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Nahjal-Balāghah: The Wisdom and Eloquence of 'Alī

Radī's Introduction

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<sup>1</sup> The majority of Nahj al-Balāghah texts do not have titles. The descriptors here are thus my own, drawing on the content of the text, on Raḍī's remarks if there are any, and context from the history books. For each piece, I have also added the first line of both the translation and the Arabic.

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1.7

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When Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr was killed, and the Umayyads took over Egypt "My own choice for governor of Egypt was Hāshim ibn 'Utbah"

1.65

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1.66 Censuring followers for not fighting, after Ibn Bashīr's attack on 'Ayn al-Tamr "How long should I coax you and blandish you? How long must I handle you gingerly as a young camel whose hump a heavy load would crush?" (كم أداريكم كما تدارى البكار العَمدة) p. 190 In the predawn hour of the day in which he was struck his death-1.67 "Sleep overtook me as I sat, and the Messenger appeared before my eyes" (ملكتني عيني وأنا جالس فسنح لي رسول الله) p. 192 Following Siffin, censuring followers for agreeing to a truce on the 1.68 verge of victory "Iraqis! You are like a pregnant woman who, at full term, delivers a stillborn (يا أهل العراق فإنَّما أنتم كالمرأة الحامل حملت فلمَّا أتمَّت أملصت ومات قيَّمها) p. 192 Invoking blessings on the Prophet and praising him 1.69 "God, unfolder of lands unfolded" (اللَّهمُّ داحي المدحوَّات) p. 192 About Marwan, when he offered the pledge to 'Alī after the Battle of 1.70 the Camel "Did he not pledge allegiance to me right after Uthm $\bar{a}$ n was killed?" (أفلم يبايعني بعد قتل عثمان) p. 194 To the Shūrā Council, when they resolved to install 'Uthmān as caliph 1.71 "You know full well that I have more right to the caliphate than anyone else" (لقد علمتم أنَّى أحقُّ الناس بها من غيري) p. 196 When the Umayyads accused him of complicity in 'Uthmān's killing 1.72 "Is the Umayyads' own knowledge of my character not enough to stop them from injuring me?" (أولم ينه بني أميّة علمها بي عن قَرَفي) p. 196 Pious counsel 1.73 "May God have mercy on the man who listens to wisdom and retains" (رحم الله عبدًا سمع حُكًّا فوعي) p. 198 Response to a gift sent by Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, 'Uthmān's governor in 1.74 Kufa

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"The Umayyads stingily throw at me my share of Muḥammad's inheritance,

piece by piece"

1.75 A frequent supplication
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p. 200 (أتزعم أنّك تهدي إلى الساعة التي من سار فيها صرف عنه السوء)

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1.83 Pious counsel

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(عاد الله إنّ من أحبّ عباد الله إليه عبدًا أعانه الله على نفسه)

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1.115	Praise of supporters, following the Battle of the Camel "You are my supporters in the cause of truth and my brothers in faith" (أنتم الأنصار على الحقّ والإخوان في الدين)	p. 292
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	(ما لكم لا سُدّدتم لرشد ولا هُديتم لقصد)	p. 294
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1.119	Reminding the Kharijites of their push for the arbitration, 'Ali's vice to Islam "When the Syrians raised leaves from the Qur'an on spears—using tric ألم تقولوا عند رفعهم المصاحف حيلة")	
1.120	Instructions to troops ahead of Ṣiffin  "If any of you finds composure in his heart when meeting the enemy"  (وأيّ أمرئ منكم أحسّ من نفسه رباطة جأش عند اللقاء)	p. 298
1.121	Chastising followers for refusing to fight, presumably after Ṣiffi "I see you now, scuttling away like a group of thorn-tailed lizards" (وكَأَنِّي أَنظر إِليكم تَكِشُون كَشيش الضِّباب)	īn p. 300
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1.123	To the Kharijites, saying arbitration was sought from the Qur'a "I did not appoint men to arbitrate—I sought arbitration from the Qur (إنَّا لَم نَحْمُ الرَّجَالُ وإنَّا حَمَّنَا القَرآنَ)	n
1.124	Response to complaints when 'Alī levelled treasury stipends	

"Do you urge me to seek victory by oppressing the people I rule?" (أَتَّا مُ وَنِي أَنْ أَطلُب النَّصِر بِالْجُورِ فَيمَن وَلِيتَ عَلَيه)

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1.125 To the Kharijites

"Even if you insist—and you do so wrongly—on believing that I have sinned and erred"

1.126 To Aḥnaf, foretelling epic fighting in Basra, interpreted as the Zanj revolt

1.127 Transience of life, corrupt trade practices

"Servants of God! You, with all that you desire of this world, are lodgers with fixed timespans"

1.128 To Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī when ʿUthmān exiled him to Rabadhah

1.129 Chastising followers for disobedience, 'Alī's righteousness

p. 316

1.130 Pious counsel

"I give praise to God for what he has taken away and what he has granted"

(نحمده على ما أخذ وأعطى) p. 312

1.131 God's omnipotence, the Qur'an's guidance, Muḥammad's mission, censure of this world

1.132 Response to 'Umar's query on personally marching against the Byzantines

"God has guaranteed to followers of this faith that he will protect their land"

1.133 To Mughīrah ibn al-Akhnas, who offered to 'Uthmān that he would handle 'Alī

"You son of a barren, cursed father" (يا أَسَ اللَّعِينِ الأَمْتِرِ )

1.134 Early in 'Alī's caliphate, on the Medinans sitting out the conflict

"Your oath of allegiance to me was not sworn on an impulse" (لم تكن بيعتكم إيّابي فلّتة)

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1.135 Preceding the Battle of the Camel, censure of Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, reminder of entreaties to 'Alī to assume the caliphate after 'Uthmān's death

