

**A STUDY OF THE COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET:  
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AND POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS**

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For my mother: Siti Nurrahmat  
For my father: Amun Ma'mun

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation deals with two aspects of the history of the Companions of the Prophet: the pattern of their geographical distribution and their political alignments--taking as its test case the Battle of Şiffin. Based on biographical dictionaries of the Companions written by selected Traditionists (i.e., Ibn Sa'd, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar), and on the Traditionist definition of what constitutes a Companion, an attempt will be made to identify on the one hand the Companions who settled in Iraq, Syria and Egypt, and on the other those Companions whose loyalties during the Battle of Şiffin are known. Based on an analysis of the background of the Companions appearing in each of these groups and on a comparison between the two, it is argued that religious ideals played a significant role both in the Companions' movements after the death of the Prophet and in their behavior during the Battle of Şiffin.

## RÉSUMÉ

Cette dissertation traite de deux aspects de l'histoire des Compagnons du Prophète: le motif de leur distribution géographique et de leurs alignements politiques, s'appuyant sur le cas de la Bataille de Şiffin comme exemple. Basé sur les dictionnaires biographiques des Compagnons écrit par des Traditionnistes choisis (i.e. Ibn Sa'd, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī et Ibn Ḥajar), et sur la définition Traditionniste de ce qui constitue un Compagnon, on tente d'abord d'identifier les Compagnons qui se sont établis en Iraq, en Syrie et en Egypte, pour ensuite identifier les Compagnons dont les loyautés durant la Bataille du Şiffin sont connues. Basé sur une analyse du contexte et du passé des Compagnons apparaissent dans chacun de ces groupes, ainsi que sur une comparaison entre les deux, il est argumenté que les idéaux religieux ont joué un rôle significatif à la fois dans les mouvements des Compagnons après la mort du Prophète et dans leur comportement durant la Bataille de Şiffin.

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## NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Except in the appendices, where *‘ayn* is transliterated (‘), *ḥamzah* (‘) and *alif* *maqṣūrah* (ā), the Library of Congress system of transliteration has been followed throughout the thesis. Familiar place-names, however, are anglicized. These include Mecca, Medina, Basra, Kufa, Damascus, Hijaz, Syria, Hims, Palestine and Fustat.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- BEO* *Bulletin d'études orientales*
- BSOAS* *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
- EI*<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition. 9 vols. Edited by M. Th. Houtsma et al. Leiden; New York: E. J. Brill, 1987.
- EI*<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. In progress. Edited by H. A. R. Gibb et al. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960-....
- IJMES* *International Journal of Middle East Studies*
- JESHO* *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
- JSAI* *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
- JSS* *Journal of Semitic Studies*
- SEI* *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Edited by H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers. Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Lozac & co., 1961.
- MW* *The Muslim World*

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. Aim

No other generation of Muslims has received the attention that the Companions of the Prophet have. The Companions constituted what is believed to have been the best society ever to have existed in the history of Islam, such that whatever they said or did was worthy of observation and emulation by all Muslims. It is logical to assume that, given their elevated status, the Companions would have exercised considerable influence over any major events occurring during their lifetime. Their involvement in a cause would have given it added weight as well as have attracted a certain following.

But the involvement of a Companion in a particular event would depend on the way he saw it. Since there were a great many Companions, there must have been several different ways of seeing particular problems. Given their position in society, which they themselves must have recognized, their decision to espouse a certain cause would have profound significance for those who looked to them for guidance.<sup>1</sup> This, in turn, created groupings within Muslim society. Muslims who had similar ideas and interests would gather around the Companions whose ideas and interests were similar to their own. Each group then had its own leader among the Companions. Sometimes the ideas and interests of two different groups could not be reconciled, making conflict inevitable. This was what happened for example at the battles of Jamal and Şiffin.

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<sup>1</sup> “[*Kjānū nujūm al-ihtidā’ wa-a’immat al-iqtidā’*,” Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Işābah fi Tamyīz al-Şahābah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, n.d.), 1 : 1; “*wa-kull Aşḥāb Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama kānū a’immah yuqtadā bi-him wa-yuḥfazū ‘alayhim mā kānū yaf’alūna wa-yustaftawna fa-yuftūna*, Ibn Sa’d, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (Beirut: Dār al-Şādir, n.d.), 2: 376.

In spite of the importance of the Companions within the Islamic community, we still know comparatively little about their lives. There are at least two reasons for this. First, there is the overall scarcity of information surviving from the early period. At the death of the Prophet, it is said, there were more than 100,000 Companions.<sup>2</sup> As we shall see, this is a complex issue, involving both the definition of the term Companion and the tendency of medieval historians to guess at numbers and statistics. However only a few Companions, relatively speaking, are known to us. Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, who wrote in the 15th century, was only able to collect facts about 11,000 of them (including those whose Companionship was disputed). Ibn Sa‘d, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr and Ibn al-Athīr, all of whom lived earlier than Ibn Ḥajar, included in their respective works fewer Companions’ lives than the latter did. If we consider Ibn Ḥajar’s *al-Iṣābah* as the most complete biographical account of this group available to us, we still have information, presumably, on less than one third of the Companions (unless we are to follow one scholar’s recommendation that we divide medieval estimates by one hundred.<sup>3</sup>) More than two thirds of them are therefore lost from the historical record. Second, discussion on the Companions tends to be partial and rather limited. It is partial because they are usually discussed within the context of the Prophet’s life,

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<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1: 2; Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Itr (Medina: al-Maktabah al-‘Ilmīyah, 1966), 268. According to Abū Zur‘ah, there were 114,000 of them (ibid., 1: 4; al-Bihārī, *Kitāb Musallam al-Thubūt* ([Cairo]: al-Maṭba‘ah al-Ḥusaynīyah al-Miṣrīyah, 1908), 2: 121-2). Ka‘b ibn Mālīk said that at the Battle of Tabūk, the last battle of the Prophet, there were so many Companions that the *dīwān* would not be able to record them (Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1: 5; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī fī Sharḥ Taqrīb al-Nawawī*, ed. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ‘Abd al-Laṭīf (Medina: al-Maṭba‘ah al-Islāmīyah, 1959), 406). There were thirty thousand Companions present at Tabūk, Ibn Sa‘d reports, but those who were not there were many more than that (Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 377).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 37 below.

where the main issue is the Prophet's life, and the Companions are treated as incidental, although still important figures. It is also limited because the discussion usually focuses on the most important among them such as 'Uthmān, 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, while others, who together number in the thousands, are neglected.

The objectives of this dissertation are limited by the data to be found in the sources. This information nonetheless allows us to focus on three interrelated issues: (1) the settlement patterns of the Companions in the newly conquered lands; (2) the attitudes of the Companions during the Fitnah; and (3) whether it is possible, once we have determined the pattern of the geographical and political alignments of the Companions, to see if there is any relation between those two factors.

The Fitnah referred to above is the period that began with the murder of 'Uthmān and culminated with the Battle of Ṣiffin.<sup>4</sup> After the death of 'Uthmān in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 36/June 656, 'Alī was appointed as caliph in Medina. This appointment, however, was not wholly accepted by the Muslim community at the time. Some important figures among the Companions, including 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr and Mu'āwiyah, openly opposed 'Alī on the grounds that he was linked, directly or indirectly, with the murderers of 'Uthmān. In Jumādā al-Ākhirah 36/December 656 'Alī met 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr on the Jamal battlefield at Khuraybah, outside Basra, from which encounter 'Alī emerged the winner. Six months after Jamal, however, 'Alī was engaged

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<sup>4</sup> For further discussion on the meaning of Fitnah see L. Gardet, "Fitna" in *EF*; G.H. Hawting, foreword to al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 17, *The First Civil War*, edited and annotated by G.H. Hawting (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), xii. On the emergence and development of the word "Fitnah" see G.H.A. Juynboll, "The Date of the Great *Fitna*," *Arabica* 20 (1973): 142-59.

in another battle, this time with Mu'āwiyah, the most powerful Companion in Syria. This battle, known as the Battle of Şiffin, ended with the arbitration agreement in which 'Alī, through maneuvering by Mu'āwiyah's delegation, was deposed and Mu'āwiyah proclaimed as the new caliph.

While the attitudes of the Companions throughout the various stages of the Fitnah will be discussed, the test case which is used to show the political alignments of the Companions in our study will be the Battle of Şiffin. The reason for choosing this battle is that it constitutes the most pivotal and disturbing event in the history of early Muslim society. Many of the most important surviving Companions, such as 'Alī, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, and Mu'āwiyah, were intimately involved. The Battle of Jamal also saw the participation of several outstanding Companions, but the scale of the battle and its effect upon the Muslim community were not as great as those of the Battle of Şiffin. But this is not to say that our investigation is limited to the most important figures only. On the contrary, great attention will be paid to the attitudes, influence and involvement of the less important Companions (or the 'mass' of the Companions) during the battle.

The Companions in the settlements deserve to be studied for obvious reasons. First of all, their number is much larger than that of the Companions who lived in Medina, the center of political and religious authority.<sup>5</sup> If we are to understand how certain ideas or beliefs were transmitted by the Companions to the rest of Muslim society the

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<sup>5</sup> According to al-Shāfi'ī, at the death of the Prophet only about half of the Companions resided in Medina (al-Dhahabī, *Tajrīd Asmā' al-Şahābah*, ed. Sālih 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Kutubī (Bombay: Sharaf al-Dīn al-Kutubī, 1969), 1: ب).



settlements must certainly be the focus of our investigation. We will also observe that, when there were disputes among the elite in Medina, the Companions in the settlements seemed to exercise a great deal of power.

There are a number of reasons why more attention should be paid to the less important Companions. First of all, it was their support that the more important Companions, like 'Alī, strove to win over in the competition for power. Second, their geographical spread gave the conflict a wider and more decisive nature. It is they who had spread and settled throughout the new lands like Syria and Iraq, while the elite Companions--such as 'Alī, 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr--were based in Medina. Hence during the Fitnah, the members of the elite were forced to leave and seek support, for example, from the local people in Basra and Kufa.

The dissertation is divided into five chapters.

Chapter One deals with the scope of our study, sources and method.

Chapter Two discusses the corps of the Companions. After a discussion focusing on who the Companions actually were, how this question was addressed by a variety of Muslim groups and above all what drove the debate, we will look especially at *'adālah* (impartiality) and how Muslims saw this quality as applying to the Companions. Different views and the issues underlying the controversy will be put forward.

Where the Companions chose to reside will be the object of investigation in Chapter Three. Two variables in particular will be discussed. First, we look at the number of the Companions who settled, or used to reside, in the conquered lands. Second, we consider the involvement of their inhabitants in the Fitnah, particularly during the Battle of

Şiffin. Using these two variables, Iraq, Syria and Egypt are our inevitable priorities, for it was in these lands that the majority of the Companions lived. It was the inhabitants of these regions who played an important role in the murder of ‘Uthmān, the Battle of Jamal and, finally, the Battle of Şiffin. Factors which motivated the Companions to choose a particular geographical base will be the object of inquiry in Chapter Three. Among other factors, the question of motives may help us to determine whether the Companions who lived in a particular place shared the same characteristics.

Chapter Four features a discussion of the relation between the geographical distribution of the Companions and their political inclinations. Several questions will be raised here. Why did ‘Alī choose to go to Iraq when his position was in danger? Why did he base himself in Kufa and not Basra? Why did Mu‘āwiyah decide to remain in Syria and use it as his power base? The background of the Fitnah and the relations between centers of settlement before the Fitnah will also be discussed in Chapter Four.

The discussion is concluded in Chapter Five.

