I heard the Messenger of Allah say: “I am the City of Knowledge and Ali is its Gate. Whoever wants knowledge should acquire it from Ali.”

Abdullah Ibn Massoud said: “The Messenger of Allah summoned Ali and spoke with him in private. When [Ali] returned to us, we asked him what the Prophet had entrusted him with. He said: “The Messenger of Allah taught me a thousand gates of knowledge, and each gate opened a thousand one for me.”

Asbagh Bin Nabatah said: “When people pledged allegiance to Imam Ali’s Caliphate, he went to the mosque wearing the turban of the Messenger of Allah and his garments. He ascended the platform, praised Allah, and preached people and warned them. Then he sat firmly, crossed his fingers, and placed them on his lower belly. He said: ‘O’ people! Ask me before you lose me. Ask me, for I have the knowledge of those who came earlier and those who will come last. By Allah, if the cushion (on which a judge sits) were folded for me (to sit on), I could give judgments to the people of the Torah according to their Torah, to the people of the Gospel according to their Gospel, to the people of Psalms according their Psalms, and to the people of the Quran according to their Quran, so that each one of these books will shine and declare, “O Lord, indeed Ali has given judgment according to Your decree.” By Allah, I know the Qur’an and its interpretation (more) than anyone who claims knowledge of a word. If it were not for one verse in the Book of Allah, I would have informed you of what will be until the Day of Resurrection.’

Then he said: ‘Ask me before you lose me, for by Him Who split the seed and brought the soul into being, if you question me about a [certain] verse, I will tell you the time of its revelation and concerning whom it was revealed, I would inform you about the abrogating (verse) and the abrogated, of the specific and general, of the clearly defined and the ambiguous, and of the Meccan and the Medinan. By Allah, there is no group until Resurrection Day [which] I [do not] know its leader, the one who drives it forward, and the one who urges it on.’ ”⁴

After this demonstration, Sheikh Al-Mufid concludes with the following statement: “There are other such narrations that would make the book long [if we were to mention them].”

The intellectual prominence of Imam Ali (peace be upon him) protected religion from any factor which would lead to any change in its laws and concepts. Imam Ali

⁴ Volume 1, p 33-34-35

(peace be upon him) strove to keep Islam pure from any deviation. Imam Ali Hadi (peace be upon him) addressed Imam Ali with a salutation on the day of Ghadir:

“My lord, through you Right appeared after people had rejected it, and by you Sunnahs were clarified after having been effaced and concealed.”⁵

In his book, Sayed Murtada Al-Askari mentions the issue of using discretion against the Quran and Sunnah by some of the Prophet’s companions and its consequences on religious knowledge. After giving examples on the discretions of some companions, he says:

“In what we previously mentioned, we have seen the discretions of the companions of the Prophet, the followers, and the Caliphs, especially in Islamic laws where they acted upon their opinions and discretions against the Quran and Sunnah in the belief that they were gaining an advantage in rule or something else...”⁶

Sayed Al-Askari refers to certain instances where discretions were resorted to against religious texts⁷, and so did Sayed Abdul Hussein Charafeddine in his book “Discretion against the Text” where he mentions instances of the discretions of the Caliphs and others. One of the instances he mentions is the issue of the endowment of the land of Fadak⁸ upon Lady Fatima (peace be upon her) by her father Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household).

Imam Ali (peace be upon him) mentioned this in his letter to Othman son of Hanif, the governor he assigned over Basra, where he said: “Yes, Fadak had been the only area in our hands among all areas that were under the sky, but some people coveted it while others withheld themselves from it, and Allah is the best of judges...”

He also mentions how Lady Fatima (peace be upon her) was denied the inheritance which her father had allotted to her. She objected to the seizure of her rights, saying:

“Have you intentionally discarded the Book of Allah and left it behind your backs, when the Holy Book says {Solomon inherited from David}, and in the story of Zachariah, when he said, {Therefore, grant me, by your grace, O Lord, a successor who will inherit me and inherit from the family of Jacob}. [The Book] states: {And the people related by blood relations to one another are first and foremost for one another}, and again [the Book] states: {Allah commands you in respect of your children, that for the son it will be double of what is for the daughter}, and [once again the Book of Allah] says, {When you are about to die, it is good that you make a testimony in regards to your parents and near ones in a manner that is good, because that is the right and true thing for the pious to do}; and you now assert that there is no benefit and inheritance for me from my father?

⁵ Mafatih Al-Jinan, Abbas Al-Qumi, p 463

⁶ Ma’alem Al-Madrasatayn , volume 2, p 381

⁷ Ibid., p 74-299

⁸ Ibid., p 123-131

Has Allah specified you in the verse of the Holy Quran and excluded my father from it? Are you more knowledgeable in the specifics and generalities of the Quran than my father and cousin, or do you say that the people of the two communities do not inherit from one another?⁹

Here, a question arises concerning the reason why the Caliphs contradicted the Quran and the Sunnah and resorted to discretion?

The Caliphs' taking charge of political and social authority entailed the fulfillment of many responsibilities concerning implementation of religion and religious knowledge- a duty entrusted to the head of the Islamic state. Thus, the authority faced one of two choices. The first choice was to resort in all ambiguous issues to Imamate which was represented by Imam Ali (peace be upon him). This meant acknowledgement of his religious authority- a matter which had political denotations that the ruling authority intensely feared. The second choice was to take charge of religious knowledge without referring to the Imam, and this course of action would give rise to errors in religious conduct and in the presentation of true Islam.

Imam Ali (peace be upon him) sensed their insistence to rule notwithstanding the results, and it was impossible to change the situation by military action. He followed a political course of action based on being peaceful as long as the affairs of the Islamic society were secure and Islam was safe and this somewhat reduced the fears of the ruling authority.

Imam Ali (peace be upon him) stated this in a political speech where he said: " Then I began to think whether I should assault... or endure calmly the blinding darkness of tribulations wherein the grown up are made feeble and the young grow old and the true believer acts under strain till he meets Allah (on his death). I found that endurance thereon was wiser. So I adopted patience although there was pricking in the eye and suffocation in the throat." ¹⁰

He also said:

"By Allah, I will keep peace as long as the affairs of Muslims are secured, and harm was imposed on me in particular."

He was willing to give up his personal rights under the condition that the ruling authority should act like the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) and adhere to the laws of Allah and to the Sunnah.

⁹Page 115-122

¹⁰ Nahjul Balagha: Ash-Shiqshiqiyah speech

However, the authority was uneasy concerning the evidence on the prominence of the Imam (peace be upon him) in religious knowledge. Thus, the authority strove to keep the Prophet's Household away from the scene- especially from the aspect of religious texts which linked Imamate to politics. Those in authority considered that if they adhered to those texts, the results would have an unfavorable effect on their maintenance of power. In addition to this, the Sunnah of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) included many sayings which signified Imam Ali's leadership and right of succession after the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household). Therefore, the authority faced a serious problem, and it contemplated what to do with respect to the narrations which abolished its legitimacy.

The great number of narrations which indicated the rightful succession of Imam Ali (peace be upon him) proved to be a dilemma for the authority which contemplated what course it should take. It could either let those narrations spread- and this did not serve the political interest of the Caliphate- or it could undertake harsh measures against those narrations even though this might lead to unfavorable results in the Islamic nation which would not serve the interests of the religious experience. Nonetheless, it was necessary to take a certain stance and the authority preferred to maintain its political legitimacy so it burned the Prophet's narrations, prevented people from writing what they had learned from him¹¹, and strove to gather all the prominent narrators so that they would not spread narrations in the Islamic regions. This undoubtedly caused a lot of harm to befall religious knowledge.

Sayed Charafeddine (may Allah bless his soul) says in this concern:

"If the Sunnah had been recorded in that era in a book which the nation sanctified then liars would have not been able to fabricate false narrations. However, since that did not happen, there was an increase in liars who attributed false narrations to the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household), politicians distorted narrations, and there was a [system] of propaganda to ruin the Sunnah, especially in the era of Muawiyah and his oppressive faction, where a mess of impostors and falsehoods spread."¹²

In the face of all of these events, it was necessary for Imam Ali (peace be upon him) to strive to preserve the legacy of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household), to protect his Sunnah from perishing, and to take the initiative in confronting the instances of discretion against the Quran and the Sunnah so that the false texts would not transform to a religious source.

Thus, Imam Ali was the leader of the movement of religious reform which the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) had commenced and entrusted to the Infallible Imams so that religion would reach people free and pure from any deviation or distortion.

¹¹ Al-Ijtihad fi Mukabel A-Nas, p. 164-167

¹² Ibid.

The following Imams (peace be upon them) took charge of this duty and strove with great effort to transmit the Prophet's legacy to the Islamic nation. They fulfilled this by instructing a group of scholars who took responsibility of such a heavy task and were keen to protect religion even if it led to sacrificing their sons and souls. This is what happened with the Masters of the Youth of Heaven, Imam Hassan and Imam Hussein (peace be upon them).

The Religious Reform of Imam Hassan (peace be upon him)

Many researchers have studied Imam Hassan's experience through all its aspects including the political one -namely the peace treaty with Muawiyah- and these studies have yielded a number of results.

Contemplation of the different aspects of the peace treaty will inevitably lead to different conclusions, but each conclusion remains partial and incomplete. One of the mistakes which some researchers make is studying history from a certain aspect. For example: If someone studies history taking only economics into consideration, then the criterion of success and failure, victory and defeat, and loss and gain will only depend on economics. Likewise is the case if a person studies history from the political aspect, for example.

However, when we want to study the life of an Infallible Imam in the course of historical events, we should regard that he wanted to fulfill the goals of Imamate and strove to take full responsibility of his duties. This necessitates that we should study the philosophy of Imamate and the roles of the Imam.

The purpose of the Prophet's presence is similar to the Imam's, but the only difference is that the Prophet has a divine message and revelation. The role of the Imam is to guide mankind, to clarify religious laws, to protect religion from any distortion, and to assume political and social responsibilities.

Therefore, when we intend to study the life of an Imam in history, we should not only look at the political aspect while being heedless of the religious aspect. We should consider historical outcomes in the light of all the aims and duties of Imamate.

Sometimes we might not reach a result concerning certain limited political actions but we might achieve important results on the level of religious knowledge and other roles of Imamate. Therefore, there is an essential outcome which we should consider with great care.

Even though the peace treaty of Imam Hassan (peace be upon him) led to the loss of political authority, but through the treaty the Imam (peace be upon him) was able to strike a blow to the credibility of the political course of the Umayyad authority. He was able to

expose that the Umayyads had no consideration for religion and that they did not heed religious values.

The unveiling of the deviation of the Umayyad authority from Islam was a main aim of the Imams. Exposure of the irreligiousness of the Umayyad authority would not allow that authority any religious justification for its erroneous actions, and would fail its attempts to form a school of thought or ideology under the guise of religion.

Thus, the exposure of the deceitful Umayyad scheme and showing that the Umayyads took from religion what was convenient to them and rejected what did not serve their interests was an essential and important achievement. This was important not only for its political outcomes, but also for the relevant effects concerning religious knowledge and the deliverance of religion to the following generations free from any distortion or alteration.

The Religious Reform of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him)

There is no doubt that every revolution has a set of short and long term aims, and likewise is the revolution of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him).

What was the aim –or set of aims- of Imam Hussein’s revolution through which we can determine if the revolution achieved success or not? If it did achieve success, then to what extent was it successful?

There is a set of questions to consider, but the main issue is to determine the aim or multiple aims of the revolution.

Some researchers consider that the revolution had only one aim but they have not agreed upon this aim. Was it to gain authority, awaken the will of the nation, eliminate the religious and political legitimacy of the authority, or to expose the reality of the Umayyad authority through the crimes it committed on the Day of ‘Ashura and after that?

It is not accurate to limit the aims of the revolution to only one aim. There was a set of aims which constituted an entire enterprise that the leadership of the revolution wanted to achieve.

First, we shall discuss each aim separately to see if the revolution was concerned with only one aim or more.

1- Awaking the Nation's Will

The researcher who thinks that awakening the nation's will was the purpose of Imam Hussein’s revolution believes that the Imam knew he was going to be martyred in

Karbala even before he revolted. The Imam (peace be upon him) wanted his revolution to be an echoing event which would stir the Islamic nation's conscience and awaken its will which had weakened to the extent that it had become accustomed to oppression and corruption.

The Islamic nation was aware of the deviation and reprehensible acts of the Umayyad authority, but it had lost the ability to reform or this ability was weakened in a way that it was not expected that the Islamic nation would carry out a reformatory act which would eradicate the corruption of the Umayyad authority.

Sayyed Mohammad Baker Al-Sadder adopted this view as Sayed Kazim Al-Haeiri states in his book titled "Imamate and the Leadership of Society". He writes:

"Our teacher the martyr Sayyed Mohammad Baker Al-Sader considered that the nation had been suffering from the ailment of doubt in the period of Muawiyah Bin Abi Sufian. Imam Hassan (peace be upon him) treated this ailment through his treaty with Muawiyah. In the period of Yazid, the nation had been cured of that ailment. It knew the Truth and those who represented it, and it knew falsehood and those who represented it. However, another ailment affected it which was the loss of will or conscience. There was no cure other than Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) sacrificing his self, family, and companions in order to stir dead consciences and to revive courage and will. This is what happened and the expected results subsequently occurred."¹³

2-Gaining Authority

Some think that the purpose of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) was to reach rule and establish an Islamic State. He did not intend to be martyred and was not aware of his martyrdom. He went to Kufa because the social and political circumstances indicated that the conditions of the revolution had been fulfilled and that only the announcement of revolution and the attainment of victory were left. However, some circumstances arose which tipped the military scales in favor of the Umayyad authority and prevented the revolution from achieving its purpose.

Some individuals who hold this view consider that the martyrdom of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) was a huge loss for Islam, and that Islam would have benefited more from the Imam's existence than his martyrdom.

Sayed Al-Hayeri mentions what the writer Najaf Abadi stated in his book "Shahid Jawid":

"How can the martyrdom of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) be considered a victory for Islam? Is it his martyrdom or his presence among people which would lead to

¹³ Page 179

their guidance? Did the martyrdom of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) unmask Yazid son of Muawiyah who had been already notorious for drinking wine, debauchery, and depravity? Did his martyrdom strengthen the Shiites and their revolutionary movements such as the Movement A-Tawabin, of Mukhtar Al-Thakafi, and of Suleiman Al-Khouzai which were all aborted, their leaders killed, and none achieved their aims?"¹⁴

3-Elimination of the Umayyad Authority's Political and Religious Legitimacy

Some think that the purpose of Imam Hussein's revolution was not to reach rule because he already knew that his movement would culminate in his martyrdom. Thus, the attainment of rule was not the true purpose of his revolution.

It is doubtless that we should evaluate this revolution taking its aim into account. If it achieved its aim then it has succeeded, and if it did not achieve its aim then it has failed.

The aim of Imam Hussein's revolution was to eliminate the Umayyad authority's religious and political legitimacy. It was well known that Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) was the Prophet's grandson and that his grandfather had praised him in many instances. It was known that the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) had said that he was the Master of the Youth of Heaven, and that he was an Imam whether he rose or sat.

The Islamic Nation was aware of Imam Hussein's great religious and social status, the high rank Allah endowed him with, and his high standing in the eyes of his grandfather (peace be upon him and his Household). Thus, killing Imam Hussein (peace be upon him), his family, and his companions in such a brutal way would remove the façade behind which the Umayyad authority concealed its corruption and deviation, and would destroy its religious pretense.