"By God, they have no cause to fault me" (والله ما أنكروا منكراً)

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1.136 Prophesy of epic fighting in Iraq

"He will bend passion to conform to guidance"

p. 320

1.137 During the Shūrā Council

"No one will outpace me in calling to the truth"

p. 322

1.138 Forbidding the shaming of people for their sins

"It befits those who are protected ... to show compassion to sinners"

p. 322

1.139 Forbidding giving ear to rumors

"People! Whoever knows his brother to have strong faith and good ways should not give ear to the rumors men spread about him"

p. 324

1.140 Urging giving to the needy and forbidding gifts to the undeserving "A person who distributes gifts in unsuitable quarters ... earns only the praise of the immoral"

1.141 Supplication for rain

"Hark! The earth that carries you"

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1.142 Praise of prophets and Muḥammad's family, censure of enemies "God singled out messengers and sent them bearing the revelation"

p. 326

1.143 The world's vicissitudes, heretical innovations

"People! You are targets in this world at which the fates shoot their arrows"

أيّا الناس إنّا أنتم في هذه الدنيا غرض تنتضل فيه المنايا) [أيّا الناس إنّا أنتم في هذه الدنيا غرض تنتضل فيه المنايا) at-Sharit a c-Radi (d. 405/1015) and Tahera Qutbuddin - 9789904682603 Downloaded from Brill.com 04/18/2024 04:53:30PM

1.144 Response to 'Umar's query on personally marching against the Persians "In this matter, victory or defeat will not hinge on how large the number of troops is or how small" (إنَّ هذا الأمر لم يكن نَصْرُه ولا خذلانه بكثرة ولا بقلة) p. 330 Muḥammad's mission, warning of difficult times 1.145 "God sent Muhammad to turn his servants away from worship of idols" (فبعث محمَّدًا بالحقُّ ليخرج عباده من عبادة الأوثان) p. 332 Before the Battle of the Camel, criticizing Talhah and Zubayr 1.146 "Each of the two wants the caliphate" (كلّ واحد منهما يرجو الأمرله) p. 334 Pious counsel, just before 'Alī's death 1.147 "People! Each person shall meet what he flees as he flees" (أيَّها الناس كلُّ أمرئ لاق ما يفرُّ منه في فراره) p. 336 1.148 Sedition-mongers "Those others went right and left, travelling the paths of error" (وأخذوا يمينًا وشمالًا ظعنًا في مسالك الغيّ) p. 336 1.149 Pious counsel, coming seditions "I ask him for aid against Satan's expulsions and evictions" (وأستعينه على مُداحر الشيطان ومُزاجره) p. 340 In Medina early in 'Alī's caliphate, God's transcendence, God's reli-1.150 gion "Praise God, who demonstrated his existence through his creatures" (الحمد لله الدالّ على وجوده بخلقه) p. 342 Enroute from Medina before the Battle of the Camel, pious counsel 1.151 "Such men, during the respite granted them by God, fall into error" (وهو في مُهلة من الله يهوي مع الغافلين) p. 344 The family of the Prophet 1.152 "An intelligent person possesses a keen heart" (وناظر قلب اللبيب به بيصر أمده) p. 346 Marvelous creation of the bat 1.153 "Praise God! Descriptions are too feeble to plumb his core" (الحمد لله الذي آنحسرت الأوصاف عن كنه معرفته) p. 350

To the people of Basra after the Battle of the Camel, his righteous-1.154 ness, oblique criticism of 'Ā'ishah, on sedition, and pious counsel "At that time, whoever is able to bind himself totally to God should do so" (فهن أستطاع عند ذلك أن يعتقل نفسه على الله فليفعل) p. 352 Pious counsel 1.155 "Praise God, who made praise the key to his remembrance" (الحمد لله الذي جعل الحمد مفتاحًا لذكره) p. 354 The Prophet, the Umayyads, prophesy of a quick end to their 1.156 rule "God sent Muḥammad after a period without prophets" (أرسله على حين فترة من الرسل) p. 356 'Alī's forbearance and care for the people 1.157 "I protected you well and strove to keep you safe" (ولقد أحسنت جواركم وأحطت بجهدي من ورائكم) p. 358 Placing hope in God, Muḥammad, Moses, David, and Jesus "His command constitutes judgment and wisdom" (أمره قضاء وحكمة) p. 358 1.159 The Prophet, pious counsel, life's transience "God sent Muḥammad with brilliant light" (ابتعثه بالنور المضي) p. 364 1.160 Response when asked: How is it that your tribe has driven you away from this station? "You man of Asad! Your mount's girth is loose, and you fire without aim" (يا أَخا بني أَسد إنَّك لُقَلقُ الوَضِين تُرسل فِي غير سَدُد) p. 366 God's transcendence, human creation 1.161 "Praise God, who created his servants" (الحمد لله خالق العباد) p. 368 1.162 Advice to 'Uthmān, a little before his death "People have gathered behind me, and they have sent me to negotiate" (إنَّ الناس ورائي وقد ٱستسفروني بينك وبينهم) p. 370 The marvelous creation of birds, especially the peacock, marvels of 1.163 paradise "God created wondrous creatures" (ابتدعهم خَلْقًا عجيبًا) p. 374