## 2. Stage of Current Research

So far no single monograph has appeared dealing either with the geographical distribution of the Companions or with the attitudes of the Companions at the Battle of Şiffin, let alone with the relations between these two. However, there are some works which, in one way or the other, have raised the relevant issues. Petersen<sup>6</sup> analyzes the

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<sup>6</sup> E. Ladewig Petersen, *‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah in Early Arabic Tradition: Studies on the Genesis and Growth of Islamic Historical Writing until the End of the Ninth Century* (Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1964); idem, “‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah: The Rise of the Umayyad Caliphate 656-61,” *Acta Orientalia* 23 (1959) : 157-96; idem, “Studies on the Historiography of the ‘Alī-Mu‘āwiyah Conflict,” *Acta Orientalia* 27 (1963) : 83-118.

conflict between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah in relation to historiography. He tries to show that the genesis and growth of Islamic historical writing was closely related to politico-religious developments within Muslim society. Tayob, likewise concerned with historiography, studies the Companions of the Prophet as they are presented in al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh*. Focusing in this instance on the election of Abū Bakr as caliph and the Battle of Jamal, he discusses how al-Ṭabarī tries to preserve the moral and spiritual integrity of the Companions by presenting their role in Islamic history in such a way that contradictions between the paradigm of the Companions projected by religious traditions and the accounts recorded in historical reports (*akhbār*) are reconciled.<sup>7</sup> Kohlberg<sup>8</sup> concentrates his study on the attitudes of the Imāmī-Shī'īs to the Companions. In order to show these attitudes clearly, he draws a comparison between the latter and the attitudes shown towards them by other Muslim groups such as the Sunnīs, the Mu'tazilīs and the Zaydīs. He also discusses the views of the Shī'īs regarding the battles of Jamal and Ṣiffin, including those touching on the Companions who opposed 'Alī during these events.

In his dissertation, published in 1973, Muranyi<sup>9</sup> investigates the nature of the Companions, their function in early Islamic history and their position in Muslims'

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<sup>7</sup> Abdulkader Ismail Tayob, "Islamic Historiography: The Case of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa 'l-Mulūk* on the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad" (Ph. D, Temple University, 1988), 6-7.

<sup>8</sup> Etan Kohlberg, "The Attitude of the Imāmī-Shī'īs to the Companions of the Prophet" (Ph. D., University of Oxford, 1971); idem, "Some Imāmī Shī'ī Views on the *Ṣahāba*," *JSAI* 5 (1984) : 143-75; and idem, "Some Zaydī Views on the Companions of the Prophet," *BSOAS* 39 (1976) : 91-8.

<sup>9</sup> Miklos Muranyi, *Die Prophetengenossen in der frühislamischen Geschichte* (Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität, 1973).

religious awareness. He also discusses the attitude of the Companions toward the Fitnah, but only in so far as it applied to the murder of 'Uthmān. In this respect Muranyi finds that when 'Uthmān came under criticism and was besieged by the rebels in Medina, the other Companions chose to remain aloof. This attitude allowed the rebels to move and act freely in Medina.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, Muranyi limits his discussion to the Companions in Medina and to the great figures there, notably 'Alī, 'Ammār, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. Thus, three issues are absent from Muranyi's study: first, the attitudes of the Companions outside Medina during the siege and subsequent murder of 'Uthmān; second, the attitudes of the Companions during the battles of Jamal and Ṣiffīn—important events which followed the murder of 'Uthmān; and third, the attitudes of the Companions other than the most important ones during all these events.

Another scholar whose works deal in some ways with the object of this dissertation is Hinds.<sup>11</sup> Relying on evidence contained in the earliest Islamic historical sources, notably those of al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Sa'd, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt and Naṣr ibn Muzāhim al-Minqarī, he tries to define the role of Kufa in the political schism of the seventh century as follows:

[T]he explosive situation which developed in the early thirties A. H stemmed directly from a reaction on the part of relatively large proportion of early-comers of minor tribal stature to increased central control and to a waning of their own influence *vis-à-vis* the growing influence (mainly as a result of the arrival of newcomers) of some of the traditional tribal leaders ....<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>11</sup> Martin Hinds, "Kūfan Political Alignments and their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century AD.," *IJMES* 2 (1971) : 346-67; idem, "The Banners and the Battle Cries of the Arabs at Siffīn (657 A.D)," *al-Abḥāth* 24 (1971) : 3-24; idem, "The Murder of the Caliph 'Uthmān," *IJMES* 3 (1972) : 450-69; idem, "The Siffīn Arbitration Agreement," *JSS* 17 (1972) : 93-129.

<sup>12</sup> Hinds, "Murder," 451.

Thus, according to Hinds, there were three major parties involved in the political schism in seventh-century Kufa: the early arrivals, the Medinans (particularly, the caliph) whose control over Kufa was increasing, and the traditional tribal leaders whose influence was also on the rise. The conflict of these three parties played an important role in the murder of 'Uthmān and the war between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah.

Hinds pursues the conflict back to the time of 'Umar. Aiming to neutralize the influence of the traditional type of clan and tribal leadership, which reemerged at the time of Abū Bakr, 'Umar promoted a new kind of leadership in which one's position was not determined by tribal relationship but by the principle of priority in conversion to Islam (*sābiqah*). The consequence of this was the formation of a new elite of the early converts, i.e., the Muhājirūn, Anṣār and other Companions. At the time of 'Uthmān, however, the privilege that this elite had enjoyed was threatened by the rise of later converts with strong tribal sentiments. Thus 'Uthmān's caliphate "was characterized both by the declining influence of an elite which had been promoted by 'Umar and by the increasing power of tribal aristocracy of the pre-Islamic type."<sup>13</sup>

Hinds's reference to the elite, i.e., the Muhājirūn, Anṣār and other Companions, as well as to the early arrivals in Kufa--whom as we shall see in our study of the establishment of Kufa included a significant number of the Companions--underlines the importance of the latter in the conflicts that led to the murder of 'Uthmān and the battles of Jamal and Ṣiffin. In spite of this, however, Hinds pays little attention to them. He knows, for example, that Kufa was an important location for 'Umar because, besides

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 450.

its heterogeneous composition, about three hundred and seventy early Companions lived there.<sup>14</sup> But he does not tell us how deeply those Companions were involved in the conflicts he describes. His discussion of *Şiffin* likewise fails to take into account the fact that so many Companions took part in the battle on either 'Alī's or Mu'āwiyah's side.

What is more, an understanding of the involvement of Companions in the *Fitnah* is important, for it can give us a different appreciation of the nature of the conflicts. In our view, given their status as defenders of Islam and the Prophet and bearers and transmitters of Islam after the death of the Prophet, the Companions surely took religious ideas into careful consideration when deciding whether or not to take part in any conflicts and in choosing which of the contenders they would support. This is the thing that Hinds fails to see. To him, people supported 'Alī because they wanted to ensure their local political and social positions, not because they were prepared to die in the fight against Mu'āwiyah.<sup>15</sup> This claim can hardly explain facts like: the presence of 'Amr ibn Yāsir and his followers among the Companions at *Şiffin*;<sup>16</sup> the neutrality of prominent Companions like Sa'd ibn Mālīk, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, Usāmah ibn Zayd<sup>17</sup> and Uhbān ibn al-Şayfi;<sup>18</sup> the instruction (*waşīyah*) of

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<sup>14</sup> Hinds, "Political Alignments," 351.

<sup>15</sup> Hinds, "Siffin Arbitration Aggrement," 97

<sup>16</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rifat al-Aşḥāb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajawī (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992), 3: 1137-40.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 1: 77; 3: 1377.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 1: 116.

Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān to his two sons to support ‘Alī;<sup>19</sup> the case of the two sons of a prominent Companion, Khālīd ibn al-Wālid, one of whom was on Mu‘āwiyah’s side while the other was on ‘Alī’s;<sup>20</sup> the deep regret of ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar and Masrūq at not having joined ‘Alī;<sup>21</sup> or the fact that Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh, as well as other people in Medina, was threatened with death by Mu‘āwiyah if he did not give his support to the latter.<sup>22</sup> Reading these scattered data we cannot fail to see the strong religious color in whatever decisions those Companions took.

### 3. Sources and Method

#### A. Sources

It was said earlier that there are two important variables which are used to analyze the roles of the Companions included in this study: the places where they lived and their attitudes during the Fitnah. Other information such as tribal alignments and their date of death, as well as their relation to the Prophet, are important in helping us to understand how the two variables relate to each other. The most important sources for these kinds of information are biographical dictionaries.<sup>23</sup> These works, which reflect

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 1 : 335.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 2: 829.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 1: 77.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 1 : 162-3.

<sup>23</sup> The nature of the biographical dictionaries and their importance to historical studies has been extensively studied. See W. Hefening, “Ṭabaqāt,” *Et’ (Supplement)*; H.A.R. Gibb, “Islamic Biographical Literature,” in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 54-8; Tarif Khalidi, “Islamic Biographical Dictionaries: a Preliminary Assessment,” *The Moslem World* 63 (1973) : 53-65; idem, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 204-10; I. Hafsi, “Recherches sur le genre Ṭabaqāt dans la littérature arabe,” *Arabica* 23 (1976) : 227-65 and *Arabica*, 24 (1977) : 150-86; Malak

the conception that the history of the Muslim community was essentially the contribution of individual men and women in transmitting a specific culture and that these individual contributions were worthy of being recorded for future generations,<sup>24</sup> provide us with basic information on certain Companions, including their names, when and where they lived, their reputation, and so on. With the kind of information they contain, biographical dictionaries hold great promise for the social history of Islam;<sup>25</sup> they are likewise sources which are neglected both by Hinds and Peterson.

There are other points which should be considered in support of the claim that biographical dictionaries are a promising source. Scholars have long argued over the motivations behind their composition. Gibb believes that it was chiefly for purposes of *Hadith*-criticism that these biographical materials were written.<sup>26</sup> This view was later confirmed by Young.<sup>27</sup> The fact that the biographical dictionaries dealing primarily with the Companions were written by the Traditionists, as will be shown, supports this argument. Heffening on the other hand believes that this kind of literature did not arise

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Abiad, "Origine et développement des dictionnaires biographiques arabes," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 31 (1979) : 7-15; M.J.L. Young, "Arabic Biographical Writing," in *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period*, ed. M.J.L. Young et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 213-28; Wadād al-Qādī, "Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance," in *The Book in the Islamic World: the Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, ed. George N.P. Atiyeh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 93-122.

<sup>24</sup> Gibb, "Islamic Biographical Literature," 54.

<sup>25</sup> Richard W. Bulliet, "A Quantitative Approach to Medieval Muslim Biographical Dictionaries," *JESHO* 13 (1970) : 195. The richness of information contained in biographical dictionaries is also acknowledged by Gibb and Young (Gibb, "Islamic Biographical Literature," 58; Young, "Arabic Biographical Writing," 176.)

<sup>26</sup> Gibb, "Ta'rikh," in *Et' (Supplement)*.

<sup>27</sup> Young, "Arabic Biographical Writing," 168-9.



out of the necessity imposed by *Ḥadīth*-criticism; rather, it owes its origin to the interest of the Arabs in genealogy and biography.<sup>28</sup> Heffening's belief is certainly based on the assumption that Tradition is independent of genealogy and biography so that anything derived from Tradition must be different from any other thing deriving from genealogy and biography. This is exactly what Abbott does not agree with. She argues that Islamic Tradition and history are twin, though not identical, disciplines. Even, she says, the term *akhbār*, which includes not only history proper but also historical legends and all sorts of historical and biographical information relative to the intellectual disciplines, used to be interchangeable with the term *Ḥadīth*.<sup>29</sup> So even if it is true that biographical dictionaries derive from *Ḥadīth*-criticism, it would still be closely related to history. This might be what Gibb means when he states that the composition of biographical dictionaries developed simultaneously and in close association with historical composition.<sup>30</sup>

The relevance of this issue to our discussion is the fact that, in any discussion of Islamic history, the biographical dictionaries cannot be neglected. Like other historical sources such as *maghāzī*, *sīrah* and chronicles, biographical dictionaries hold rich valuable data for historical reconstruction. What is more, early biographical materials

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<sup>28</sup> Heffening, "*Ṭabakāt*."

