

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE ORIENTALIST REGARD OF AISHAH'S POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT AND HER FIGHTING AGAINST ALI IBN ABI TALIB

#### Introduction

Prophet peace be upon him had two wives who played a crucial role in the history of prophecy, history of Rashidun caliphate and history of Islam. The first wife Khadijah was the first Muslim and ideal wife who was leading a successful business and brave enough to propose a man of honesty and trustworthiness, then created a story of love with Him lusted for more than 20 years in His live and settled in His heart forever! She had noble lineage, strong character, wisdom and successful trade, therefore, her approach to the Prophet started with business and ended with marriage. Her love and support gave the Prophet confidence and power to carry on the responsibility of prophecy and face Quraish challenges and hatred. Aisha used to say: "I was not jealous from any of the Prophet's wives except Khadijah. That is because He constantly mention her and because God had commanded him to give her good tidings of a mansion in Paradise. Whenever He sacrificed a sheep, He sent a portion of it to Khadijah's friends.

Saida Aisha as the daughter of Abu Bakr, the earliest and strongest friend and follower to the Prophet and first caliph, then as the third and youngest wife of the prophet Himself lived in political environment from her childhood and it was a remarkable sign that the Prophet spent his last days before He dies in her chamber. She witnessed the collapse of Quraish political system and the development of the Islamic state and had her contribution to many political events for 10 years during the life of the prophet and for 44 years after His demise. She had freedom to speak openly even in

front of the prophet Himself, refuse some opinion of His companions and played role in some political matters. Aisha become enraged and spoke out in public and found her way into high politics in the reign of Uthman the third caliph and after his assassination.

The second wife, Saida Ayesha who was had extraordinary power of memory. She was Prophet's wife close companion that acquired from him knowledge for a decade. Aisha lived almost fifty years after the passing away of the Prophet. Much of this time was spent in learning Qur'an and the sunnah the most important source of Islam. Aisha was one of three wives (beside Hafsa and Umm Salamah) who memorized Quran and Sunnah; therefore, Aisha is one of the four persons (beside Abu Hurayrah, Abdullah ibn Umar, and Anas ibn Malik) who transmitted more than two thousand hadiths. Many of these hadiths included personal behavior of the prophet, which only a wife in Aishah's position could have transmitted.

During our analysis of the Battle of the Camel, we come across the same problem that we faced while talking about the age of Saida Ayesha, as there are no accurate records on the history of the movements of the army of Talha and Al-Zubayr, as well as the military troops of the army of Imam Ali, just as there are no statistics - Agreed upon by historians - on the numbers of casualties, dead and wounded. The phrase "Khalqun Katheer/A great number of people" is frequently repeated in Prophetic biographies and history books, which does not have a clear and decisive significance!

For example, Ibn Katheer describes the battle of Mu'tah and refers to the number of dead with the expression "Khalq Kathir"! This is Ibn Kathir describing the battle and giving some exaggerated numbers that cannot be accepted easily:

“وهذا عظيم جدا، أن يتقاتل جيشان متعاديان في الدين، أحدهما وهو الفئة التي تقاتل في سبيل الله عدتها ثلاثة آلاف، وأخرى كافرة وعدتها مائتا ألف مقاتل، من الروم مائة ألف، ومن نصارى العرب مائة ألف، يتبارزون

ويتصاولون ثم مع هذا كله لا يقتل من المسلمين الا اثنا عشر رجلا، وقد قتل من المشركين خلق كثير! هذا خالد وحده يقول: لقد اندقت في يدي يومئذ تسعة أسياف وما صبرت في يدي إلا صفيحة يمانية، فماذا ترى قد قتل بهذه الاسياف كلها<sup>122</sup>،

Centuries after ibn Kathir some historians have quoted such phrases, with all its exaggerations, without comment or criticism<sup>123</sup>. Like the phrase “Khalqun Kathir”, the phrase “Maqatalatun Azimah/A great assault” is repeated and carries with it the meanings of amplification, which is not hidden from the scrutinizing reader. The phrase “Khalqun Katheer/A great number of people” was repeated in the historical book of Ibn Hajar Al-Asqalani 41 times, although it does not indicate a specific number<sup>124</sup>. Ibn Kathir repeated this phrase in his discourse on the battle of the camel:

“وجعل حكيم يقتحم عليهم فاقتتلوا على فم السكة، وأمرت عائشة أصحابها فتيامنوا حتى انتهوا إلى مقبرة بني مازن، وحجز الليل بينهم، فلما كان اليوم الثاني قصدوا للقتال، فاقتتلوا قتالا شديدا، إلى أن زال النهار، وقتل خلق كثير من أصحاب ابن حنيف، وكثرت الجراح في الفريقين، فلما عضتهم الحرب تداعوا إلى الصلح<sup>125</sup>”

In our evaluation of the actions of the Companions, we confirm here what Sheikh al-Islam Ibn Taymiyyah, may God have mercy on him, said in this regard:

<sup>122</sup> Ibn Kathir, Abul Fida' Isma'il. 1976. *Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah (from al-Bidayah wal Nihayah)*. Edited by Mustapha Abdulwahid. Cairo: Isal al-Babi al-Halabi. 3/489.

<sup>123</sup> Al-Shami, Mihammad bin Yusuff al-Salihi. 1997. *Subul al-Huda wal Rashad fi Sirati Khairil Ibad, wa Zikiri Fadha'ilihi wa A'lami Nubuwwatihi wa Af'alihi wa Ahwalihi fil Mabda'I wal Ma'ad*. Cairo: Al-Majlis al-'Ala lil Shu'un al-Islamiyyah. 6/155.

<sup>124</sup> Al-Asqalani, Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Ali Ibn Hajar. 1986. *Iba' al-Ghamr bi Abna' al-Umr fi sl-Tarikh*. Edited by Muhammad Abdulmu'id Khan. Beirut: Darul Kutub al-Ilmiyyah. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. 9/223, 8/305, 7/461, 6/209, 5/37, 4/98, 3/160, 2/221, 1/154. (for instance)

<sup>125</sup> Ibn Kathir, Abul Fida' Isma'il. 1990. *Al-Bidayah wal Nihayah*. Beirut: Maktabatul Ma'arif. 7/268.

“Benevolence to people and pardoning them takes precedence over abuse and revenge... It is better for the imam to make a mistake in forgiving than to make a mistake in punishment. If this as for individual people, the Companions are more likely to do this, because the mistake of the diligent person in doing good to them by praying for them, praising them, and defending them is better than his mistake in insulting them with cursing, slandering, and criticizing them, and whatever quarrels between them is intended to be a sin, and sins are forgiven for multiple reasons, they are more deserving of them than those after them, and so on we find someone who criticizes them and glorifies those who are inferior to them, and we do not find anyone who glorifies any of their mistakes without turning a blind eye to the mistakes of others that are greater than that. This is among the greatest ignorance and injustice”<sup>126</sup>

#### 4.1 Orientalists’ arguments about Aisha’s political activities

The orientalist reading of Islamic history is controlled by selecting unreliable sources. Their general analysis of Islamic history is much worse than their analysis of minor incidents in history<sup>127</sup>. There is no doubt that many orientalist dedicated their lives for studying Islamic legacy and had a solid background in Arabic language, at the same time as humans they are not infallible and done so many mistakes in their

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<sup>126</sup> Ibn Taymiyah. *Mishaj al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyah*, 4/209.

<sup>127</sup> Al-Kharbutli, Ali Hasani. 1988. *Al-Mustashriqun wa al-Tarikh al-Islami*. Egypt: al-Hai’ah al-Masriyyah al-‘Ammah Lil Kitab. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. P.124

approach. interpretation and analysis. Some of them were fanatics and even nationalists.<sup>128</sup>

For example, Abbott was seeking to arrange the events of the civil war from its beginnings and link the causes to previous attitudes. Ayesha was angry with Imam Ali because of his unbiased attitude in the al-Ifk incident and his words to the Prophet that carried with it an accusation, not a direct one:

“Neither did she forget the good words of Zainab bint Jahsh,<sup>75</sup> and for Usamah ibn Zaid, who had defended her, she developed a lasting friendship.<sup>76</sup> But for CAII she harbored a strong dislike if not indeed enmity. This was to find expression in her repeated attempts to thwart cAli's personal and political ambitions in the course of the following decades”<sup>129</sup>

Orientalists' assumptions are based on historical analysis and critical reading of battle of Jamal regardless the Islamic values and theological consideration that guide us as Muslims to have fair assessment for this complicated issue. Their analysis for the civil war between Ali Ibnu Abi Talib and Saida Aisha, between him and Mu'awiyah Ibnu Abi Sufian is referring all causes and effects to personal disagreements. For instance, Saida Aisha hated Imam Ali due to his attitude in the issue of Ifk when he suggested to the Prophet to divorce Aisha after being accused of committing adultery by the hypocrites of Madinah. French orientalist Henri Massé (1886-1969) claimed that Aisha declared war against Ali alongside with Talha and al-Zubair as avenge from his

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<sup>128</sup> Abbott. P. 125.