Censuring the Umayyads, chastising followers for weakness and stray-"Let your young emulate your elders, let your elders nurture your young" (لِيَتَأْسُ صغيركم بكبيركم وَلْيْرْؤُفْ كبيركم بصغيركم) p. 380 1.165 Pious counsel, injunctions to care for the earth and animals "God has revealed a book to guide you" (انّ الله سيحانه أنزل كتابًا هاديًا) p. 382 When urged to punish 'Uthmān's assailants 1.166 "Brothers, I am not unmindful of what you know, but how do I enforce retribution" (يا إخوتاه إني لست أجهل ما تعلمون ولكن كيف لي بقوّة) p. 382 Before the Battle of the Camel, 'Alī's righteousness, his challengers' 1.167 iniquity "God sent a messenger, a guide, with a book that speaks" (إنَّ الله بعث رسولًا هاديًا بكتاب ناطق) p. 384 Injunction to a Basran to pledge allegiance "If the people you represent had sent you as a scout to find out where the rains are falling" (أرأيت لو أنّ الذين وراءك بعثوك رائدًا تبتغي لهم مساقط الغيث) p. 384 Prayer and address just before the Battle of Siffin 1.169 "God, O Lord of the lofty sky and layers of air" (اللَّهمّ ربّ السقف المرفوع والجوّ المكفوف) p. 386 Criticizing associates of the Camel, defending his right to the 1.170 caliphate "Praise God, from whom one sky does not conceal another" (الحمد لله الذي لا تُوارى عنه سماءً سماءً) p. 388 1.171 Criticizing associates of the Camel, defending 'Alī's right to the caliphate, pious counsel "Muhammad was the trustee of God's revelation" (أمين وحيه) p. 390

1.172 In Medina when associates of the Camel revolted, Talhah's complicity in 'Uthmān's killing "I have never been one to be shaken by threats of battle"

(قد كنت وما أهدّد بالحرب) p. 392

'Alī's closeness to the Prophet, censure of followers for moving away 1.173 from God "O heedless people who go not unheeded!" (أيُّها الغافلون غير المغفول عنهم) p. 394 1.174 Urging godliness, adherence to the Qur'an, good deeds, and the licit "Profit from God's revelation" (انتفعوا سان الله) p. 394 Criticizing the arbitrators 1.175 "Your majority opinion settled on choosing two arbitrators" (فأجمع رأيُ ملائكم على أن آختاروا رجلين) p. 400 1.176 In Medina early in 'Alī's caliphate, God's transcendence, pious counsel, past events "No matter can preoccupy him, no time can alter him" (لا يشغله شان ولا بغيّره زمان) p. 402 On God's transcendence, in response to Dhi'lib's question: "Have you 1.177 seen your Lord?" "Eyes do not see him through physical observation" (لا تدركه العيون بمشاهدة العيان) p. 402 1.178 Censuring associates for disobedience and apathy, condemning Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr "I offer praise to God for the affairs he has ordained" (أحمد الله على ما قضي من أمر) p. 404 Condemnation of faction who left Kufa to join the Kharijites 1.179 "«Away with» them, «as the Thamūd were done away with!»" (بُعْدًا لهم كَمَا بَعدَتْ ثُمُودُ) p. 406 God's transcendence and creation, *ubi sunt* questions, God's proof, 1.180 martyrs of Siffin, call to jihad "Praise God, to whom all creation arrives" (الحمد الله الذي إليه مصائر الخلق) p. 406 Praise of God, the Qur'an's guidance, pious counsel 1.181 "Praise be to God, recognized without being seen"

To the Kharijite Burj ibn Mus'hir, who shouted, "No rule save 1.182 God's!"

"Silence! May God disfigure you, you toothless driveller!"

(الحمد الله المعروف من غير رؤية)

p. 418 (أَسْكُتْ قَبَّحُكُ اللهِ يَا أَثْرُمُ) al-Sharif al-Radī (d. 406/1015) and Tahera Qutbuddin - 9789904682603 Downloaded from Brill.com 04/18/2024 04:53:30PM via Open Access. This is an open access title distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 license, which permits any non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided no alterations are made and the original author(s) and source are credited.

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1.183 God's transcendence, the Prophet, God's marvelous creation, including the ant and the locust

"Praise God! Senses do not grasp him" (الحمد الله الذي لا تدركه الشواهد)

1.184 God's transcendence and creation

"Those who assign him a form have not acknowledged his oneness" (ما وحّده من كَيْقُه) p. 422

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1.185 Praise of those "whose names are recognized in the heavens but remain unknown on earth," prophesy of difficult times "I would offer my father and mother as ransom for that host"

(ألّا بأني وأمّى هم من عدّة)

p. 428

1.186 Piety, imminence of death

"People! I counsel you to be conscious of God and to give abundant thanks for his bounties to you"

1.187 Kinds of belief, migration, 'Alī's deep knowledge, urging people to learn from him before the arrival of sedition

> "Some people's hearts are firm and steadfast in belief" (فن الإيمان ما يكون ثابتًا مستقرًا في القلوب)

1.188 Describing the pious and urging piety, recognition of God, God's messenger, and his family

"I offer praise to God in thanks for his blessings"
(أحده شكرًا لإنعامه)
p. 432

1.189 Urging piety and preparation for the hereafter
"Praise God, whose praise is pervasive"
(الجمد الله الفاشي حمدُه)
p. 436

1.190 The Crushing Oration (*Qāṣiʿah*) containing censure of Lucifer, tribal factionalism, and pride, on lessons provided by past nations who incurred exemplary punishments, Moses' and Adam's humility, placement of God's Sacred House in a barren land, *ubi sunt*, chastisement of Muslims for straying from the path of truth, and description of 'Alī's closeness to the Prophet

"Praise God, who donned robes of might and pride"
(الحمد لله الذي لبس العزّ والكبرياء) p. 438

1.191 Oration to Hammām, describing the truly pious

"When God created people ... The pious in this world are people of virtue"