<sup>29</sup> Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, vol. 1, *Historical Texts* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), 4, 7-8. As far as the relation between *Ḥadīth* and history is concerned, Khalidi distinguishes two periods: the first is between 3rd/9th century and 5th/11th century, and the second is between 8th/14th and 9th/15th century. It was during the first period that *Ḥadīth* and history were most closely connected (Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 17).

<sup>30</sup> Gibb, "Islamic Biographical Literature," 54.

were compiled from oral traditions.<sup>31</sup> This means that biographical dictionaries might contain historical data not to be found in other historical sources.

As far as the Companions are concerned the following biographical dictionaries were consulted for this study: *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* by Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Istī‘āb fī Ma‘rifat al-Aṣḥāb* by Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Usd al-Ghābah fī Ma‘rifat al-Ṣaḥābah* by Ibn al-Athīr, and *Tajrīd Asmā’ al-Ṣaḥābah* by al-Dhahabī and *al-Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah* by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī.<sup>32</sup> The writers of these works belonged to Traditionist circles. Ibn Sa‘d (born around 168/784 - died 230/844),<sup>33</sup> was a much respected scholar of Traditions.<sup>34</sup> His book *al-Ṭabaqāt* was praised by the great Traditionist Ibn al-Ṣalāh.<sup>35</sup> Like Ibn Ḥanbal, he was among the Traditionists who were summoned by al-Ma’mūn to

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>32</sup> These works, according to al-Qāḍī’s definition, would fall under the category of “restricted biographical dictionaries,” that is “dictionaries which contain biographies of individuals who share one common, yet specific, trait” (Wadād al-Qāḍī, “Biographical Dictionaries,” 95).

<sup>33</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-Nihāyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā’* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Sa‘ādah, 1932-5), 2 : 143; Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn ‘an Asāmī al-Kutub wa-al-Funūn*, ed. Muhammad Sharaf al-Dīn Yāltaqāyā and Rif‘at Bālqah al-Kilīsī (Istanbul: Wakālat al-Ma‘ārif, 1941-3), 2 : 1103; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān wa-Anbā’ Abnā’ al-Zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 4 : 352; Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād aw Madīnat al-Salām* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānī, 1931), 5 : 322; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Wahbah, 1973), 183; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz* (Hyderabad: Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmānīyah, 1955), 2 : 425. It is said that he died at the age of sixty-two (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 4 : 352; Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 5 : 322; al-Ṣafādī, *Wafī bi-al-Wafayāt*, ed. Helmut Ritter, Sven Dederling, et al. (Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1931-), 3 : 88; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 2 : 425). If so then 168/784 would have been his date of birth. However, al-Ṣafādī says that the date of Ibn Sa‘d’s death could be the year 222/836, which would make the year of his birth 160/776.

<sup>34</sup> “[K]athīr al-ḥadīth” (Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 5 : 322; al-Ṣafādī, *Wafī*, 3 : 88), “ghazīr al-ḥadīth” (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 4 : 351).

<sup>35</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn ‘Itr (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu‘āṣir; Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1986), 398.

state their convictions on the createdness of the Qur'ān.<sup>36</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (born 368/978 - died 463/1070),<sup>37</sup> was an Andalusian. Although he never once in his life left Andalusia,<sup>38</sup> his fame went far beyond the borders of Spain. In Andalusia he was the most well-versed in Traditions of his time.<sup>39</sup> His commentary on the *al-Muwatta'* of Mālik was highly praised by Abū Muḥammad ibn Ḥazm, the Zāhiri.<sup>40</sup> Ibn al-Athīr (born 555/1160 - died 630/1232),<sup>41</sup> the famous historian, was also a Traditionist (*Muḥaddith*).<sup>42</sup> Al-Dhahabī (born 673/1274 - died 748/1347),<sup>43</sup> was one as well, having begun learning Traditions at the age of eighteen years.<sup>44</sup> According to al-Tāj al-Subkī, he was "the Traditionist of his era (*Muḥaddith al-‘aṣr*)."<sup>45</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalanī, born

<sup>36</sup> But unlike Ibn Ḥanbal, he confessed that the Qur'ān was created, probably in order to avoid trouble (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa-al-Mulūk*, ed. Nukhbah min al-‘Ulama' al-Ajillā' (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-‘Alamī lil-Maṭbū'āt, 1989), 7 : 197).

<sup>37</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, 432; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 3 : 1128, 1130; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-Ṣilah fī Tārīkh A'immat al-Andalus wa-‘Ulama'ihim wa-Muḥaddithihim wa-Fuqahā'ihim wa-Udabā'ihim*, ed. 'Izzat al-‘Aṭṭār al-Ḥusayn (Cairo: Maktab Nashr al-Thaqāfah al-Islāmīyah, 1955), 2 : 642; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab fī Ma'rifat A'yān 'Ulama' al-Madhhab* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Ma'āhid, [1932]), 359. According to al-Ḍabbī, he was born in 362/972 and died in 460/1067 (al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis fī Tārīkh Rijāl Ahl al-Andalus*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Miṣrī; Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1989), 2: 660, 661). Others however claimed he died in 458/1065 (Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudṣī, [1931-1932]), 3 : 316).

<sup>38</sup> Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, 2: 660.

<sup>39</sup> "[L]am yakun bi-al-Andalus mithl Abī 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Barr fī al-Ḥadīth" (Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 3 : 315; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣilah*, 2 : 641; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 3 : 1129; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, 357).

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣilah*, 2 : 641; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 3 : 351; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, 2: 660; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 3 : 1129; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, 357.

<sup>41</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, 492; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 4 : 1399, 1400.

<sup>42</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, 492.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 518; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 6 : 154.

<sup>44</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, 518.

<sup>45</sup> Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 6: 154.

in 773/1371 (d. 852/1448),<sup>46</sup> was one of the students of al-'Irāqī, a great Traditionist who died in 806/1403. He started learning Traditions beginning in 794/1392, and became well-known in the discipline. When al-'Irāqī was asked which Traditionists should be respected after his death, he pointed to Ibn Ḥajar as the first.<sup>47</sup>

The Traditionists' interest in scrutinizing the descent of the Traditions necessitated recording biographical details on those who had been involved in their transmission. The most important of these transmitters were the Companions. The Traditionists tried to record whatever information was available, and yet the length and contents of the notices in the biographical dictionaries of the Companions vary from individual to individual. Sometimes only a name is mentioned while at other times a person's life is explained in great detail, including the color of his beard and his headgear.<sup>48</sup> Some examples of the contents of biographies will be given in the last part of this introduction.

There are at least two explanations as to why the extent of information varied so much from individual to other. First, it was in proportion to his or her contribution to Islamic society. Biographies of the first four caliphs, i.e., Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī, are very long for obvious reasons. They were viewed as the founders of Islam after the Prophet. Other Companions were considered important for different reasons.

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<sup>46</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, 547, 548; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāh, 1966), 2: 36, 40.

<sup>47</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, 547. Al-'Irāqī acknowledged that Ibn Ḥajar was the most well-versed in Traditions among his students (al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, 2: 39).

<sup>48</sup> Compare for example the biography of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥubshī and 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib in Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 19; 5 : 460).

Abū Hurayrah and ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās, for example, were significant not because they were political figures, but because they were among the most active Companions in preserving and transmitting the Prophetic Traditions. Second, it depended on the availability of sources. It can safely be said that the later the biographer lived, the more sources he had at his disposal. Let us take Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Ḥajar as examples. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, who lived in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, was able to collect information on about 4200 people. Ibn al-Athīr, about a century later, was able to include around 8,000 in his dictionary. Ibn Ḥajar, three centuries later, managed to gather more than 12,000. Not all the people in these works were Companions, however, so the actual number of Companions recorded is necessarily lower than the above figures.

In order to understand how particular elements of information made their appearance, it is also necessary to see the biographical dictionaries in their context. As far as the Fitnah was concerned, it was a subject which the Traditionists basically did not want to discuss. The wish to protect the Prophetic Traditions, as we will see, seems to have motivated them to shield the Companions from any criticism. This attitude was strong particularly at the time when the threat to the existence of the Prophetic Traditions was most real. Hence it is understandable that Ibn Sa‘d, who wrote his *al-Ṭabaqāt* when the Mu‘tazilī teaching was the official state doctrine, should have avoided mentioning information concerning the Fitnah of the Companions. The existence of such information in his works could have been used by the Traditionists’ opponents, i.e., the Mu‘tazilīs, in justification of their criticism of the *ahl al-Ḥadīth*.<sup>49</sup> In later works, when

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<sup>49</sup> See pp. 106-9.

the threat was no longer immediate, information of this type found its way into the Traditionists' works. Thus in the writings of later writers such as Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar, information on the attitudes of the Companions during the Fitnah is included. As part of the Traditionist circle, these writers shared the long established view that the Companions should be protected from any criticism, but distant as they were from the threat posed by the Mu'tazilīs, they did not see it as being harmful to discuss the Fitnah in their works.

Another factor which might explain the increased information on the Fitnah in the biographical dictionaries was the background of the writers themselves. For one thing, the stricter Traditionists basically did not trust the historians (*akhbārīs*). Al-Wāqidī's identification of the Companions for instance was rejected by some Traditionists on the grounds that he was a historian.<sup>50</sup> By contrast, Ibn Sa'd, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar, who were all Traditionists, were historians as well. Ibn Sa'd was a close associate of the historian al-Wāqidī. He even worked for a time as the latter's secretary, thus earning his nickname, "the secretary of al-Wāqidī (*kātib al-Wāqidī*)."<sup>51</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, it is said, had a great interest not only in religious sciences, but also in genealogy and history (*khabar*).<sup>52</sup> Among his works is a book of history entitled *Kitāb al-Durar fī Ikhtisār al-Maghāzī wa-al-Siyar*,<sup>53</sup> often simply called

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<sup>50</sup> See pp. 77-8.

<sup>51</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 4 : 351.

<sup>52</sup> Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣilah*, 2: 642.

<sup>53</sup> Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, 2: 660; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 3: 315; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, 358.

*Kitāb al-Maghāzī*<sup>54</sup> or *al-Maghāzī*.<sup>55</sup> Ibn al-Athīr was also a historian (*akhbārī*);<sup>56</sup> his works include *al-Tārīkh* (i.e., *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*) and the unfinished *Tārīkh al-Mawṣil*.<sup>57</sup> Al-Dhahabī composed historical works bearing the titles *Tārīkh al-Islām*, *al-Tārīkh al-Awsat*, and (*al-Tārīkh*) *al-Ṣaghīr*.<sup>58</sup> Through his works *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah* and *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, Ibn Ḥajar too showed his interest in history.<sup>59</sup> That these writers were Traditionists and historians at the same time made people like Ibn al-Ṣalāh, a strict Traditionist, feel uneasy. Ibn al-Ṣalāh's judgments on Ibn Sa'd's and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's works, for example, are ambiguous. As a trusted disciple of al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd inherited most of al-Wāqidī's books.<sup>60</sup> Later, when writing his *al-Ṭabaqāt*, he consulted these materials. On the one hand, Ibn al-Ṣalāh acknowledges that Ibn Sa'd's *al-Ṭabaqāt* was of great help in the study of Traditions; and yet on the other hand, he criticizes Ibn Sa'd for using material from historians like al-Wāqidī, whom he mistrusted, as did many other Traditionists. Thus, while he praises the work as "a copious (*ḥafīl*) book and full of benefits," and Ibn Sa'd himself as "trustworthy (*thiqah*)," he at the same time warns his readers that it contains many

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<sup>54</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 3: 1129.

<sup>55</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, 433.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 492; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 4 : 1399.

<sup>57</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, 492.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 518.