<sup>129</sup> Abbott. P. 54.

nonchalant attitude and hurtful advice!!<sup>130</sup> Gibbon thought the jealousy between Aisha and Fatimah daughter of the Prophet was main factor for Aisha's decision to declare war against Ali!<sup>131</sup> German orientalist Wilferd Madelung (1930-) believed that the roots of struggle for power started with Omar when he elected Abu Bakr to be caliph and true successor of the Prophet peace be upon Him and to the splitted nation to many groups after assassination of Uthman Ibn Affan.<sup>132</sup>

Before the battle of Camel begins Aisha, Talha And Ibn al-Zubair could gather 3000 warriors, but Ali could gather only 700!<sup>133</sup> When Saida Aisha decided to return to Mecca and met with the heads of those claiming the blood of Uthman, they agreed to march on Basra, and they were able to occupy Basra in two decisive battles before the great confrontation between their army and the army of Ali bin Abi Talib began<sup>134</sup>.

One of the biggest mistakes that the Orientalists made in their analysis of the events of the Battle of the Camel was selecting records, from the history of Tabari, that fit their preconceived views on this complex subject. They did not pay attention to the systematic points of methodology that Imam al-Tabari developed for his historical approach in his encyclopedic history of Islam. One of these points clearly confirms

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<sup>130</sup> Henri Massé. 1960. *Islam*. Translated from French to Arabic by Bahij Sha'ban. Beirut. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. P.64.

<sup>131</sup> Gibbon, Edward. 2001. *The decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. London: Penguin Classic. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. 1/267.

<sup>132</sup> Madelung, Wilferd. 1997. *The succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*. UK:Cambridge University Press. P.219.

<sup>133</sup> Glubb, Sir John. 1967. *The Great Arab Conquest*. P.318.

<sup>134</sup> Al-Tabari, Abu Ja'far Muhammed Ibn Jarir.1986. *Tarikh al-Umam Wal Muluk*. Beirut: Darul Kutub al-Ilmiyah. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. P. 3/35-.

Imam al-Tabari's keenness to include all the narrations, even if they contradict each other in the details!

If we accept that the rebels wrote many letters in the name of Saida Ayesha that incite people to revolt, why we don't accept that many statements attributed to her were also fabricated by the same rebels? Those statements were recorded by al-Tabari and considered facts taken for granted by many orientalist! Indeed, those statements are not facts just because al-Tabari included them in his historical works. Al-Tabari, in the second section of his book (*Tarikh al-Umam wal Muluk*), adapted the annals method in the sequence of historical events from the prophetic period until year 302 of Hijri calendar<sup>135</sup>. His method was to record all narrations whether they are valid or fabricated and seldom he criticized the chain of transmitters.

For instance, al-Tabari recorded one statement of Aisha provoking people to kill the third caliph Uthman and calling him Na'thal which means the fool old man!

“أن عائشة رضي الله عنها لما انتهت إلى سرف راجعة في طريقها إلى مكة لقيها عبد بن أم كلاب وهو عبد بن أبي سلمة ينسب إلى أمه فقالت له مهيم قال قتلوا عثمان رضي الله عنه فمكتوا ثمانيا قالت ثم صنعوا ماذا قال أخذها أهل المدينة بالاجتماع فجازت بهم الأمور إلى خير مجاز اجتمعوا على علي بن أبي طالب فقالت والله ليت أن هذه انطبقت على هذه إن تم الأمر لصاحبك ردوي فدوني فأنصرفت إل مكة وهي تقول قتل والله عثمان مظلوما والله لأطلبن بدمه فقال لها ابن ام كلاب ولم فوالله إن أول من أمار حرفه لأنت ولقد كنت تقولين اقتلوا نعتلا فقد كفر قالت إنهم استتابوه ثم قتلوه وقد قلت وقالوا وقولي الأخير خير من قولي الأول<sup>136</sup>”

<sup>135</sup> Khidr, Abdul Aleem Abdul Rahman. 1995. *Al-Muslimon wa Kitabatul Tarikh, Dirasah fil Ta'sil al-Islami li Ilm al-Tarikh..* P. 191.

<sup>136</sup> AL-Tabari. *Tarikh al-Umam wal Muluk.* 3/27.

We cannot blame al-Tabari for recording this gross and disgusting description but at the same time we cannot accept it as real historical speech of Saida Aisha for her great love and veneration that led her to be involved in complicated political issues and bloody battles. However, by an overview of the historical books its clear the characteristic of Na'thal was used widely by rebels as an insult and most probably they fabricated that statement on the tongue of Saida Aisha. This nickname (Na'thal) was used by the rebel when they attacked Uthman:

“مرّ عثمان على جبله بن عمرو الساعديّ وهو بقاء داره ومعه جامعة، فقال: يا نعتل؛ والله لأقتلنك؛ ولأحملنك على قولص جرباء، ولأخرجنك إلى حرّة النار<sup>137</sup>”

Some Islamic thinkers do not accept this narration at all, that Saida Ayesha used to call Othman Na'thal, and they blamed al-Tabari for including such absurdities in his great historical encyclopedia! Because it is clearly outright lie and calumny<sup>138</sup>. The researcher believes that al-Tabari shouldn't be blamed, as he is a historian who narrates events and narrations, and it seems that these narrations are fabricated by Hakim bin Jabalah and his followers especially his son al-Ashraf and his brother al-Ri'l. Hakim bin Jibla was evil, he insulted Saida Ayesha and cursed her in front of his followers, and it is not possible for a person who insults the Mother of the Believers to be a sincere believer.

Jonathan Brown, pointed the growth of a new city of Kufa and how its circumstances were a suitable environment for Fintah: “In Kufa, a new Muslim garrison city in southern Iraq founded next to the ancient Persian metropolis of Hira, the

<sup>137</sup> AL-Tabari. *Tarikh al-Umam wal Muluk*. 2/482.

<sup>138</sup> ‘Al Babin, Ali bin Muhammad Bakhail. 2004. *Mirath al-Azminah al-Sa'bah Sanawat al-Hanabilah fi Baghdad*. Dar Faris. P. 84.

Companion ‘Abdallah bin Mas‘ud became a pillar of instruction and guidance, passing on much of his learning to his disciple ‘Alqama bin Oays. As those few who had actually known Muhammad died off, the next generation, known as the Successors, picked up the mantle of leadership. Kufa soon looked to Ibrahim Nakha‘i as one of the most learned. He gathered together the traditions passed on by ‘Alqama as well as those of the Prophet’s favorite wife, Aisha, renowned for her perceptive understanding of Islam. Nakha‘i’s most famous student was Hammad bin Abi Sulayman, who in time passed his learning on to his talented disciple of eighteen years, a Kufan silk merchant of Persian descent known as Abu Hanifa (d. 767). He would become the epicenter of a great scholarly movement in the city, which would eventually be one of the four Sunni schools of law”.<sup>139</sup>

Gibbon, in one of his selective texts about the camel battle, he quoted a conversation between Saida Aisha and Abul Aswad Addu’ali who was blaming her and asking for what reason she came to Basra city leading an army? Her expected answer was to seek vengeance for the innocent caliph Uthman and bring the murderers to justice! Abul Aswad confirmed to her that the assassins of Uthman are not in Basra, but Aisha’s justification was to get the support of Basra people against the rebels. Abul Aswad reminded her of Quranic verse from chapter al-Ahzab commanding all mothers of believers to stay at home not to involve in politics and fight Muslims! Her answer was like a thunderbolt: Will any believer dare to fight the army I lead?!!<sup>140</sup>

The last statement from Saida Aisha was not recorded in any reliable books of Islamic history, however, if she was really convinced that no Muslim dare to fight her

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<sup>139</sup> Jonathan Brown. P. 42.

<sup>140</sup> Gibbon, Edward. 2001. *The decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* 1/272.

why she was gathering an army? It was enough to march to Madinah with a small troop of warriors and punish the assassins. Gibbon was searching for any possible demonstration to confirm the validity of his claim about Aisha thirsty of revenge from Imam Ali.

Gibbon wrote his encyclopedic history before more than 200 years and he was famous for his criticism of Christianity, but his treatment of Islam is showing his consistent in his attitude towards all religions. Although Gibbon criticized Islam in general, Quran and prophet's characteristics he believed that the jurisprudence system of Islam perpetuate harmony in Islamic state by building civil law<sup>141</sup> but in his analysis of battle of camel he is drawing the image of the Islamic society as a tribal state governed by destructive tribal tendencies more than the political law established by the Prophet and his companions. His encyclopedia was about the decline and fall of Roman Empire, but he settled in this book a private account with Christianity and other religions including Islam!

Among the reasons that paved the way for the civil war, which were mentioned by the orientalist, is the shortage of Ali's political experience, and his political improvidence appeared in conflict of apostasy wars when he initially rejected Abu Bakr's decision in declaring war against the apostates who refused to pay zakat. His grave mistake, that Ibn Abbas blamed him for, he precipitated to fire all governors appointed by caliph Uthman<sup>142</sup> specially Mu'awiyah bin abi Sufian. Firing governors from their positions caused a state of discontent, and a disgruntled group appeared in the political arena, which ignited the rage of war.