The Umayyad authority's execution of such an abominable crime against the Prophet's Household would lead to the elimination of its political and religious legitimacy which that authority had spoken about and striven to attain through taking allegiance from the most prominent individuals in the Islamic society. Through Imam Hussein's martyrdom, that legitimacy would crumble down and would never be restored.

It must be pointed out that what we mean is not that the Umayyad authority had political legitimacy before the martyrdom of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him), and that it lost it afterward! What is meant is that Imam Hussein's martyrdom revealed in the clearest way the falsity of the Umayyad authority's political legitimacy and that all its

¹⁴ Ibid., p 178

attempts to present itself as a legitimate political authority for the Islamic Nation were useless.

The Umayyad authority had striven to establish a school of thought to give its political actions religious legitimacy because political legitimacy arose from religious legitimacy in that era. The Umayyad authority made considerable advances in the establishment of such a school of thought through fabricating narrations which praised Muawiyah and vilified Imam Ali (peace be upon him). It was known that the issue was not personal because spreading such narrations and cursing Imam Ali (peace be upon him) on pulpits were an expression of the authority's opposition against his school of thought. This indicates that the Umayyad authority made a diligent effort to destruct the moral picture and religious authority of the Prophet's Household because this would isolate them from the Islamic nation.

In addition to this, the Umayyad authority strove to spread and popularize many ideological sects such as Postponement and Determinism to form an ideological system which would justify all the acts of the Umayyad rulers even if they contradicted with Islam.

Thus, the martyrdom of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) would deal the fatal blow to the Umayyad authority's school of thought because it would turn the Umayyad scheme into an overpowering force unaccepted by the nation, society, or religion. Therefore, any change in the military scales would completely eliminate the Umayyad scheme.

The imminent threat of the Umayyad scheme was that it would leave behind an intellectual and religious legacy which would lead to deviation in epistemology. Such a legacy would commence in that era but it would not be known when-or if- it would end and how many calamities it would cause.

The threat lay in that the Umayyad authority would represent Islam in politics, economics, and sociology. Thus, such a representation would become an inaccurate way of understanding the religion of Islam.

Imam Hussein's revolution aimed at exposing the Umayyad authority and eliminating any possibility of attributing it to Islam or considering that it represented the Islamic way of rule. Such beliefs would have led to a distorted perception of Islam leading people to abandon religion and to face it with a negative attitude.

It is not accurate to say that the Umayyad authority had been exposed by the actions of its leaders and governors and that its deviation was evident for the entire Islamic nation to see. The Umayyad authority strove to use religion to justify their acts, paid money to gain the support of some scholars who coveted wealth, and used media to improve their image through justification and beguilement which would conceal what was actually happening.

Therefore, it was necessary that an exceptional action should be carried out and that a great event such as the martyrdom of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) should occur. It would directly lead to undermining the Umayyad authority religiously and socially, and the consequences would pave the way for the authority's inevitable downfall.

It is shallow to state that the Umayyad authority had been exposed religiously, politically, and socially. Historical facts prove that the Umayyad scheme threatened religion and that it had achieved progress in its plot and pursuit to attain its goals. It was necessary that martyrdom would occur, Imam Hussein's blood to be shed, and the tragedy of Karbala to befall. That would signify the establishment of a reformatory movement and a revolution which would not cease before achieving the intended goals – one of which was to destroy the Umayyad scheme and to eliminate all its remnants.

That great historical event proves that the Imams were fulfilling the roles of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household); delivering and clarifying religion, and protecting it from any exploitation or deviation.

The main concern was to protect religion and guide society. Thus, it was necessary to stand in the face of the Islamic nation's immobility and weakness which had affected its ability to reform. The Imams (peace be upon them) embarked upon doing what would eliminate that immobility which threatened the Islamic nation's awareness through the Umayyad corruption and means of media. The Imams (peace be upon them) intended to turn weakness into strength and determination. Thus, Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) rose to fulfill his reformatory enterprise which signified religious, intellectual, and political reform. This paved the way for the elimination of the Umayyad authority and its corruption.

Had Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) been aware of his martyrdom?

After giving a summary of the revolution's possible aims, we ask: what was the aim- or set of aims- which Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) strove to achieve and which entailed such great sacrifices to attain?

To find out the answer of this question we should first determine if Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) had known about his martyrdom before he revolted.

The answer requires that we should refer to his speeches and the letters he sent prior to his rising and before the military scales shifted in favor of the Umayyad authority. Did his words imply that he had known of the revolution's outcome?

It is clear when contemplating more than one of his quotations that he had been aware of his martyrdom at Karbala.

1- When Omar Al-Atraf the son of Imam Ali (peace be upon him) said to him: “My brother Hassan told me that you will be killed”, he replied: “My father told me that my grandfather the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him and his Household) had told him that he and I will be killed and that his resting place will be close to mine. Do you think that you know what I do not know? By Allah, I shall never yield to lowliness.”¹⁵

2- When Um Salama found out about his decision to leave Medina, she said to him: “O son! Do not make me sad by your departure to Iraq. I heard your grandfather, the Messenger of Allah say: ‘My son Hussein will be killed in Iraq at a place named Karbala’.”

Imam Hussein answered her: “O mother, I know that I will be killed and that my head will be unjustly and oppressively severed. Allah the Glorious and Exalted has willed to see my women and kin displaced and my children slaughtered, taken captive, and bound while crying for aid and receiving none.”¹⁶

3- Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) sent a letter to the Hashemite clan in which he wrote:

“In the name of Allah the most Gracious, the most Merciful, from Hussein the son of Ali to Muhammad the son of Ali and the sons of Hashem...: Those among you who will follow us will be martyred and those who will lag behind will not reach victory, may peace [be upon you].”¹⁷

4- Imam Hussein’s brother Muhammad Ben Hanfiya had asked him not to leave for Iraq and he said to him: “Have you not promised me to consider what I asked you?”

Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) answered him: “Yes, but after I left you the Messenger of Allah came to me [in my dream] and said: ‘O Hussein depart, for Allah has willed to see you a martyr... and to see [the women] captives.’”¹⁸

There are many other texts which indicate that Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) had known about his fate. However, he was determined to revolt for reasons that were not linked to his survival but which depended upon his martyrdom and the tragedy of Karbala.

Analysis of the Revolution's Aims

If we discuss those aims in the light of this historic given, we must say that there is no reason to speak of the second aim which is to reach rule and establish an Islamic

¹⁵ Safahat Min Tarikh Karbala, page 217

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., p :219

¹⁸ Ibid., p :221

government because this aim requires the survival of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him). If Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) had previously known about his martyrdom, this means that gaining rule was not his true aim. It remains to say that seeking rule was rightful and one of the duties of Imamate. Political power was one of the means to establish justice, promote virtue, prevent vice, reform society, and guide people.

Accordingly, Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) was seeking rule not for its worldly gain but for its functional, reformatory, and social aspect- even though he knew that he would not attain power.

Perhaps this is what Imam Khomeini meant when he said about Imam Hussein (peace be upon him): "He had not wanted to make an attempt and risk his movement to know if he would succeed or not. He revolted in order to obtain the reins of government, and this was a source of pride for him. Those who think that the Master of Martyrs (peace be upon him) did not rise to take power are wrong. He rose with his companions to take rule because governance should be [in the hands] of those similar to the Master of Martyrs (peace be upon him)..."¹⁹

Thus, gaining power was not the true aim of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) since he had known in advance that it would not be accomplished. Thus, the true purpose should have been something else. Was it to revive the will of the nation, or to disarm the Umayyad authority and scheme from its political and religious legitimacy as a prelude to bring that power down?

There is no doubt that these two aims have some things in common that can contribute to combine and consolidate them. Revival of the will of the nation means triggering its determination to overthrow the Umayyad authority and eliminate the political, social, and economic corruption. One of the objectives of the elimination of the political and religious legitimacy of the Umayyad authority and of its school of thought was the downfall of the Umayyads from power. Their downfall would bring an end to their entire scheme and its entailments for a very simple reason which is that the strength of the Umayyad scheme was based on the strength of authority itself, which meant political and military power.

Political power meant the ability of the authority to control the political process, even if in a way which did not take religious regulations and the principles of political actions –which were inherited from the previous experience of Islamic governance- into consideration, and even if it was not inspired by the Islamic view on authority and its duties.

In addition to that, they can have some things in common on the outcome in the sense that the revival of the nation's will was for the purpose of a comprehensive reformatory process on the political, social, religious, cultural, and intellectual levels.

Intellectual reform should be taken into account in the reformation enterprise which aims to stir the nation's will so that the nation applies it and turns it into a reality.

¹⁹ Nahdat Ashouraa, p 48

We can say that in addition to the consequences of Imam Hussein's movement on the Umayyad scheme, this movement had important effects on the Islamic community as a whole. It offered a vibrant, innovative, and effective example of sacrifice and struggle for the defense of religion and reform in society. There is no doubt that the effects of that example would eliminate a large proportion of the concepts which had been embedded, in one way or another, in the consciousness of the Islamic society. Such concepts had been infiltrated and solidified by the authority's media and the cultural policy which the authority had striven to spread in order to contribute to the stability and endurance of their power.

Imam Hussein's movement eradicated that authoritarian ideology of inactivity and justification in favor of building a new culture of struggle and martyrdom. His movement became a great example for all subsequent Islamic generations to defend religion, reform society, and resist injustice.

We must pay attention that when we refer to reform or change on the cultural and intellectual levels we specifically mean religious reform because the only source of knowledge that was reliable in the creation of general Islamic awareness was religious knowledge.

The process of religious reform - on the cultural, intellectual and educational levels - would be a prelude for social, political and economic reform. It would change the corrupt reality in that period because people's awareness in the Islamic community at that time was not based on the separation between religion - in its specific meaning - and politics, society, and economics.

This view does not limit the aims of Imam Hussein's revolution to religious reform, but it signifies that religious reform - in the sense that we have referred to - is one of the essential aims of that revolution - including reform on the other levels.

As a summary, we can state that the first view considers that the revolution wanted to stir the nation's will in order to carry out a reformatory enterprise. The second view indicates that the revolution aimed for reform on all levels: religious, political, and social. Therefore, there is no contrast between these two views and they are complementary to one another.

I do not think that the first view denies the aspect of religious reform in the revolution's enterprise. If we refer to the revolution's statements, we will find that religious reform was obvious therein and in the cultural-informative message directed to the nation at that time. Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) said in the letter which he sent to the prominent men of Basra:

"... and I call upon you to abide by Allah's Book and his Prophet's Sunnah, for the Sunnah has been slain and heresy has been revived. If you listen to what I say I shall guide you to the right way. Peace be upon you and Allah's mercy and blessings".²⁰

He (peace be upon him) also said in his speech in front of people at Al-Bayda:

"Those people have attached themselves to the obedience of Satan, forsaken submission to the Merciful, shown corruption, violated divine limits, restricted the benefit from spoils to themselves, legitimized what Allah forbade, and forbade what Allah permitted..."²¹

The Umayyad authority made a relentless pursuit to eliminate the religious and intellectual authority of the Imamate. It fabricated narrations for the purpose of opposing the authority of the Prophet's Household and for creating a system of religious²² and legislative concepts which justified their political interests. One of these concepts was the necessity of obeying the Imam even if he were tyrannical and oppressive. The figures of the Umayyad authority extensively referred to such misleading concepts in their speech, especially in their dialogue with the leaders of Imam Hussein's revolution and its men.

These concepts included the necessity of preserving the community even if it were astray for it was forbidden to be against the group, abandon it, or separate Muslims. Another concept was the unlawfulness of breaking allegiance to the leader even if he were tyrannical, sinful, dissolute, and did not adhere to religion or the Prophet's Sunnah. In what follows, we shall give some historical samples that show us the use of such logic.

After capturing Muslim son of 'Aqeel, Ibn Ziad said to him:

"O dissident, you revolted against your imam and caused dissension among Muslims?"

'Amr Bin Hajaj, one of the commanders in the army of Kufa, justified what they committed in Karbala by saying: "We did not disobey our leader, nor did we separate from the community".

When Muawiyah decided to take allegiance for his son Yazid, he went to Medina to force the opponents there to pledge allegiance to Yazid. Amongst the opponents was Aisha, the Prophet's wife, so to persuade her to pledge allegiance, he said:

"All Muslims have pledged allegiance to Yazid. Do you accept that I abolish it as if it never were, and for people to break their pledges?"²³

²⁰ Safhat Min Tarikh Karbala, p :221

²¹ Ibid., p 232

²² To be discussed in details later

²³ Refer to: Rasoul Jaafarian, (Translation of title): "The Intellectual and Political Life of the Imams of the Prophet's Household", Volume 1, p 136-139

Religious Reform in the vision of Imam Khomeini and the Leader Syyed Khamenei

As a result of these actions, religion and its endurance became under threat, as the following saying of Imam Khomeini (may God bless his soul) indicates: "After the death of the Final Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) – the founder of justice and freedom- Islam was almost demolished and eliminated due to the deviations of the Umayyads. It was almost crushed under the feet of the oppressors and smashed by tyrants. Thus, the Master of Martyrs (peace be upon him) rose to launch the great revolution of Ashura".²⁴

Imam Khomeini also says: "The tyrannical government of Yazid and his henchmen was almost about to eliminate Islam and waste the strenuous efforts of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household), the efforts of Muslims in early Islam, and the blood of martyrs and to cast them in the corner of oblivion."²⁵

Imam Khamenei (May Allah preserve him) says:

"Worship, supplication, imploration, seclusion of oneself at the Prophet's mosque, and moral and spiritual exertions formed one part of the issue while the other part was his avid pursuit to spread knowledge and awareness, and to confront distortion. At that time, distortion was the greatest moral challenge which threatened Islam. It flowed like a sweeping flood of corruption and [was like] stagnant water in the minds of the people of the Islamic Nation. That era witnessed the [Umayyad order] for provinces, countries, and Muslim nations to curse the greatest figure in the history of Islam."²⁶

Imam Khamenei also says about Imam Hussein (peace be upon him): "...concerning the domain of knowledge, he was diligent in combating distortion, in spreading divine laws, and in educating disciples and important figures..."²⁷

He also says: "It happens frequently that people go astray, but the laws of Islam remain sound. However, at other times, people go astray and rulers, scholars, and preachers become corrupt and distort the Quran and facts. Good deeds change to evil deeds and evil deeds become good deeds, virtue becomes vice and vice becomes virtue. Islam becomes significantly distorted. Therefore, what is the religious responsibility if the Islamic regime and society become afflicted with such a matter?"²⁸

He answers: "Islam was distorted in the era of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) and it was the right time [to rise] and it became necessary to revolt, for the one who assumed authority after Muawiyah did not even comply with expressing Islam."²⁹

²⁴ Nahdat Ashura, p 37

²⁵ Ibid.,

²⁶ (Translation of Title) :Ashura in the Thought of Imam Khamenei, p 27-28

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., p 42-44

²⁹ Ibid.

Then he discusses this issue in details and mentions examples from historical texts narrated from Imam Hussein (peace be upon him).³⁰

All of this proves what we indicated about the presence of a religious epistemic conflict, regardless of its different motives and incentives. The authority recognized the importance of religion and its connection to politics, so in order to possess political legitimacy it was necessary to acquire religious legitimacy. Thus, it focused on religion to shape it in a manner which served its interests and stability. We also find that some caliphs were interested in knowledge whether religious or otherwise, and this raises the question concerning the justification for taking knowledge from foreign cultures and sources.