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1.192 Hypocrites who feign faith "We praise God for having guided us toward obedience" (نحمده على ما وَقِّق له من الطاعة) p. 466 Pious counsel 1.193 "Praise God! He has revealed traces of his authority" (الحمد لله الذي أظهر من آثار سلطانه) p. 466 The Prophet's mission, pious counsel 1.194 "God sent Muhammad when no waymark was raised" (بعثه حين لا علم قائم) p. 468 'Alī's loyalty and special closeness to the Prophet 1.195 "Muḥammad's true companions know" (ولقد علم المستحفظون من أصحاب محمّد) p. 470 Urging piety, God's knowledge, Islam, Muhammad's mission, the Our'an "He knows the bellowing of beasts in the forest" (يعلم عَجيج الوحوش في الفَلُوات) p. 470 Ritual prayer, the alms-levy, and upholding trust 1.197 "Be diligent in the matter of the ritual prayer" (تعاهدوا أمر الصلاة وحافظوا عليها) p. 476 Condemning Mu'āwiyah, declaring his own uprightness 1.198 "By God, Mu'āwiyah is not more astute than I, but he deceives and lies" (والله ما معاوية بأدهى منّى ولكنّه يغدر ويفجر) p. 478 Dissociating from evil people, Thamūd's slaughter of God's camel 1.199 mare "People! Do not be nervous about following the path of guidance because its followers are few" (أيَّها الناس لا تستوحشوا في طريق الهدى لقلَّة أهله) p. 478 Address to the Prophet at his graveside, after the death of Fātimah 1.200 "Salutations to you, Messenger of God, from me and from your daughter who has come to stay with you" (السلام عليك يا رسول الله عنَّى وعن آبنتك النازلة في جوارك) p. 478 Pious counsel, preparation for the hereafter 1.201

"People! The world is a passage and the hereafter your permanent home"

(أَيُّهَا الناسِ إِنَّمَا الدنيا دار مجاز والآخرة دار قرار)

p. 480

1.202 Pious counsel, nearness of death

"Gather your supplies—May God have mercy on you!—for the call has come to depart"

p. 480 (تجهّزوا رحمكم الله فقد نودي فيكم بالرحيل)

1.203 To Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, who rebuked ʿAlī for levelling stipends

"You rebuke me for a small matter" (لقد نقمتما يسيرًا) p. 480

1.204 To supporters at Ṣiffin who cursed the Syrians

"I don't like you to curse! Rather, describe their deeds" (إنّى أكره لكم أن تكونوا سبّابين)

(إني اكره لكم ان تكونوا سبابين) p. 482

1.205 At Ṣiffīn, when Ḥasan rushed into the fray

"Help me! Restrain this lad!" (امْلكُما عنّ هذا الغلام)

p. 484

1.206 At Ṣiffīn, when 'Alī's army insisted on accepting Mu'āwiyah's call for arbitration

"People! You have followed my command ... but now warfare has worn you out"

1.207 'Alā' al-Ḥārithī's lavish house, his brother 'Āṣim's self-denial "What will you do with this large house here in this world?"

1.208 Four kinds of hadith reporters

"Reports current among people today include both the right and the wrong" (إنَّ فِي أَيدِي النَّاسِ حَقًّا وباطلًا) p. 486

1.209 God's sublime craftsmanship

"Through his supreme power and sublime and wondrous craftsmanship, God produced dry, solid earth from the raging, crashing, ocean masses"

وكان من ٱقتدار جبروته وبديع لطائف صنعته أن جعل من ماء اليمِّ الزاخر المتراكم المتقاصِف)

p. 488

1.210 For God to bear witness against those who were holding back from fighting for the truth

"God! I ask you, O greatest witness, to bear witness over any of your servants who hear my words"

(اللهم أيما عبد من عبادك سمع مقالتنا العادلة) p. 490

God's transcendence, praise of the Prophet "Praise God—exalted beyond comparisons to created beings" (الحمد لله العليُّ عن شبه المخلوقين) p. 490 Praise for those entrusted with preserving God's knowledge 1.212 "I testify that God is the fount of justice" (وأشهد أنَّه عَدْلُ عَدَل) p. 492 1.213 'Alī's frequent supplication "Praise God who brought me to this morning alive and healthy" (الحمد الله الذي لم يصبح بي ميَّتًا ولا سقيمًا) p. 492 At Siffin, describing 'Alī's and his subjects' rights, forbidding flattery 1.214 "God has given me rights over you ... you have rights over me" (فقد جعل الله لي عليكم حقًّا ... ولكم عليٌّ من الحقّ مثل الذي عليكم) p. 494 After the Battle of the Camel, describing opponents' crimes in Basra 1.215 "God! I ask your help against the Quraysh! They have severed my kinship" (اللَّهُمَّ إنِّي أُستعديك على قريش فإنَّهُم قد قطعوا رحمى) p. 498 1.216 After the Battle of the Camel, while passing corpses of Talhah and 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Attāb "Abū Muḥammad sleeps here this morning, an exile from his home!" (لقد أصبح أبو محمّد بهذا المكان غريبًا) p. 500 A pious man 1.217 "This man resuscitated his intellect and killed his sentient soul" (قد أحيا عقله وأمات نفسه) p. 500 Horrors of death, reciting Q Takāthur 102:1-2: «You are obsessed with gathering more and more until you visit your graves.» "What a goal, and how distant!" (باله مَرامًا ما أبعده) p. 500 Those who remember God, reciting Q Nūr 24:37: «They are men whom neither commerce nor trade distract from God's remembrance.» "God has made his remembrance the burnish for your hearts" (إنَّ الله سبحانه جعل الذكر جلاء للقلوب) p. 506 Arrogant humans, reciting Q Infitar 82:6: «O human, what has 1.220 deceived you into neglecting your Generous Lord?» "Of all who could be questioned, you have the most unstable arguments"