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<sup>141</sup> Gibbon, Edward. 2001. *The decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* 3/380.

<sup>142</sup> Wollaston, Arthur Naylor. 2019. *Half Hours with Muhammed*. Wentworth Press. P. 97.

Perhaps Ali's political position on declaring war on the apostates reflected his lack of political experience, but he soon acquiesced in the opinion of the caliph Abu Bakr out of conviction. It is known that the age of Imam Ali was less than thirty when the wars of apostasy flared up, and he was known for his courage and great audacity not for his political farsightedness and political management of wars. However, when he became a caliph his political analysis of events was different, and his political decisions reflect extensive experience he gained from being an advisor to three caliphs who fought fierce battles against the apostates of Arabia and the trained armies of the Persians and Romans. In addition to this and that he lived through the stage of great conquests that refined his political vision.

The French orientalist, Sedio, added a (valid) political reason for the outbreak of the civil war, which is the refusal of Imam Ali to appoint Talha and Zubair governors for Kufa and Basra. When Talha and Al-Zubair felt that their political ambition had ended in front of the severity of Imam Ali they decided to turn against him and forget their intimate friendship with him<sup>143</sup>:

“ثم إن ابن عباس أشار على علي باستمرار نوابه في البلاد، إلى أن يتمكن الامر، وأن يقر معاوية خصوصا على الشام وقال له: إني أخشى إن عزلته عنها أن يطلبك بدم عثمان ولا آمن طلحة والزبير أن يتكلما عليك بسبب ذلك، فقال علي: إني لا أرى هذا ولكن اذهب أنت إلى الشام فقد وليتها، فقال ابن عباس لعلي: إني أخشى من معاوية أن يقتلني بعثمان، أو يجبسنى لقرابتي منك ولكن اكتب معي إلى معاوية فممنه وعده، فقال علي: والله إن هذا مالا يكون أبدا<sup>144</sup>،”

<sup>143</sup> Sedio, L. 2009. *Tarikh al-'Arab al-'Am*. Beirut: Dar al-'Alam al-'Arabi. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. P. 127

<sup>144</sup> Ibn Kathir, Abul Fida' Isma'il. 1990. *Al-Bidayah wal Nihayah*. 7/255.

Ibn Abbas advised Imam Ali not to depose Muawiyah bin Abi Sufyan from ruling Levant and he refused Ali's appointment as ruler of Syria for fear of Muawiyah's oppression, but Imam Ali insisted on deposing Muawiyah and other governors, which led to people's agitation and a return to groupings based on the tribe. The researcher believes that Imam Ali's decision was hasty, improvised, and wrong and if he obeyed Ibn Abbas and humored Mu'awiyah, he would have avoided a bloody war

Another orientalist, John Glubb, denied any role by Abdullah Saba in the conflict and civil war between Ali and Aisha because his existence and role were invented by some researchers for pragmatic necessity. For instance, it was not Ibn Saba who broke the treaty with Uthman Ibn Hunaif and tried to kill him then banished him from city of Basra? Who killed Abdullah Ibn Muslim the man sent by Imam Ali with a copy of Quran to bring peace? Who was fighting the army of Ali killing then with swords and spears? Who killed 20 Muslims from the party of Ali even before the battle started?<sup>145</sup>

Many questions raised by Blubb as a criticism of Ibn Saba' role, however, the last question is leading to an answer for the whole role of Ibn Saba'. It is not necessary for president of an international power to plunge into battle himself as example, it is enough for him to give the command only. Ibn Saba' was managing sedition from far and using media disinformation, stir up a strife and falsification of statements between the belligerence parties.

If the remissness of ibn Saba' role is granted, what about the role of Hakim ibn Jabalah? There is a consensus among all Muslim historian on the role of Hakin ibn

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<sup>145</sup> Glubb, John Bagot. 1995, *The great Arab Conquests*. USA: Barnes and Noble. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition.

Jabalah and how led a troop of three hundred of militants and fought the army of Talhah ibn Ubaidillah:

“فأنشِبَ حَكِيمُ الْقِتَالِ وَلَمْ يَرِيعَ لِلْمَنَادِي، فَقَالَ طَلْحَةُ وَالزَّبِيرُ: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي جَمَعَ لَنَا ثَأْرَنَا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْبَصْرَةِ، اللَّهُمَّ لَا تَبْقَ مِنْهُمْ أَحَدًا، وَأَقْدَمْنَهُمَ الْيَوْمَ فَاقْتُلْنَهُمْ. فَجَادَّ وَهُمْ الْقِتَالُ فَاقْتَتَلُوا أَشَدَّ قِتَالٍ وَمَعَهُ أَرْبَعَةُ قَوَادٍ، فَكَانَ حَكِيمٌ بِحِيَالِ طَلْحَةَ، وَذَرِيحٌ بِحِيَالِ الزَّبِيرِ، وَابْنُ الْحَرَّشِ بِحِيَالِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ عَتَابٍ، وَحَرْقُوصٌ بْنُ زَهَيْرٍ بِحِيَالِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ بْنِ هِشَامٍ، فَزَحَفَ طَلْحَةُ لِحَكْمٍ وَهُوَ فِي ثَلَاثِمِائَةِ رَجُلٍ فَضْرَبَ رَجُلَ رِجْلِهِ فَقَطَعَهَا، فَجَبَا حَتَّى أَخَذَهَا فَرَمَى بِهَا صَاحِبَهُ، فَأَصَابَ جِسْمَهُ فَصْرَعَهُ، فَأَتَاهُ حَتَّى قَتَلَهُ”<sup>146</sup>

Al-Tabari, Ibn Katheer, Ibn Al-Athir, Ibn Khaldun and other great historians agree on the role of Hakim ibn Jabalah in provoking the war and criticizing Saida Ayesha. Denying this role is an indication of not reading history books or it is a deliberate approach to conceal the facts and deceive the readers by choosing what they like and serve their purposes.

As for the orientalist Wellhausen, he interpreted the Battle of the Camel on the basis of the conflict between the tribes and the aristocratic families. Saida Aisha and Talha ibn al-Zubair belong to the tribe of Bani Taym, and Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq was the first caliph to rule the sprawling Islamic state, and after him Omar the second caliph, was from Bani Uday, and his family was inferior to the family of Abu Bakr, then Uthman bin Affan was the third Rashidun Caliph, and he was from Umayyad family, the wealthy and ruling house in Quraysh. According to Wellhausen's opinion, Aisha sought to turn the people against Uthman, and when they revolted, she escaped to Mecca to ward off suspicions. When her goal was achieved by killing Uthman, she hastened to declare war on Ali bin Abi Talib, demanding revenge for Uthman's blood. Her final

<sup>146</sup> AL-Tabari. *Tarikh al-Umam wal Muluk*. 3/32-33.

goal was nothing but to restore the power to Bani Taym. What revolted her more against Imam Ali was his attitude in Al-Ifk incident<sup>147</sup>. It seems that Montgomery Watt is supporting Wellhausen analysis about the tribal role on battle of Camel and ambitions of having wealth and power.<sup>148</sup>

There is a point agreed upon by many orientalist, which is the failure of Imam Ali to pursue and punish the murderers of Uthman, despite his constant assertion that killing of Uthman was an unforgivable crime. The British orientalist William Muir confirmed that Imam Ali did not take a step to punish the perpetrators<sup>149</sup>, neglected this matter and with the passage of time the killers became part of his army.

It does not seem that the excuse given by Imam Ali was convincing for Mu'awiyah and his companions. The argument that the number of murderers is large makes it impossible to bring them to trial, a weak argument that is not accepted from a caliph who rules a large area that extends from east to west. This inaction of Imam Ali encouraged his opponents to mobilize the people against the elected caliph.

Muir claims that Saida Ayesha's *hodgege* became like a hedgehog from the many arrows that pierced it, but the brave and rebellious Ayesha was unharmed and decided to flee from the battle!<sup>150</sup> There is a clear mistake in his statement, as Saida Ayesha never fled from the battle, and all the historical sources say that she stayed until the end of the battle, when Imam Ali ordered his followers to kill the camel, so the people

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<sup>147</sup> Wellhausen. 1976. *Ahزاب al-Mu'aradhah al-Siyasiyyah al-Diniyyah fi Sade al-Islam*. Translated by Abdulrahman Badawi. Kuwait: Wakalat al-Matbu'at. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. P. 52-53.

<sup>148</sup> Watt, Montgomery. 2010. *Islam and Integration of Society*. London: Routledge. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. P. 165.

<sup>149</sup> Muir, William. 2004. *The Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline and Fall from Original Sources*. Kessinger Publisher, LLC. P. 250.

