

A STUDY OF CRITICISM OF THE ISLAMIC RULER: A CASE STUDY OF THE REIGN OF IMAM ALI (PBUH)

Mohammad Amin MOZAHEB^{1*}, Peyman HASSANI², Ehsan BAGHERI DANA³

¹ (Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics), Language Center, Head of the English Language Department, Imam Sadiq University, Tehran, Iran

² M.A Student in International Law, School of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran, Iran.

³ M.A Student in International Peace and Security, School of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran, Iran.

***Corresponding Author**

ABSTRACT

Over time, mankind turned to government and ruling. After the formation of primary societies, the simplest forms of government emerged. Gradually, by the development of societies, the structures of government changed and evolved. Since governments may not be in favor of all people in developed countries, so there is the possibility that people protest and criticize their government. Criticism on rulers and governments has existed in every given time and territory. Occasionally criticism and protest are accompanied by violence resulting in rebellion, destruction and even in actions against the nation's security. Sometimes, it is resolved peacefully and is performed through street protests. This article reviews the definitions of critique, then explores criticism and accepting criticism in Islamic government from the perspective of the governing approach employed by Amir al-Momenin and discusses his interactions with critics. This article aims to investigate the approach through which he interacted with people of opposing ideology and critical of his governorship.

Keywords: criticism, government, governor, Islamic politics

INTRODUCTION

People are the rightful owners of governments and supporters of political systems and their role in the political life of governments has changed as opposed to their rather passive role in the past. If the interpretation of the verse: "***Muster against them whatever you are able of force and tethers (ropes) of horses, so that you strike terror into the enemies of Allah and your enemy, and others besides them whom you do not know but Allah does. All that you spend in the Way of Allah shall be repaid to you. You shall not be wronged***". (Infial/60) necessitated military action in the past, today social media and advertisement tools are not the only instruments of power, but also the people who have the "know-hows" of working with them. People have power over government and in Imam Khomeini's words, in our country's sensitive state the stabilizing and decisive factors are social solidarity and human resources as the main pillars of the holy system of Islamic Republic.

Similarly, the most important elements in controlling the governors' power is the passionate, vigilant and tenacious presence of people in social development monitoring the sovereignty and assessing officials' behavior. On one hand, people's continuous monitoring, commenting and criticizing strengthens the foundations of social power, on the other hand neglecting it

leads to a government consisting of corrupt people. This issue in religious literature arises in the form of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil. Imam Reza said “disregarding this matter of high significance results in the dominance of the depraved, so even the prayers of the most righteous will not be responded” (Sheikh Hor Ameli 394:1988)

The existence principle of government is a vital one in regards to which Imam Ali (pbuh) said “it is inevitable for people to have good or bad government”; it’s the presence of the government that causes the performing of community affairs and the organization of economy, security and livelihood issues. According to Amir al-Momenin, state gathers taxes, holds possible enemies back, secures the roads and defends the rights of weak people and philanthropists are safe from evildoers. (Nahj al-balaghah, sermon 40)

Naturally, a “**Competent Ruler**” or “**Good Ruler**” in opinion of Amir al-Momenin has some characteristics; “A curmudgeon is not worthy of having the honor, life and rulings of people be a governor. Also, ignorant people do not deserve leadership who mislead Muslims and wicked persons cannot be leaders who arrogates peoples’ right with oppression; and not the person who has no justice in dividing public property, because the waste he lays on their properties and misleads in the prioritization of groups. Bribe-takers cannot be pioneers in adjudication, because they abuse peoples’ right by taking bribes. Negaters of prophet’s tradition do not deserve leadership, because they destroy Islamic nations” (Nahj al-balaghah, sermon 131); therefore, the best government officials are those who the right knowledge of governmental development and God’s commandment in order to confront the disobedient. (Nahj al-balaghah, sermon 173).

Amir al-Momenin explains the governor’s duties “people, I have a right to you and you have a right to me, your right to me is that to be benevolent to you, be just in dividing the public property, educate you in order not to be illiterate and ignorant, nurture you to understand the way of life”. In this sentence, four key fundamental principles are referred to: benevolence of the ruler to people, organization of the economic issues, public education and nurturing the people.