Religious Reform in the Vision of Martyr Motahari

Martyr Motahari discusses the Umayyad utilization of religion and the benefit they reaped from exploiting this factor. He says:

"The Umayyads managed to control the house of funds and the sensitive positions in the government after the end of Othman's rule. Thus, they only lacked the strong and main factor which was religion. After the murder of Othman, Muawiyah was able through his cunning move and his forged account of the death of Othman to control this factor and use it in his struggle for authority.

He managed to mobilize a huge army under the name of religion and the banner of the Islamic Sharia and instigated the battle against a person like Ali Bin Abi Taleb (peace be upon him). After Muawiyah assumed full authority, he was able to completely control the religious factor by hiring some mercenary religious scholars such as Abu Huraira. Thus, he added a new aspect to his rule which was that of spirituality and a class of religious men after having only possessed the political factors, sensitive positions, and fortune..."³¹

Martyr Motahari indicates some types of corruption which the Umayyad authority committed on the religious epistemic level during the rule of Muawiyah. He says:

"It is true that Muawiyah died, but after his death he left behind many evil ways of conduct. We shall mention them as follows:

A- The heretical innovation of cursing and insulting Imam Ali (peace be upon him)

³⁰ Ibid., p 48-51

³¹ The Hussein Epic, v 3, p 12

B- The heretical innovation of spending the government's funds for buying the consciences of some mercenary religious scholars, and ordering them to invent narrations that debase Imam Ali (peace be upon him).

Muawiyah exploited the religious aspect through hiring evil scholars against Imam Ali (peace be upon him) exactly as he used the religious factor in the death of Othman (refer to the story of Samra Bin Jondob with the verse: { Among people is he who sacrifices his very life seeking the pleasure of Allah... }).

C- Killing innocent people with no right was a divergence not witnessed previously in Islam, in addition to giving no regard to human souls; cutting off hands and legs, and severing heads and hanging them on lances. This is what Muawiyah's men did to Amro Bin Al Hamaq Al Khoza'i.

D- Poisoning opponents and considering the issue as normal – a matter which violated all aspects of honor and humanity. Unfortunately, this became a practice which the caliphs after Muawiyah resorted to. Muawiyah first committed this evil practice by poisoning Imam Hassan (peace be upon him), then Malek Al Ashtar, Sa'd Bin Abi Wakass, and Abdul Rahman Bin Khaled Bin Al-Walid who was one of the best followers of Imam Hassan (peace be upon him).

E- Making the Caliphate a succession of power for the Umayyads and assigning his son Yazid- who had no significant qualifications- as ruler after him.

F- Reviving the issue of racial discrimination and preferring the Arabs over the non-Arabs, and those who belonged to the clan of Quraish over those from other clans.³²

The Umayyads also revived some issues which had prevailed at the time of pre-Islam and which Islam had striven to eliminate such as racial discrimination. Islam had limited poetry to a certain sphere and urged people to exhibit the morals of the Quran and the ethics of the Prophet. It called people to consider what the Book of Allah states about earlier generations and to take religion as guidance. Muawiyah, however, gave important significance to poetry. Martyr Motahari says:

"Among the things which the Umayyads promoted and defended persistently was the idea of racial intolerance.

The second feature of the Umayyad policy was their promotion of poetry, especially Pre-Islamic Poetry.

In addition to their promotion of the aesthetic value of poetry, they wanted to convey to people that wisdom mostly lay in it.

³² Ibid., p 18-19

Volume four of Ibn Khalkan, page 328, in the context of explaining the biography of Abi Oubaida Al Nahawi, states:

Al Mubarrad mentioned in the book Al-Kamel that Muawiyah Bin Abi Sufyan said:

‘Make poetry your biggest concern and the utmost of your ethics, for it contains the exploits of your ancestors and the ranges of your guidance...’

The words of Muawiyah were actually an expression of his opposition to the Quranic verse {As for the poets, they are followed by the straying people} and his fight against the Noble Sunnah.³³

Martyr Motahari discusses the impact resulting from the revolution of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) and how his martyrdom led to the revival of Islam. His martyrdom created a sense of identity in the Islamic community which began to sense its presence, position, pride, dignity, its ability to have an effect on the series of events and its strength in decision-making.

Martyr Motahari says:

"We frequently repeat that Hussein son of Ali (peace be upon him) brought the message of Islam to life once again through his sacrifice, and watered its tree with his pure blood. We read in his visit: {I bear witness that you established prayers, gave zakat (the prescribed share to the needy), enjoined virtue, forbade vice, and performed jihad in the best way.}

It is necessary that we should consider the relation between the martyrdom of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) and the rise of the power of Islam and the revival of its tenets and branches. The mere shedding of blood could not have been the only cause of such matters. Therefore, what was the relation between Imam Hussein's rising, revolution, martyrdom, and the outcomes we have discussed, claim have occurred, and which history indeed proves?

The martyrdom of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) blew a new spirit in Islam. As we have mentioned (in the first sermon), we can perceive the impact resulting from any speech, incident, or enthusiastic personality on the state of affairs in the movement which emerges in the soul, the enthusiasm and ardency which arise with it, and the resulting courage and strength.

It is an expression of the vivacity of blood and its liveliness in bodies to transfer them from laziness and inactivity to vitality, efficiency and agility.

A lot of bloodshed occurs in different areas, but since it is only bloodshed regardless of other aspects, its impact is limited to casting terror in people's hearts, making them desolate, stifling them, and depriving national strength.

³³ Ibid., p 66-67

Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) placed his hand on the wound- as the proverb states. Through his movement, he stirred the sense of identity in society. This is a very important issue for there is no prized entity in society more valuable than the sense of character- that a society perceives its own identity, feels pride and dignity, and possesses exclusive ideal values. Thus, it becomes self-dependent.

When a society progresses to such a state, it attains an independent philosophy in life. It becomes a source of pride to base one's life on such a philosophy. Thus, we can say that such a society has managed to preserve its enthusiasm by keeping its independent philosophy which emanates from its entity, believing in it and regarding it as the best and most grand, and that it is a right to be proud of it before other nations."³⁴

Here, we return to the aforementioned question concerning resorting to foreign sources and cultures and the extent of their interference with political affairs. It is useful to refer to contemporary readings on the relation between epistemology and politics.

The Epistemic and Political Aspects in Arkoun's View

Muhammad Arkoun raised a question which is related to what we have discussed in his book "Window to Islam". He says:" Islam inherited the Greek legacy and transferred it to the West starting from the twelfth century. Did this openness to Greek philosophy and science pertain to the intellectual curiosity of Muslims at that time or the explicit recommendation of the Holy Quran and the Prophet?"

He then continues:" It is a historic reality that Greek philosophy and science witnessed a rapid spread in the Islamic atmosphere from the eighth to the twelfth century. Neither the Holy Quran nor the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) had urged the study of these subjects. On the contrary, since the ninth century a strong opposition emerged from religious spheres against the sciences which were called 'mental sciences' and which were opposite to religious disciplines and reports."

After he explains such a phenomenon by the rooting of Greek thought in the Middle East, he says:" The biggest translation phase occurred in the era of the great Caliph Al-Ma'moun in the year (813-833), the founder of the famous Dar Al-Hekma in Baghdad."³⁵

We notice that Arkoun restricts the reasons for openness to Greek philosophy and science to two issues: The intellectual curiosity of Muslims or the recommendation by the Prophet and the Quran. He then concludes that the reason was the rooting of Greek thought in the Middle East.

³⁴ Ibid., p 121-123

³⁵ P 117

Surprisingly, Arkoun did not discuss the probability of political interference in that epistemic campaign. He did not mention that the authority- Umayyad or Abbasid- wanted to establish a cultural intellectual epistemic school through which it would face the opposing school of thought, which possessed the epistemic and scientific qualifications rendering it the head of the epistemic domain. This had implications on the social and political level, and specifically when such epistemology pertained to the religious domain.

Arkoun himself, after discussing the official history and the authority's active pursuit to impose its vision and perception of events in a manner compatible with its interests through "the writers of history or enthusiastic narrators of the official state (mainly the Umayyad and Abbasid), says: " They tried - as expected- to eliminate their opponents and impose an image of the events in a way which suited their interests. They called it the Islamic Image, while it was only the image of one group or party"

Further on he says: "At the time the government's central system began to appear, solidify, and expand its powers and competencies and impose its ideological choices by the Umayyads first then the Abbasids, the issue of the legitimacy of the leader and intermediary remained a subject of discussion and controversy."³⁶

He indicates his awareness of the connection of politics with religion and epistemology, and the existence of an epistemic system [made up of] the scholars of the court. This system was ready to render religious services to the ruling authority which sought to provide knowledge which conformed to its interests.

The Epistemic and Political Aspects in Al Jabiri's View

Al Jabiri indicates the link between politics and religion by saying:

"The fabrication which had infiltrated to the narrations of the Prophet and which had political motives must have been leaked considerably to the narrations which had been transferred orally for two centuries - the news of what had happened in the past and especially what was linked to political conditions."³⁷

This is evident in his analysis of the process of incorporation of foreign knowledge which the Abbasid authority strove to regulate and maintain, for it was connected to the temporary interests of the Abbasid authority. He says: "The translation movement which Al-Ma'moun vitalized and mobilized the capacities of his state for its sake, and which was directed toward Aristotle, mainly had an aim which was to resist Manichean Gnosis and the Shiite 'Irfan. This meant the sources of knowledge which movements opposing to the Abbasids professed and exclusively adopted. Thus, the translation movement which was only interested in Aristotle was a main part of a new strategy to which Al-Ma'moun

³⁶ (Translation of title) Islam : Morals and Politics, p 135-234

³⁷ (Translation of title) Creation of the Arabian Mind, p 110

resorted to in order to resist the epistemic basis of the ideology of his political opponents."³⁸

He declares that ideology was at the service of politics. However, this definitely did not apply to the school of Imamate and its political approach. He says as clarification:

"The fact is that the conflict between the Abbasids and descendants of Ali -which increased after the alliance between them collapsed due to the direct Abbasid monopolization of power after their successful common revolution against the Umayyads - was not just a political and military conflict. It was also, more intensely and continuously, an ideological conflict. Of course, ideology- as always- was for the sake of politics and not the contrary."³⁹

The idea presented by Al-Jabiri is worth esteem. The conflict was not just a political conflict but also an epistemic religious one where religious knowledge was exploited for political interests. However, we should not generalize this term in a way which encompasses all the conflicting groups. We can more easily discuss the argument of the political and the religious, but we still need to determine which faction considered which of those aspects in favor of the other? This needs a renewed research and different approach where we do not pre-anticipate the results.

The second issue which we must point out is that Al-Jabiri is not right in restricting the epistemic and intellectual school of Shiite Muslims to 'Irfan. He accuses Shiites as being the first hermetics in Islam. However, we must point out that the intellectual epistemic school of Shiite Muslims encompasses 'Irfan as well as explanation and proof. Shiite epistemic methodology is based on keeping religious texts in mind, and it also grants a unique and wide significance to those texts. In addition to this, the faculty of reasoning has a great role in that methodology. Its role is fundamental in the construction of Shiite thought- in epistemology, doctrines, and philosophy. It even interferes in determining some secondary issues on the basis of a special code used in the techniques of specialized disciplines.

As for the issue of hermeticism, Al-Jabiri commits a great mistake. The least examination of Shiite thought clearly confirms that it is distinct from the principles and beliefs of hermeticism, especially in the issue of divinity, the soul, and the universe.⁴⁰

It is noticeable, as Al-Jabiri himself mentions, that the opponents of Shiites- such as the Abbasids- used to incorporate epistemology from foreign cultures whether in "resigned" disciplines, philosophy, or other bodies of knowledge.

³⁸ Ibid., p 224

³⁹ Ibid., p 225

⁴⁰ For additional information, refer to our book « Studies in Religious Thought in the Issue of Shiites and the Hermeticism of Al Jabiri » (translation of title)

Highlight on a Historical Fact

Al-Jabiri reveals an important historical fact which has indications that should be noted. He says: "Indeed, Arabian sources agree that Khalid Bin Yazid Bin Muawiyah who died in the year 85 of the hejira was the first in Islam who was engaged in ancient sciences especially chemistry, astrology, and medicine. He transferred that [knowledge] from Alexandria which we mentioned was the homeland of hermeticism, and the following clarifications affirm the hermetic origin of those sciences."⁴¹

Here we ask, why would Khalid Bin Yazid Bin Muawiyah be the first to transfer ancient sciences to the Islamic culture? Was this process of incorporation separate from the epistemic- political conflict?

Undoubtedly, the Umayyad authority needed to establish an epistemic school in order to confront the school of the opposition. Undoubtedly, the presence of knowledge distinct from religious epistemic knowledge induced that authority to use it in the epistemic-political confrontation. Therefore, it is not remote that the incorporation process was connected to the authority's scheme to create its own epistemic authority and intellectual school.

Khalid Bin Yazid lived in that period where the conflict raged between the Umayyad scheme and the Prophet's enterprise represented by his Household and the Infallible Imams (peace be upon them). It is not remote that he had been aware of the impact of Imam Hussein's martyrdom on all situations, and especially on the Umayyad scheme.

Sheikh Al-Mufid (may Allah bless him) narrates in his book "Al-Ershad" an incident which probably drove Khalid Bin Yazid to carry out the process of epistemic incorporation. He says: "When the [severed] heads were placed in front of Yazid, and among them the head of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him), Yazid said:

"We split the heads of dear men, while
They were ungrateful to us and more oppressing."

Yahya Bin Al-Hakam - brother of Marwan Bin Al-Hakam- was sitting with Yazid and said:

"Heads in the nearest [area] of Al-Taf
Are closer in kin than Ibn Ziyad, the [one] with the vile lineage
Sumayya's descendants have become as many as pebbles,
But the daughter of the Messenger of Allah has no offspring!"

Yazid struck him on his chest and told him to be quiet, and then he turned to Ali son of Hussein (peace be upon him) and said: "O Ali son of Hussein! Your father cut off my

⁴¹ Ibid., p 194

kinship, ignored my right, and disputed my authority. Thus, Allah did to him what you have witnessed.”

Ali son of Hussein (peace be upon him) said: {No misfortune can happen on earth or in your souls but it is recorded in a decree before We bring it into existence, that is truly easy for Allah}.

Yazid asked his son Khalid to respond, but Khalid did not know what to say."⁴²

His father Yazid imposed a test upon him which was the confrontation of his opponent, Ali son of Hussein (peace be upon him), in a public assembly, but the result was that he failed that test which depended on religious knowledge and texts.

Ibn Kathir writes concerning Khalid Bin Yazid: "It was said that he acquired the science of chemistry."⁴³

Al-Tabari mentions the same phrase with a simple modification for he says instead of "science of chemistry" the phrase "procedure of chemistry".

Even though this phrase suggests that Khalid had an interest in knowledge, he undoubtedly lived in the time of the Umayyad authority's crisis of legitimacy and especially since the Caliphate transferred after his father's death to his brother Muawiyah⁴⁴ whose resignation from the Caliphate resulted in a great political problem. The resignation speech he delivered was a speech on political legitimacy which sought to display the mode of succession of the first four Caliphates and which the Umayyad authority lacked.

Ibn Kathir narrates Muawiyah's speech of resignation: "Muawiyah son of Yazid called people for congregational prayer one day, and when they gathered he said to them: O people, I have been appointed as your ruler, but I am unable to handle it. If I answer you, I may appoint a strong man to be your ruler just as Al Siddik left it to Omar, and if you wish I would leave it to the consultation of six of you as Omar Bin Al-Khattab did, but there is none among you who is fit for that, therefore I have left the decision to you, so appoint a ruler who is suitable for you."⁴⁵

After Muawiyah's death, his brother Khalid was the one who performed the death prayer for his soul. It should be noted that Khalid was one of the candidates for Caliphate after his brother's death, but the Umayyad negotiations led to a contrary result. Marwan Ibn al-Hakam would become the Caliph, provided that Khalid would be his successor.