<sup>150</sup> Muir, William. 2004. *The Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline and Fall from Original Sources*. P. 265.

stopped fighting. Another implausible point in Muir's analysis is that Said Ayesha *hodege* has become like a hedgehog, but he quoted that from some reliable accounts:

“ووصلت النبال إلى هودج أم المؤمنين عائشة رضي الله عنها، فجعلت تنادي: الله الله! يا بني اذكروا يوم الحساب ورفعت يديها تدعو على أولئك نفر من قتلة عثمان، فضج الناس معها بالدعاء حتى بلغت الضجة إلى علي فقال: ما هذا؟ فقالوا: أم المؤمنين تدعو على قتلة عثمان وأشياعهم. فقال: اللهم العن قتلة عثمان، وجعل أولئك نفر لا يقلعون عن رشق هودجها بالنبال حتى بقي مثل القنفذ<sup>151</sup>”

Ibn Kathir, may God have mercy on him, said in *The Beginning and the End* (al-Bidayah wan Nihayah): So he went back to Ali and told him, and he liked that. The people supervised the peace process. Those who hated it hated it, and those who pleased it were pleased with it. Aisha sent to Ali to inform him that she had only come to make peace, so these and those rejoiced, and Ali stood up among the people as a preacher. He mentioned the pre-Islamic era, its misery and its deeds, and he mentioned Islam and the happiness of its people with familiarity and community, and that God brought them together after His Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, to the Caliph Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq, then after him to Omar bin Al-Khattab, then to Uthman, and then this event happened to the nation, people who sought this world, and they envied those whom God had bestowed upon him, and the virtue that God had bestowed upon him, and they wanted to turn Islam and things back to where they were, and God has reached His command. Then he said: I am leaving tomorrow, so they set out, and let no one travel with me who helped kill Uthman with any of the people's affairs, so when he said A group of their leaders gathered together, such as Al-Ashtar Al-Nakha'i, Shurayh bin Awfa, Abdullah bin Saba, known as Ibn Al-Sawda... and others in two thousand and

<sup>151</sup> Ibn Kathir, Abul Fida' Isma'il. 1990. *Al-Bidayah wal Nihayah*. 7/270.

five hundred, and there were no companions among them, praise be to God, so they said: What is this opinion?

"قال ابن كثير رحمه الله في البداية والنهاية: فرجع إلى علي فأخبره، فأعجبه ذلك، وأشرف القوم على الصلح، كره ذلك من كرهه، ورضيه من رضيه، وأرسلت عائشة إلى علي تعلمه أنها إنما جاءت للصلح، ففرح هؤلاء وهؤلاء، وقام علي في الناس خطيباً، فذكر الجاهلية وشقاءها وأعمالها، وذكر الإسلام وسعادة أهله بالألفة والجماعة، وأن الله جمعهم بعد نبيه صلى الله عليه وسلم على الخليفة أبي بكر الصديق، ثم بعده علي عمر بن الخطاب، ثم علي عثمان، ثم حدث هذا الحدث الذي جرى على الأمة، أقوام طلبوا الدنيا وحسدوا من أنعم الله عليه بها، وعلى الفضيلة التي من الله بها، وأرادوا رد الإسلام والأشياء على أديارها، والله بالغ أمره، ثم قال: ألا إني مرتحل غدا فارتحلوا، ولا يرتحل معي أحد أعان علي قتل عثمان بشيء من أمور الناس، فلما قال هذا اجتمع من رؤوسهم جماعة كالأشتر النخعي، وشريح بن أوفى، وعبد الله بن سبأ المعروف بابن السوداء... وغيرهم في ألفين وخمسمائة، وليس فيهم صحابي والله الحمد، فقالوا: ما هذا الرأي؟"<sup>152</sup>

The researcher believes that this description is exaggerated, even if it was mentioned in the history of Ibn Kathir, and Muir had to comment on this matter as it is clear that piercing the *howdeg* with arrows means that Ayesha will definitely be wounded. Some orientalist claimed that Aisha's campaign against Ali was due to his attitude on the incident of Ifk and that he advised the Prophet to divorce Aisha<sup>153</sup>. This analysis is refuted by the words of Saida Ayesha herself:

"ولما أرادت أم المؤمنين عائشة الخروج من البصرة بعث إليها علي رضي الله عنه بكل ما ينبغي من مركب وزاد ومتاع وغير ذلك، وأذن لمن نجا ممن جاء في الجيش معها أن يرجع إلا أن يحب المقام، واختار لها أربعين امرأة من نساء أهل البصرة المعروفات، وسير معها أخاها محمد بن أبي بكر، فلما كان اليوم الذي ارتحلت فيه جاء علي فوقف على الباب وحضر الناس وخرجت من الدار في الهودج فودعت الناس ودعت لهم، وقالت: يا بني لا يعتب بعضنا على بعض، إنه

<sup>152</sup> Ibn Kathir, Abul Fida' Isma'il. 1990. *Al-Bidayah wal Nihayah*. 7/275.

<sup>153</sup> Henri Massé. 1960. *Islam*. P.64.

والله ما كان بيني وبين علي في القدم إلا ما يكون بين المرأة وأحماتها، وإنه على معتبتي لمن الاخيار. فقال علي: صدقت والله كان بيني وبينها إلا ذاك، وإنها لزوجة نبيكم صلى الله عليه وسلم في الدنيا والآخرة<sup>154</sup>”

After Imam Ali honored Saida Ayesha and sent with her forty women from the people of Basra and sent her brother Muhammad as well, Ayesha said as she bid farewell to the people: Let each of us forgive one another and let none of us blame the other. There was nothing between me and Ali except what is between a woman and her in-laws. Imam Ali said: Yes, it was not clear except that, and she is the wife of your Prophet in this world and the Hereafter.

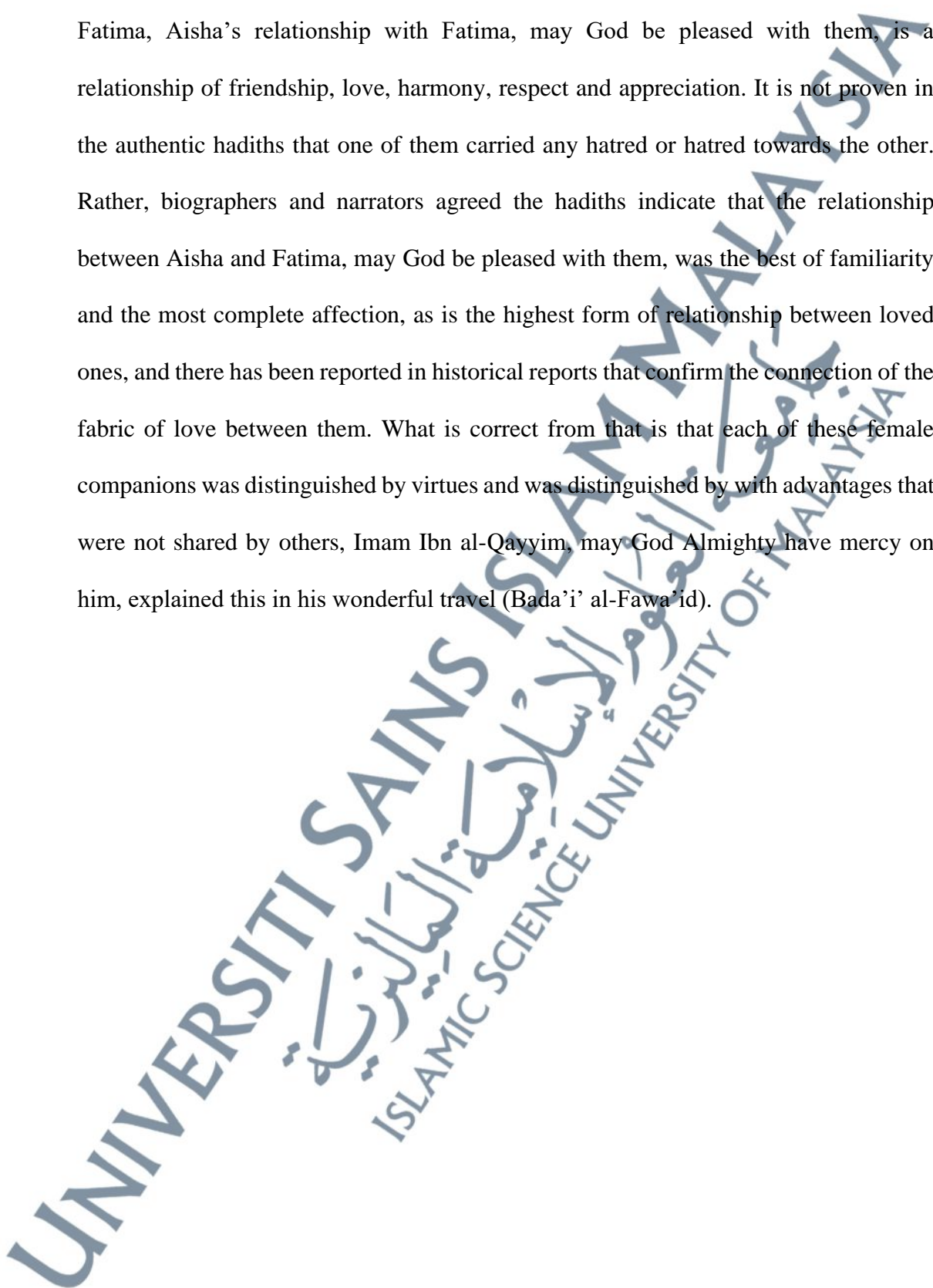
Is there anything clearer than this in the reality of the tense relationship between them? Family disputes are a natural matter that cannot lead to a war in which ten thousand companions and Tabi'in were killed, and a sane person and a fair historian cannot follow these fantasies and popular stories. Muslim historians avoided telling these trivial stories, although they mentioned, for example, what was attributed to Saida Ayesha, that she called Othman Na'thal And if that story had a share of accuracy, historians would have narrated it and relied on it in their analysis of the Camel War.