<sup>59</sup> F. Rosenthal, art. "Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asḳalāmī," in *Et*.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, 4 : 351.

reports from authorities judged to be weak, including al-Wāqidi.<sup>61</sup> As far as Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s *al-Istī‘āb* was concerned, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ said that it was the best work of its kind, except for the fact that it referred to conflicts between Companions and relied on historians, not Traditionists.<sup>62</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ was fifty-three years old when Ibn al-Athīr died. He may have known of Ibn al-Athīr’s *Usd al-Ghābah*. He certainly did not know al-Dhahabī’s *Tajrīd* and Ibn Ḥajar’s *al-Iṣābah*, for these works were written after his time. But since his objection to Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s *al-Istī‘āb* focused on its disclosure of the Companions’ conflicts, any book containing this information, including Ibn al-Athīr’s, al-Dhahabī’s and Ibn Ḥajar’s, might be expected to have earned his displeasure.

Reading some of the works referred to above, one can hardly fail to note that the number of the Companions referred to as having been involved in the Battle of Ṣiffīn increases with time. While Ibn Sa‘d mentions 19 Companions, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr refers to 85 Companions, Ibn al-Athīr 121, al-Dhahabī 47 and Ibn Ḥajar 131. Al-Dhahabī’s lower figure can be explained by the fact that his work is an abridgment of Ibn al-Athīr’s and that one of the events he omits is the involvement of the Companions during the Battle of Ṣiffīn itself.

Since these writers lived at different times, one might assume that the later writers would take their information from earlier ones. This sometimes happened, but it was not always a cumulative process. This is to say that not all the Companions whose attitudes

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<sup>61</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 398. Ibn Ḥanbal also read al-Wāqidi’s Traditions from a book that he had borrowed from Ibn Sa‘d, but it is not clear whether Ibn Ḥanbal used these materials in his works (Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 5 : 322; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 2 : 425).

<sup>62</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 291-292.



during the Battle of Şiffin were known and who are mentioned by Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, for example, are also mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr. Nor are all those mentioned by Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr and Ibn al-Athīr included by Ibn Ḥajar. These writers worked independently and had no intention of building up a bank of accumulated information. Thus only four Companions whose attitudes during the Battle of Şiffin were known are mentioned by all five writers. The rest are either mentioned by only one writer, or by two, three, or four of them.

Table I  
Number of Companions Whose Attitudes during the Battle of Şiffin Are Known  
According to the Five Writers

Writers Number	S-B-A-D-H 4	S-B-A-H 7	S-A-D-H 1	S-B-H 1	S-A-H 2	S-A 2	S-H 2	B-A-D-H 21	B-A-D 4	B-A-H 17	
Writers Number	B-D-H 1	B-A 22	B-H 3	B 5	A-D-H 8	A-D 4	A-H 18	A 11	D-H 1	D 3	H 45

Note:

S = Ibn Sa‘d, B = Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, A = Ibn al-Athīr, D = al-Dhahabī, H = Ibn Ḥajar

These figures raise some interesting points. First, as was mentioned earlier, al-Dhahabī’s work is an abridgment of Ibn al-Athīr’s. However, of the 121 Companions mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr only 4 are referred to by al-Dhahabī, who includes several other Companions besides. Instead of merely copying Ibn al-Athīr’s selections, therefore, he availed himself of other sources. Thus in the end he provides information on 47 Companions in all, 3 of them never once mentioned by either Ibn Sa‘d, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr or Ibn Ḥajar. Second, each of these other writers was able to obtain

additional information, probably from independent sources. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr refers to 5 Companions who were not mentioned by others, Ibn al-Athīr 11, and Ibn Ḥajar 45.

Writing on the attitudes of the Companions during the Battle of Ṣiffin, these writers relied on a variety of available sources. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr is often referred to by Ibn al-Athīr,<sup>63</sup> al-Dhahabī<sup>64</sup> and Ibn Ḥajar.<sup>65</sup> Others like Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt,<sup>66</sup> Abū Mikhnaf,<sup>67</sup> al-Sha'bi<sup>68</sup> are also consulted. However, the most important sources are Ibn al-Kalbī and 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi. Their writings (see below) were heavily used--directly or indirectly--by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr,<sup>69</sup> Ibn al-Athīr,<sup>70</sup> al-Dhahabī<sup>71</sup> and Ibn Ḥajar.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> For examples, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah fī Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, ([Cairo]: al-Sha'b, [1970]-1973), 1: 273; 2: 116; 3: 41, 374, 439, 442; 4: 77; 5, 29, 442.

<sup>64</sup> For examples, see al-Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, 1: 21, 63, 269.

<sup>65</sup> For examples, see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1: 64, 153, 195; 2: 29, 142, 189, 355, 429, 435; 3: 261, 458.

<sup>66</sup> For examples, see *Ibid.*, 1: 249, 481; 3: 4, 114, 490.

<sup>67</sup> For example, see *Ibid.*, 2: 35.

<sup>68</sup> For example, see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3: 872.

<sup>69</sup> On Ibn al-Kalbī, see for examples *ibid.*, 1: 220; 2: 431, 669; 4: 1574, 1577. It seems that Ibn 'Abd al-Barr did not use 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi' as his source.

<sup>70</sup> On Ibn al-Kalbī, see for examples Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 1: 233, 313, 362; 3: 429; 4: 349, 441; 5, 86, 158, 442, 486; and on 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi' see 1: 317, 322, 319; 2: 68; 93, 204, 205, 216,

<sup>71</sup> On Ibn al-Kalbī, see for examples al-Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, 1: 75, 154, 247; 2: 24, 28, 136; and on 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi', see 1: 77.

<sup>72</sup> On Ibn al-Kalbī, see for examples Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1: 219, 307, 313, 415, 422; 2: 92, 530; 3: 193, 274, 389, 614; and on 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi' see 1: 150, 202, 222, 224, 225, 227, 291, 335, 361, 403, 450, 453, 499, 503; 2: 168, 253, 388, 439, 483, 517; 3: 31, 35, 281, 443.

Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821)<sup>73</sup> was a great scholar. His oeuvre, it is reported, amounted to more than 150 titles.<sup>74</sup> The book that was most often consulted in writing on the activities of the Companions during the Fitnah was his *Kitāb Siffin*.<sup>75</sup> As far as Traditions alone were concerned, however, the Traditionists were unanimous in rejecting him. Al-Dārquṭnī for one declared that he was worthless.<sup>76</sup> Ibn ‘Asākir and Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn furthermore considered him untrustworthy (*laysa bi-thiqah* or *ghayr thiqah*),<sup>77</sup> while al-‘Uqaylī, Ibn al-Jarūd and Ibn al-Sakun judged him among the weak sources (*al-ḍu‘afā’*).<sup>78</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal did not think that anybody would accept Traditions from him.<sup>79</sup> The reasons cited by the Traditionists for their mistrust of Ibn al-Kalbī were, in the first place, because he tried to learn so much that he forgot a great deal,<sup>80</sup> and second, because he was a Rāfiḍī.<sup>81</sup> The mere fact that Ibn al-Kalbī was mainly a

<sup>73</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Udabā’*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth (Cairo: Maktabat al-Hindīyah, 1923), 7 : 251; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān*, 6 : 84; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-A‘lamī lil-Maṭbū‘āt, 1971), 6 : 196; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 2: 13; al-Yāfi‘ī, *Mir‘āt al-Janān wa-‘Ibrat al-Yaqzān fī Ma‘rifat Mā Yu‘tabaru min Ḥawādith al-Zamān* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-A‘lamī lil-Maṭbū‘āt, 1970), 2 : 29; Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 14 : 46.

<sup>74</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 6 : 196; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 2: 13; al-Yāfi‘ī, *Mir‘āt al-Janān*, 2: 29; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Udabā’*, 7 : 251.

<sup>75</sup> Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, ed. Mūsā al-Shabīrī (Qum: Mu’assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1986), 435; Aghā Buzurg al-Ṭihirānī, *al-Dharī‘ah ilā Ṭaṣnīf al-Shī‘ah* (Beirut: Dār al-Adwā’, 1983), 15 : 205.

<sup>76</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 6: 196. Also al-Yāfi‘ī, *Mir‘āt al-Janān*, 2: 29; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 2: 13; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Udabā’*, 7 : 250.

<sup>77</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 6: 196, 197.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 6 : 197.

<sup>79</sup> Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 6: 196; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Udabā’*, 7 : 250.

<sup>80</sup> “[*Kjāna wāsi‘ al-ḥifz wa-ma‘a dhālik yunsabu ilā ghaflahī*]” (Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 6: 197).

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 196; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 2: 13. The Shī‘īs considered him as a respected member of their school (*kāna yakhtaṣṣu bi-madhhabinā*), who had a special relationship with Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad (al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 434).

genealogist and a historian (*akhbārī*) may have been sufficient reason for the Traditionists to suspect him.

Unlike Ibn al-Kalbī, ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi‘ (d. after 37/657) was accepted by the Traditionists. He was in fact considered as a reliable authority by Ibn Ḥibbān.<sup>82</sup> ‘Ubayd Allāh’s family had been closely attached to the Prophet’s. Abū Rāfi‘, his father, was a *mawlā* of the Prophet who participated in all the Prophet’s battles except Badr. The Prophet married him to Salmā, another of his *mawālī*, and their son was ‘Ubayd Allāh.<sup>83</sup> Abū Rāfi‘ himself was one of the closest associates of ‘Alī (*khawwāṣṣu*).<sup>84</sup> He was also the secretary of ‘Alī,<sup>85</sup> and wrote a book *Tasmīyat man Shahida Ma‘a Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘alayhi al-Salām al-Jamal wa-al-Ṣifīn wa-al-Nahrawān min al-Ṣahābah Raḍī Allāh ‘anhum*.<sup>86</sup> This is the book to which—directly or indirectly—Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar refer when they are describing the attitudes of the Companions during the Battle of Ṣifīn.

Of these writers, only Ibn Ḥajar shows any reservations with respect to the information provided by ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi‘’s work. He repeatedly warns his readers that its chain of transmission is weak (*ḍa‘īf*).<sup>87</sup> Here Ibn Ḥajar does not question

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<sup>82</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Thiqāt fi al-Ṣahābah wa-al-Ṭabī‘īn wa-Atbā‘ al-Ṭabī‘īn*, ed. ‘Abd al-Khālīq al-Afghānī and al-Qārī Muḥammad Zāhir al-Dīn Sharafī (Hyderabad: al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī, 1968), 147.

<sup>83</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 1: 84-85

<sup>84</sup> Al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Rijāl* (Teheran: Chāpkhānah-‘i Dānishgāh, 1963-1964), 4

<sup>85</sup> Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 4; al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, ed. Jawād al-Qayyūmī al-Isfahānī (Qum: Mu‘assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī), 71; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Dālī (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risāla, 1986), 2: 618; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Muḥammad Rāmyār (n.p.: Mashhad University Press, n.d.), 202; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 1: 84.

<sup>86</sup> Al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 202.

<sup>87</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isābah*, 1: 150, 202, 222, 224, 335, 542; 2: 253, 483, 517; 3: 281, 284, 443.

the integrity of ‘Ubayd Allāh himself, only that of the people who were involved in the transmission of ‘Ubayd Allāh’s work. According to al-Ṭūsī the transmission went as follows: al-Dūrī -- Abū al-Ḥusayn Zayd ibn Muḥammad al-Kūfī -- Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Ishaq -- Dirār ibn Ṣurad -- ‘Alī ibn Hāshim ibn al-Burayd -- Muḥammad ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi’ -- ‘Awn ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh -- his father.<sup>88</sup> Ibn Ḥajar points to Dirār ibn Ṣurad (d. 229/843) as the weak link in the chain (*aḥad al-du‘afā’*).<sup>89</sup> Among the Traditionists themselves Dirār ibn Ṣurad was controversial, giving rise to many conflicting opinions. He was a liar (*kadhdhāb*) according to Yahyá ibn Ma‘īn,<sup>90</sup> untrustworthy according to al-Nasā‘ī<sup>91</sup> (hence reference to him was actually forbidden<sup>92</sup>), weak (*da‘īf*) according to al-Dārquṭnī,<sup>93</sup> and his Traditions better abandoned altogether (*matrūk*), according to al-Bukhārī and al-Nasā‘ī.<sup>94</sup> On the other hand there is Abū Ḥātim who praises Dirār. He says Dirār was a man of the Qur’ān (meaning that he knew how to recite the Qur’ān according to the reading (*qirā’ah*) of al-

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<sup>88</sup> Al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 202-203; al-Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-Rijāl*, 56.