(أَدْحُضُ مسؤول حَجَّةُ)

p. 508

1.221	'Alī's refusal to give treasury funds to 'Aqīl, or to accept Ash'ath' propriate gift "By God! I would prefer to lie on a bed of three-pronged Sa'dān thorns"  (والله لأن أبيت على حَسك السعدان)	s inap- p. 512
1.222	Supplication for honest wealth "God! Protect my countenance through prosperity" (اللّهمّ صُنْ وجهي باليسار)	p. 514
1.223	Censure of this world "This is a residence encircled by trials and renowned for deceit" (دار بالبلاء محفوفة وبالغدر معروفة)	p. 514
1.224	Supplication for comfort and guidance "God! You are the greatest comforter for those who love you" (اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّكَ آنِسِ الآنِسِينِ لأُولِيائكِ)	p. 516
1.225	An upright Companion "May God cherish the land that produced that man!" (שׁ אַלב פֿאלטֹ)	p. 516
1.226	The fervor of the pledge to him as caliph "You pulled my hand toward you, and I resisted" (وبسطتم يدي فكففتها)	p. 516
1.227	Consciousness of God, approaching death, and renunciants "Consciousness of God is the key to righteousness" (فإنّ تقوى الله مفتاح سداد)	p. 518
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1.231 Differences among people according to the clay from which they are fashioned

1.232 Address to the Prophet while preparing his body for burial "May my father and mother give their lives for you! Your death has cut short what the death of no other has"

Additional Orations p. 524

SECTION 2: LETTERS: Chapter containing selections from the Commander of the Faithful's dispatches and letters to his enemies and his regional governors, including selections from instructions to his tax-collectors and testaments to his family and companions

2.1 To the people of Kufa, as 'Alī marched on Iraq from Medina, on events preceding and after 'Uthmān's death

2.2 To the people of Kufa, after the victory at the Battle of the Camel at Basra

2.3 To his judge, Shurayḥ, who had just bought a large house: a "contract" "Shurayḥ, soon there will come to you one who will not look at your written contract"

2.4 To Ibn Ḥunayf, governor of Basra, when Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and ʿĀʾishah marched there, and many residents turned against ʿAlī "If they reenter the canopy of obedience, then that is what we desire"

(فإن عادوا إلى ظلّ الطاعة فذاك الذي نحبّ)

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2.5 To Ash'ath, governor of Azerbaijan, who had embezzled treasury funds "Your governorship is not a meal for you to devour" (وانّ عملك ليس لك بطُعمة)

p. 534

2.6 Sent with Jarir following the Battle of the Camel, to Mu'awiyah, persuading him to pledge allegiance

"The same people who pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr, Umar, and Uthmān pledged allegiance to me"

2.7 To Mu'āwiyah, toward the end of the Battle of Ṣiffīn
"I have received from you a string of advice, enclosed in an embroidered epistle"
(فقد أَتَّنَى منك موعظة مُوصَّلة ورسالة محبَّرة)

p. 531

2.8 To Jarīr, emissary to Muʿāwiyah, before the Battle of Ṣiffīn, pressing for a decision

"When you receive my letter, tell Muʿāwiyah that he must take a final decision" (فإذا أتاك كتابي فأحمل معاوية على الفصل) p. 538

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2.9 Before the Battle of Ṣiffīn to Muʿāwiyah, who had accused ʿAlī of envying the earlier caliphs

2.10 To Mu'āwiyah, just before marching to Ṣiffin "How will you fare when the robes with which this world adorns herself ... are stripped off?"

2.11 Instructions sent from 'Alī's camp at Nukhaylah to Ziyād ibn al-Naḍr and Shurayḥ, commanders of his vanguard to Syria

"When you reach the enemy, or when they reach you, set up camp just before the high ground"

2.12 Instructions sent from Kufa to Ma'qil, commander of troops who were likely sent against the Kharijite Ḥurayth in Ramhormoz

"Fear God, whom you must meet ... and fight only those who fight you" (اتّق الله الذي 
$$k'$$
 لك من لقائه ... و $k'$  p. 542

2.13 To Ziyād ibn al-Naḍr and Shurayḥ, commanders of the vanguard to Syria, appointing Ashtar over them

2.14 Instructions to the army just before the Battle of Siffin

2.15 Battlefield supplication

"God, it is to you that our hearts flow"

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2.16 Instructions to the army at the Battle of Ṣiffin

"Don't hesitate to retreat then assail, to withdraw then attack"

2.17 To Mu'āwiyah at Ṣiffin, refusing to make him governor of Syria, denying that they were peers
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(لا تَشْتَدُنَّ عليكم فَرَّةٌ بعدها كُرَّة)

terday" (فأمّا طلبك إليَّ الشامَ فإنّي لم أكن لأُعطيك اليوم ما منعتُك أمس) p. 546

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- 2.18 After the Battle of the Camel to ʿAbdallāh ibn al-ʿAbbās, governor of Basra, instructing kindness to Tamīm tribesmen

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- 2.19 To 'Amr ibn Salamah, governor of Isfahan, in rebuke for harshness to the populace
  "The Dihqān landowners in your province have complained of your harshness"
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- 2.20 To Ziyād, deputy governor of Basra, warning against misappropriating treasury funds

  "I swear this by God, in all truth: If I hear that you have misappropriated funds"

  (وإنّي أقسم بالله قسمًا صادقًا لئن بلغني أنّك خُنْتَ من فَيْء المسلمين)

  p. 550
- 2.21 To Ziyād, deputy governor of Basra, warning against extravagance "Turn from extravagance to moderation" (فانع الإسراف مقتصدًا)
- 2.22 To ʿAbdallāh ibn al-ʿAbbās in Mecca, following his misappropriation of treasury funds, counselling focus on the hereafter
  "A man is gladdened by obtaining a thing that he was not going to lose"
  (فإنّ المرء يسرّه دَرَك ما لم يكن ليفوته ويسوءه فوت ما لم يكن ليدركه)
  p. 550
- 2.23 Testament to family and close associates after the death blow "This is my testament to you: Do not assign partners to God" (وصيّتي لكم ألّا تشركوا بالله شيئاً)

  p. 552

2.24 'Alī's will, written after Ṣiffīn, regarding distribution of properties "This is what I—God's servant, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Commander of the Faithful—have directed with regard to my property in the pursuance of God's pleasure"