In this concern, we remember the Scottish orientalist Sir William Muir (1819-1905) who precluded that Saida Ayesha would fall into obscenity due to her apparent biography, rather, her immaculate behavior before and after Ifk incident necessitates the belief that she is innocent of the charge<sup>155</sup>. Here, too, we do not question the soundness of Ayesha's mind and wisdom so she cannot contribute to the killing of thousands of Muslims for absurd purposes.

<sup>154</sup> Ibn Kathir, Abul Fida' Isma'il. 1990. *Al-Bidayah wal Nihayah*. 7/274.

<sup>155</sup> William Muir. *Life of Mahomet*. 4/185.

Regarding the relationship between Aisha and Ali bin Abi Talib and his wife Fatima, Aisha's relationship with Fatima, may God be pleased with them, is a relationship of friendship, love, harmony, respect and appreciation. It is not proven in the authentic hadiths that one of them carried any hatred or hatred towards the other. Rather, biographers and narrators agreed the hadiths indicate that the relationship between Aisha and Fatima, may God be pleased with them, was the best of familiarity and the most complete affection, as is the highest form of relationship between loved ones, and there has been reported in historical reports that confirm the connection of the fabric of love between them. What is correct from that is that each of these female companions was distinguished by virtues and was distinguished by with advantages that were not shared by others, Imam Ibn al-Qayyim, may God Almighty have mercy on him, explained this in his wonderful travel (Bada'i' al-Fawa'id).



#### 4.2 Quran, Sunnah and Historical perspectives about Aishah's Political activities

Holy Quran didn't address or highlighted any details about Imam Ali in chapter Annur while presenting event of Ifk although there are some indications to other companions like Mastah Ibnu Abi Athathah and Hassan Ibn Thabit who were involved in the vile slander against Saida Aisha fabricated by hypocrites of Yathrib. If attitude of Imam Ali had immoral effect or played a tiny role in that vile slur it should be mentioned somehow in chapter Annur for its vital importance, therefore, it is impossible for a wisewoman like Saida Aisha to give such weight to the advice of Imam Ali and wait for year to take revenge!

Indeed, Imam Ali's advice was strict and harsh stance for any woman but not to the extent of igniting a civil war between Muslims caused thousands of casualties and victims! The real Quranic judgment of a civil war between two groups of Muslims was presented in chapter al-Hujurat (Verse 9): If two groups of believers fight each other make peace between the two parties, but if one of them transgresses fight it until it reverts to the command of Allah. If it reverts make peace and justice between them. (Al-Hujurat: 9).

And if two parties of believers fall to fight make peace between them. Allah calls both opposing groups among Muslims, believers, although they are fighting each other. Al-Bukhari and some other scholars relied on this Hadith as evidence that if Muslims commit sins, it does not nullify their faith, no matter how major that sin is. This statement contradicts the creed of the Khawarij and those who accepted their view, like Mu'tazilah sect. Al-Bukhari narrated that the Messenger of Allah gave a speech on the Minbar while Al-Hasan bin `Ali was with him. He was looking at Al-Hasan then at people; then said, (Verily, my son is a master, and may Allah make peace between two great fighting groups of Muslims through him) The Prophet was obviously explaining

how Al-Hasan brought peace between the troops of Ash-Sham and `Iraq, after they fought terrible wars and frightening battles in Syria. Allah's commanded: but if one of them outrages the other, then fight against it till it complies with the command of Allah. Which means, fight the rebellious party until they obey the commands of Allah and His Messenger and listen to and submit to the truth:

“أي: حتى ترجع إلى أمر الله (3) وتسمع للحق وتطيعه، كما ثبت في الصحيح عن أنس: أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: "انصر أخاك ظالماً أو مظلوما". قلت: يا رسول الله، هذا نصرته مظلوما فكيف أنصره ظالماً؟ قال: "تمنعه من الظلم، فذاك نصرتك إياه<sup>156</sup>”

After the event of Ifk the relationship between Saida Aisha and Imam Ali was somehow indifference for Ali's indirect advice to the prophet to divorce Aisha. To have a fair judgment of Imam Ali's attitude the best reference is Bukhari<sup>157</sup> who narrated Aisha speech on this issue:

Whenever the Prophet intended to go for Jihad, he used to draw a random lottery among his wives to choose one of them to join Him. Once He wanted to march on for Ghazwa He drew lots which came upon me. I joined Him after verses from chapter al-Ahzab were revealed and commanded all prophet's wives to wear Hijab thus I was carried on a camel. When the messenger of Allah came back from that battle, and we approached Madinah the army had a break. When the army commanded to resume, I had answered call of nature and I left behind the army looking for a necklace of mine

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<sup>156</sup> Ibn Kathir, Ismail Ibn Omar. 1999. *Tafsit al-Qu'ran al-'Azim*. Edited by Sami Bin Muhammed Salamah. Saudi Arabia: Taibah Press. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. 7/374. Bukhari, Muhammed Ibn Isma'il. 1987. *Al-Jmi' al-Sahih al-Mukhtasar*. Edited by Mustafha al-Buga. Beirut: Ibn Kathir Press. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Hadith 2557. 7/374.

<sup>157</sup> Bukhari, Muhammed Ibn Isma'il. 1987. Hadith 2557. 2/962.

(made of black bead) broken up. The people who used to carry my howdaj and set it on the back of camel couldn't feel I am not in although howdaj was light because women were not heavy and fleshy for the used to have little food and I was young! I found nobody when I came back to the camp, but I decided to stay there thinking they will search for me soon and while sitting I slept and didn't wake up until Safwan bin al-Mu'attil found me at morning (he was behind the army). Safwan could recognize me and didn't say anything except (Inna lil Laji wa inna ilihhi raji'un) till he made his she-camel kneel, and I mounted it...

Aisha and Safwan approached Madinah around afternoon and hypocrites of Yathrib, led by Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul, found an opportunity to insult the prophet using the absence of His wife with Safwan. Some of Sahaba involved in that slander by repeating the forged statement of the hypocrites and the prophet couldn't do anything to stop that moral discord, however, the interruption of revelation for more than one month that time was more sever to the prophet than the continuation of the rumors.

Allah's Messenger called Ali bin Abi Talib and Usama bin Zaid when the revelation delayed, in order to consult both. Usama bin Zaid told the prophet of what he knew about the innocence of Saida Aisha. He said "O Allah's Messenger She is your wife, and we know nothing about her except good, But Ali bin Abi Talib said: Allah does not impose restrictions on you; and there are plenty of women other than her. If you, however, ask her slave girl, she will tell you the truth. So the prophet called for Barira and asked her if did she ever see anything which might have aroused her suspicion regards Aisha. Barira said: I have never seen anything regarding Aisha that I would blame her for except that she is an immature girl who sometimes sleeps and leaves the dough of her family unprotected so domestic goats come and eat it!

By a critical analysis of this narration, the researcher could highlight these points:

First point: The advice of Ali is harsh and harmful especially it comes from the cousin of the prophet who is famous for his loyalty and valor.

Second point: There is no slightness accusation in his statement that Saida Aisha may committed adultery.

Third point: His advice was due to his deep sadness for the tragic situation of the prophet and his confusion and anxiety.

Forth point: His advice to consult Saida Aisha's slave supports the second point and demonstrate his conviction about her innocence.

Most probably Saida Aisha remembered this advice during the conflict of caliph Uthman assassination,

Ali Ibnu Abi Talib was elected by rebellions to be the fourth caliph after they murdered the third caliph Uthman at Madinah the capital city of the Islamic empire, at his home while reading holy Quran. They were only one thousand which could be easily grinded by the caliphate troops! However, those troops were far away from the city centre and rebellions sudden attack was supported by splitted companions' views and reactions. Imam Ali rejected this offer from the rebellions unless the murderers of Uthman being executed, but the sequence of events was too fast and He had in his mind one issue that had to be remedied before it was too late, and that was preserving the steadfastness and stability of the state from chaos and loss.