⁴² Al-Ershad , Volume 2, p 120

⁴³ Al Bidaya wal Nihaya, Volume 4, page 190

⁴⁴ Not to be confused with Muawiyah, father of Yazid

⁴⁵ Ibid., page 191

Marwan, however, later strove to keep the Caliphate in his line, taking it away from the Sufyani house, and this led to his death.

Dr. Nabih 'Akel says: "After Marwan assumed the Caliphate, he strove to keep his power and bequeath it to his sons after him. That is why he married Yazid's widow, Fakhita (mother of Khalid bin Yazid), the daughter of Abi Hisham bin 'Otba. Through this marriage, he was able to bring Yazid's family to his side and to get rid of their candidate for Caliphate, Khalid bin Yazid. After only a period of time, he removed him from his post and took allegiance for his two sons, Abdul Malik and Abdul Aziz Ibn Marwan successively. [Historical] sources mention the manner which Marwan employed to remove Khalid and defame him in front of people, how Khalid complained to his mother (Fakhita) what Marwan did to him, and how Khalid's mother avenged her son by suffocating Marwan with a pillow."⁴⁶

Thus, Khalid was one of the candidates for Caliphate and one of the prospective assumers of authority, so it is not remote that his epistemic incorporation was connected with the authority's scheme concerning epistemic legitimacy. We can say that the Umayyad authority at that period was not in need of such incorporation for legitimacy, though benefit from it was not non-existent.

The Authoritarian Religious Institution

Among the questions raised in this domain is if the authority had sought to create its own religious establishment which would be under its control, and which would include a group of court scholars who would be instruments to serve its scheme, or if it did not have such a plan?

It is obvious through some historical narrations that the authority benefitted from some narrators through the promising them what they desired and through financial temptation so that they would provide the epistemic material consistent with the interests of the authority. Ibn Abi Al-Hadid narrates the following from the Sheikh of Al-Mo'tazila Abu Jaafar Al Iskafi: "Muawiyah prompted a group of the companions and followers to narrate disgraceful news about Ali (peace be upon him) [for the purpose of making people] defame and repudiate him. [Muawiyah] allotted an alluring award for that, so they fabricated what would satisfy him and among them were Abu Huraira, Amro Bin Al-'As, Al-Mughira Bin Shu'ba, and among the followers: 'Urwa Bin Al Zubair..."⁴⁷

Concerning this issue, Imam Ali (peace be upon him) says:

"They attributed lies to the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) during his life until he stood and delivered a speech saying: 'Whoever attributes a lie to me

⁴⁶ (Translation of title): The History of the Umayyad Caliphate, p 134

⁴⁷ Imam Charafeddine, (Translation of title): The Religious Text and Discretion, p 368

deliberately, should find his abode in Hell. It is one of four men who [lie] and there is no fifth: a hypocrite who shows faith and feigns Islam who does not avoid sin nor feels ashamed [of falling into it]. He intentionally attributes lies to the Messenger of Allah, and if people knew that he were a hypocrite and liar they would not accept or believe what he says, but they say: He has accompanied the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him and his Household), he saw him, heard him, and acquired from him so they accept his sayings. Allah the Almighty told you about hypocrites and described them for you.

They remained after him, and they approached the leaders of misguidance and callers to hell through false speech and slander. They obtained governance of areas and were appointed as rulers over people, so they consumed the [material] of the worldly life. People are with kings and the worldly life except those infallible by the order of Allah, and this is one of the four..."⁴⁸

The defamation of Imam Ali (peace be upon him) was one of the issues which the authority was concerned with and paid narrators for. Even though it was an important issue which induced the authority to pay large sums of money for its fabrication, but it was not the only one because the Umayyad scheme on the intellectual level was manifest in two directions. The first one was to destroy the spiritual image of the Prophet's Household and their intellectual authority, while the second one was to establish an epistemic and cultural school of thought.

Before delving into this discussion, we would like to examine the domains which the Umayyad epistemic corruption reached to see which disciplines were affected and which ones the Umayyads strove to benefit from.

The Authority's Epistemic Means

The Umayyad authority tried to benefit from several disciplines as epistemic tools in its service, but it is obvious that this process left its impacts particularly on Hadith, Interpretation of the Quran, and Doctrine.

1- Hadith:

The Hadith of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) had a special role in the formation of the Islamic community's religious awareness. This is why the authority was concerned with it for the purpose of using it as an effective epistemic weapon to serve its aims whether it desired to exalt certain people or to humiliate others.

Muawiyah attempted to benefit from such a means so he prompted people to narrate specific sayings for certain purposes. He sent letters to his commissioners in this concern.

⁴⁸ Nahjul Balagha, p 203

Al Madaini says: "I read Muawiyah's letters to people, so I narrated many fabricated stories with no basis of truth about the virtues of the Companions. People were diligent in the narration of this stream until they commended mentioning [such narrations] on pulpits, and transmitted them to teachers of schools to teach their boys a great amount [of those narrations].

Thus, many fabricated narrations appeared, falsity circulated, and scholars, judges and governors abided by them. However, the most misfortunate people were those readers who hypocritically exhibited submission to God and devotion and fabricated narrations to find favor with their governors, to join their gatherings, and to attain wealth, land, and homes.

Such narrations reached religious men who forbade lies and falsity, but they accepted and narrated them believing they were true. However, if they had known that such narrations were void, they would not have narrated them or religiously adhered to them."⁴⁹

We will discuss the subsequent headings in detail concerning some hadiths which the authority's media strove to spread. These hadiths were carefully invented for the satisfaction of the governors and for the earning of endowments.

2- Interpretation of the Quran:

The interpretation of the Quran was a discipline which at that time mainly relied on Hadith. Interpretation was based on hadith. However, we placed it under an independent heading to focus on that hadith which was fabricated to give a certain interpretation of the Holy Quran.

The Umayyad authority attempted to benefit from the most sanctified epistemic means of the Islamic community which was the Holy Quran for the purpose of exploiting it in its political battle. The authority strove to "buy" some narrations from those who took the fabrication of narrations as an occupation in order to deal a hard blow to its political-intellectual opponent. It used the mode of paying money and buying the conscience of men whom Muawiyah was striving to bestow an aura of sanctity upon under the title of "Companions of the Prophet" (peace be upon him and his Household) to attain epistemic influence.

The following narration reveals some individuals' declined state of morals and principles, and their readiness for fabrication in order to specify the people whom the Holy verses intended.

Ibn Abi Al-Hadid narrated from Abu Ja'afar Al-Iskafi that Muawiyah gave Samra Bin Jondob one hundred thousand dirhams in order to narrate that the following verse intended Ali (peace be upon him): [And of the people is he whose speech pleases you in

⁴⁹ Mortada Al Askari, Ma'alem Al Madrasatayn, volume 2, p 55-56

worldly life, and he calls Allah to witness as to what is in his heart, yet he is the fiercest of opponents. And when he goes away, he strives throughout the land to cause corruption therein and destroy crops and animals. And Allah does not like corruption] and that the following verse intended Ibn Maljam: [And of the people is he who sells himself, seeking means to the approval of Allah]. He did not agree, so [Muawiyah] gave him two hundred thousand dirhams. Still he did not agree, so he gave him four hundred thousand dirhams, and he agreed!"⁵⁰

3- Islamic Doctrine

The Umayyad authority did not exempt any epistemic means from exploitation, and so it did not avoid doctrinal knowledge. The authority's epistemic corruption spread to reach the doctrinal principles on which Islamic thought was based.

This is why the Umayyads professed the ideas of determinism and postponement⁵¹. However, they mostly emphasized determinism through which they found epistemic security which might contribute in providing a kind of religious justification for their assumption of power, in lifting the responsibility for the malevolent acts which they committed during their rule, or in granting the authority a kind of religious legitimacy accepted by the Islamic community.

Here, we shall solely mention a researcher's text and we shall give details in the following discussions. He says: "The Umayyads embraced the doctrine of determinism in the [issue of] Caliphate since the beginning of their authority. Ziad Ibn Abih was the first who propagated that doctrine, for he said in his incomplete speech to the people of Basra in the year 45 that Allah had chosen them for Caliphate and that they ruled by His Order and acted with his permission. He said: 'O People! We have become your rulers and protectors. We rule you with the authority which Allah granted us, and we protect you with the spoils which Allah conferred upon us.'

The Umayyads continued to believe in the doctrine of determinism in [the issue of] Caliphate, relied upon it in affirming their right, and justified [through it] their exclusive possession of rule. Yazid Bin Muawiyah mentioned in one of his letters to the commissioner of Al-Madina that: 'Muawiyah Bin Sufian was one of the servants of Allah whom Allah honored, assigned as Caliph, granted authority, and strengthened. Allah has charged us with what [He had granted him]'. "⁵²

The Authority's Epistemic⁵³ - Cultural Scheme

⁵⁰ Mortada Al Askari, (Translation of title) : Narrations of Aisha, Mother of Believers, v 1, p 375

⁵¹ To be discussed later in details

⁵² Hussein Atwan, (Translation of title) Umayyads and Caliphate, p 25-26

⁵³ means the epistemic in its general meaning not the special meaning

Some may inquire that: Is it not an exaggeration to say that the Umayyad authority had a school of thought? The presence of such a school concerned with Islamic disciplines necessitates the presence of a level of epistemic and methodical creativity which justifies its classification as a school of Islamic knowledge or as a foundation for one. Did the Umayyad authority possess such a matter?

We can say that what we mean by the authority's school of thought is that the authority adopted many visions in doctrines, religion, and politics which formed its epistemic system. Thus, did it adopt a specific epistemic system or not? This is regardless of the visions and concepts having been created by the epistemic mentality of the authority- if it possessed one- or having been acquired from more than one epistemic environment even if they were foreign from Islamic knowledge.

The Umayyad authority had acquired some concepts, strove to produce others, and invented a set of religious texts in order to form a religious epistemic system which would allow the establishment of a religious epistemic speech to serve its political interests.

What we mean by the authority's school of thought is the system of doctrines, concepts, and knowledge which were fabricated for an aim. They were carefully fabricated according to the rules and objectives of the authority, and they aimed at addressing Islamic awareness. It was a system directed toward the formation of a certain awareness.

The authority's great aspiration for the formation of a religious justificatory speech for its political conduct on one hand, and the wide space of religious knowledge which had political epistemic consequences on the other hand compelled the authority to work hard on the creation of an epistemic system. By this epistemic system we mean the authority's school of thought or cultural scheme.

The result is that the authority recognized such a close connection between religious knowledge and politics whether in political legitimacy or the Islamic community's attitude towards the authority itself. Thus, its political interests necessitated the use of religious knowledge as a major means in serving its authoritarian scheme. Such exploitation was presented on two sides: First, through dealing a blow to the opponent's school of thought- the Household of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household). The second was through establishing their own school of thought which would have its role in providing the knowledge which would ensure the nation's loyalty to the authority and would forbid revolting against it and resisting it.

We shall discuss this from two aspects.

1- Destroying the Epistemic and Intellectual School of the Prophet's Household (peace be upon him and his Household):

Muawiyah realized the moral and intellectual rank of the Prophet's Household as well as their epistemic role. He noticed how the Islamic community looked upon them with love and appreciation. Allah considers that love of the Prophet's Household is the reward

which the Islamic community should give to the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household). Allah the Almighty tells his Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household): [Say: I do not ask of you any reward for it but love for my near relatives] (The Consultation, verse 23)

The Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) granted his Household a certain role and placed them always in connection with the Quran- the intellectual and religious authority of the Islamic nation. He emphasized the necessity of holding fast to them together, and that adhering to only one of them would not contribute in reaching the aim.

Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household) said in “The Narration of the Two Weighty Matters”: “I have left the Two Weighty Matters among you. If you hold fast to them, you will not go astray after me. [They are] the Book of Allah, and my progeny, my household. They shall not split until they come to me at the Pond, so look at how you deal with them after me.”⁵⁴

Muawiyah realized all of that and knew that such a religious and moral status was the main problem which the Umayyad scheme faced. Therefore, it was necessary to destroy such a status by any means in order to maintain the authority's interests. Thus, the authority's media had a target in particular: the main figure of the Imamate school, Imam Ali (peace be upon him), even though it distributed its devilish efforts against the Prophet's Household in general. The Umayyad authority pursued to achieve its goals through the following means:

A- Fabricating Narrations to Defame Imam Ali (peace be upon him)

In the face of such an enormous number of narrations transmitted from the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) on the virtues and praise of Imam Ali (peace be upon him), the best method was to fabricate a set of adverse narrations defaming the Prince of Believers (peace be upon him). Thus, paid narrators worked on fabricating a set of narrations which satisfied the authority and would provide money. In the following are some examples.

1- Abu Huraira fabricated that Imam Ali (peace be upon him) asked the hand of the daughter of Abu Jahl during the life of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household), and that this provoked the Prophet who delivered a speech on the pulpit and said: ‘The daughter of Wali Allah shall not gather with the daughter of the Enemy of Allah. Fatima is a part of me, and what harms her harms me. If Ali wants the daughter of Abu Jahl [in marriage], then he should [first] split with my daughter and then do whatever pleases him.’⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Mustadrak Al-Hakem, v 3, p 148

⁵⁵ Discretion against the Text, p 369

2- Al-A'mash transmitted that when Abu Huraira came to Iraq with Muawiyah, he came to the Mosque of Kufa. When he saw many people welcoming him, he bent down on his knees, hit his bald head several times, and said: "O people of Iraq, do you claim that I am attributing lies to Allah and his Prophet, and burning myself in hell? By Allah, I have heard the Messenger of Allah saying: 'Every Prophet has a holy place and my holy place is Al-Madina. Whoever commits an evil act therein, then upon him will [fall] the curse of Allah, the angels, and all people'. I bear witness by Allah that Ali committed an evil act therein." When Muawiyah knew about what he said, he granted him a reward, honored him, and assigned him as governor of the district of Medina.⁵⁶

The aforementioned incident reveals the attempt to degrade Imam Ali (peace be upon him) through considering that he was intended through that narration, and thus becoming subject to cursing. Undoubtedly, Muawiyah - who was very keen on any religious justification for his hostile acts against Imam Ali (peace be upon him) - considered such a narration as a priceless gift, and thus it was not strange for him to reward Abu Huraira by assigning him as governor of Medina.

Sheikh Muhammad Jawad Moghnieh mentions what Ibn Abi Al-Hadid stated while referring to Bisir Bin Art'a whom Muawiyah sent to raid the Prophet's city. He says: Bisir Bin Art'a was cold hearted, uncivil, and a blood-shedder with no pity or mercy. Muawiyah provided him with three thousand soldiers and told him: "Advance until you reach Medina, drive people out, frighten whomever you pass, and plunder the money of whoever possesses it and does not obey us. If you enter Medina, show them that you want their lives and tell them that none of them have an absolution or an excuse."

Sheikh Moghnieh says: " Before Bisir Bin Art'a left the Prophet's Medina, he assigned Abu Huraira as its governor and ordered people to obey him. Abu Huraira had witnessed the heresies and fabrications which Bir created in the city of the Great Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household). The authors of the "Authentic Books of Hadith" considered him as trustworthy, and the probable reason behind regarding the narrations he transmitted as reliable is the following narration: 'Every Prophet has a holy place and my holy place is Medina. Whoever commits an evil act therein, then upon him will [fall] the curse of Allah, the angels, and all people'. I bear witness by Allah that Ali committed an evil act therein."