The aforementioned four rights could form the base for human rights and guarantee social development, flourishing of economic knowledge and Islamic traditions being carried out. Although he says if the rights were respected and the leadership rights and peoples’ rights were met, people would achieve their legitimate demands; including the right to be honored, the Islamic traditions be performed and the different norms of justice in politics and economy of society be established; In this situation, prophet Muhammad’s traditions would be permanent, the society would be reformed and people given hope for continuation of the government and the enemies disappointed. (Nahj al-balaghah, sermon 25)

Significance of Study

This paper aims to study the historical example of criticism to the Islamic ruler in the reign of Imam Ali (pbuh). This study points to elicit the Quran verses and Nahj al-Balaqah to identify the appropriate behavior of the Islamic ruler in the case of criticism to the government.

Research Questions

In this research, the main questions that will be considered are:



- 1- In case of criticism of the government and governor, what is the appropriate behavior of the Islamic ruler?
- 2- How the Quran verses effect the formation of such behaviors?

Corpus

The Qur'an and interpretations of the Quran, also the Book Nahj al-Balaqah are the main corpora of the current study.

Conceptual framework

Various definitions were presented on the concept of revolution and the most important and most famous of these definitions are briefly explained in this study.

METHODOLOGY

This article uses the method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine the issue of criticism of the Islamic ruler with emphasis on the reign of Imam Ali (pbuh). This article studies this issue by analyzing what he said in the book of Nahj al-Balaghah and quoting some verses of the Holy Quran.

Terminology

In the following part, some expressions and names are explained briefly to facilitate the understanding of the text.

- ***Amir al-Mu'minin***: this term is an Arabic title that is usually translated "Commander of the Faithful" or "Leader of the Faithful". Shias believe that the title is exclusive to Ali ibn Abi Talib (pbuh), as opposed to others, while Sunnis believe that title can be applied to others, including other caliphs and scholars (Pennell, 2016).
- ***Az-Zubayr ibn Al-Awam*** (594–656): He was a companion of the Islamic prophet Muhammad (pbuh).
- ***Mālik b. Hārith al-Nakha'ī*** (b.? - d. 39/659-660) well-known as Malik al-Ashtar was one of the especial companions of Imam Ali (pbuh). During the caliphate of Uthman ibn 'Affan, he participated in the funeral of Abu Dhar and because he objected to the governor of Kufa, he was exiled to Hums. After he returned from Hums, people made him the governor of Kufa. During the siege of Uthman's house, Malik was among the the besiegers. Supporters of Muawiya accused him of being an accomplice in the murder of Uthman. After the murder of Uthman, Malik was one of the most influential people in calling people to pledge allegiance with Imam Ali (pbuh). During the caliphate of Imam Ali (pbuh), Malik participated in the Battle of Jamal and the Battle of Siffin and eventually he was appointed by Imam Ali (pbuh) as governor-general in Egypt. However, he was martyred before arriving to Egypt. His son, Ibrahim b. Malik al-Ashtar was one of the people who were seeking the revenge of Imam al-Husayn (pbuh) and was one of Mukhtar al-Thaqafi's allies. The famous treaty of Malik al-Ashtar is a letter that Imam Ali (pbuh) wrote to him while he was in Egypt. (Ibn Abi l-Hadid, 1959: 98).
- ***Talhah ibn Ubaydullah***: (594-656) was a companion of the Islamic prophet Muhammad (pbuh).



- **The Battle of Nahrawan:** The Battle of Nahrawan was a battle between Ali ibn Abi Talib, and the extremist group called Kharijites (Khavarij) near Nahrawan, twelve miles from Baghdad. The battle ended in a total defeat of the Kharijites. Ali led the battlefield himself with his two sons, Hassan and Hussein (Ludwing, 2009: 235).
- **The Battle of Siffin:** The Battle of Siffin, May–July 657 occurred during the First Fitna, or first Muslim civil war, with the main engagement taking place from July 26 to July 28. It was fought between Ali ibn Abi Talib who ruled as the Fourth Caliph and Muawiyah I, on the banks of the Euphrates River, in what is now Raqqa, Syria. (Encyclopedia of Britannica/battle of Siffin).
- **The Khawarij, Kharijites:** were members of a sect that appeared in the first century of Islam during the First Fitna, the crisis of leadership after the death of Muhammad.[1] It broke into revolt against the authority of the Caliph Ali after he agreed to arbitration with his rival, Muawiyah I, to decide the succession to the Caliphate following the Battle of Siffin (657) (Higgins, 2004: 390). A Khariji later assassinated Ali, and for hundreds of years, the Khawarij were a source of insurrection against the Caliphate. The Khawarij opposed arbitration as a means to choose a new ruler on the grounds that "judgement belongs to God alone". They considered arbitration a means for people to make decisions while the victor in a battle was determined by God. They believed that any Muslim—even one who was not a Quraysh or even an Arab could be the Imam, the leader of the community, if he was morally irreproachable. If the leader sinned, it was the duty of Muslims to oppose and depose him (Glasse, 2001: 255-256).