There are hadiths relevant to this issue that will help us understand reality of the sedition that swept the Islamic State after killing of caliph Uthman. One narrated by Anas bin Malik: Prophet peace be upon Him was climbing mountain of Uhud with Abu

Bakr, Omar and Uthman and the mountain socked with them. Prophet said: Be firm O Uhud! For on you there are only prophet, Siddiq and two martyrs!<sup>158</sup>:

“عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ قَالَ صَعِدَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِلَى أُحُدٍ وَمَعَهُ أَبُو بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرُ وَعُثْمَانُ فَرَجَفَ بِهِمْ، فَضْرَبَهُ بِرِجْلِهِ، قَالَ اثْبُتْ أُحُدُ فَمَا عَلَيْكَ إِلَّا نَبِيٌّ أَوْ صِدِّيقٌ أَوْ شَهِيدَانِ”

This hadith confirms to us the status of the martyr Othman in this world and Hereafter, for he is the companion of the Prophet in this world and in the Hereafter as well, so the ranks of the martyrs are with the prophets and the truthful ones.

Caliph Uthman Bin Affan (the man of tow lights), was described by Saida Aisha in one of a stoning reports: prophet was resting at home with His thighs exposed, her father Abu Bakr and Omar Ibnul Khattab were given the permission to enter while the prophet didn't change His position, but when Uthman permitted to enter, the prophet covered His thighs immediately and said: shouldn't I be shy of a man that angles of Allah are shy off??<sup>159</sup> This report from Aisha shows her deep respect and veneration to caliph Uthman:

“أن عائشة رضي الله عنها قالت: كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم مضطجعا في بيته كاشفا عن فخذه فاستأذن أبو بكر فأذن له وهو على تلك الحال فتحدث ثم استأذن عثمان فجلس رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وسوى ثيابه فدخل فتحدث فلما خرج قالت عائشة: يا رسول الله دخل

<sup>158</sup> Bukhari, Muhammed Ibn Isma'il. 1987. *Al-Jmi' al-Sahih al-Mukhtasar*. Edited by Mustafha al-Buga. Beirut: Ibn Kathir Press. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Hadith 3675.

<sup>159</sup> Ibn Hibban, Muhammed Ibn Hibban. 1993. *Sahih Ibn Hibban*. Edited by Shu'ab al-Arnau't. Beirut: Arrisalah Press. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Hadith No 6907. 15/336. Muslim Ibnul Hajaj al-Naisaburi. 2019. *Sahih Muslim*. Al-Jil and Darul Afaq Press. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. Hadith No 6362. 7/116. Ibn Hanbal, Ahmad Ibn Hanbal. 1999. *Musnad al-Imam Ahmad*. Edited by Shu'ain al-Arnau't and others. Beirut: Arrisalah Press. Hadith No 25216. 42/120.

أبو بكر فلم تحش له ولم تبال به ثم دخل عمر فلم تحش له ولم تبال به ثم دخل عثمان فجلست فسويت ثيابك؟ فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم: ألا أستحي من رجل تستحي منه الملائكة”

In one of the polemic argumentations between Aisha and Uthman about Walid Ibnu Uqbah, the caliph reminded her a Quranic verse from chapter al-Ahzab that commanded all mothers of believers to stay at home (33:33), but Saida Aisha interpretation of that verse was different. However, that verse draw limitation of Their public relations and social activities but never prevented Them from involving in public affairs by telling people their political views and lead them using their influence as mothers of all believers. In this concern, Uthman urged Saida Aisha when he was under siege to stay at Mecca using Her influence to stop the angry crowd but even for Saida Aisha time was too late for activating such power!

### **Historical perspectives about Aishah's Political activities**

The battle of the camel was a dangerous precedent in Islamic history, as the two parties of the conflict permitted killing Muslims under the pretext of their separation from Ummah, and each party made itself the group that represents the truth. The battle was bloody, in which thousands of lives were lost, and it was only the beginning of a series of grinding battles. The first of those battles was the Battle of Siffin between Ali and Mu'awiya.<sup>160</sup>

Fitnah of Uthman assassination started with forged letters in the name of Saida Aisha and other wives of the prophet by Abdullah Ibn Saad, one of the Caliph's

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<sup>160</sup> Guillaume, Alfred. *Islam*. Translated by Shawqi al-Yamani al-Sukkari and Muhammed Mustapha Haddarah. P. 21.

opponents in Egypt, to lead a conspiracy against the caliph in Madinah. When rebellions cut off water and food from the seized caliph, Aisha decided to continue her planned journey to Mecca, but she informed the caliph about the forged letters<sup>161</sup> and said she never commanded the angry crowd to murder their Imam. At the same time her decision to leave Madinah express her desire to rid herself from Muslim's blood shedding since the situation was out of control and, as many other Muslims, She didn't imagine that rebellions would dare to kill the caliph. In this concern, some orientalist like Leon Caetani and Giorgio Della Vida had wide imagination and said that Ali Ibn Abi Talib was behind forging those letters, but their opinions were rejected by other orientalist!!<sup>162</sup> Their purpose from such view is to disparage from piety and probity of Imam Ali who was known throughout his life for integrity and truthfulness.

Saida Aisha marching to Medina from Mecca she heard about the assassination of caliph Uthman, therefore, she decided to return back to Mecca and discuss this matter with other companions: Abdullah Ibn al-Zabair, Talha Bin Ubaid Allah, governor of Mecca Abdullah Bin 'Amir al-Hadrami Marwan and others. All held a meeting and decided to seek vengeance for the blood of caliph Uthman, then they led an army of 3000 knights without prior opinion of fighting Imam Ali. Their goal was clear from the beginning, which was to take revenge from the murderers of caliph Uthman only.

After the army of Saida Aisha conquered city of Basra, Imam Ali marched forward from Madinah and the negotiations started between the two parties and lasted for three days, but they didn't reach an agreement especially when rebellions aroused

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<sup>161</sup> [Abbott, Nabia](#) (1942). *Aishah The Beloved of Muhammad*. USA: University of Chicago Press. P. 122.

<sup>162</sup> Kennedy, Hugh. 2015. *The Prophet and the Age of Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*. UK: Routledge Press. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. P.67.

the sectarian strife by assassinating a man raising the Quran as an attempt from Imam Ali to avoid fighting by appealing to the commandments of the holy Quran. Saida Aisha was riding a red camel in the battlefield urging people to fight, but Talha and al-Zubair suddenly left the field, and both were killed, and the army of Aisha lifted without leaders!

It was recorded by many Muslim historian that Ali cursed the murderers of Talha and al-Zubair, but some orientalist considered this narration false fiction!<sup>163</sup>:

“وحضرت الصلاة، فقال ابن جرموز: الصلاة. فقال الزبير: الصلاة، فلما نزل استديره ابن جرموز فطعنه في جريان درعه فقتله وأخذ فرسه وسلاحه وخاتمه وخلى عن الغلام فدفنه بوادي السباع ورجع إلى الناس بالخبر. وقال الأحنف لابن جرموز: والله ما أدري أحسنت أم أسأت. فأتى ابن جرموز علياً فقال لحاجبه: استأذن لقاتل الزبير. فقال علي: ائذن له وبشره بالنار. وأحضر سيف الزبير عند علي فأخذه فنظر إليه وقال: طالما جلى به الكرب عن وجه رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم!<sup>164</sup>”

It is obvious that this attitude from them is based on their rejection of any pietist interpretation, noble and conflicting principles and errors done with good intention! Orientalists do not give importance to error in interpretation and its role in making crucial decisions. This point will be more highlighted in the findings of this chapter.

### **The Role of Uthman's Murderers and Hypocrites**

The master of Muslim historians, Imam al-Tabari, seeks to highlight the role of the murderers of Uthman and the hypocrites in igniting the war between the two armies,

<sup>163</sup> Rogerson, Barnaby. 2006. *The heirs of Prophet Muhammad and the roots of the Sunni-Shia Schism*. London: Hachette digital. 1<sup>st</sup> edition. P. 296.

<sup>164</sup> Ibn al-Atheer. *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*. 2/46.

army of Ali in Abu Talib and the army of Talha and al-Zubayr. This was after the two parties almost agreed to conclude a peace and reconciliation agreement, but the murderers, feared from fair trial that awaits them, they did not find anything better than starting a war and shedding blood:

“وبات الذين أثاروا أمر عثمان بشر ليلة باتوها قط قد أشرفوا على المهكلة وجعلوا يتشاورون ليلتهم كلها حتى اجتمعوا على إنشباب الحرب في السر واستسروا بذلك خشية أن يفطن بما حاولوا من الشر فغدوا مع الغلس وما يشعر بهم جيرانهم انسلوا إلى ذلك الأمر انسلالا وعليهم ظلمة فخرج مضريهم إلى مضريهم وربيعهم إلى ربيعهم وبمانيهم إلى بمانيهم فوضعوا فيهم السلاح فثار أهل البصرة وثار كل قوم في وجوه أصحابهم الذين بمتوهم<sup>165</sup>”

From the beginning, the conspiratorial killers were distributed among the ranks of Muslims on both sides of the conflict, and they were closely following the news of the negotiation between the leaders of the two armies and they are doing everything they can to sow chaos and create an atmosphere for a bloody war. The strange thing about the Orientalists' investigations is that they did not address this serious issue and did not give it any importance, perhaps intentionally.