<sup>89</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1: 543.

<sup>90</sup> Al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā’ wa-al-Lughāt* (Damascus: Idārat al-Ṭibā‘ah al-Muniriyyah, n.d.), 1: 250; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I’tidāl fī Naqd al-Rijāl*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī (Cairo: ‘Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1963), 2 : 327; Ibn Shāhīn, *Kitāb Tārīkh Asmā’ al-Du‘afā’ wa-al-Kadhdhābīn*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Qashqarī (n.p. : n.p., 1989), 113; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa-al-Ta’dīl* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1952), 4 : 465; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī Asmā’ al-Rijāl*, ed. Bashshār Ma’rūf ‘Awwād (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risālah, 1980-92), 13 : 305.

<sup>91</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I’tidāl*, 2 : 328; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 13 : 305

<sup>92</sup> Ibn Shāhīn, *Asmā’ al-Du‘afā’*, 113.

<sup>93</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I’tidāl*, 2 : 328; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 13 : 305.

<sup>94</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I’tidāl*, 2 : 327; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 13 : 305.

Kisā'ī and Yahyá ibn Ādam<sup>95</sup>), possessed knowledge of inheritance (*ṣāhib Qur'ān wa-farā'id*) and was truthful (*ṣadūq*).<sup>96</sup> He was also considered trustworthy and pious (*ṣālih*),<sup>97</sup> and devoted to the service of God (*muta'abbid*).<sup>98</sup>

The paradoxical attitudes of the Traditionists toward Dirār ibn Šurad, in that they questioned his integrity on the one hand and accepted some of the Traditions he transmitted on the other, are not easy to explain. Ibn Abī Ḥātim writes, "He (i.e., Dirār) narrated a Tradition from Mu'tamar from his father from al-Ḥasan from Anas from the Prophet on the virtue of a certain Companion which was negated by the Traditionists (*rawá ḥadīth 'an Mu'tamar 'an abīhi 'an al-Ḥasan 'an Anas 'an al-Nabī ṣallá Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama fi faḍīlah li-ba'd al-Šahābah yunkiruhā ahl al-ma'rifah bi-al-ḥadīth*)."<sup>99</sup> But who was this "certain Companion"? Ibn Ḥibbān fortunately provides the full body of the Tradition: he (i.e., Dirār) narrated from al-Mu'tamar from his father from al-Ḥasan from Anas that the Prophet said to 'Alī, "You will make clear to my *ummah* what they disagree upon after me (*Anta tubayyinu li-ummatī mā ikhtalafū fihi min ba'dī*)."<sup>100</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān's information is helpful in determining that the "certain

<sup>95</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-Nihāyah*, 1 : 337.

<sup>96</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-al-Ta'dīl*, 4 : 465; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, 1 : 250; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I'tidāl*, 2 : 328; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 13 : 305.

<sup>97</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-Nihāyah*, 1 : 337.

<sup>98</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 13 : 303.

<sup>99</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-al-Ta'dīl*, 4 : 465-6. Al-Nawawī quotes this information without mentioning the chain of transmission (al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, 1 : 250).

<sup>100</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Majrūhīn min al-Muḥaddithīn wa-al-Du'afā' wa-al-Matrūkīn*, ed. Ibrāhīm Zāyid (Aleppo: Dār al-Wa'y, 1396 H.), 1 : 380. Al-Dhahabī quoted this Tradition from Ibn Ḥibbān with a longer chain of transmission. He adds some names before Dirār ibn Šurad (al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I'tidāl*, 2 : 328).

Companion” was none other than ‘Alī. It is likely that the objection of the Traditionists was based on their belief that Ḍirār loved ‘Alī so much that he fabricated Prophetic Tradition.<sup>101</sup> It cannot, however, be argued that because the objection of the Traditionists was to Ḍirār’s inclination toward ‘Alī (*tashayyu*), that his Traditions on other subjects were welcomed by them. The Traditionists’ attitudes varied in this regard. Al-Bukhārī, who suggested that Ḍirār’s transmission should be abandoned, in his *Khalq Af’āl al-‘Ibād* accepted Ḍirār’s Tradition.<sup>102</sup> Abū Zur‘ah also accepted Traditions from him.<sup>103</sup> Al-Tirmidhī, on the other hand, consistently refused any Traditions coming from Ḍirār. Once for instance he refused a Tradition on pilgrimage because Ḍirār was a link in the chain of transmission.<sup>104</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān’s judgment may well express the views of the Traditionists who refused to accept Traditions from Ḍirār. Ibn Ḥibbān acknowledged that Ḍirār was a *faqīh* who was well-versed in *fara’id*, but also that he narrated *maqlūbāt* from the trustworthy people,<sup>105</sup> that his memory was not good, and that he made a lot of mistakes.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> “[W]a-huwa fī jumlat man yunsabūn ilā al-tashayyu’ bi-al-Kūfahī” (Ibn ‘Adī, *al-Kāmil fī Du‘āfā’ al-Rijāl*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1988), 4 : 151).

<sup>102</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 13: 303; al-Bukhārī, *Khalq Af’āl al-‘Ibād wa-al-Radd ‘alā al-Jahmīyah wa Aṣḥāb al-Ta’fīl*, ed. Abū Muḥammad Sālim ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī al-Salafī and Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Sa‘īd ibn Basyūnī al-Ibyānī (Cairo: Maktabat Turāth al-Islāmī, n.d.), 42.

<sup>103</sup> Al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā’*, 1: 250; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta’dīl*, 4 : 465. On Abū Zur‘ah see pp. 56-7.

<sup>104</sup> Al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi’ al-Ṣaḥīḥ wa-Huwa Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, ed. Muḥammad Fu‘ād ‘Abd al-Bāqī (Cairo: Mustafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1937), 3 : 189-91.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Majrūhīn*, 2: 380. *Maqlūbāt* is the term applied when people attribute the chain of transmission to the wrong *matn* and vice versa, or attribute a Tradition to the wrong people (*isnād ḥādthā al-ḥadīth ‘alā matn ākhar, wa-rakabū matn ḥādthā al-ḥadīth ‘alā isnād ākhar, wa-qallabū ‘alayhi mā huwa min ḥadīth Sālim: ‘an Nāfi’, wa-mā huwa min ḥadīth Nāfi’: ‘an Sālim*) (Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā’ith al-Ḥathīth fī Ikhtisār ‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), 44).

<sup>106</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Majrūhīn*, 3: 121.

Ibn Ḥajar sometimes provides examples of how one should be careful with the information coming from Ḍirār. Jabr ibn Anas, according to a report from ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi’, was a participant at Badr who later joined ‘Alī at the Battle of Ṣiffīn. This report was quoted by Muṭayyan, then by al-Ṭabrānī. Ibn Ḥajar suspected the truth of the statement, and therefore points out that none of those who had written *al-maghāzī* works mentioned Jabr ibn Anas as a participant at Badr. They mentioned Jubayr ibn Iyās, instead. The chain of transmission of information from ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi’ was weak, he stressed.<sup>107</sup> Jabalah ibn Tha‘labah al-Anṣārī, according to ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi’, was among the participants of Badr who were also with ‘Alī at Ṣiffīn. This report was quoted by al-Ṭabrānī, Abū Na‘īm and others from Muṭayyan, who narrated the information through a chain of transmission that went back to ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi’. Quoting Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Ḥajar states that this Jabalah ibn Tha‘labah was actually Rukhaylah ibn Khālid ibn Tha‘labah. When the “ر” of Rukhaylah ( رخیلة ) was dropped (and “خ” was thought as “ج” and “ي” as “ب”) it became Jabalah ( جبلة )--it is to be remembered that in Arabic writing “خ” can be easily mixed up with “ج” and “ي” with “ب”--and when the name of his father Khālid was dropped from the lineage it became Jabalah ibn Tha‘labah. Based on Ibn al-Athīr’s explanation, Ibn Ḥajar allows that it is possible that Jabalah and Rukhaylah were actually two different persons. Ibn Ḥajar acknowledges that Rukhaylah was indeed among the participants at Badr.<sup>108</sup> From these two examples, i.e., the cases of Jabr and

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<sup>107</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isābah*, 1: 222.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 : 224.



of Jabalah, what may have happened--and this could be what Ibn Ḥajar believed--was as follows. First of all there was a list of those who had participated in Badr which Ḍirār preserved. Then there was a list of the Companions who had participated in Ṣiffīn with ‘Alī, compiled by ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi‘, which was also in Ḍirār’s hand. Then somehow these two lists were mixed up. Some of the participants in Badr and those in Ṣiffīn were believed (or were made) to be the same. Jubayr ibn Iyās was thought of as similar or made similar to Jabr ibn Anas, just as Jabalah was to Rukhaylah. This was done either intentionally<sup>109</sup> or by mistake. The Traditionists’ insistence that Ḍirār felt sympathy for ‘Alī and that he suffered from a weak memory could allow for these two possibilities.

It is for methodological reasons that we do not include biographical dictionaries written by Shī‘īs among our sources. Like the Sunnīs, the Shī‘īs have also been composing biographical works since about the 3rd/9th century.<sup>110</sup> The will to preserve the teachings of the Imāms had motivated Shī‘ī scholars to write biographies of their disciples who were responsible for preserving and transmitting these teachings. Thus, while motivated by the same interest, the Sunnīs and Shī‘īs differed in the material with which they dealt. Whereas the Sunnīs concentrated on those who were involved with the transmission of the teachings of the Prophet, starting with the Companions of the Prophet and then moving on to next the generation (i.e., the Followers, the Followers of

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<sup>109</sup> It will later be shown that the presence of the Companions, particularly the more important ones like the veterans of Badr, could easily strengthen the religious claim of a party.

<sup>110</sup> Liyakatali Nathani Takim, “The Rijāl of the Shī‘ī Imāms as Depicted in Imāmī Biographical Literature” (Ph. D., University of London, 1990), 216, 218.

the Followers, and so on), the Shī'īs were more concerned with those who had been involved in the transmission of the teachings of the Imāms. Hence the major biographical dictionaries, ones considered primary by later Shī'ī scholars, written by al-Barqī (d. 274/887), Tūsi (d. 460/1067) and Najāshī (d. 450/1058-9), are mainly about the companions of the Imāms.<sup>111</sup> Since our concern here is with the Companions of the Prophet, who lived in the 1st/7th century, we are justified in limiting ourselves to sources written by authors who concentrate on this period, and these happen to be Sunnī.

While the biographical dictionaries constitute the main sources of this study, other sources were also consulted. Chief among the latter are the historical works such as al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh al-Ummam wa-al-Mulūk*, al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-Ashraf* and *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, Ibn A'thām al-Kūfī's *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, Sayf Ibn 'Umar's *Kitāb al-Riddah wa-al-Futūḥ wa-Kitāb al-Jamal wa-Masīr 'Ā'ishah wa-'Alī* and al-Minqarī's *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*. As explained above, it is the goal of this study to reveal the Companions' geographical distribution and corresponding attitudes during Ṣiffīn. It goes without saying that to achieve this goal one must first understand how these Companions spread throughout the empire and how the settlements were established, as well as the context in which the Battle of Ṣiffīn was fought. This kind of understanding can hardly be achieved if we rely merely on biographical dictionaries. For while it is correct to say that much of this kind of information can be found in the latter, it must be remembered that since the main concern of the biographical dictionaries is to record facts on individual Companions in

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<sup>111</sup> For a discussion of these scholars and their works, see *ibid.*, 8-14.

so far as they shed light on the transmission of the Prophetic Traditions, such information as applies to the conquest of new lands and political allegiances is usually fragmentary and can only be read between the lines, so to speak. There is no detailed account, for example, of how the Battle of al-Qādisīyah came to pass or the reasons behind the Battle of Ṣiffīn.