RESULTS

Definition of Critique

Johair, in Sahah, states: "the gross Dirhams were separated from the collection, a critique of someone means a controversy with him¹". (Sahah al-loghat)

Firouzabadi states: "ناقده: ناقشه" (Ghamous al-mohit) and Tarihi states: "انتقدت الدراهم: اذا اخرجت منها" (Majma al-bahrain). This is a quote by Johair. According to "Monjed": "نقد نقدا و تنقادا": "نظرها ليعرف جيدها من ردينها و نقد الكلام: اظهر ما به من العيوب و المحاسن.... و ناقده مناقده: الدراهم و غيرها: ميزها و نظرها ليعرف جيدها من ردينها و نقد الكلام: اظهر ما به من العيوب و المحاسن.... و ناقده مناقده: ناقشه في الامر..."

Dirham critique means that they are separated and explored in order to distinguish between the better and worse among them. Utterance critique is expressing advantages and disadvantages (Malouf al-yasouei, 1931). In the words of the Laghaviyans: a critique is a reformist movement aiming at refining and reaching reality, returning the nature of the person or a blend of impurities toward purity and its nature.

In many stories, hypercriticizing and blaming the Muslim is forbidden (Vasayel al-shie, V11, The Book of Jihad al-nafs,36) Amir al-Momenin states: "**anyone who is involved in another is someone who is wandered in darkness, caught in perilous situations and devil is penetrated in him and made his ugliness beautiful in his eyes**"². (Nahj al-balaghah)

¹ . انتقد الدراهم: اخرج منها الزيف... ناقده: ناقشه في الامر

² و من شغل نفسه بغير نفسه، تحير في الظلمات و ارتبك في الهلكات و مدت به شيطانيه و زينت له سيء اعماله

Hypercriticizing and blaming share similarities in tracking the imperfections and bringing into attention owners' defects. The differences are only in two issues:

1. The sources of hypercriticizing are the envy, revenge, selfishness and merciless spirit of mankind, but the origins of critique are the type of friendship, human emotions and the faith commitment. (objective motivation)
2. Hypercritics aim at annoyance and destruction of personality, whereas critics aim at reforming possible defects and helping counterparts in achieving perfection. (ultimate motivation)

Enjoining the good and forbidding the evil is possible when affairs are in congruence with critique which is an integral part of Islamic obligations, but there are differences, too. Among some significant differences, there is a fact which states "*enjoining the good and forbidding the evil*" is a type of critique, but there may be some criticisms without adaptation with "*enjoining the good and forbidding the evil*". For example, if someone does something which makes the other person belittled or weakened in social image, so any remark is like a critique but it's not "*enjoining the good and forbidding the evil*". Accordingly, the criticism and assessment of governors and officials is under the term "critique" although it's not "*enjoining the good and forbidding the evil*".

Another factor that distinguishes between these two issues is that "*enjoining the good and forbidding the evil*" performs with Sharia and against the person who is not allowed to do something. This is not true in the sense of a particular interpretation of critique; because in these cases, critical comments are not based on Sharia but also on the speaker's knowledge and detection. Such cases may not include any rules of Sharia. Hence, it is important to discuss the critical value of support and the extension of commitment of the critic's comment.

It seems that the wisdom is the basis of critique; since it is one of the Sharia commands if there are no proofs in Sharia.

In many cases, its command remains concealed following the influences of negligence factors and it's not easy to distinguish. In these cases, it is recommended not to be cognitively biased and to enjoy collective wisdom. (Nouri 63:1987)

Herein, there are two issues in the stories: first, consultations which are the proceeding from actor before taking action in order to get wise peoples' account on the matter; second is the critique which is a proceeding from observers who know the expedient in order to reform possible imperfections.