It is absurd to adopt the assumption of the Orientalists and Shiites that Ayesha came out in retaliation for herself from Ali bin Abi Talib and for her tribe that lost the throne of the caliphate. Were the thousands who endured the hardship of fighting from her tribe seeking to restore its right to the caliphate? If Aisha was happy for Othman's death, would she have gathered an army to take revenge on Uthman's murderers?

And the eminent scholar Ibn Khaldun is in full agreement with al-Tabari in his analysis of the murderers' role and their plotting against Ali, Talha and al-Zubayr

<sup>165</sup> Al-Tabari, Abu Ja'far Muhammed Ibn Jarir. 1986. *Tarikh al-Umam Wal Muluk*. 3/39.

together, and of course the Saida Ayesha was the victim of this conspiracy. He even repeated al-Tabari's phrases exactly without any change.<sup>166</sup>

### **Ali and Ayesha's Call for Peace and Truce**

There was a deliberate marginalization by the orientalist in general of the calls for reconciliation launched by Ali bin Abi Talib, Aisha, Talha and Al-Zubayr, and these calls were strong and influential to the extent that the warriors of the two fronts thought that the war would end, Ibn Kathir reported:

“فلما عضت الحرب تداعوا إلى الصلح على أن يكتبوا بينهم كتابا ويبعثوا رسولا إلى أهل المدينة يسأل أهلها، إن كان طلحة والزبير أكرها على البيعة، خرج عثمان بن حنيف عن البصرة وأخلاقها، وإن لم يكونا أكرها على البيعة خرج طلحة والزبير عنها وأخلوها لهم”<sup>167</sup>

When the war intensified and they were tormented and killed, they called for reconciliation and peace, However, Hakim bin Jabalah and his supporters did not leave an opportunity for peace they attacked and killed, and every fighter carried his weapon and fought fiercely and violently, then Talha and Zubair troops started chasing the assassins of Uthman and killed six hundred! All of this bloody clash happened in Basra. Then Ali started his military campaign from Madinah to Basra, his son Hasan tried to stop him but in vein and Abdullah ibn Salam told him if you – the commander of Faithful – leave Madinah it wont be a capital city for the caliphate anymore! But Ali insisted to march to Basra.

Ali Sent al-Qa'qa' ibn Amr for negotiation:

<sup>166</sup> Ibn Khaldun, Abdulrahman . 2016. *Kitabul Ibar wa Diwanul Muftada' wal Khabar fi Ayyam al-Arab wal Ajam wal Barbar wa man 'Asarahum min zawi al-Sultan al-Akbar*. Edited by Adil bin Sa'd al-Sheikh. Beirut: Darul Kutub al-Ilmiyyah. 2/162.

<sup>167</sup> Ibn Kathir, Abul Fida' Isma'il. 1990. *Al-Bidayah wal Nihayah*. 7/260.

“فذهب القعقاع إلى البصرة فبدأ بعائشة أم المؤمنين فقال: أي أمه! ما أقدمك هذا البلد؟ فقالت: أي بني! الإصلاح بين الناس، فسألها أن تبعث إلى طلحة والزبير ليحضرا عندها، فحضرا فقال القعقاع: إني سألت أم المؤمنين ما أقدمها؟ فقالت إنما جئت للإصلاح بين الناس، فقالوا: ونحن كذلك”<sup>168</sup>

From the statements of Saida Ayesha, Talha and Zubair it is crystal clear that peace and fair trial for the caliph Uthman is their goal, but few murderers who could escape from execution in Basra found a thousand supporters in Cufa out of clan appeal. All of those angry tribal men were armed and ready for fight and they joined Ali's forces. At this point, the issue became very complicated, and all the calls of Abu Musa al-Ash'ari to retire from fighting were rejected even by al-Hasan ibn Ali, who was trying to convince his father not to leave Madinah for fighting!

When al-Qaqaa returned from the negotiations, Imam Ali was very happy and addressed the people, reminding them of pre-Islamic era and random bloodshed, and called on them to reconcile and return back to their homes! So the Sabaeans gathered in two thousand and five hundred knights and decided to stop Ali's army from withdrawing, causing chaos, and starting the fighting, and what they wanted was done, and a bloody war took place, which was the beginning of other terrible civil wars.

“اجتمع من رؤوسهم جماعة كالأشتر النخعي، وشريح بن أوفى، وعبد الله بن سبأ المعروف بابن السوداء، وسالم بن ثعلبة، وغلاب بن الهيثم، وغيرهم في ألفين وخمسمائة، وليس فيهم صحابي والله الحمد، فقالوا: ما هذا، الرأي وعلي والله أعلم بكتاب الله ممن يطلب قتلة عثمان، وأقرب إلى العمل بذلك، وقد قال ما سمعتم، غدا يجمع عليكم الناس، وإنما يريد القوم كلهم أنتم، فكيف بكم وعددكم قليل في كثرتهم؟”<sup>169</sup>

<sup>168</sup> Ibn Kathir, Abul Fida' Isma'il. 1990. *Al-Bidayah wal Nihayah*. 7/265.

<sup>169</sup> Ibn Kathir, Abul Fida' Isma'il. 1990. *Al-Bidayah wal Nihayah*. 7/266.

All these important details were hidden from the analyzes of the Orientalists and the foolish Muslims who followed them, Therefore, their trivial suspicions about Ayesha's role in starting the Battle of the Camel dominated their writings.

Jonathan Brown, concluded that Aisha was wrong by leading an army through historical narrations: “for a judgeship continues in Egypt and elsewhere to this day. Though little more than a pamphlet, Sirgani’s directions on choosing Egypt’s president nevertheless grant ample space to rebutting Ghazali’s historicization of the Hadith Against Women Ruling. ‘The Hadith is general in application,’ Sirgani argues, Ghazali clearly in his sights, ‘and those who claim it is specified must provide some evidence for that.’ He points to a version of the Hadith in the Sahih Bukhari that Ghazali had not mentioned. The Companion who transmitted the Hadith from the Prophet recalled that, when the civil wars broke out in the years after Muhammad’s death, he had inclined toward joining an army led by Aisha. Then he remembered the Prophet’s prediction and realized this would be an error. Even the Companions, Sirgani concludes, understood that the Hadith was a general warning for the future as well .!<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Jonathan Brown. P. 144.

### 4.3 Discussion and finding

In the details of the battle of camel, Saida Ayesha was silent most of the time, and in her responses to the requests and inquiries of her followers she spoke tersely, but the leaders of wars are often eloquent orators, and they do not miss an opportunity to show their verbal abilities, mobilize people's emotions. This is a rule that did not change in the old wars; the successful leader is the one who is at the forefront of the army, inspects his soldiers and delivers great speeches time to time.

It is true that Aisha was at the forefront of the army, but she did not deliver a single sermon to the soldiers urging them to fight and this indicates a restless and anxious mind. The bloody events that accompanied the campaign towards Basra and then the meeting with Ali's army were huge and Ayesha's delicate feelings could not bear it. It is amazing that a woman in her delicacy endured all these hardships, the sight of blood and the hands and feet cutting off. All of these indications prove that Aisha did not go out to war, but rather her goal was to reform and call for a fair trial for the assassination of Uthman.

This psychological and social analysis is extremely important to our overall assessment of the Battle of the Camel. However, the details of the battles, killings and bloodshed cannot be separated from their social contexts and the emotional relations between the members of the same tribe and cannot be separated from the look of respect and appreciation that the enemy holds for his enemy before relations between them deteriorate and turn dramatically into a relationship of war and revenge.

The Battle of the Camel and its harsh consequences were a source of deep grief for Saida Ayesha and Imam Ali as well, and for Muslim historians who tried to justify this civil war. May be the great Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was the most scholar who shed tears and pray for the victims of that battle while writing his book al-sawai'q al-

Mursalah. He was severely affected by the sorrow details of that battle to the extent that he launched a harsh campaign against anyone who criticized the warring parties, and the same judgment applies to those who criticized the warring parties in the Battle of Siffin between Imam Ali and Muawiyah bin Abi Sufyan.

The rigorous statements of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah reflect the viewpoint of many Muslims, whether scholars or students. Therefore, his book received great importance and wide public acceptance, in the past and in the modern times. Whoever has not read the events of the Battle of the Camel, the debates that took place between the warring parties, and the poems that were recited in it, will not know the value of Ibn al-Qayyim's book *Al-Sawa'iq*. And because Ibn al-Qayyim is the loyal student of Ibn Taymiyyah, who arranged his writings, revised his ideas, and elaborated on explaining his doctrinal and jurisprudential opinions, the contemporary Salafi school spent effort and money to direct attention to this book.