The reliability of the information provided by these medieval historians however has also been subjected to study by modern scholars. Sayf, an Iraqī historian from the tribe of Tamīm, has been charged with showing bias in his treatment of Iraq and Tamīm; thus al-Ṭabarī's heavy reliance on him for the events which took place during the twenty-five year period extending from the death of the Prophet to the Battle of Jamal has also been questioned.<sup>112</sup> Al-Balādhurī has been criticized for not always citing the original words of his sources,<sup>113</sup> while Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī's decision to create a connected historical narrative resulted in an inconsistent approach to his sources.<sup>114</sup> Al-Minqarī's Shī'ī tendency, on the other hand, renders suspect his account of the activities of 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah. But once we integrate statements from these works with the information collected from the biographical dictionaries we find that much of the information given by these historians inspires confidence. For example, al-Ṭabarī states that Kufa was more important than Basra. Now because al-Ṭabarī's information on Iraq was largely derived from Sayf, a Kufan, we might be led to conclude that this statement is biased

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<sup>112</sup> For further discussion on this subject see George Martin Hinds, "The Early History of Islamic Schism in Iraq," (Ph. D., University of London, 1969), 7-11.

<sup>113</sup> C.H. Becker-[F. Rosenthal], "al-Balādhurī," in *EF*.

<sup>114</sup> M.A. Shaban, "Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī," in *EF*.

and therefore untrue. But, comparing the list of the inhabitants of Kufa with that of Basra, we find out that there are some grounds for accepting his version.<sup>115</sup> The case of Siffin could provide another example. It is reported by al-Minqarī that ‘Alī was supported by more important Companions than was Mu’āwiyah.<sup>116</sup> Given the source, one might be tempted to reject this statement on the grounds that al-Minqarī’s sympathies would have clearly been with ‘Alī. Nevertheless, a comparison of the Companions who supported Mu’āwiyah and ‘Alī shows that al-Minqarī was justified in making the claim that he did.

The other category of sources that we consulted for this study is that of works written on the science of Traditions (*‘ulūm al-Ḥadīth*). These sources are highly useful, particularly when discussing the emergence and development of the term “Companion” and in determining the views of various classes of Muslims on the Companions. Thus works such as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ’s *‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, al-‘Irāqī’s *Fath al-Mughīth Sharḥ Fath Alfiyat al-Ḥadīth*, Ibn al-Kathīr’s *al-Bā‘ith al-Ḥathīth fī Ikhtisār ‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, al-Nawawī’s *al-Taqrīb wa-al-Taysīr li-Ta‘rifat Sunan al-Bashīr al-Nadhīr fī Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth*, al-Baghdādī’s *al-Kifāyah fī ‘Ilm al-Riwāyah* and al-Nīsābūrī’s *Ma‘rifat ‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* were constantly consulted, especially for Chapter Two, where the term “Companion” and the views of Muslims on the Companions as a group are discussed.

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<sup>115</sup> See pp. 200-5.

<sup>116</sup> See p. 236.

## B. Method

The Companions' pattern of settlement and their political alignments--as well as the relationship between the two--can only be understood fully if we take their numbers into account. In other words, questions such as, "How many Companions actually settled in a particular place?" or "How many Companions supported 'Alī at Ṣiffīn?" are important. In trying to answer these questions, the Companions will be classified according to the answers we are looking for: the pattern of settlement requires for instance that they be grouped geographically, while political alignment requires that we identify where their loyalties were. Needless to say, the Companions whose geographical base or whose alignment during Ṣiffīn are unknown will not be included in this analysis. This explains, for example, why so few women Companions are included in this study. There is after all no questioning the role they played in building the Islamic community. Ibn Sa'd devotes a separate section in his biographical dictionary to record their contribution to Islamic history. So do Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī, and Ibn Ḥajar. However, when it comes to their geographical distribution and political alignment information is scarce. Out of 335 Companions who resided in Basra, for example, only 7 women are mentioned, while none is referred to as having been among those involved in Ṣiffīn.

The quantitative approach to the study of biographical dictionaries proposed here has already been used by scholars to understand Islamic history. Cohen's study on the secular occupations and economic background of the religious scholars in the classical

period of Islam,<sup>117</sup> Bulliet's on social life in a medieval Islamic city (i.e., Nishapur)<sup>118</sup> and on conversion to Islam in different parts of Islamic world in the medieval period,<sup>119</sup> Petry's on the civilian elite of Cairo,<sup>120</sup> and Donner's on the tribal settlement in Basra,<sup>121</sup> show well how this method can make a significant contribution to the understanding of Islamic history. For whereas Cohen's research, for example, reveals the way in which the early Muslim scholars supported themselves economically and, thus, the extent of their participation in the economic development of Muslim society, Bulliet's is invaluable for determining when Muslims actually became the majority in the conquered lands. Indeed, despite the fact that answers to the problems that Bulliet and Cohen have tried to address can also be sought in sources other than biographical dictionaries, their findings, as well as those of others, provide valuable documentation for those answers.

There are of course limitations to such an approach. The fact that the data were already preselected by the authors of these dictionaries (thus limiting present-day scholars to only those data judged worthy of preservation by other scholars living

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<sup>117</sup> Hayyim J. Cohen, "The Economic Background and the Secular Occupations of Muslim Jurisprudents and Traditionists in the Classical Period of Islam," *JESHO* 13 (1970): 16-61.

<sup>118</sup> Richard W. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur: A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).

<sup>119</sup> Richard W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

<sup>120</sup> Carl F. Petry, *The Civillian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

<sup>121</sup> Fred M. Donner, "Tribal Settlement in Basra During the First Century A.H.," in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1984), 97-120.

centuries ago<sup>122</sup>), joined with the fact that scholars face many difficulties in extracting information from the dictionaries (sometimes even having to read between the lines to do so), are only two examples of such limitations.<sup>123</sup> Thus, it is not surprising when scholars sincerely warn their readers that the findings and statistical data deriving from such an approach should be considered as “heuristic,” “heuristically valuable,” “tentative,” “suggestive,” “rough indication” or even “somewhat speculative.”<sup>124</sup> That this approach is still comparatively rare in Islamic Studies<sup>125</sup> is another factor that should be kept in mind in this regard.

Using the same method and the same kinds of sources (i.e., biographical dictionaries), our study is bound by the same problems and limitations that Cohen, Bulliet, Petry and Donner faced. In our study there are even times when, because the information given by the sources is insufficient, we have to draw conclusions based on small numbers, such as in the case of the background of the Companions at Şiffin.<sup>126</sup> These figures are statistically insignificant, but can still be used as a rough indication of facts which are otherwise unobtainable. Finally, while we do not claim that our statistical data are

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<sup>122</sup> For example, if, based on biographical dictionaries, a scholar attempts to quantify the inhabitants of a certain city, he cannot count a person who is known—from other sources—to have lived in that city but is not mentioned by the dictionaries being used.

<sup>123</sup> For further discussion on the limitations and difficulties of this approach, see, for examples, Cohen, “Economic Background,” 20-1; Bulliet, “Quantitative Approach,” 199-200; and Donner, “Tribal Settlement,” 100-1; see also Humphreys’s critical reviews of the works of Bulliet, Petry, and Cohen (Humphreys, *Islamic History*, 198-9, 205-6, 206-7, 281-3). For weaknesses and problems relative to our study, see pp. 44-52 below.

<sup>124</sup> Bulliet, *Conversion*, 3; idem, “Quantitative Approach,” 195; Petry, *Civillian Elite*, xix; Donner, “Tribal Settlement,” 100; Humphreys, *Islamic History*, 205, 206, 281.

<sup>125</sup> Bulliet, *Conversion*, 5; idem, “Quantitative Approach,” 195.

<sup>126</sup> See pp. 240, 244-6 below.

absolute, the arguments that they give rise to may be useful in understanding fully the historical significance of the Companions in the first century of Hijrah.

Another positive aspect of this approach is its usefulness in verifying statements made by present or past authors. In some way or another authors frequently try to quantify the information they provide. Hence the desire to give evidence where none exists, or to reduce or increase numbers for whatever reasons led these authors to make inaccurate statements. Even Ibn Khaldūn (d. 865/1406) was aware of this problem. Commenting upon the works of previous scholars, including historians, Ibn Khaldūn states that they committed frequent errors due to their tendency to accept information uncritically. This occurred especially in the case of numbers:

Whenever contemporaries speak about the dynastic armies of their own recent times, and whenever they engage in discussions about Muslim or Christian soldiers, or when they get to figuring the tax revenues and the money spent by the government, the outlays of extravagant spenders, and the goods that rich and prosperous men have in stock, they are quite generally found to exaggerate, to go beyond the bounds of the ordinary, and to succumb to the temptation of sensationalism. When the officials in charge are questioned about their armies, when the goods and assets of wealthy people are assessed, and when the outlays of extravagant spenders are looked at in ordinary light, the figures will be found to amount to a tenth of what those people have said. The reason is simple. It is the common desire for sensationalism, the ease with which one may just mention a higher figure, and the disregard of the reviewers and critics. This leads to failure to exercise self-criticism about one's errors and intentions, to demand for oneself moderation and fairness in reporting, to reapply oneself to study and research. Such historians let themselves go and made a feast of untrue statement.<sup>127</sup>

One example of this tendency is al-Mas'ūdī. Ibn Khaldūn reports that al-Mas'ūdī claimed that the army of the Israelites under Moses numbered more than 600,000

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<sup>127</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: an Introduction to History*, translated by Franz Rosenthal (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958), 1 : 19-20.



troops. This, Ibn Khaldūn asserts, is unacceptable. According to Ibn Khaldūn, al-Mas'ūdī had failed to take into account geographical and military considerations (“whether Egypt and Syria could possibly have held such a number of soldiers”) as well as practical ones (“an army of this size cannot march or fight as a unit”).<sup>128</sup> To emphasize his point stronger, Ibn Khaldūn points to the Persian Empire which was much greater than the realm of the Israelites. The greatest concentration of Persian army at al-Qādisīyah, Ibn Khaldūn contends, only amounted to between 60,000 and 120,000 (according to different reports).<sup>129</sup> In other words, how could it be that the Israelites, whose nation was much smaller than the Persians', should have had an army five to ten times the size of that boasted by a much greater power?

Modern historians have also expressed the same concern. Juynboll, for example, asserts that the numbers that Sayf reports are inflated. He also questions Sayf's information, for example, on the Battle of al-Qādisīyah--which was likely accepted by Ibn Khaldūn. As Ibn Khaldūn had done with al-Mas'ūdī, Juynboll compares these numbers with military considerations: the numbers do not accord with how the battle was actually fought.<sup>130</sup> To render them more conceivable, Juynboll, unlike Ibn Khaldūn who proposes ten as the divisor (“the figures will be found to amount to a tenth of what those people have said”<sup>131</sup>), proposes that every number given by Sayf be divided by

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>130</sup> Gautier H. A. Juynboll's foreword to Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 13, *The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia, and Egypt*, translated and annotated by Gautier H. A. Juynboll (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), xv.

<sup>131</sup> See quotation from Ibn Khaldūn above.

one hundred, or, if it is lower than one thousand, by ten.<sup>132</sup> Although Juynboll claims this method works very well in making these numbers more plausible, it is still not well-grounded for it is a mere guess.

From the perspective of the problem of numbers discussed above, our approach might help us to suggest some answers. The data that we have collected from the biographical dictionaries can throw light on some of the issues raised in literary sources like al-Ṭabarī. Our figures on the Companions who settled in Basra, Kufa, Damascus, Hims, Palestine and Fustat can give us rough idea of the Muslim population of these places during the first century Hijrah or that of the early mobilization and distribution of Muslims there. The same may be done with respect to the number of Companions who participated in the Battle of Ṣiffīn. Any statements on the political alignments of Companions at the Battle of Ṣiffīn could be compared with our approximate numbers, and their historical significance thereby assessed.