Criticism on the Governor

The prevention of corruption resulting from power and approaches to take it under control are two important issues in the philosophy of politics. There are a number of inhibitor factors in the philosophy of politics, such as distributing the power, separating the powers and knowing the states of instruments and regulatory bodies. Of course, each of these approaches has its own impact, but it is evident from experiments that they cannot be safe from corruption and show their efficiency.

Dynamic presence of people associated with their responsibility, their attention to governance and management of social structures, perpetual criticism on government officials' behavior



and assessments of their actions are among the safest and most effective factors for controlling governors' power.

According to Imam Reza: *"you should let people enjoy the good and forbid them from the evil, otherwise evildoers will dominate you which leads to your failure, even with prays"* ³(Sheikh Hor Ameli, 1988)

The aforementioned quote may imply that people should be encouraged to do well and be forbidden from evil, otherwise corruption will be rampant among social structures resulting in the governance of evildoers. Also it may imply criticism on governors from people. The possibility that both general implications are desired is rather strong.

From the perspective of Alavi Governance, one of the definitive rights of Muslims is inquiry of governors. It was asked from him by one of his companions on an occasion: "how did they forbid you from caliphate while you were the worthiest of it?" Amir al-Momenin responded: "يا" loosely translation is: *"My brother, the son of Asad, you are like a camel that is anxious and weak! You don't know where you are talking! However, you respect Prophet Muhammad since you are relatives, and you can ask since you are a citizen"*. (Nahj al-balaghah, Sobhi Saleh research, p 231, sermon 162, interpretation of Feiz ah-Islam p517. sermon 161)

Also he states in another sermon: *"the worst characteristic of governors towards people is their arrogance. I don't imply that I like your commitment. Thanks to God I am not characterized by this trait and even if my human nature had such property, I have liberated myself from its bonds. So, don't address me in the way you address tyrants in order not to get them angry. Don't think if I hear a Right speech, I will not accept it. Of course, it would be difficult to perform actions for one who does not like to hear what is right and just. Therefore, don't obstruct the right speech and justice"*. (Nahj al-balaghah, Sobhi Saleh research, p 334, Sermon 216, interpretation of Feiz ah-Islam, p686, sermon 297)⁴

Amir al-Momenin's Behavior towards Critics and Opponents of Government

According to Quran, God has taken it easy to set divine assignments, but is strength in the divine limits. For example, God has determined capital punishment against murder: *"O owners of minds, for you in retaliation is life, in order that you be cautious"*. (Baqarah 179)

The priority is to settle disputes peacefully and in respect with Quran rather than conflict and being conflict-oriented. (Hakimi, 1986) Accordingly, Amir al-Momenin says: *"Don't refuse the peace from your opponent, since reconciliation brings you tranquility, solidarity, safety and inner peace"*. (Dashti, 2013, p 952)

The dissidents of the government are in two parts: 1) Critics who criticize in the framework of system, don't resort to weaponry and resolve problems politically. 2) The opponents who have

³ و لتأمرن بالمعروف و لتنهين عن المنكر، او ليستعملن عليكم شراركم فيدعو خياركم فلا يستجاب لكم

⁴ و ان من استحفظ حالاته الولاء عند صالح الناس، ان يظن بهم حب الفخر و يوضع امرهم على اكبر و قد كرهت ان يكون جال في ظنكم اني احب الاطراء و استماع الثناء و لست بحمدالله كذلك و لو كنت أحب أن يقال ذلك لتركته انحطاطاً لله سبحانه عن تناول ما هو أحق به من العظمة و الكبرياء. فلا تكلموني بما تكلم به الجبابرة و لا تتحفظوا مني بما يتحفظ به عند أهل البادرة و لا تخالطوني بالمصانعة و لا تظنوا بي استئقلاً في حق قبلي، ولا التماس إعظام نفسي، فإنه من استئقل الحق أن يقال له أو العدل أن يعرض عليه، كان العمل بهما أثقل عليه، فلا تكفوا عن مقالة بحق أو مشورة بعدل؛ فإنني لست في نفسي بفوق إني أخطيء و لا أمن ذلك من فعلي، إلا أن يكفي الله من نفسي ما هو أملك به مني

armed rebellion against the Islamic government. They are Baghi. Treatment with these two groups are clearly different.