In many cases, the orientalist analyze events with malice and cunning, so they appear fair in their analysis of some incidents. The orientalist Sykes had his views fluctuating between fairness and extremism. Once he said that Ali bin Abi Talib was not successful because of Aisha's hatred for him, who became a puppet in the hands of Talha and Al-Zubayr in the Battle of the Camel. And at other times, he says that Ali bin Abi Talib did not want to start the war, but he failed to confront the killers of Uthman,

who started the war from both sides and caused terrible losses on both sides<sup>171</sup>. But, as Sykes said, Battle of Camel was a great loss to the best interest of Islam.<sup>172</sup>

The orientalist's political assumption against the mother of the believers, Ayesha, may God be pleased with her, could be confined to these substantial points:

1- Saida Ayesha was exploited by Al-Zubayr bin Al-Awam and Talha bin Ubaidullah. They operated her religious status to find legal justifications for war declaration against Ali bin Abi Talib and grab legitimacy from his nomination as a caliph to pave the way for Al-Zubayr or Talha to declare himself the fourth caliph.

2. Saida Ayesha was misled for her insensibility of political tricks.

3. Saida Ayesha was emotionally lured into war against Ali bin Abi Talib by lifting Uthman's bloody shirt on swords demanding retaliation from the murderers using her deep respect for the murdered caliph, Uthman, may God be pleased with him.

4. The political adventure of Saida Ayesha, according to the orientalist, was an opportunity to prove her personality in society that believe in male supremacy and does not allow women to hold political positions like commanding armies. In this regard, they cited hadiths that Saida Ayesha rejected them because these hadiths enhance the status of men and despises the status of women. Taking this analysis as granted historical fact, Sedio described Aisha as the soul of all intrigue!<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Sykes, Lieut. Col. P. M. 1915. *A History of Persia*. London: Macmillan and Co, Limited. Vo II. P. 34. An old PDF version available at:

[https://www.google.com.my/books/edition/A\\_history\\_of\\_Persia/XQ7UDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover](https://www.google.com.my/books/edition/A_history_of_Persia/XQ7UDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover)

<sup>172</sup> Sykes, Lieut. Col. P. M. *A History of Persia*. Vo II. P. 34.

<sup>173</sup> Sedio, L. 2009. P. 127

Their claim about the golden opportunity of Saida Ayesha to satisfy her ego as a woman is invalid, because her position was originally exalted as the mother of the male believers! The Companions revered her and went to her to seek knowledge and fatwas, especially the young Companions like Abdullah Ibn Abbas and Abdullah Ibn al-Zubair, and this reverence from the Companions confirms the wisdom of the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, in choosing Aisha, the young woman with a strong personality and excessive intelligence, to be a teacher whose knowledge the Companions and followers drew from. On top of this and that, this (political adventure) was a harsh experience for her, and it caused her grief that did not leave her. And Imam Al-Dhahabi, may God have mercy on him, said about her: I do not know in the nation of Muhammad, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, and not even in women at all, a woman more knowledgeable than her!

Saida Aisha was highly intelligent in her youth and has increased her wisdom and knowledge in the decade she lived with Prophet and through high academic discussion with the companions. Many of those who were deceived by this simple trick thought Aisha was a young girl after that time who lacked experience and it was easy to dictate political decisions to her with passionate emotional stories. An exceptional woman in her era, similar to the women of today who hold high positions such as the position of the Prime Minister or the Minister of Defense and Foreign Affairs, some of whom have not exceeded thirty years of age! And she was closely following the news of the caliph Othman and the people's disagreement over him, until Marwan bin al-Hakam came to her and said to her: Reconcile between this man and the people. She even devoted herself to praying and beseeching God to spare the Muslims a bloody strife, which is what happened.

Considering her political decisions, it is difficult to accept the issue of the exploitation of her name and status by Talha and Al-Zubair for political interest. She was aware of the size of the issue of caliphate and allegiance and the danger of revolting against the legitimate caliph Uthman bin Affan, may God be pleased with him, and aware of the magnitude of the sedition that afflicted the ranks of Muslims as a result of their silence over the killing of the caliph in Aqar. His home, and that retribution from the killers is no less important than the apostasy wars led by her father, Al-Siddiq, may God be pleased with him, as he declared a relentless war on those who refused zakat when some of the senior companions disagreed with him, such as Ali bin Abi Talib, who argued that the blood of Muslims is permissible only in one of three ways: the soul With the soul, the non-married adulterer, and the abandoner of his religion, who separates from the group on the individual level, and later realized that preventing zakat constitutes a rebellion against the sovereignty and survival of the state, so he succumbed to the opinion of the caliph. Or in the case of killing Uthman, Ali bin Abi Talib found himself leading an army with which a crowd of Uthman's killers and rebels mixed up, and he demanded more time to exclude them from the Muslim community and then hold them accountable. However, the events sequenced quickly, leaving neither side an opportunity for dialogue, especially since the killers hurried to ignite the fuse of war And he shuffled the cards before they found themselves in the crosshairs of the arrows of the elected caliph, so the rope mixed with bombs, and many lives were lost in a war that Mrs. Aisha was not able to stop with a military order. Rather, her camel was a means to stop that bloody war, as she had a prominent peaceful role in eliminating sedition and stopping the frenzy of killing and fighting!!

### Battle of Camel and Hermeneutics

Ibn al-Jawzi believes that the biggest strife that afflicted religious thought is hermeneutics, for instance, the cause of many civil wars and the deviation of many Muslim sectarianists from the right path is interpretation:

“وبالجملة فافتراق أهل الكتابين وافتراق هذه الأمة على ثلاث وسبعين فرقة إنما أوجبه التأويل وإنما أريق دماء المسلمين يوم الجمل وصفين والحرة وفتنة ابن الزبير وهلم جرا بالتأويل وإنما دخل أعداء الإسلام من المتفلسفة والقرامطة والباطنية والإسماعلية والنصيرية من باب التأويل فما امتحن الإسلام بمحنة قط إلا وسببها التأويل”<sup>174</sup>

All civil wars between Muslims were caused by interpretation, the war of Abdullah bin Al-Zubayr with Abd Al-Malik bin Marwan, the war of Muawiyah against Ali bin Abi Talib, and the war of Talha and Al-Zubayr against Ali! Some may think that such justification is an evasion of historical facts, the first of which is the struggle for power, but this analysis, which is not without risk, involves a truth closely related to theology and its implications. The emergence of esoteric sects was linked to philosophical hermeneutics whether these sectarianisms belong to Judaism, Christianity or Islam but Ibn al-Qayyim, However, Ibn al-Qayyim rejected some interpretations and considered them invalid:

“فأهل الجمل وصفين إنما اقتتلوا على تأويل القرآن وهؤلاء يحتجون به وهؤلاء يحتجون به نعم التأويل الباطل تأويل أهل الشام قوله لعمار تقتلك الفئة الباغية فقالوا نحن لم نقتله إنما قتله من جاء به حتى أوقعه بين رماحنا فهذا هو التأويل الباطل المخالف لحقيقة اللفظ وظاهره”<sup>175</sup>

<sup>174</sup> Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr Ayyub al-Zar'i. 1973. *I'lam al-Muaqqi'in an Rabbil 'Alamin*. Beirut: darul Jeil. Edited by Taha Abdulra'uf Sa'd. 4/251.

<sup>175</sup> Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr Ayyub al-Zar'i. 1998. *Al-Swa'iq al-Mursalaha ala al-Jahmiyyah wal Mu;atilah*. Edited by Ali bin Muhammad al-Dakhilellah. Riyadh: Darul 'Asimah. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. 1/184.

When Ammar bin Yasir joined the army of Ali bin Abi Talib and the knights of al-Sham killed him, a hadith spread that was not in favor of Muawiyah's army, because in that hadith, it was stated that Ammar would be killed by the transgressors. Muawiyah and his supporters deliberately interpreted the hadith by saying that it was Ali's army that killed Ammar bin Yasir because Ali forced Ammar bin Yasir to fight with him even though he was an old man.

Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah tended to point out that the verse of Surat al-An'am demonstrates his doctrine:

{وَكَذَلِكَ فِتْنًا بَعْضُهُمْ يَبْغِضُ} [الأنعام: 53]

Which means Allah is examining believers:

“وفتنة المؤمن في ماله وولده وجاره لون آخر، والفتنة التي يوقعها بين أهل الإسلام، كالفتنة التي أوقعها بين

أصحاب عليٍّ ومعاوية، وبين أهل الجمل وصفين، وبين المسلمين، حتى يتقاتلوا ويتهاجروا لون آخر<sup>176</sup>”

The belligerents in the Battle of the Camel were subjected to great trials and tribulations, as a result of that trial, thousands of lives were lost, the entire political system changed from shura to monarchy, the tribal tendency returned to control the political and social equations and political corruption became inherent in all subsequent governments.

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<sup>176</sup> Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr Ayyub al-Zar'i. 1994. *Zadul ma'ad fi Hadi Khiril Ibad*. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risalah. 27<sup>th</sup> Edition. 3/169.