The date of this fabricated narration is after Bisir left to attack the Prophet's Medina and his assignment of Abu Huraira as his successor."⁵⁷

3- 'Orwa Bin Zubair claimed that Aisha said to him that: "I was with the Prophet when Abbas and Ali came and he said: 'O Aisha, if you wish to see two men from the people of hell then look at those two.' So I looked and they were Al Abbas and Ali Bin Abi Taleb."⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ (Translation of title) : Shia and Governors, p 49-50

⁵⁸ Imam Sharafeddine, The Religious Text and Discretion, p 368

This ‘Orwa “was known for his hatred and enmity against the Prince of the Believers (peace be upon him), and one of his [own] students -Al Zahri-described him as a fabricator of hadith to defame Imam Ali (peace be upon him)”⁵⁹.

Ma’amar states that Al-Zahri had two narrations by ‘Orwa supposedly transmitted from Aisha concerning Ali (peace be upon him). I asked him about them one day and he said: “What do you want with them and the two hadith? Allah knows about them! I do accuse them [of forging narrations against the] Hashemites.”⁶⁰

The first hadith was, according to the story of Al Zahri, that ‘Orwa Bin Al Zubair told him that Aisha said to him: “I was with the Prophet and Al Abbas and Ali came. He said to me: O Aisha those two shall die unbelieving in my religion” or he said “[believing] in a different religion from mine”⁶¹.

4- Amro Bin Al-‘As said: “I heard the Messenger of Allah saying: ‘The family of Abi Taleb is not my trustee; my trustees are Allah and the pious believers’ ”⁶²

In order to know more about Amro Bin Al-‘As, we shall mention the narration which Sheikh Moghnieh states from Al-Zamakhshiri’s book: Rabi’ Al-Abrar. “Al-Nabigha, mother of Amro Bin Al-‘As, was a prostitute. She shared a bed with Abu Lahab, Omayya Bin Khalaf, Hicham Bin Al-Moghira, Abu Sufian Bin Harb, and Al-‘As Bin Wael. She gave birth to ‘Amro and each of the four claimed he was theirs. However, she said that he was the son of Al-‘As. When they asked her why she chose him, she said: ‘He used to spend money on me and my children more than they did, [but] ‘Amro resembled Abu Sufian more.

Interpreters have agreed that Al-‘As said: “I hate Muhammad, the one cut-off [from having posterity]”, and Allah revealed the following verse: {Indeed, [O Muhammad] it is he who hates you who shall be cut-off [from having posterity]}.”

Sheikh Moghnieh says: “Amro Bin Al-‘As was one of those who resented and harmed the Prophet. He conspired against him, accused him of being a liar, fought him with the armies of polytheism and criticized him with seventy verses of poetry. The Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) said: ‘O Allah, I do not recite poetry and should not do so. O Allah, curse him a thousand times with every letter.’

‘Amro went to Al Najashi to bring the Muslims [who had fled from persecution] back to Mecca in order to be tortured for becoming Muslims and following the religion of Allah and His Prophet. He instigated [people] to murder Othman and made undue claims to [avenging] his blood.”⁶³

⁵⁹ Ali Al Milani, (Translation of title) Ali’s Proposal to the Daughter of Abu Jahl, p 37

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Imam Sharafeddine, Text and Jurisprudence, p 368

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ Shiites and Governors, p 53

B- Verbally Insulting Imam Ali (peace be upon him)

Al-Tabari narrates that when Muawiyah assigned Al-Mughirah Ibn Shu'bah in charge of Kufa in the year 41 of the Hejira, he summoned him and said: «I want to advise you concerning many things which I shall not mention trusting in your discernment. However, I will not omit advising you in carrying out a certain practice: Do not refrain from insulting Ali and criticizing him, and [publicly] ask Allah's mercy and forgiveness for Othman.»⁶⁴

Muawiyah himself insulted Imam Ali (peace be upon him) and wrote to his governors and commissioners in different territories to curse Ali. Thus, preachers everywhere started insulting Imam Ali (peace be upon him) from pulpits, repudiating him, and defaming him and his family. Muawiyah strove to make the insulting of Imam Ali (peace be upon him) a custom for the entire Islamic nation to adopt⁶⁵. Through that, he aimed to separate the Islamic nation from the Prophet's Household in an effort to prevent the pure Household from having any influence on the course of events on the religious, social and political levels. He wanted to be the only influence on the scene of events and in making the future.

Thus, when Muawiyah was asked the following question: “You have achieved what you wished so will you not stop insulting Ali?” He answered: «No, until the young grows up and the adult becomes old [in performing such a custom], and no one mentions a virtue of his.»⁶⁶

This answer discloses Muawiyah's true aim. He wanted to keep the Islamic nation away from the Prophet's Household on all levels- whether from being affectionate toward them or adhering to them legislatively or socially. Insulting Imam Ali (peace be upon him) was not only a hostile stance against the Imam, but also against what the Imam represented: the doctrine and course of action which Muawiyah and his commissioners did not appreciate or respect.

Imam Hassan (peace be upon him) strove to confront such a disgraceful action and made a condition in the document of the treaty of peace that Muawiyah would not insult Imam Ali (peace be upon him). Muawiyah did not agree and thus Imam Hassan (peace be upon him) asked him not to insult Imam Ali (peace be upon him) in his presence. However, Muawiyah did not fulfill the conditions of the treaty and he insulted Imam Ali (peace be upon him) while Imam Hassan was on the pulpit of Kufa, and in the presence of the two Masters of the Youth of Paradise. This led Imam Hassan (peace be upon him) to respond and expose him in front of the public.

Sheikh Al-Mufid says in his book Al-Ershad:

⁶⁴ Tarikh Al-Tabari, Events of the Year 51 of Hegira

⁶⁵ Shiites and Governors, p 71

⁶⁶ Ibid., p 365

« After the conclusion of the truce based on the conditions which Imam Hassan (peace be upon him) set- to refrain from insulting Imam Ali (peace be upon him) and from the hostile supplications against him during prayer- Muawiyah departed to Kufa. He arrived at Al-Nakhila on Friday and led people in Morning Prayer. He gave a speech saying: "I did not fight you so that you would pray, fast, go to pilgrimage, or pay zakat. You already perform these duties. I have fought you to gain rule over you, and Allah has granted it to me even though you dislike it. I have promised Hassan certain matters, and they are trampled under my feet. I will not fulfill any of them."»

Then he advanced until he entered Kufa where he stayed for a few days, and after people pledged allegiance to him, he climbed the pulpit, delivered a speech, and mentioned Imam Ali and Imam Hassan in a vile manner while Imam Hassan and Imam Hussein were present. Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) stood to respond, but Imam Hassan took his hand and made him sit, then he rose to speak against Muawiyah. He said:

« O you who mention Ali, I am Hassan and Ali is my father. You are Muawiyah and your father is Sakhr (Abu Sufyan).
My mother is Fatima and your mother is Hind.
My grandfather is the Apostle of Allah and your grandfather is Harb.
My grandmother is Khadija and your grandmother is Kotayla.
May Allah curse the one with the more inferior distinction and the lowlier lineage, who was evil in the past, and was the foremost in blasphemy and hypocrisy. Some groups of people in the mosque said: Amen Amen.»⁶⁷

However, Muawiyah attempted to compel some figures to insult Imam Ali (peace be upon him) and to repudiate him. He asked Al-Ahnaf Bin Kays and 'Akil Bin Abi Taleb but they did not agree. Thus, it is evident that insulting Imam Ali (peace be upon him) was the authority's aim, that it was intentional, and that the authority was firmly determined to accomplish it.

'Amer Bin Sa'd Bin Abi Waqqas reported that Muawiyah wanted Sa'd to curse Imam Ali. He said to him: "What prevents you from insulting Abu Turab (Imam Ali)?" whereupon Sa'd said: "It is because of three things which I remember Allah's Messenger having said about him that I will not curse him. Having only one of [those three things] is dearer to me than red camels. I heard Allah's Messenger say to Ali when he left him behind during one of his campaigns and Ali said to him: 'O Messenger of Allah, you leave me behind along with the women and children?' Thereupon Allah's Messenger (may peace be upon him and his Household) said to him: Are you not satisfied to be to me what Aaron was to Moses, but with the exception that there is no prophecy after me. And I (also) heard him say on the Day of Khaibar: 'I will certainly give this standard to a man who loves Allah and his Messenger and Allah and his Messenger love him too.' [Everyone was] anticipating it, but the (Prophet) said: 'Call Ali.' He was called and he

⁶⁷ Volume 2, page 14-15

was suffering a disease in his eyes, so the Prophet applied saliva to them, handed him the standard, and Allah gave him victory.

(The third occasion is this) when the (following) verse was revealed: {Let us summon our children and your children.} Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him and his Household) called Ali, Fatima, Hassan and Hussein and said: O Allah, they are my family. »⁶⁸

Cursing Imam Ali (peace be upon him)

In addition to insulting Imam Ali (peace be upon him), Muawiyah wanted to make cursing the Imam a habit to be followed by the Islamic nation. He cursed Imam Ali in prayer invocations and on pulpits on every Friday and Eid. He made this vile act a part of the Friday and two Eid sermons. He ordered preachers to curse the Imam (peace be upon him) so that it would become a habit followed by Muslims, and this issue became an excuse for the authority to kill Muslims and the companions of the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him and his Household) who had refused this heresy and resisted this policy being aware of the risk resulting from this opposition.⁶⁹

Due to such a policy, many of Imam Ali's companions who had refused to curse the Imam on pulpits were martyred, such as Hujr Bin 'Uday, Rachid Al-Hujri and Sayfi Bin Fasil.

Hujr Bin 'Uday had come to the Messenger (peace be upon him and his Household) and witnessed several wars with him. When he reproved Ziyad Bin Abih for cursing Imam Ali (peace be upon him), Ziyad sent him with his group to Damascus. Muawiyah ordered to kill whoever did not repudiate Imam Ali (peace be upon him) and thus Hujr was killed⁷⁰. As for Rachid Al-Hujri, Ziyad told him to curse and repudiate the Imam but he refused, so he cut his tongue, hands, and legs, and crucified him⁷¹.

As for Sayfi Bin Fasil, he was captured and brought before Ziyad who said to him: "O enemy of Allah, what do you think of Abu Turab (Imam Ali)?"

"I do not know Abu Turab," replied Sayfi.

"You do not know him?" said Ziyad.

"I do not know him," answered Sayfi.

"Do you not know Ali son of Abu Talib?" asked Ziyad.

"Yes," answered Sayfi.

"That is Abu Turab," said Ziyad.

"No, that is the father of Hassan and Hussein," said Sayfi.

Ziyad said to his officers: "Give me the rod."

He turned toward Sayfi and said: "What do you say?"

Sayfi answered: "The best of what I would say concerning one of the believing servants of Allah."

⁶⁸ Discretion against the Text, p 364

⁶⁹ Ibid., p 363

⁷⁰ Maalem Al Madrastayn: v 2, page 50

⁷¹ Shiites and Governors, page 81

Ziyad ordered them to beat him until he lay on the ground. Then he asked him: "What do you say concerning Ali?"

Sayfi said: "By Allah, even, if you cut me to pieces with razors and knives, I will not say except what you have heard from me."

Ziyad said: "You shall curse him. Otherwise I will cut off your neck."

Sayfi answered: "By Allah, you shall cut it off [and never hear me curse him]."⁷²

2-The Umayyad Authority's Intellectual School

Due to the connection between religion and politics, the ruling authority was concerned with the creation of some religious concepts and ideas and the adoption of others for the sake of having a material used in the justificatory political speech and the cultural speech which aimed to destroy the [true] religious concepts and the legacy of the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him and his Household).

If we consider that epistemic material which the Umayyad authority adopted and which history transmitted, and if we analyze it in order to discuss its most important components, we can monitor a group of epistemic elements which together constitute the cultural speech of the authority. The most important of those elements and components are the following:

1- The Prohibition of Revolting against the Tyrannical ruler and the Deviant Group

The Umayyad authority was very much concerned with the solidification of this concept in the religious consciousness of the Muslim community. The authority would reap direct and large benefits from this concept which would numb the Islamic society and tie its hands to prevent it from revolutionary movement and from changing the corrupt and deviant reality.

This concept served the oppressive authority the most. It would aid it in achieving what it had failed to accomplish by force, supremacy and oppression. The authority strove under the name of religion to prohibit people from revolting and resisting corruption and from taking the reins of reform, although reform - as we have mentioned- is the aim of religions and the enterprise of the Prophets (peace be upon them).

Thus, we notice how the prominent figures of the authority were intensely concerned with mentioning phrases such as "revolution against the leader and disobeying him" and "separating between Muslims and forsaking the community" in their political debates with the opposition and reformation forces, and we have mentioned some examples of such arguments.

⁷² Ibid., page 78

We find that the religious legacy is flowing with a set of narrations traceable to the Messenger of Allah through his Household calling people to resist injustice and eliminate corruption. The Master of Martyrs (peace be upon him) said: « Oh people! The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him and his Household) said: Whoever sees an oppressive ruler who allows himself what God has forbidden, breaks his promises, violates the Sunnah of the Messenger, and mistreats and assaults the servants of God and does not endeavor to change him through words and deeds, then God will punish him the same punishment of the ruler..»⁷³

The Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) said: “The best Jihad is a word of truth in the presence of an oppressive ruler.”⁷⁴

In addition to this, Allah the Exalted says in the Holy Quran:

{And incline not to those who do wrong, or the fire will seize you} (Hud, verse 113)

{Permission is given to those who fight because they were wronged. Allah has power to grant them victory, those who have been unjustly driven from their homes, just because they said: “Our lord is Allah”} (Pilgrimage, verse 39)

Thus, holy Quranic verses and Hadiths presented a serious obstacle in the face of the authority’s unjust policies and posed a major problem which could only be overcome under the name of religion.

The content of some Hadiths was the careful concern of the authority’s epistemic system, such as the fabricated Hadith narrated by Um Salamah that the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) said: «You will have rulers some of whom you approve and some of whom you will disapprove. He who dislikes them will be safe, and he who expresses disapproval will be safe, but he who is pleased and follows them (will be indeed sinful)". His audience asked: "Shall we not fight them?" He replied, "No, as long as they perform prayer.»⁷⁵

Another fabricated hadith was that Huthayfa bin al-Yaman narrated that the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) said: «There will be imams after me who will not act according to my guidance and will not follow my Sunnah. Among them there will be some men whose hearts are hearts of devils in human bodies.” Huthayfa asked: “O Messenger of Allah, if I live until then, what shall I do?” The Prophet answered: “You should listen to and obey the ruler even if he beats your back and takes your money. Listen to him and obey him!»⁷⁶

⁷³ Tarikh Al-Tabari, Volume 3, page 307

⁷⁴ Wasael Al Shia'a, The Chapter on Enjoining Good...part 2

⁷⁵ (Translation of title) : If Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) Had Pledged Allegiance, p 53 (From the source Al-Jameh li Ahkam Al-Quran, by al-Qurtubi)

⁷⁶ Ibid., p 55-56 (From Sahih Muslim)

Some scholars even issued fatwas [ordering people to comply with their rulers]. For example, Hassan Al-Basri said: «It is obligatory to obey the Umyyad rulers even if they commit cruelty or oppression. By Allah, [matters which are] set right through them are more than their corruption. »⁷⁷

In another statement, he says: «They are the only ones who set religion straight, even if they commit cruelty or oppression. By Allah, [matters which are] set right through them are more than their corruption. »⁷⁸

These are the Al-Basri's statements even though he said concerning the Umayyad authority and its followers in Damascus: « May Allah reprove and torture them! They are the ones who allowed what was forbidden to violate relating to the Messenger of Allah and slew his family for three days and nights!...They did not refrain from violating any sanctity! Then they went to the Holy House of Allah, demolished the Kaaba and lit fire between its stones and coverings! May Allah's curse be upon them and the evil lodging [be their abode].»⁷⁹

We find that Shimr ibn thil-Jawshan, the killer of the Prophet's grandson (peace be upon him and his Household), adopted the same concept of Hassan Al-Basri. He would ask Allah at the mosque and say: "O Allah, you are Magnanimous and love honor. You know that I am an honorable man thus forgive me".