(هذا ما أمر به عبد الله على بن أبي طالب أمير المؤمنين في ماله ابتغاء وجه الله)

p. 552

2.25 Instructions to tax collectors about compassion to subjects when assessing their herds, and care while bringing animals to the treasury

"Set out in consciousness of God"

2.26 To Mikhnaf, sent to collect taxes, warning against abusing subjects or misappropriating funds

"Alī commands his tax collector to be conscious of God in private affairs and hidden acts"

2.27 To Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr on his appointment as governor of Egypt, instructing piety, fairness, and kindness

"Lower your wing over them"

2.28 Before the Battle of Ṣiffīn to Muʻāwiyah, who again accused ʻAlī of envy toward the first three caliphs, virtues of the Prophet's family, iniquities of Muʻāwiyah's clan

"I received your letter in which you speak of how God selected Muḥammad"

2.29 To the people of Basra, following Mu'āwiyah's seizure of Egypt, when Mu'āwiyah sent Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī to foment dissent in Basra, and 'Alī's commander Jāriyah defeated and killed him

"You know this well: You severed your rope of allegiance earlier and seceded from the community"

2.30 To Muʿāwiyah, presumably before the Battle of Ṣiffīn, persuading him to obedience

"Fear God in all that you do"
p. 572

2.31 The Testament of Ḥasan, written on the way back from Ṣiffin, containing lengthy pious counsel

"From a father who admits the power of time"

2.32 To Mu'āwiyah, presumably in the lead-up to Ṣiffīn "You have destroyed a whole generation of people"

2.33 To Qutham, governor of Mecca, a few months before 'Alī's death, warning of Mu'āwiyah's agents fomenting dissent during the hajj "My agent in the west has written to inform me that a group of Syrians ... are being sent to Mecca this hajj season"

(مَانَّ عِنى بَالْمَعْرِبُ كَتِبُ إِلَى يَعْلَمْنَى أَنَّهُ وُجَّهُ عَلَى الْمُوسِمِ أَنَاسُ مَنَ أَهْلِ الشَّامِ)

p. 596

2.34 To Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, governor of Egypt, extolling Ashtar and explaining 'Alī's reasons for sending him to take over

"I have learned that you are distressed at my sending Ashtar to take charge of your region"

2.35 To 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās, praising Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, who had been killed in Egypt, and describing 'Alī's unsuccessful efforts to send aid

"Egypt has been conquered, and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr—may God have mercy on him!—has gained martyrdom"

2.36 To 'Aqīl in Medina, describing Ḥujr's fight against Ḍaḥḥāk, who had raided Iraq, condemning the Quraysh and declaring 'Alī's resolve to continue fighting in the path of truth

"I dispatched a large army of Muslims to fight him"

2.37 To Mu'āwiyah, before the Battle of Ṣiffīn, accusing him of using 'Uth-mān's killing for his own benefit, and of abandoning him earlier, when asked to aid him

2.38 To the people of Egypt, when appointing Ashtar as governor "... I have sent you one of God's own servants, who neither sleeps during the days of danger"

2.39 Warning to 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ before marching on Ṣiffīn
"You have subordinated your faith to the worldly gain promised to you by a man
whose deceit is plain"

2.40 To a governor, possibly 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās, who had misappropriated funds

"I am informed that you have done something, which, if you have done it, means you have angered your Lord"

2.41 Sent shortly before 'Alī's death, possibly to 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās in Mecca, rebuking him for misappropriation of funds

"I had shared my charge with you"

2.42 To ʿUmar ibn Abī Salamah, governor of Bahrain, recalling him to participate in the march on Syria, and replacing him with al-Nuʿmān ibn ʿAjlān

"I have appointed al-Nuʿmān ibn ʿAjlān over Bahrain" (فإنّى قد ولّيت النعمان بن عجلان على البحرين) p. 606

2.43 To Maṣqalah, governor of Ardashīr, rebuking him for misappropriation of treasury funds

"I am informed that you have done something, which, if you have done it, means that you have angered your Lord"

2.44 To Ziyād, warning against Muʿāwiyah's blandishments "I have learned that Muʿāwiyah wrote to you in an attempt to befuddle your mind and dull your blade"

2.45 To Ibn Ḥunayf, governor of Basra, rebuking him for favoring the wealthy, Fadak, which was taken from his family, his own renunciant ways and compassionate governance, censure of the world, pious counsel

"Ibn Ḥunayf, I am informed that one of Basra's grandees invited you to a feast and you rushed to go"

2.46 To Ashtar, governor of Naṣībīn, recalling him after the arbitration, sending him to Egypt

"You are one of those whose support I rely on to establish our religion" (فإنّك مّن أستظهر به على إقامة الدين) p. 616

2.47 Testament of counsel for Ḥasan and Ḥusayn after the death blow, and for ʿAlī's family, urging restraint in blood retaliation

"I counsel you both to remain conscious of God. Do not seek this world even if it seeks you"

p. 616 (أوصيكما بتقوى الله وأن لا تبغيا الدنيا وإن بغتكما)

2.48 To Muʻāwiyah at Ṣiffin, reluctantly accepting arbitration, warning him against treachery, and underscoring 'Alī's submission to the ruling of the Qur'an

"Treachery and lies kill a man's faith and ruin his worldly affairs"