In order to give some idea as to the nature of the biographical dictionaries and my approach to sources, some sample biographical entries for Mu‘āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj, taken from Ibn Sa‘d and Ibn Ḥajar, are given here.

*Mu‘āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj ṣahība al-Nabī, ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama, wa-rawā ‘anhu, wa-qad laqīya ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb wa-rawā ‘anhu ḥadīth fi al-mash, wa-kāna ‘uthmānī. Akhbaranā ‘Affān ibn Muslim qāla: Haddathanā Hammād ibn Salamah qāla: Akhbaranā Thābit ‘an Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥujayr wa-huwa Abū Ḥujayr ‘an Mu‘āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj, qāla wa-kānat lahu Ṣuḥbah, qāla: Man ghasala mayyit wa-kafanahu wa-ittaba‘ahu wa-waliya jananahu raja‘a maghfūran lah. (Mu‘āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj accompanied the Prophet, peace be upon him, and narrated from him. He had also met ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and narrated from him a Tradition on wiping (shoes?), and he was a supporter of ‘Uthmān. ‘Affān ibn Muslim informed us, saying: Thābit had informed us from Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥujayr, that is Abū Ḥujayr, from Mu‘āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj—he (Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥujayr) said that he (Mu‘āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj) has*

<sup>132</sup> Juynboll, *The History*, 13 : xiv.

Companionship—who said: “Whoever washed a corpse and dressed him for the grave and followed him (to the grave) and took care of his tomb, he went home forgiven.”<sup>133</sup>

*Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj, bi-muhmalah thumma jīm muṣaghgharan, ibn Jafnah ibn Najīb Abū Na'im, wa-yuqālu Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakūnī, wa-qāla al-Bukhārī Khawlānī, nassabahu al-Zuhri, yu'addu fi al-Miṣriyīn. Wa-qāla al-Baghawī: Kāna 'āmil Mu'āwiyah 'alā Miṣr. ((Qultu)) innamā ammarahu Mu'āwiyah 'alā al-jaysh alladhī jahhazahu ilā Miṣr wa-bi-hā Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, fa-lammā qatalūhu bāya'ū li-Mu'āwiyah, thumma waliya imrat Miṣr li-Yazīd, wa-dhakarahu Ibn Sa'd fi-man waliya Miṣr min al-Ṣaḥābah, wa-qāla Ibn Yūnus yuknā Abū Na'im wafada 'alā Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallama wa-shahida faṭḥ Miṣr thumma kāna al-wāfid 'alā 'Umar bi-faṭḥ al-Iskandariyah, dhahabat 'aynuhu fi ghazwat al-Nūbah ma'a Ibn Sarḥ waliya ghaw al-Maghrib mirāran ākhirahā sanat khamsīn wa-māta sanat ithnatayn wa-khamsīn, wa-akhraja lahu Abū Dāwud wa-al-Nasā'ī ḥadīth fi al-sahw fi al-ṣalāh wa-al-Nasā'ī ḥadīth fi al-tadāwā bi-al-hijāmah wa-al-ghusl wa-al-Baghawī ḥadīth qāla fihī sami'tu Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama yaqūlu ((Ghadwah fi sabīl Allāh aw rawḥah khayr min al-dunyā wa-mā fihā)), wa-akhraja Aḥmad al-aḥādīth al-thalāthah wa-kullahā min ṭarīq Yazīd ibn Ḥabīb 'an Suwayd ibn Qays 'anhu, wa-qad akhraja aydan min ṭarīq Thābit al-Bumānī 'an Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥujayr 'anhu Ḥadīth Marfū' fi dafn al-mayyit wa-min ṭarīq Ibn Lahī'ah 'an al-Ḥarth ibn Yazīd 'an 'Alī ibn Rabāḥ 'anhu qāla ḥājarnā 'alā 'ahd Abī Bakr fa-baynā nahnu 'indahū fa-dhakarahu qiṣṣat Zamzam, qāla al-Athram 'an Aḥmad laysat lahu Ṣuḥbah wa-dhakarahu Ya'kūb ibn Sufyān wa-Ibn Ḥibbān fi al-Ṭabī'in lakinn Ibn Ḥibbān dhakarahu fi al-Ṣaḥābah aydan, qāla al-Bukhārī māta qabl Abī 'Amr. (Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj—without diacritical points and then *jīm*, in the form of a diminutive noun—ibn Jafnah ibn Najīb Abū Na'im, also called Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, al-Sakūnī or, according to al-Bukhārī, Khawlānī. Al-Zuhri gave his lineage. He was counted among the people of Egypt. Al-Baghawī said, “He was a governor of Mu'āwiyah in Egypt.” ((I said)): “Mu'āwiyah only appointed him as the leader of the army which he sent to Egypt, where Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq was to be found. After having killed the latter they gave their allegiance to Mu'āwiyah. Later Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj became the emir of Egypt for Yazīd.” Ibn Sa'd mentioned Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj among the Companions who used to be governors of Egypt. Ibn Yūnus said, “He (Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj) is given the surname Abū Na'im. He came to the Messenger of God peace be upon him and his family, participated in the conquest of Egypt (*Miṣr*), and then he came to 'Umar, informing him of the conquest of Iskandariyah. He lost one of his eyes during the military expedition in Nubia with Ibn Sarḥ. He led several incursions into al-Maghrib, the last of which was in the year 50, and died in the year 52.” Abū Dāwud and al-Nasā'ī narrated a Tradition from Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj concerning negligence during prayer, while al-Nasā'ī narrated a Tradition concerning medical treatment with cupping and washing, and al-Baghawī a Tradition in which he said that he heard the Messenger of God, peace be upon him,*

<sup>133</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 7 : 503.

say, "Going back and forth in the path of God is better than the world and what is in it." Ahmad narrated the three Traditions, all of which were through Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb from Suwayd ibn Qays from him (i.e. Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj). He (Ahmad) also narrated through Thābit al-Bunānī from Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥujayr from him (Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj) a *marfū'* Tradition on the burial of the dead, and through Ibn Lahī'ah from al-Ḥarth ibn Yazīd from 'Alī ibn Rabāḥ from him saying, "We emigrated during the reign of Abū Bakr, and while we were with Abū Bakr he mentioned the story of Zamzam." Al-Athram said from Ahmad, "He (Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj) did not have Companionship." Ya'qūb ibn Sufyān and Ibn Ḥibbān mentioned him among the Tābi'īn, but Ibn Ḥibbān also mentioned him among the Companions. Al-Bukhārī said that he died before Abū 'Umar.)<sup>134</sup>

The biography of Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj as it is presented by Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Ḥajar is chosen because it shows us three important points. First, since Ibn Sa'd is the earliest source in our study and Ibn Ḥajar the latest, comparing information from these two scholars may give some idea of how the information concerning a particular Companion tended to increase with time. Second, it also shows us the extent to which information related to the Prophetic Traditions (such as which Traditions this Companion narrated and who took them from him) dominates such entries. This is not surprising because the biographical works on the Companions were composed precisely for this purpose.<sup>135</sup> Third, there are some contradictory statements in Ibn Ḥajar's entry. This example offers us an opportunity to show how such contradictions can be reconciled.

Ibn Sa'd, living in the 3rd/9th century, provides a shorter entry for Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj than does Ibn Ḥajar, who lived in the 9th/15th century. What information is missing from Ibn Sa'd (or what information is added by Ibn Ḥajar) can clearly be seen.

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<sup>134</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 3 : 411.

<sup>135</sup> See pp. 13-4, 17.

While Ibn Sa'd gives Mu'āwiyah's name without any tribal affiliation, Ibn Ḥajar traces Mu'āwiyah's name back to his great grandfather and even gives two possible tribal descents, i.e., Sakūnī and Khawlānī. Other information as to his various careers and the date of his death, as well as the fact that his Companionship was questioned by some authors, is also provided by Ibn Ḥajar. The Traditions attributed to Mu'āwiyah are also mentioned in more detail by Ibn Ḥajar, who gives their number, the way they were transmitted, and where these Traditions could be found. Living six centuries later than Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Ḥajar clearly had more sources available to him. The collections of al-Bukhārī, al-Baghawī, Ibn Yūnus, Abū Dāwud, al-Nasā'ī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Ḥibbān are among Ibn Ḥajar's sources, none of which were available to Ibn Sa'd, having appeared after his death. With such a wide range of materials at his disposal, Ibn Ḥajar is, unsurprisingly, able to furnish more information.

It can be seen from Ibn Ḥajar's contribution that there were often disagreements about particular biographical details. First there was disagreement over whether Mu'āwiyah was from the tribe of Sakūn or from that of Khawlān. Second, authors apparently disputed his inclusion in the ranks of Companions. How should we deal with these kinds of disagreement? There are different ways to do so. First, we can accept Ibn Ḥajar's statement from the outset that Mu'āwiyah was from the Banī Sakūn and disregard the information given by al-Bukhārī, or vice versa. In taking this position we are faced with a historiographical problem: Why should we prefer the information given by Ibn Ḥajar to that given by al-Bukhārī? Are we saying that Ibn Ḥajar is more reliable or trustworthy than al-Bukhārī? Why? Another option is to admit that there

could be two Mu'āwiyahs, one from the Banī Sakūn and the other from the Banī Khawlān. But to which do these Traditions apply: the Mu'āwiyah of the Banī Sakūn or the Mu'āwiyah of the Banī Khawlān? There is of course a third option: that of accepting all the information given by both Ibn Ḥajar and al-Bukhārī without questioning which one is right and which one is wrong. This is also the case with his Companionship. We do not question whether Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, for example, was right when he said that Mu'āwiyah was not a Companion; or whether al-Baghawī was right when he said that Mu'āwiyah was governor of Egypt under Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān. Our position is to acknowledge that there was a certain man named Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj who might have been from the Banī Sakūn or from the Banī Khawlān, who might have been a Companion and governor of Egypt for Mu'āwiyah.

It is the third position that we take here. The reason is pragmatic. We are dealing with more than one thousand individual Companions. This means that since we take three variables into account, i.e., tribal affiliation, regional loyalty and the date of death as the bases of our analysis, we are actually dealing with about three thousand items of information. It is beyond the scope of our study to establish the historicity of every single report. It is also to be remembered that our method is quantitative. Each piece of information will be treated equally and each assigned the same value. Thus, returning to the example mentioned above, we will add Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj to the list of the Companions who resided in Egypt (i.e., Fustat, see below). We will also include him in both the list of Banī Sakūn and in that of Banī Khawlān. When we are dealing with those among the Banī Sakūn who settled in Fustat, Mu'āwiyah will figure in our

evaluation. We shall do likewise when we are dealing with those of Banī Khawlān who resided in Fustat. Of course people like Mu'āwiyah constitute a gray area in our analysis. This is the natural bias of our method.

The information taken from writers such as Ibn Sa'd, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar does not always reflect their own opinions. As we have already pointed out, these authors often quote widely diverse materials. Thus different views on certain Companions—regarding their relationship with the Prophet, their involvement in different events, their tribal alignment, etc.—are presented. Sometime our sources reveal their own position on these issues and sometimes they do not. Our practice is not to accept the final judgment of these authors, but to collect the information they present and include it in our survey. No effort has been made to scrutinize its validity. Needless to say, the existence of a certain piece of information cannot negate the existence of other information; nor does one piece of information depend on another for its existence. Each is self-sufficient and autonomous. We can take as one example 'Amr ibn Ghaylān. Ibn Samī'<sup>136</sup> says that he was a Follower (*Tābi'i*) of the *ahl al-Shām*. The fact that he was a Follower and that he was a Syrian are independent facts. Ibn Samī' may be wrong in saying that 'Amr was a Follower, but this does not countervail the fact that 'Amr was a Syrian. Thus I will include 'Amr in the figures for Syria, even if no other source confirming the Companion status of 'Amr declares that he was a Syrian.