I (the narrator of this incident) said: "How shall Allah forgive you when you participated in killing the son of Allah's messenger?"

He replied: "Woe to you! What should I have done? Our rulers ordered us to do so and we did not disobey them. If we disobeyed them we would have become worse than these donkeys."⁸⁰

In its scheme to create a certain epistemology, the Umayyad authority benefitted the most from this set of concepts which had a profound impact on creating the religious-political consciousness of the Islamic society. It was able to subjugate some factions in society and the least thing it was able to achieve was to divert certain forces from confronting Umayyad corruption. These concepts stood in the way of weakening the powers of the Umayyad scheme.

Thus, the Umayyad authority enjoyed peace and dared to increase its oppression and to commit the most dreadful acts. Through such concepts, it became forbidden to revolt against the authority; resistance would lead to Allah's wrath and refraining from fighting would lead to His satisfaction!

Thus, the Umayyad authority did not fear the Islamic nation's reaction because that society had become brainwashed with concepts ascribed to religion and which were in no way related. Those concepts managed to reap many gains for the authority and for that

⁷⁷ Ibid., p 100 (From : Al-Hukuma fi Al-Islam)

⁷⁸ Rishhari Muhammad, Rahbari Dar Islam, p 148 (From IAl-Mathahib Al-Islamiyah, page 89)

⁷⁹ If Hussein Had Pledged Allegiance, page 99-100 (From Tarikh Al-Tabari)

⁸⁰ Tarikh Ibn Asaker, volume 6, p 338, and Mizan l-Itidal al-Thahabi, v. 1, p. 449

some researchers say that if it were not for the words of Hassan al-Basri and the sword of Al-Hajjaj, the Marwanite Caliphate⁸¹ (attributed to Marwan ibn al-Hakam, Yazid's successor) would have disappeared.

It was difficult for the Umayyad authority to conceal its disregard of values, violation of religion, and its oppression. The Islamic community was aware of the authority's abominable conduct, and it was difficult to convince people that such acts arose from religion. Thus, it was easier for the authority to state that such acts were religiously unacceptable, but that nonetheless it was prohibited to revolt and resist the authority. People should obey the authority, and it was religiously unacceptable to break the pledge of allegiance...otherwise the members of society would become worse than donkeys!

Shimr was a firm adherent of that school of thought and one of its devotees. He was loyal to that school and played a big role in the event of Karbala and the murder of Hussein (peace be upon him), because he prohibited opposing the orders of the rulers of injustice and oppression.

From this point, we may notice the most serious impact of that set of concepts. It cast out some forces from the conflict's counterbalance and weakened the opponents of the Umayyad authority. It was able to grant the authority more power through the adherence of individuals and groups to the ruling system, driven under the obligation of obeying the ruler even if he were oppressive and the prohibition of breaking the pledge of allegiance to him even if he were unjust. Hence, the meaning of fulfilling the pledge of allegiance was also an obligation to obey and submit to the ruler.

After discussing the set of concepts which had a critical impact on creating the religious- political consciousness of the Islamic society, it is suitable to demonstrate such concepts in detail to know what those concepts consisted of:

1- The prohibition of revolting against the unjust ruler: We discussed this in details and mentioned several incidents that show how the authority was deeply interested in this idea and how many benefits it achieved through it.

2- The obligation to obey the unjust ruler: This was the authority's greatest aim. The prohibition of revolting against the unjust ruler would only keep some individuals away from the opposition, but the obligation of obedience would turn the Islamic community into an easy tool which the authority employs to achieve its goals and ends.

3- The prohibition of breaking the pledge of allegiance to the unjust ruler: The pledge of allegiance was an oath of obedience and it meant the necessity of obeying the ruler even if he were oppressive. However, it took into account the ruler as a receiver of

⁸¹ Rahbari Dar Islam, p 148 (from the book "Ma' Allah" of Mohamad Ghazali)

the pledge of allegiance without taking his status as ruler into consideration. Thus, he was the receiver of the oath of obedience, support and submission.

4- The prohibition of forsaking the Islamic community and separating between Muslims: The authority had ascribed a type of sanctity to the concept of the “Islamic community” and strove to exploit it in confronting the opposing enterprise. The meaning of “Islamic community” which the authority actually meant was the “community of the authority”. The opposition had its own community but it was not included in the political term coined by the authority. We have referred to many incidents where this term was used, and we shall add what Muawiyah said to Abdullah Ibn Umar when the latter asked him about the reason of Yazid's appointment as Caliph: «I warn you from separating between Muslims and from seeking to divide their community and from spilling their blood.”⁸²

2- Raising the Moral and Intellectual Ranks of the Figures of the Authority's School of Thought:

At the time when the Umayyad authority was seeking to crush the intellectual and moral glory of the Prophet's Household, it was also seeking to raise the moral and intellectual glory of its own figures. They considered that they presented an extension to the Caliphate State on the political and epistemic level. The Umayyads considered themselves as belonging to the Caliphate State and that the religious and political power of the previous era of rule would strengthen the Umayyad authority's religious and political rank in opposition to the school of Imamate and its political approach.

Muawiyah wrote to his commissioners: "Search for the followers of Othman near you, his lovers and adherents who narrate his virtues and commendable characteristics. Share in their gatherings, bring them near, and honor them. Write to me about what each man of them narrates, his name, name of his father and his tribe."

“Muawiyah's commissioners did as they were told and they narrated many virtues and commendable characteristics of Othman in their yearning for the grants, garments, endowments and lands which Muwaiyah gave to Arabs and non-Arabs.

This spread throughout Egypt where people competed in ranks and the worldly life. Whoever came to one of Muawiyah's commissioners and would mention a virtue or trait of Othman would have his name written down and would become close to [the commissioner]... This condition continued for a period of time until [Muawiyah] wrote to his commissioners: “Narrations concerning Othman have become many in number and have spread in every city and direction. When you receive this letter, call people to narrate stories about the virtues of the companions and first caliphs...”⁸³

⁸² Ibn Qutayba, Al-Imamah wa Siyasah, volume 1, 210

⁸³ Ma'alem Al Madrastayn: v 2, p 55 (From Sharh Ibn Abi Al-Hadid)

Therefore, Muawiyah urged some narrators to relate many narrations on the virtues of the Prophet's companions and the prominent figures of the Caliphate because he was aware about the political and intellectual differences between the Imamate school of thought and that of the authority. He wanted to take advantage and benefit from such a difference.

Muawiyah made the claim to avenge the blood of Othman an excuse to reach the authority which the Umayyads claimed to be their right. They considered that Caliphate was for Othman who was unjustly murdered, that they were his heirs and that it should belong to them for they were his relatives. The Umayyad authority sought to give a unique religious aura to the prominent figures of the Caliphate in general and the third Caliph in particular in order to add to its claim of inheriting the Caliphate from Othman. This would probably contribute in granting them political legitimacy and would justify their revolt against the legitimate authority and the Caliphate of the Prophet represented by Imam Ali (peace be upon him).⁸⁴

3- Theory of the Equity of the Prophet's companions:

We indicated previously that the Umayyad authority sought to give itself religious legitimacy because that legitimacy entailed political legitimacy. They tried to benefit from some concepts such as the concept of "Companion of the Prophet" because it would contribute in granting legitimacy.

Accordingly, Muawiyah worked on launching the concept of the "Companion", giving it a religious aspect and introducing it with an aura of sanctity in order to affect Muslims and their awareness. Muawiyah wanted to give a religious power to such a concept because he did not possess any other weapon of religious legitimacy. This concept presented a characteristic which he could grant himself as someone who was personally acquainted with the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household). Muawiyah had been aware of the political and religious disputes which had occurred in subsequent eras and undoubtedly he learned the lessons.

One of the things he learned was that political and religious legitimacy was not something to be undervalued. Thus, when the Umayyad authority contemplated the issue of legitimacy it could only find one characteristic that could apply to Muawiyah: the so-called "Companion". They considered that such a concept would provide the authority with a religious aspect, eloquence, and a speech which would affect the Islamic community.

Thus, Muawiyah wrote to his commissioners: «When you receive this letter, call people to narrate the virtues of the companions and the first Caliphs. Do not leave a single narration which people have narrated about Abu-Turab without giving me a

⁸⁴ (Translation of title) : Umayyads and Caliphate, p 13

contrary statement concerning the companions. I am fonder of this and it pleases me. Moreover, it is more shattering to the proof of Abu-Turab and his Shiites...»⁸⁵

Muawiyah wanted to publicize the virtues of the companions and not to leave a narration about the virtues of Imam Ali (peace be upon him) and his status without an opposing statement about the virtue and rank of the “Prophet’s companion”. Why? He stated his reason: “It is more-shattering to the proof of Abu-Turab and his Shiites...”

It is impossible to separate Muawiyah's letter from the confrontation of political-religious legitimacy between the Umayyad scheme and the Imamate school. This letter is an expression of such a confrontation because Muawiyah was aware of the great number of the Prophet’s sayings concerning the virtues of Imam Ali (peace be upon him) and the great number of narrators who transmitted his merits. This matter contributed to deepening the crisis of political-religious legitimacy which the Umayyad authority had striven to avoid by several means. Thus, the best way to confront that great flow of narrations expressing Imam Ali’s virtues – which were a lethal weapon in the political-religious dispute - was for the authority to produce contrary narrations. Thus, no narration would remain without an opposing narration because that would be “more-shattering to the proof of Abu-Turab and his Shiites”. This statement denoted that it would be more shattering to the religious and intellectual rank of the Prophet’s Household and the entailments of such a rank on the political and social level. It was the war of narration which the authority wanted in order to confront the Imamate school.

4- Determinism:

The concept of determinism indicates that God imposes man’s actions and that people have no free will. Thus, man becomes like a device driven by divine power and moved without the ability to respond and loses his liberty and freedom of choice.

The political-religious legitimacy crisis drove the Umayyad authority to provide theoretical justifications that prove their right to have the Caliphate and to assume command of the Islamic nation.

Dr. Hussein Atwan says: “It seems that the Umayyads felt that the [ideas] they spread about their right in the Caliphate due to their kinship to Othman did not form a distinguished theory to attain the Caliphate. Their right to avenge his blood did not entitle them to be his heirs. The ideas they spread were unable to face the concepts of the opposing factions concerning rule, such as the consultation theory of the Khawarej, Kadriyah, Murji'ah, Jabriyah, and the Prophet’s Succession theory of the Hashemites (which included the descendants of Imam Ali (peace be upon him) and the Abbasids). Thus, they chose the doctrine of determinism in the Caliphate, relied upon it to prove their right in Caliphate and considered that according to it they were the rightful rulers. They considered that God had chosen them for the Caliphate and gave them authority,

⁸⁵ Ma'alem al-Madrasatayn, v 2, p 55

and that they ruled and acted by His will. They surrounded their Caliphate with an aura of holiness and conferred upon themselves many religious titles. In the eyes of Umayyad supporters, Muawiyah bin Abi Sufian was the Caliph of Allah on earth, the Honest and Trustworthy one, and Yazid Bin Muawiyah was the leader of Muslims...»⁸⁶

The Umayyad authority needed what would justify its acts and policies which contradicted to the least levels of religious awareness of the Muslim community. Thus, Muawiyah used this concept and promoted it in an attempt to silence those who opposed his actions and policies, especially concerning his assignment of his son Yazid as caliph over Muslims and his own claim of being the Caliph and Imam of Muslims. Judge Abdul Jabbar Al-Muatazili transmitted that Sheikh Abu Ali Al-Jibai said:

«The first who adopted determinism and expressed it was Muawiyah. He made it evident that what he had was by the decree of Allah and from His creation...and that Allah made him a leader and assigned him as ruler, and this spread among the Umayyad rulers. »⁸⁷

The serious problem that Muawiyah faced was the issue of his son Yazid's assignment as future Caliph. Yazid was known for his dissoluteness, immorality, and dissipation. It was difficult for the Muslim society to accept Yazid's assignment as Caliph, so Muawiyah distorted religion to justify his son's appointment.

History narrates that Muawiyah went to Medina to set the suitable conditions for the appointment of Yazid and to receive the pledge of loyalty to him. He also met Aisha and said to her:

".....the reign of Yazid is a matter of fate, and people have no choice in their affairs."⁸⁸

He also used this method with Abdullah son of Omar when the latter asked him about the reason for Yazid's appointment. He answered: «I warn you from separating between Muslims and from seeking to divide their community and from spilling their blood. The reign of Yazid is a matter of fate and people have no choice in their affairs."⁸⁹

This justificatory and corruptive method which Muawiyah used became a basis which all or most of the figures of authority acted according to. Muawiyah established and spread the principle of determinism, and by doing so he opened a wide door for the authority to commit the most terrible and heinous crimes- as long as the justificatory speech was present to lift every responsibility from the authority and its figures. They

⁸⁶ Umayyids and Caliphate, p 19

⁸⁷ Al-Subhani, Al-Milal w Al-Nihal, v 1, p 261 (from Al-Mughni)

⁸⁸ Ibid., p 240 (From Imamah wa Siyasah)

⁸⁹ Ibid.

considered that whatever happened was God's decree, that there was no escape from it, and that if God had not wanted it to occur it would not have happened.

This doctrinal and political misconception was evident in the dialogue between Imam Zayn al-'Abidin (peace be upon him) and Yazid. Sheikh Al-Mufid narrates that when Imam Zayn Al-'Abidin and the family of Hussein were taken to Yazid's assembly, Yazid said: "O Ali son of Hussein! Your father cut off my kinship, ignored my right, and disputed my authority. Thus, Allah did to him what you have witnessed."

Ali son of Hussein (peace be upon him) said: ﴿No misfortune can happen on earth or in your souls but it is recorded in a decree before We bring it into existence, that is truly easy for Allah﴾.⁹⁰

Imam Zayn Al-'Abidin (peace be upon him) had faced the same dialogue with Yazid's governor of Kufa, Obeidilah Bin Ziad. When the Imam was taken to him, he asked him: "Who are you?"

The Imam (peace be upon him) said: "I am Ali son of Hussein."

Obeidilah said: Did Allah not kill Ali son of Hussein?

The Imam (peace be upon him) answered: "I had a brother whose name was Ali, but people killed him."

Ibn Ziad said: "Rather Allah killed him."

Then the Imam (peace be upon him) said: «Allah takes souls at the time of their death»⁹¹

Sheikh al-Mufid also mentions that when the head of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) arrived, Ibn Ziad sat in the government palace, gave people general permission, and ordered that the head be brought to him. The head of the Imam was placed in front of Ibn Ziyad and he looked at the head, smiled, and hit the Imam's teeth with a rod he had.