Amir al-Momenin faced with three outrageous groups in his government. They wanted the situation like the third Caliph: unlimited forgiveness, squandering, governance of unworthy people like Muawiyah I and empowering previous governors. In the meantime, traitors with leadership of Tahlhe and Az-Zubayr ibn Al-Awam who had made a large army to seize the cities Koufe and Basre with sizable contributions from Aieshe, arrived at Basre and seized it. On the other hand, Ghasetin, oppressors group whose leader was Muawiyah I disrupted Amir al-Mu'minin's peace of mind during his governance and life. Finally, Mareghin, a group out of the religion who are "Khavarej" were his advocates until the end of the battle of Sefein, but were deviated by Muawiyah I resulting in rebellion against Amir al-Mu'minin. This process led to the emergence of a third group who were against Amir al-Mu'minin and Muawiyah I both. For the first time, Amir al-Mu'minin met this group at "*Nahrawan*"⁵ and dispersed them. In the end, he was killed by a member of the group known as Khavarej.

During Amir al-Mu'minin's governance, the opportunities to show the behavior of divine leaders were more than opportunities available with other leaders since there were several groups of opposing ideology. So, it is important to explore this period of history in regards to the abovementioned principle.

Amir al-Mu'minin had three approaches in his interactions with opponents: conversation, tolerance and decisive conduct. His first attempts were towards clarifying the doubts and finding a way to settle the conflicts peacefully. In case that it was ineffective, he resorted to tolerance as long as it was not harmful for the community's unity. Tolerance was helpful in decreasing wrathful actions. Finally, on occasions where opponents formed rebellions and disrupted the safety of cities and roads, it was the time to have a decisive conduct. He even tried negotiations with enemies on the battlefields at this stage.⁶



Conversation

Amir al-Mu'minin had numerous conversations with Talhe and Az-Zubayr ibn Al-Awam, and attempted to conduct them, so that offered them a part of his assets in the hope of them overlooking taking public property. But they were insisting on their demands which was more share from public property (Al-kharazmi). Talhe and Az-Zubayr ibn Al-Awam did not accept Amir al-Mu'minin's offers and made an army to fight him, however, Amir al-Mu'minin had sent letters to make commitment with ambassadors in which he advised them to come back to their first commitments. (Dinvari, 2007). During the battle "Jamal" Amir al-Mu'minin negotiated with the enemy. Finally, he successfully deterred Az-Zubayr ibn Al-Awam from battling by a quote from Prophet Muhammad. (Balazary, 1998). The same approach was taken in guiding Muawiyah I. (Ibn Abi Al-hadid, 1959)

⁵. The battle Siffin was in an area between Iraq and Sham between Amir al-Mu'minin and the third group in which thousands of Muslims were killed. In this battle which is known as Battle "Jamal", Talhe and Ziber were killed and their army was dispersed. A group of people was arrested who pardoned later.

⁶ Amir al-Mu'minin said: "الا لن لكم عندي ثلاث خلال ما كنتم معنا؛ ان نمنعكم مساجد الهان يذكر في ها اسمه و لانتمتعكم فينا ما كانت "ايدىكم معنا و لا نقاتلكم حتى تقاتلوا." You should know that as long as you are of our advocates, we will not forbid you from three rights: 1) the presence in the masque for praying the God. 2) Your right as long as you are with us. 3) No battle till you don't use weapons.

Tolerance

First step for Amir al-Mu'minin was conversation in order to bring the enemies to an agreement, which if not effective, his solution would be tolerance. His advisory wanted him to turn away from opponents or arrest them, but he never accepted that. His philosophy was that everyone will be safe till drawn to battle the Islamic system.

Decisive conduct

Amir al-Mu'minin chose military action when conversation didn't yield results. He kept enemies off like he did in the early days of Islam. An example of this braveness is evident in his response to Muawiyah I: *"you said that the only way in dealing with me is fighting, you were kidding. Abdol-motaleb's sons don't retreat the face of battle, they don't fear the sword. I will come to you with an army of people who know their right way; an army that is big and arrayed. they are wearing shroud and welcome visiting their God. They have "Badrian's children" and the "Hashemian's swords" with themselves which you know what it did with you and your ancestors. (Nahj ol-balagha. 28)*

It is noteworthy to say that one of the approaches which he resorted to was prison and political exclusion. He came to Aieshe in Abdolla-ibn khalf khozaei in Basre; Amir al-Mu'minin said: "Homaira, don't you give up? Aisha said: you are powerful now, so be flexible! He said: go toward Medina and reside in the house prophet Muhammad had determined."