(وإنّ البغي والزور يُوتغان بالمرء في دينه ودنياه)

p. 618

2.49 Warning to 'Amr ibn al-' $\bar{\text{A}}$ s, sent from Nukhaylah, just before the march on Syria

"This world distracts you from the next" (فإنّ الدنيا مَشْغَلة عن غيرها) p. 620

2.50 To his commanders, declaring his principled policies and offering pious counsel

"It befits those in authority" (فإنَّ حقًّا على الوالي)

2.51 To tax collectors, instructing justice and compassion, and warning against unfair seizure of property from subjects, whether Muslim, Christian, or Jew

"Whoever fails to care about his end, fails to safeguard himself by advancing provisions for his soul"

2.52 To governors on timings of the ritual prayers

"Pray the noon prayer when the sun casts a shadow equal to a squatting goat" (فصلّوا بالناس الظهر حين تَفيء الشمس مثل مُرْبِض العُنْز) p. 622

p. 620

The Testament of Ashtar ('Ahd al-Ashtar') on his appointment as gover-2.53 nor of Egypt, lengthy instructions on fair, kind, and astute governance, pious counsel

"This is what God's servant, 'Alī, Commander of the Faithful, commands Mālik ibn al-Hārith al-Ashtar, in the epistle he writes appointing him governor of Egypt"

To Talhah and Zubayr, preceding the Battle of the Camel, urging them 2.54 to return to the fold

To Mu'āwiyah in the lead-up to the Battle of Şiffīn, urging him to 2.55 return to the path of truth

p. 648

To Shurayh, when appointing him commander of the vanguard to 2.56 Syria, pious counsel

"Be conscious of God every morning and every night" (اتَّق الله في كلِّ صباح ومساء)

p. 650

p. 652

Sent from Dhū Qār to the people of Kufa, urging them to join 'Alī in 2.57 fighting the associates of the Camel at Basra

To the garrison towns, describing the Battle of Siffin 2.58 "Events began thus: We and the Syrians faced off" (وكان بدء أمرنا أنّا التقينا والقوم من أهل الشام)

To administrators through whose lands 'Alī's army was marching 2.60 "I have dispatched troops who, God willing, will pass through your lands"

"I have dispatched troops who, God willing, will pass through your lands" (فَإِنِّي قَد سِيِّرت جِنودًا هِي مارَّة بِكُم إِن شَاء الله) p. 
$$652$$

To Kumayl, governor of Hīt, rebuking him for failing to defend against 2.61 Sufyān ibn 'Awf's attack

"A man's neglect of what he has been charged with"

2.59

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al-Sharif al-Radi (d. 406/1015) and Tahera Qutbuddinp. 6782004682603

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2.62 To the people of Egypt, sent with the newly appointed governor Ashtar, on events after the Prophet's death, 'Alī's righteousness, the Umayyads, urging the Egyptians to fight for the truth

"God sent Muḥammad as warner for the world" (فإنّ الله سبحانه بعث محمّدًا نذيرًا للعالمين) p. 654

2.63 To Abū Mūsā, governor of Kufa, when he urged the people not to support 'Alī in the Battle of the Camel, rebuking and dismissing him from his post

"I am told that you have spoken words that go both for you and against you" (فقد بلغني عنك قول هو لك وعليك) p. 658

2.64 To Muʿāwiyah, presumably in the lead-up to the Battle of Ṣiffīn, who had written accusations and demands

"Yes, my clan and yours were on terms of affection and unity, as you say"
(فإنّا كمّا نحن وأنتم على ما ذكرت من الأُلفة والجماعة)
p. 658

2.65 After the Battle of Nahrawān, to Muʻāwiyah, who had demanded that 'Alī appoint him successor

"This is the time for you to understand fully the affairs swiftly unfolding before your eyes"

2.66 To 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās, likely sent from Kufa to Mecca, shortly before 'Alī's death

"A man is overjoyed by gaining a thing he was not going to lose"
(فإنّ العبد لَيُفْرَح بالشيء الذي لم يكن لِيفُوته)
p. 664

2.67 To Qutham, governor of Mecca, on leading the hajj, teaching the pilgrims, and disbursing charity

"Lead the hajj among the people and remind them to revere these, God's special days"

2.68 To Salmān, before 'Alī's caliphate, pious counsel

2.69 To Ḥārith, pious counsel

"Hold fast to the Qur'an and embrace its counsel"

(وتمسَّك بحبل القرآن واُنتصحه)
p. 666

2.70 To Sahl, governor of Medina, telling him not to grieve over defectors

"I have learned that men from your town are stealing out to join Mu'āwiyah"

(ققد بلغني أنّ رجالًا مّن قَبِلَك يتسلّلون إلى معاوية)

p. 668

2.71 To Mundhir, governor of Iṣṭakhr, chastising him for misappropriation of treasury funds

"I was deceived about you by your father's piety" (فإنَّ صلاح أَبيك غَرَّ في منك) p. 668

2.72 To 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās in Mecca, containing pious counsel "You will not exceed your lifespan or be granted sustenance that is not yours"

(فإنّك لست بسابق أجلك ولا مرزوق ما ليس لك)

p. 670

2.73 To Muʻāwiyah, possibly after the arbitration, rejecting his demands to make him successor

"I attribute to weak judgment ... the fact that I exchanged letters with you" (فإنّي على التردّد في جوابك ... لَمُوهِّنُ رأيي) p. 670

2.74 Treaty between the tribes of Yemen and Rabīʿah

"This is what the people of Yemen ... have agreed upon" (هذا ما اُجتمع عليه أهل اليمن) p. 672

2.75 From Medina early in 'Alī's caliphate to Mu'āwiyah, explaining recent events and instructing him to take the pledge of the caliphate for 'Alī in Syria