Zayd Bin Arqam, the Prophet's companion, was standing nearby and he was a very old man. When he saw this sight he said: "Take away your stick from those lips! By Allah the only God, I have seen the Prophet kissing those lips many times than I can count!"

Then he cried and Ibn Ziyad said, "May Allah make your eyes cry in sorrow! Are you crying for the victory of God? Be grateful that you are an aged old man and have lost your wisdom. If you were not senile, I would have ordered to strike your neck!" Then Zayd Bin Arqam stood up and went to his house."⁹²

Ibn Ziyad hypocritically considered it as a victory and act of God, and that none should object His act.

This logic is manifest in the dialogue between Ibn Ziyad and Lady Zainab (peace be upon her). He faced her and said, "Praise Allah that He has exposed and killed you and revealed your lies."

⁹⁰ Al-Ershad, volume 2, page 120

⁹¹ Ibid., p 116

⁹² Ibid., p 114-115

Zainab replied, "Praise be to Allah Who has honored us by His Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household) and purified us from filth. Indeed, only the guilty will be exposed, and the sinners will lie, and they are not we."

Ibn Ziyad asked, "What do you think of what Allah did to your family?"

She said, "These are people on whom death was decreed and they have gone forth to the place of their death. God will gather you and them on the Day of Judgment and you will dispute and argue [in His presence]."⁹³

Abdullah Bin Motih al-Adawi objected the actions of Umar ibn Sa'ad and said: "You have chosen Hamadan and Ray over the death of your cousin!" Omar said: It is predestined from Heaven."⁹⁴

In order to justify all its acts which were contrary to religion, the Umayyad authority wanted to present poisonous knowledge to the public opinion under a religious mask to lift responsibility from its shoulders. It used phrases such as "predestined by God", "an act of God", "a victory of God", "what God did to your household", "God killed Ali son of Hussein", and "it is predestined from Heaven". The authority depicted that what it did was only the execution of God's will.

Ahmad Mahmoud Sobhi says in his book "The Imamate Theory": "Muawiyah did not sustain his reign only through force but also with an ideology which affected the heart of doctrine. He used to declare before people that he and Imam Ali had appealed to God concerning authority and that God ordained that he would be Caliph and not Ali! When he wanted the people of the Hijaz to pledge allegiance to his son Yazid, he declared that the assignment of Yazid as future Caliph was a destiny and people had no choice but to accept it. Thus, people were almost convinced that the all the Caliph's orders- even if they contradicted obedience to God- were something God ordained on His servants."⁹⁵

5- The Concept of Postponement (Ijrāʾ):

The Umayyad authority was working to produce a set of concepts with a religious aspect in order to penetrate the religious consciousness of the Muslim community. This was an attempt to create a doctrinal vision which would contribute to justifying its political behavior.

One of the concepts which the Umayyad authority adopted and strove to spread was the concept of postponement (irjāʾ). This doctrinal concept eliminated the importance of actions and gave them no worth. It maintained that faith is but knowledge in the heart and verbal assent, and that sinning does not affect faith! This is probably the reason they were

⁹³ Ibid., p 115

⁹⁴ Tabakat Ibn Saad, v 5, p 113

⁹⁵ Al-Subhani, Al-Milal wa Nihal, p 240

named “Murji'ah” because they postponed actions away from faith and did not include actions in the concept of faith. Thus, postponement here means to delay as the Almighty said: {They said: Put him and his brother off (for a while)} (The Heights, verse 111) (“Arjeh” is the Arabic term for {put him off} and it is a derivation from the word ‘irja)

Another reason for the name of this concept “Murji’ah” is that irja’ in Arabic is taken from raja’ which means hope, namely the hope in the forgiveness of God despite the number of sins committed, for sin does not affect faith! This meaning appears in the dialogue between Aisha and Muawiyah when she says: "O Muawiyah! You killed Hujr and his diligent worshipping companions!"

He said: “Leave this and what do you think of my fulfillment of your needs?” She said: “Good.” and he said: “Leave us and them until we meet our Lord”.⁹⁶

The use of this concept in a way which gives actions no worth and justifies sin was in the era of Muawiyah who demonstrated in words and actions that sin does not affect faith. Thus, the governor may commit crimes and abominations while still being a believer who people should not revolt against or oppose because every infringement of religion he commits does not affect his faith!

Ibn Abi Hadid says in the explanation of Nahjul Balagha:

"The first who adopted the concept of postponement (irjā) was Muawiyah Bin Abi Sufian and Amro Bin Al-‘As. They claimed that sin did not affect faith, and that is the reason why Muawiyah answered the one who said to him: ‘You fought whom you knew and committed what you were aware of!’ : I trusted in the Almighty’s words : "Surely Allah forgives all sins"⁹⁷.

Muawiyah realized the seriousness of his acts on the religious level and the unacceptability of such acts in the religious awareness of the Islamic community. Thus, he and the Umayyad authority were concerned with using religion itself to confront religion and to exploit it to serve political aims. Such a justificatory approach worked to produce more than one epistemic means which would be used whenever the political advantage or inducement entailed it- even if such means were contradictory.

At the time when the Umayyad authority recognized how such an epistemic creation would contribute in producing a temporary political interest, it was also aware how much it would damage true religious knowledge and the religious awareness of the Islamic community. Nonetheless, the Umayyad authority preferred to neglect religion and use it to serve worldly and limited interests. That is to say if we do not consider that the authority targeted religion and sought to eliminate it due to its enmity against Prophet Muhammad and his Family and the authority’s clinging to ignorance. This can be deduced through several historical texts.

⁹⁶ (Translation of title) : Pages from the History of Karbala, p 179 (From Al-Kamel fi Al-Tarikh)

⁹⁷ If Imam Hussein Had Pledged Allegiance, p 67

6- Adopting and Promoting the Culture of the People of the Book

For its epistemological sources, the school of the Umayyad authority adopted some sources which did not belong to Islamic knowledge in an attempt to create an epistemic system consistent with its political approach. We can find that some narrators transmitted ideas from some Jewish or Christian scholars who had apparently adopted Islam. Muawiyah himself had transmitted statements from Tamim Al-Dari, the Christian monk, and the Jewish Kaab Al-Ahbar who had both shown Islam, and he had allowed them to spread Israelite knowledge among Muslims. Interestingly, Tamim moved from Medina to Damascus after the death of Othman and remained under Muawiyah's patronage until he died in the year 40 of Hegira. As for Kaab Al-Ahbar, when the first signs of revolution began against Othman, he left Medina and went to Damascus to live under Muawiyah's care where he was honored until his death in the year 34 of Hegira.

The issue was not only these two scholars but it was also an issue of giving information to the public in an attempt to let Israeli culture permeate to the religious consciousness of the Muslim community. That is why Imam Ali (peace be upon him) expelled them from Muslim mosques during his reign to prevent the spread of that foreign culture which threatened the religious Islamic consciousness with distortion. Sayyed Mortada Al-Askari says:

"The transfer of Israelite ideas was not only limited to those two scholars of the People of the Book and their students. There was also another group of people during their time and after them. They greatly affected Islamic thought in the school of the Caliphate, and then Israeli ideas entered Islam and affected a part of it. This is the reason why concepts spread in the Caliphate school such as the idea that God has a physical body and that prophets could commit sin, in addition to the view on life and resurrection along with other Israeli ideas. The influence [of these scholars] increased during the Umayyad era, especially in the reign of Muawiyah where he gathered a group of Christians close to him such as his clerk Sarjoun, his doctor Ibn Athal, and his poet Al Akhtal. It was clear that they did not forsake their Christian thoughts and customs and that they brought them along to the Umayyad court. In addition to that, Damascus the capital of Muawiyah, had been the capital of the Byzantine Christians and had an ancient civilization.

Muawiyah had been reared in the midst of the crudest pre-Islamic tribal spirit which had fought against Islam and its customs until Islam vanquished it in battle. He grew up in such an atmosphere until he matured, and then when he became old he moved from Mecca after its conquest to Medina and became a Muslim. He remained in the emerging Muslim community for only a short time and it was not enough to fully adopt Islamic characteristics. Thus, he could not have an effect on the society of the ancient Byzantine civilization and he was affected by it instead.

Muawiyah used to exile whoever hindered his way such as some of the Prophet's companions who were genuinely religious like Abu Thar, Abu Al-Dardaa and the readers of the Quran from Kufa.

All those factors led the Caliphate from Muawiyah's time to display the culture of People of the Book."⁹⁸

7- Non Consideration of Religious Regulations

The non consideration of religious regulations and non compliance with the Prophet's words and their sanctity were one of the issues which were clearly evident in the conduct of the Umayyad authority and its figures. They killed the Prophet's grandson, desecrated the city of the Prophet for three days, demolished the Kaaba, and killed innocent people and the Prophet's companions. The aforementioned examples we mentioned indicate how much the authority was striving to distort religion and change concepts in line with its interests.

In addition to what we mentioned, we will refer to the main instances where the authority disregarded religious laws and sought for temporary goals despite the negative results incurred on the religious awareness of some social classes:

A- Breaking the peace treaty with Imam Hassan (peace be upon him)

Imam Hassan (peace be upon him) conducted a peace treaty with Muawiyah due to the prevailing conditions at that time and the available information which obliged Imam Hassan (peace be upon him) to opt to a peace treaty. It was conducted on the basis that Muawiyah would abide by the conditions. Some historians relate that Muawiyah sent the Imam a blank paper stamped with his seal for the Imam to write his own terms, so the Imam dictated his conditions and then Muawiyah wrote them in his handwriting and stamped [the paper] with his seal. He gave definite promises and solemn oaths witnessed by all the leaders of Damascus.⁹⁹

But it was not long before he denounced his promises, did not fulfill what he had vowed, and did not act according to the conditions. He said his famous saying: "I have promised Hassan certain matters, and they are trampled under my feet. I will not fulfill any of them."¹⁰⁰

B- Declaring that Ziad was Abu Sufyan's son: Muawiyah considered Ziyad to be the son of Abu Sufian (Muawiyah's father) claiming that Abu Sufian had committed adultery before Islam with Sumaya who was the wife of Obeid. His "proof" was the testimony of Abu Mariam who was a wine trader. Muawiyah did this in spite of the Prophet's saying :"

⁹⁸ Ma'alem Al Madrastayn: v 2, p 53-54

⁹⁹ Discretion against the Text, p 370

¹⁰⁰ Al Ershad. v 2, p 14

The child is to be attributed to the [owner] of the bed, and for a fornicator there is stoning".

This step by Muawiyah was a pre-Islamic practice and all people censured this action but he did not care. He would feel angry if Ziyad would not be attributed to his father, and one of his contemporaries said: Do you get angry if your father is called virtuous while you are satisfied if he is called a fornicator?!¹⁰¹

Muawiyah's aim from such a step was to strengthen the relationship with Ziyad so that he would be obedient to him in killing, torturing, and punishing the followers and supporters of the Prophet's Household.

C- Drinking alcohol: The figures of the Umayyad authority did not hesitate from drinking alcohol. Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) described Yazid, saying: "Yazid son of Muawiyah is an immoral man and practices his immorality publicly, kills sacred souls and drinks alcohol..."¹⁰²

This was one of Muawiyah's characteristics as well. Ahmad Bin Hanbal transmitted that Abdullah Bin Burida said: "My father and I came to Muawiyah and he sat us on spreads. Food was brought to us and we ate, then alcohol was brought to us. Muawiyah drank it and offered it to my father who said: "I have not drunk it since the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) forbade drinking it."¹⁰³

D- Permitting Usury: The disregard of the figures of authority with respect to religious regulations and committing sins was not restricted to certain domains. The audacity to commit what God prohibited made Muawiyah consider that there was nothing wrong with usury. Malek and Al-Nisai' transmitted from 'Ataa Bin Yasar that Muawiyah sold a gold utensil or paper for more than its actual value, so Abu Al-Dardaa told him that he heard the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) prohibit such an act and only to exchange same for same, but Muawiyah said that he did not see anything wrong with it."

Muslim narrated in his book that Muawiyah launched an invasion in which 'Obada Bin Al-Samet participated and they captured among the spoils a silver utensil. Muawiyah ordered a man to sell it in people's endowments so people rushed. When 'Obada Bin Al-Samet heard about that he rose and said: "I heard the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) prohibit the sale of gold for gold and silver for silver...only evenness and one substance in exchange for another, and whoever increases or abounds has committed usury". Thus, people started returning what they had taken. Muawiyah heard what had happened and issued a speech: "What is wrong with men narrating sayings from the Prophet. We used to see and accompany him but we never heard these sayings." 'Obada Bin Al-Samet repeated the narration and said: "We will narrate what we heard from

¹⁰¹ Discretion against the Text, p353

¹⁰² Pages from the History of Karbala, p 163 (from Al-Zawaed collection)

¹⁰³ A-Nafis, Ahmad, (Translation of title) Following Imam Hussein's Footsteps, page 46

Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him and his Household) even if Muawiyah hates that."¹⁰⁴

These are samples of the authority's transgressions and disregard of religion. This reveals that the authority only abided with religion when it would serve as a cover and mask. We have mentioned that the authority strove to destroy religion under the name of religion. Religion in its pure form and Prophetic concepts was an obstacle hindering the authority from satisfying its desires and fulfilling its pleasures. Stemming from its enmity to religion and its true adherents and in order to attain material gain, the authority found it necessary to topple religion. Therefore, the battle of Karbala and the day of Ashoura became inevitable. This battle was able to fulfill the mission of separating between true Islam and "Umayyad" Islam most efficiently, and thus Islam remained pure and alive until this very day.

Did Hostility and Hatred have a Role in the Formulation of Events?

In the context of our explanation of the events, we shed light on a historic fact which is that the Umayyad scheme was for worldly authority gain and it aimed for prominence, wealth, and fame. That is why they faced the Prophet's Household and the school of Imamate being aware that things would not be to their favor if they did not degrade the social and moral standing of the Prophet's Household. However, the question which arises is that couldn't there be, amongst their several aims, an enmity towards the Prophet Muhammad and his family, and that their non adoption of religion as a doctrine and vision of life was due to the malice in their hearts which arose from past events?

Whoever reads the history of the Umayyad authority will reach a conclusion that the Umayyads fought Islam with all their ability even to the last days before things came out of their control. Islam spread its power and it became impossible to fight it. Their interests necessitated that they enter Islam and seek to obtain power and gains through this religion.

This is what we find in Muawiyah's will to his son Yazid, where he emphasizes that he should never leave leading people in prayer. However, keenness in adhering to Islam on the surface and expressing religion did not prevent the committing of errors which uncovered the real intentions, the nature of motives and the actual attitude towards the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) and the message of Islam.

Imam Hassan (peace be upon him) revealed such a truth before Muawiyah himself. Muawiyah invited Imam Hassan (peace be upon him) to his house and when the Imam went he found 'Amro Bin Al-'As, Walid Bin 'Akaba, 'Akaba Bin Abi Sufyan and Mughira Bin Shu'ba. Once they saw the Imam (peace be upon him) they started insulting him, and Imam Hassan (peace be upon him) turned to Muawiyah and said:

¹⁰⁴(Translation of title) : Sayings of Um Al Mouminin Aysha v 1, p 299

"These have not insulted me but you have insulted me by the shamelessness which you are used to, the ill-opinion by which you are known, the bad manners which have become established in you, and your aggression against us arising from your enmity to Muhammad and his family."¹⁰⁵

This was clearly evident by his son Yazid - like father like son. It is well known that when the head of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) was placed in front of him, he gathered the citizens and hit the head with a cane. He said:

I wish those of my clan who were killed at Badr, and those who had seen the people of the Khazraj clan wailing (in the battle of Uhud) on account of lancet wounds, were here. They would have hailed me with loud cries and said: "O Yazid, may your hands never be paralyzed" because I have killed the chiefs of his (the Prophet's) clan. I did so as revenge for Badr, which has now been completed.