By comparison between his behavior against Muawiyah I and the opponents such as Aisha, Khavarej and Jamal's companions it's evident that he has referred to Muawiyah I and political system in Sham as the "seduction" of Islam and does not accept any expediency in this regard, whereas he issues public amnesty after the battle of Khavarej and Jamal so that Aisha was influenced by this behavior and said: "I wished I had been dead 20 years prior to that day" (Ibne Abi hadid, 1959)

Imam Javad stated in a response to questions from Yahya Ibn-Aksam: "About this issue that you said Amir al-Mu'minin killed people from Safein in progressing and running but did not do the same in battle Jamal and did not kill any injured and they went to their homes, the reason was that people from Jamal didn't have any leader or group to join, so they came back their homes and they were happy about the ceasefire. Therefore, the idea here is not to continue the battle with them. But people from Safein came back to a group and a leader who was going to provide them with weapons and home, so the sentence for latter is not same as the former." (Sheikh Hor Ameli, 1988)

CONCLUSION

The necessity, importance and the place of expedient in the political system of Shia led to different approaches that Amir al-Mu'minin used. So that the ruler can put them in prison and prevent them from involving in social affairs instead of the appropriate punishment. The story of Aieshe, the wife of Prophet Muhammad, was an evidence to this matter.

Given what is mentioned, the author believes that Amir al-Mu'minin used two principles, ethical behavior⁷ and not captivating of opponents before conflicts⁸, in order to guide them

⁷. Amir al-Mu'minin said in his commitment to Malek Ashtar: "have affection with people in your behavior, love them and don't hit them. People are in two groups. The first group is your brothers in religion the second group are

with negotiations and tolerance. Therefore, he met them with joy until the opponents rebelled. In the end, it seems that Islamic Republic of Iran has resorted to Alavi traditions in its treatment with opponents, so that Iran has used a peaceful approach in dealing with instigators, even though there is the possibility of decisive conduct. This behavior in Islamic Republic has been retrieved from Amir al-Mu'minin's behavior with his opponents.

References

The Holy Quran

Balazary, Ahmad bin Yahya, (1998), *Ansab al-Ashraf*, Lebanon, Beirut: Darol fekr.

Dashti, M., (2013), *Translations of Amir al-Momenin's Nahjul Balagheh*, Tehran: Payam Edalat Publications.

Dinvari, A. H. A. bin D., (2007), *al-Tawal News*, Translation by Sadegh Nashat, Tehran: Iranian Cultural Foundation Publications.

Glasse, C., (2001). *The New Encyclopedia of Islam*. California: Altamira Press.

Hakimi, M., (1986), *Components of the Ethical Policy of Imam Ali in the Face of Jamal Companions*, Journal of Political Approach (Rahavard-e Siyasi), Imam Sadiq University.

Higgins, A. C. (2004). *Kharijites, Khawarij*. In Martin, Richard C. (Ed.). *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World* v.1. Macmillan.

Ibn Abi l-Hadid, (1959), *Sharh nahj al-balagha*. (Ed.). Muhammad Abu l-Fadl Ibrahim. Qom, Iran: Dar Ihya' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya.

Ludwig W. Adamec, (2009), *Historical Dictionary of Islam*, Scarecrow Press.

Malouf al-Yasou'i, (1931), *al-Munjad*, Beirut, Lebanon: Al-Kathmandu's al-A'bay al-Awsin Press.

Nuri, H. Ibn M. T., (1987), *Mustadrak al-Vassail va Mustanbit al-Masail*, Qom: Al al-Bayt Press.

Pennell, R., (2016), *What is the significance of the title 'Amīr al-mu'minīn?'*. The Journal of North African Studies. 21 (4): 623–644.

Sheikh Hor Ameli, M. bin H., (1988), *Wassaleh al-Shi'a*, Qom: Al-Bayt Institute of Islam.

<http://balaghah.net/old/nahj-htm/eng/id/sermons/index.htm>

<https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Siffin#ref227022>

like you in creation. they can do mistakes like you, pardon the like the way you expect from God" (Nahj al-balaghah)

8. Amir al-Mu'minin said:" are you commanding me act against before affection and blame the, based on charges?" (Sheikh Mofid 1413)