"... You know that I was justified both in my efforts for your clan and in turning away from them"

2.76 To 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās, while appointing him governor of Basra after the Battle of the Camel

"Be generous with your attention"

2.77 To 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās, sent to debate the Kharijites

"Don't argue with them on the basis of the Qur'an"  $\bar{}$ 

2.78 To Abū Mūsā in the lead-up to the arbitration

"The state of the people is such that many have bartered away most of their allotted share"

Additional Letter p. 676

SECTION 3: SAYINGS: Chapter containing selections from the Commander of the Faithful's wise sayings and words of counsel, including selections from his answers to questions and short texts from all genres of his literary production [Includes aphorisms and short texts not listed here, and the following longer pieces]:

3.1 First aphorism in Sayings chapter
"In times of sedition, be like a young camel buck"
(کن في الفتنة کاَبن اللَّبون)
p. 678

3.26 Four pillars of faith, four pillars of unbelief, four branches of doubt "Faith stands on four pillars: forbearance, conviction, justice, and struggle against evil"

p. 684 (الإيمان على أربع دعائم على الصبر واليقين والعدل والجهاد

3.33 Warning to Ḥasan about whom not to befriend
"My dear son, remember four things from me"
(يا يُغِيُّ ٱحفظ عنِّي أُربعًا)
p. 688

3.69 Addressing this world, Ņirār's report

"World, O world, get away from me!"

(يا دنيا يا دنيا إليك عنّي)

p. 696

3.70 Destiny and the march on Syria

"Woe! Perhaps you think destiny is final"

(وَ يُعُكُ لعلَّكُ ظَنْنَتَ قَضَاءَ لازمًا)

p. 696

3.73 Five traits of character
"I counsel you to five traits so precious it is only right that you should whip your camels to reach them"

p. 698 (أوصيكم بخمس لو ضربتم إليها آباط الإبل لكانت لذلك أهلًا)

3.95 To Nawf al-Bikālī, pious counsel, David and Jesus as exemplars "Nawf, blessed are those who reject worldliness"

(یا نوف طُوبِی للزاهدین فِي الدنیا)

p. 704

3.99 Vagaries of the heart

"There is a piece of flesh attached to the jugular vein"

(لقد عُلِّق بنياط هذا الإنسان بَضْعَدُ)

p. 706

3.110 Clans of Quraysh, Hāshim

"Makhzūm are the sweet blossoms of Quraysh"

( أمّا بنو مخزوم فر يحانة قريش)

p. 710

When a man laughed while following a funeral procession "We behave as though death were decreed for everyone other than our-

(كَأَنَّ الموت فيها على غيرنا كُتب) p. 712

Address to residents of graves 3.119

"O people of desolate abodes"

To a man who criticized this world 3.120

> "You who reproach this world—do you choose to be deceived by her yet censure her?"

3.124 The Qur'an's promise

"Whoever is granted four gifts will not be refused four others" (من أعْطى أربعًا لم يُحْرَم أربعًا 
$$p.\,718$$

To Kumayl on the virtues of knowledge, vaunt of his own knowledge, 3.133 and the continuity of God's proof through one who upholds it in all ages

"Kumayl, these hearts are like vessels, and the best are those that best receive

Pious counsel in Kufa after the Battle of Nahrawan 3.136

Reasons for the Shari'ah laws 3.237

3.245-253 Section on Rare Words: A selection from 'Alī's sayings that need lexical explanations

First aphorism in Rare Words Section

"When that happens, religion's queen bee will rest its abdomen on the

"At the time when the Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet, there were four kinds

3.263

The Ka'bah's ornaments

	of property" (إنّ القرآن أُنزل على النبيّ والأموالُ أربعة)	p. 764
3.275		p. 768
3.277	Condolence to Ash'ath on the death of his son "Ash'ath, it is fitting that you mourn your son" (يا أشعث إن تحزن على اُبنك)	p. 770
3.319	A believer "A believer shows his joy in his face and hides his sorrow in his heart" (المؤمن بِشْرُه في وجهه وحزنه في قلبه)	p. 782
3.327	Pious counsel "Words are remembered, intentions are tested, and «every soul is morte what it has earned.»", (الأقاويل محفوظة والسرائر مَبْلُوَّة وكُلُّ نَفْسٍ بِمَا كَسَبَتْ رَهِينَةً)	gaged to p. 784
3.350	Pious counsel "People! The stuff of this world is like rotten grass" (يا أَيَّها الناس مَتاع الدنيا حُطام مُوبِئ)	p. 790
3.353	Counsel to Jābir "The world is sustained by four types of people" (قوام الدنيا بأربعة)	p. 794
3.358	On sustenance being decreed and the need for contentment "Sustenance is of two types" (الرزق رزقان)	p. 796
3.367	How to apportion time "The believer divides his time into three parts" (للمؤمن ثلاث ساعات)	p. 800
3.387	Spending wealth for good "My dear son, do not leave your wealth for others to inherit" (يا بُنِيَّ لا تُخْلِفَنَّ وراءك شيئًا من الدنيا)	p. 804
3.388	How to seek God's forgiveness  "May your mother be bereaved! Do you know what it means to beg God giveness?"  (مَا الْاستغفار) If al-Radī (d. 406/1015) and Tahera Qutbudd Downloaded from Brill.com 04/  via Open Access. This is an open access title distributed	in <b>p. 876</b> 004682603 1872024 04:53:30PM
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3.403	God's special devotees "God's special devotees are those who perceive the world's reality" (إنّ أولياء الله هم الذين نظروا إلى باطن الدنيا)	p. 810
3.429	Last aphorism in Sayings chapter "Many are seduced by praise" (رُبٌ مَفتون بحسن القول فيه)	p. 816
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