Al-Sha'bi said that Yazid added the following verses: The Hashemite clan only played a game with government. There has come no message from Allah, nor was anything revealed. I would not belong to the Khandaf family if I had not taken vengeance on Ahmad's descendants."¹⁰⁶

The case of Yazid is a case of taking revenge from the Prophet's Household as a result of what the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) did to his forefathers who had fought the Divine Message on the side of polytheists. Therefore, killing the Prophet's Household was in return for the Prophet's killing of his forefathers and his tribesmen. It is undoubted that the hatred and taking revenge from the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) was an aspect in this case, and this is what Muawiyah himself declared as narrated by Al-Motraf Bin Mughirah Bin Shu'bah who said: "I entered into Muawiyah's presence with my father who used to go to him and engage in conversation with him. [My father] would depart and mention Muawiyah's intellect or his commendable actions. However, one night my father did not have dinner. I saw him depressed and I waited for him for a while. I thought it was due to something which had happened to us. I asked him: 'Why are you depressed tonight?'

He said: 'O son! I just came from the place of the most unbelieving and malignant people.

I asked: 'What is it?'

He said: 'I told him when we were alone that: O prince of believers, you have gotten old, if you could just show justice and spread benefaction, and if you could look at your brothers of the Hashemite clan and link their kinship. By Allah today they have nothing you fear, and that will survive as remembrance and award to you after you die. [Muawiyah] said: "Never! What remembrance do I seek to survive after me? The one from the [clan of] Taym ruled and did what he did, and once he died his remembrance perished except for someone to say: 'Abu Bakr', then the one from the clan of Uday ruled and was diligent for ten years, but then he died and his remembrance perished, except for

¹⁰⁵ Shiites and Governors, page 71

¹⁰⁶ Ma'alem Al-Madrastayn: v 2, page 202

someone to say: ‘Omar’. However, people shout five times everyday about Ibn Abi Kabsha saying: "I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and I bear witness that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah". So what action will remain and what remembrance will survive after this...No by Allah, only burial, burial!"¹⁰⁷

He meant the burial of the remembrance of Muhammad (peace be upon him and his Household). It was an invocation to cease the Prophet’s remembrance. Does this not reveal a concealed hatred against the Prophet and his family which can be traced back to Badr, Uhud and the other confrontations with Kuraysh which were finalized with the conquering of Mecca, the elimination of polytheism, and the destruction of idols?

Additionally, Yazid’s statement (I did so as revenge for Badr, which has now been completed) affirms that the confrontation with the Prophet’s Household was in fact a confrontation with religion and the Sunnah of Allah and his Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household). This threatened the accomplishments which the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) achieved on all levels. Religion and religious knowledge were in danger and this drove the Imams (peace be upon them) to confront the Umayyad scheme and Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) to sacrifice himself, his family and companions for reform in general, and for religious reform in particular.

Conclusions and Findings

1- Reading Imam Hussein’s revolutionary experience enables us to reach a conclusion which is that the Umayyad authority which lived in a time close to the Prophet’s time had striven to distort the legacy of the Prophet and his Sunnah through court scholars and traders of narrations. It wanted to recreate it by forming it in such a manner which agrees with its interests. This conclusion emphasizes that we should re-read the religious and Islamic heritage taking into consideration the aspect of power which had more than one impact on the formation of that heritage.

This emphasizes that we should scrutinize narrations in order to discover the texts which the authority worked to produce and distribute within the extremes of that heritage. We should also recall such texts which the authority marginalized, neutralized or interpreted in a way to exclude their effect on the creation of the political and social awareness of the Islamic community.

The proposal that I would like to declare here is a methodical proposal which indicates taking into consideration the methodology adopted to read the religious heritage and the potential political intrusion in a text in some way or another. This should be done in order to establish the process of purifying the Islamic heritage from the authoritarian

¹⁰⁷ Ma’alem Al Madrastayn: v 2, p 366-367

sediments which the authority provided with an aura of sanctity for the sake of temporary and limited interests, but their disruptive impact still continues till today.

2- Whoever talks about the insignificant outcome of Imam Hussein's revolution needs to accurately read that revolution while taking into consideration – among other matters- the aspect of religious reform and the essential and important epistemic-religious aim.

One of the results of Imam Hussein's movement and martyrdom was destroying the religious mask of the authority and the elimination of any trace of the epistemology which the authority had produced in order to contribute to the weaving the public Islamic awareness.

The Umayyad authority resorted to some religious figures to give a religious facade for its deviant culture. However, upon killing Imam Hussein (peace be upon him), the grandson of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household), whom the Prophet had assigned as Imam and leader to guidance, no religious justification or cover was useful, for the religious mask of that authority fell down along with every theorization of its religious legitimacy. It appeared clearly that such an authority did not give any importance to religion and its prohibitions, for an authority which kills the grandson and beloved descendant of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) could never be a religious authority. Accordingly, one of the most significant results of the martyrdom of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) was depriving the Umayyad authority from an important weapon which was religion and religious knowledge. If the authority had not lost such a critical weapon, the damage and harm would have been more dangerous than the damage and harm resulting from the existence of the authority itself. The authority would disappear by its disappearance, but if it left a deviant and corrupt heritage in the name of religion, then such corruption will continue with the endurance of that heritage or the continuation of the authority's effects upon it.

3- The Umayyad authority's experience was an example of an authority which always sought to increase its power and influence by adding some authoritarian factors to its power. We mean authority here in its general meaning which encompasses all that may affect the political and social community. Thus, when that authority finds an institution, system, or doctrine that possess such an effect then it will have several options; either to confront the opposing authority in an attempt to exclude the risk of its effect, to attempt to contain and control it, or at least to benefit from it as much as possible, Undoubtedly, the last option, if available, would be the best option in the authority's calculations.

Religion's great influence on the political and social community has always represented a serious problem for the governing authority. It had a monopolistic tendency and would seek to contain the effect of religion, control religious authority, or try to benefit from it on one level or another, especially if there were a firm connection between the religion and politics. Thus, it would be necessary to obtain religious legitimacy in order to obtain political legitimacy or power. This equation clarifies the controversial

relation between politics and religion which we can clearly see throughout the Umayyad political history. That history represents a rich domain that demonstrates all aspects of that controversy and its mechanisms in order to present a vivid and complete vision about it. It is not limited to the Umayyad experience, but it is present in every era in which there are multi-authorities (therefore multi effects). Thus, when the political authority and religious authority gather in one domain, we will find a manifestation of such controversy, and we will also find that the political authority either accepts, rejects or tries to benefit from religion in any way. As for the religious authority, we will find either resistance, compliance, or readiness to conclude deals in which religion itself might be trespassed.

Society in general needs to recognize and be aware of such controversy in order to possess the ability of discriminating between a political authority that acknowledges the presence of another authority, respects its influence and is ready to live with it, and a political authority that does not acknowledge the presence of another authority and would –for the least- seek to use it for its interest and control it, or else the option of confronting and eliminating it might be available.

Society also needs to discriminate between a religious authority- or religious figures- which maintain their principles and religious values and are ready to go as far as possible in their generosity and sacrifice in respect to their doctrine and for the protection of their message, and a religious authority- or religious figures- ready to abandon such principles and values in return for worldly gains, and might even accept distorting religion or inserting false concepts into it if they are offered something desirable. We have witnessed this in what history records concerning the experience of the Umayyad authority.

4- The exposure of religion to the risk of deviation and the heritage of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) to loss sometimes requires many sacrifices that might reach the limit of sacrificing oneself and wealth for the purpose of preserving religion and protecting it from corruption and deviation. This is what happened with Imam Hussein (peace be upon him). The need of religion for such great sacrifices is a test for the hearts of men and through which their true characteristics are revealed.

In that difficult circumstance where the Umayyad authority started destroying religion in the name of religion and violating the Sharia of the Lord of the Worlds, it was the time to reveal who was more protective of religion, trustworthy for preserving it, and ready to sacrifice for defending it from corruption and deviation.

The war of the Umayyad authority against religion was able to reveal the true heirs of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) -who were keen on protecting his heritage, effort and struggle from the harm of the authority's power.

The battle of Karbala despite all the tragedies and what happened during and after it proved that the school of the Prophet's Household had been prepared and assigned by the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household) so that it would lead the Islamic

enterprise on all levels. Imam Hussein's revolt was only motivated by religion and for its sake. This is why the [famous] statement is very true: "Islam is Muhamadi in its presence and Husseini in its preservation", because Hussein is from the Prophet and the Prophet is from Hussein and they are all part of one household, peace be upon them all.

5- The leaders of the Household's school of thought rose to protect and maintain religion. All this school's concern, effort and struggle were to deliver religion to people free from any deviation. This school faced the processes of distortion in hadith and the greedy falsifiers of narrations so that we could receive the Prophet's heritage free and clear from any tampering of the authority. The struggle of this school for true religion to reach us and striving to transmit the Prophet's heritage throughout generations signifies that it is the school which we can rely upon and trust in its narrations from the Prophet (peace be upon him and his Household). It was a school which had an utmost priority to preserve such a heritage and gave the precious and the valuable so that it would reach us intact. Its leader, Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) died as a martyr for that purpose. We can be confident in that school's charge which it carried throughout decades until it delivered it to us. That charge is the Prophet's narrations which have a fundamental and significant role in clarifying religion and its concepts and rules.

The event of Karbala reveals a significant fact which is that the narrations which the Prophet's Household transmitted must assume an essential role in formulating religious concepts and producing all the rules linked to religion for all Muslims, and not to limit such narrations to one Islamic sect and the exclusion of other sects. The Prophet's narrations do not belong to one sect but to all Muslims and it is their right to benefit from them.

6- In the face of the authority's monopolistic tendency, the religious text possesses the elements of immunity which prevent the transformation of the religious institution and its figures to tools in the hand of the authority which aims to drive them in the direction that serves its interests.

That aspect of the religious text which preserves the upright conduct of the religious institution and implants the seeds of resistance should be derived and used for religious speech. It should also be used to create an epistemology derived from those texts so that it would form a culture of resistance opposing the authority's inclinations and temptations.

This culture should form a primary element in the epistemic material of that institution, in addition to the fact that the religious text, in its nature and target, takes humans to the world of the unseen. Even though religion cares for the affairs of the worldly life, does not neglect it and presents laws to live by on earth, yet it considers the worldly life a path to the hereafter and the pleasure of Allah.

Nonetheless, part of that text directly refers to how people should act with the authority. For example, some texts state that if you see scholars at the doors of rulers then evil are the scholars and the rulers. Other texts warn people from the love of fame and

from seeking prestige and reputation, for “you have not what we desire and we have nothing to fear you for.”

The religious institution – with its symbols and figures- should be an expression of that text, and the text should be manifest through it. It should signify the text and its religious aspect comes from the extent to which it expresses and reflects the text.

Therefore, the culture of resistance, uprightness in conduct, and remaining aloof from gaining authority for worldly purposes should all be clear in the conduct of that institution and reflected in its performance. If we find a gap between what that text narrates and the institution does, then evil are the scholars and their institution.

7- When we discover the presence of a religious authoritarian institution and the presence of a group of court scholars, especially those who cooperated and dealt with the Umayyad authority, then the joining of a narrator to that group shall lead to a negative result in the balance of contesting and amendment. What he narrates should be dealt with extreme caution because his acceptance to join such an exploitative institution whose figures are used for religious corruption and sabotage of religious concepts is a negative point in the balance of contesting and amendment. The affiliation to any such institutions of that authority - which is an authority deviant from religion and works on fighting it - must be considered as a negative indication towards that narrator.

A group of narrators had close relations with the Umayyad authority, and some of them even managed some of its affairs. They transmitted a number of narrations which we should consider thoroughly and objectively, and with a different method. Perhaps their description as court scholars has a negative result on their overall narrative credit.

8- At the time when Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) preserved religion with his blood, provided the school of the Prophet’s Household with power and endurance, and crushed the intellectual school of the Umayyad faction, he also made another great achievement which is not less than that achievement in his era. He was able to solidify the concept of martyrdom for the sake of preserving religion and for its endurance free from any deviation so that it would reach people with no trace of heresy or uncertainty, and with no distortions or falsifications.

Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) managed through his martyrdom to establish values in the nation’s awareness which still contribute to this very day in the continuation of religion. Values such as being protective of religion, sacrifice for doctrine, and martyrdom for the sake of resisting corruption and deviation are values that entered the core of Muslims' awareness, became rooted in their souls, and became a part of their convictions.

The martyrdom of Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) gave this approach a unique splendor and Ashoura added a number of meanings which are principal and fundamental

factors for the endurance of religious spirit, vital and flowing in the awareness and conscience of Muslims.

9- In the context of our discussion with those who say that the Imam Hussein's revolution had no significant outcome, we can state that the revolution had essential and important consequences even if on the far strategic level. We have discussed the important results on the level of religious knowledge with respect to maintaining religion and eliminating the religious – and thus political- legitimacy of the Umayyad authority. Undoubtedly, such a result led to weakening that authority and paved the way to its downfall after decades.

Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) was able to confront the Umayyad authority by exposing it completely, enabling people to overcome their fear of the authority, stirring the Islamic nation which had been weakened and reviving its determination. This led to a series of successive revolts such as the revolution of Al-Mokhtar and the revolution of A-Tawabin which both contributed to weakening the Umayyad authority and bringing its downfall sooner than expected.

In addition, we can indicate one of the results of the Imam's martyrdom which is no less important than the other results. It contributed to weakening the authority and planted the seeds of hatred against it. This was expressed by Yazid who said that the killing of Imam Hussein led Muslims to hate him¹⁰⁸.

Imam Hussein's status was known by Muslims; he was the Prophet's grandson, and son of Fatima and the Prince of Believers Ali Bin Abi Taleb (peace be upon them). The Prophet said that Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) was the Master of the Youth of Paradise and that he was an Imam whether he stood up or sat down. Therefore, the authority's audacity to kill the only surviving and beloved grandson of the Prophet (peace be upon him) in that era and in such a tragic manner, led to a sympathetic reaction to Imam Hussein's cause and a resentment towards his killers and the ones who had committed such a terrible tragedy which bloodied the hearts of Muslims and shocked their conscience. Thus, feelings of hatred and malice erupted against the authority and its supporters, while emotion managed to immortalize Imam Hussein's cause and to keep it alive and ardent in the hearts of believers. The feeling of hatred and malice toward the persons who had committed the crime and their agents contributed to isolating and excluding all which was related to the authority. The Islamic society's hatred flared against the Umayyad authority. Those feelings accumulated even more due to the successive crimes which the authority committed such as desecrating Medina, demolishing the Kaabah, killing people for a mere accusation, and showing hostility towards the Prophet's Household. All this led to implanting hostility in the hearts of Muslims towards the Umayyads. This hostility exploded from time to time in a form of a revolution here or there, until it destroyed and eliminated their power. Nothing remains from their remembrance but an example for all those who reflect in order to learn lessons, an invocation for the everlasting punishment of the Umayyad oppressors, and a curse

¹⁰⁸ The Umayyads and Caliphate, p 93

upon them and those who offered them support, pledged allegiance to them and were pleased with what they committed.