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<sup>136</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isābah*, 3: 10.

To gain a clear understanding of the nature of the sources and also the bias of this kind of approach, certain other points should be mentioned:

1. The *nisbah* is highly useful to researchers. From the *nisbah* one can determine, for instance, the occupation of a given individual in a certain period.<sup>137</sup> For our purpose the *nisbah* can reveal the tribal alignment of certain Companions and the pattern of their settlement in some places. But often the *nisbah* creates confusion since it does not always indicate that a person originally belonged to a given tribe. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Khālid ibn Salamah al-Makhzūmī is a case in point. He was a Qurashī by birth but was also called al-Rāsibī, not because he was related by blood to Banī Rāsib, but because he resided among them when he migrated to Basra.<sup>138</sup> Abū Sa’id, Abū al-Ḥajjāj and Abū Sulaymān, although they were not of Banī Ḍubī‘ah, were nonetheless called Ḍuba’ī because they lived with this tribe in Basra.<sup>139</sup> Zuhayr ibn ‘Amr, although he dwelled amongst Banī Kilāb, was not born a member of this tribe.<sup>140</sup> ‘Abd Allāh ibn Waqdān, a Qurashī, was known as Sa’dī for he was breast-fed by a woman of Banī Sa’d ibn Bakr.<sup>141</sup> Such individuals can be mistakenly attributed to more than one tribe. In these examples we are fortunate in that we know which is the original tribe and which one is not. But what happens if such information is not available?

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<sup>137</sup> Cohen, "Economic Background," 16-61.

<sup>138</sup> Al-Sam‘ānī, *al-Ansāb*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bārūcī (Beirut: Dār al-Jinān: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 1988), 1: 25.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 : 8-9.

<sup>140</sup> Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 7 : 80.

<sup>141</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3: 1000.



2. The other problem with the *nisbah*, which results in the same difficulties, is the practice among the Arabs to change their own genealogy. It was common for a person to trace his own genealogy to the brother of an ancestor if the brother was more famous.<sup>142</sup> Al-Ḥakam ibn ‘Amr was the son of Nu‘aylah ibn Mulayl, but, although it annoyed the genealogists, he preferred the *nisbah* al-Ghifārī. Ghifār ibn Mulayl was the brother of Nu‘aylah ibn Mulayl and the more noteworthy of the two.<sup>143</sup>
3. Sometimes a person bore two *nisbahs* because of different levels of attribution. Anas ibn Mālīk (not Anas ibn Mālīk, the famous Companion) was sometimes called al-Qushayrī, and sometimes called al-Ka‘bī. This was because Ka‘b was the father of Qushayr. So calling him al-Ka‘bī al-Qushayrī was like calling someone ‘Abbāsī Ḥashimī or Sa‘dī Tamīmī.<sup>144</sup> For those unfamiliar with genealogy this seems contradictory.
4. Sometimes a person’s lineage is traced directly to his grandfather or even to his great-grandfather, instead of to his father. Jundab ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sufyān is sometimes called Jundab ibn ‘Abd Allāh and at other times Jundab ibn Sufyān.<sup>145</sup> The same is true in the case of Jābir ibn Ṭāriq ibn Abī Ṭāriq ibn ‘Awf. Sometimes he is called Jābir ibn Abī Ṭāriq and sometimes Jābir ibn ‘Awf.<sup>146</sup> Other examples include Jundab ibn ‘Abd

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<sup>142</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 1: 123.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 2: 40.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 1: 150.

<sup>145</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1: 250.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 1: 213.

Allāh ibn Sufyān<sup>147</sup> and ‘Urwah ibn ‘Iyād ibn Abī al-Ju‘d.<sup>148</sup> There is always a risk of counting such persons as two different individuals.

5. It quite often happens that the writers disagree with each other. There are some points which are inevitable sources of disagreement. First there is the meaning of certain words. The word “*mukhadram*” for instance is used to describe people who have lived in two eras, such as the time of the Jāhiliyah and the time of the Prophet. In the discussion surrounding the identity of the Companions of the Prophet, the word is sometimes used by authors to decide whether a person was or was not a Companion. If he was a *mukhadram*, chances are he was a Companion. But, having this in mind, authors are sometimes trapped into understanding that the word “*mukhadram*” is used by default to describe those who knew the time of the Jāhiliyah and that of the Prophet. They forget that this word was used to describe those who experienced two eras, and that this could also apply to the time of the Prophet and that of Banī Umayyah,<sup>149</sup> or the time of Banī Umayyah and that of Banī ‘Abbās. Thus Abū Ḥayyah al-Numayr was thought of as belonging to the Companions because he was described as *mukhadram*, when in fact he did not. He was described as *mukhadram* not because he knew the time of the Jāhiliyah and that of the Prophet, but because he lived under both Banī Umayyah and Banī ‘Abbās.<sup>150</sup> It was a mistake of the same type that led scholars to disagree over whether

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 1 : 250.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 2: 468.

<sup>149</sup> Yusayr ibn ‘Amr was a *mukhadram*. When the Prophet died he was only ten or eleven years old. Since he certainly did not experience the time of Jāhiliyah, we can safely say that in this case (although Ibn al-Athīr does not say it explicitly) *mukhadram* in his case could only mean knowing the time of Islam and that of Banī Umayyah (Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 5 : 520).

<sup>150</sup> See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 4 : 49.

‘Uqbah ibn ‘Amr should be counted as a participant in Badr because he was described as “*Badrī*.” Some scholars, including al-Bukhārī, Abū ‘Utbah ibn Salām and Muslim, affirm that *Badrī* means that he participated in Badr. The majority of scholars agree that *Badrī* simply means that he resided in Badr.<sup>151</sup> Al-Aghlab ibn Jusham was thought by some to have performed the Hijrah, which might have put him in the class of Companions, but in fact it is known that his Hijrah was an ordinary emigration, not the Prophet’s famous departure from Mecca for Medina.<sup>152</sup>

There is also the problem of written transmission. Leaving aside entirely the problems raised by oral transmission, the difficulties inherent in the manuscript tradition were considerable. In addition to the time involved and the expense, there was the factor of errors in copying. Exhaustion or inattention often led to words being incorrectly written or left out. Ibn Ḥajar said that ‘Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd was a *Khaṭmī*, not a *Nakha’ī*, but that a scribe had changed (*taḥarrafa*) it from *Khaṭmī* to *Nakha’ī*.<sup>153</sup> Al-Ḥasan ibn Mālīk was said in some accounts to have died in 74 (*arba‘ah wa-sab‘īn*)/693, which Ibn Ḥajar corrects to read 94 (*arba‘ah wa-tis‘īn*)/712. Thus what should have been written was تسعين not سبعين.<sup>154</sup> These kinds of mistakes were common at a time when the writing of Arabic was still in the process of evolving. At this stage, for example, no diacritical points were used. The letter *ta* could only be differentiated from *ba* or *tha* by

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<sup>151</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1074-1075; 4 : 1756-1757; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 2 : 484.

<sup>152</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1: 71.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 3: 144.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 323.

reference to the context, if at all. The verb “*fa-hājara* ( فهاجر )” to give another example, was read in one instance as *Muhājir* ( مهاجر ) which resulted in the name Muhājir being added to the range of Companions.<sup>155</sup> Gharafah ibn al-Ḥarth could be read as Ghazīyah ibn al-Ḥarth,<sup>156</sup> Ḥābis ibn Sa‘d as Ḥābis ibn Sa‘īd,<sup>157</sup> and Ḥubayb ibn Mughaffil as Humaydah ibn Mughaffil.<sup>158</sup>

6. Sometimes the name of the original person who heard a Tradition directly from the Prophet in a chain of transmission was lost. The result was that the second person in the chain was taken to be the first person and it was therefore thought that it was he who had heard the Prophet speak. If he heard anything from the Prophet’s lips he was a Companion by definition. Those writers who were not aware of this sometimes included this second person in the range of Companions. This is what happened with Shabīb ibn Dhī al-Kalā‘ Abū Rawḥ. It is reported that Abū Rawḥ said that he prayed behind the Prophet. Since the Tradition begins with “I prayed (*ṣallaytu*),” the first person who repeated it must have been a Companion. Ibn Ḥajar however found out that “someone,” from whom Abū Rawḥ had heard the Tradition, had fallen out of the chain, changing it from “Abū Rawḥ from someone from the Prophet” to “Abū Rawḥ from the Prophet.”<sup>159</sup> Some other examples of this confusion are ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥukl,<sup>160</sup> ‘Āmir ibn

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 3 : 505.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 3 : 190, 182.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 1: 272.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 3 : 588.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 2 : 165.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 3 : 131.

Ludayn<sup>161</sup> and Shabīb ibn Dhū al-Kalā‘.<sup>162</sup> Sometimes the mistake seems trivial: the connecting word “*an*” (from), for instance, occasionally fell out. The chain of transmission of a Tradition which, according to Ibn Ḥajar, should be “from Kurdūs from a Companion of the Prophet from the Prophet” became “from Kurdūs, a Companion of the Prophet, from the Prophet.”<sup>163</sup> Whereas in the first chain of transmission Kurdūs is only the second person who narrated the Tradition (which could mean that he was a Follower or a *Tābi‘ī*), in the second one (that is in the wrong one, according to Ibn Ḥajar), Kurdūs becomes the first person, i.e., the Companion himself who heard the Tradition directly from the Prophet.

7. Sometimes it was said that the Tradition of a certain Companion is *mursal*, meaning that he did not receive the Tradition directly from the Prophet. Based on this fact, one might argue that since he did not take the Tradition from the Prophet he could not have been a Companion. This is not always the case, however. Some of the Companions took Traditions from other Companions. Examples of this are al-Musawwar ibn Mukhramah who accepted Traditions from al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah,<sup>164</sup> and Anas ibn Mālīk who took some from Jarīr ibn ‘Abd Allāh.<sup>165</sup> Abū Mūsá, Abū Rāfi‘, Abū Shurayḥ, Abū Sa‘īd, Jābir, Anas, Abū Juḥayfah, Abū Umāmah and Abū Ṭufayl--all of whom were

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 3 : 126.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., 2 : 165.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 3 : 302.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 3 : 432.

<sup>165</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 1: 240.

Companions—took Traditions from ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mas‘ūd.<sup>166</sup> Some Companions accepted the Traditions both from the Prophet and from other Companions as well. Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, for instance, learned Traditions from the Prophet and also from the four Caliphs, Mu‘ādh, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubay ibn Ka‘b and ‘Ammār. Some of the Companions received some Traditions from Abū Mūsá: Abū Sa‘īd, Anas and Ṭāriq ibn Shihāb are just some examples.<sup>167</sup> ‘Ā’ishah, Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn ‘Umar and Jābir ibn Samurah are reported to have taken some of their Traditions from Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.<sup>168</sup> Sa‘īd ibn Zayd<sup>169</sup> is another example of one from whom other Companions took Traditions. Even some Companions, like Ma‘mar ibn Ḥazm,<sup>170</sup> did not narrate Traditions at all, and yet no one denied the fact that they were Companions. Ṭāriq ibn Shihāb saw the Prophet but he never heard anything from him. His Traditions fall under the category of *mursal*. Based on this some writers have doubted his status as a Companion. Ibn Ḥajar, defending this status, says that if it could ever be proved that he had met the Prophet then we could firmly establish that he was a Companion; and even if he had not, then his Traditions would simply become *mursal Ṣaḥābī*, which would not change the status of his Companionship.<sup>171</sup> This means that even if it is proved that his Tradition was *mursal* this is no reason to reject the possibility that he was a

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<sup>166</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 2 : 326.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 : 351.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 : 30.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 : 44.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 428.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 : 211.

Companion. This is one of the grounds used by Ibn Ḥajar to establish that Qabīṣah ibn Waqqāṣ was a Companion. Al-Dhahabī, considering that Qabīṣah did not use the phrase “I heard (*sami‘tu*)” in his Tradition, casts doubt on his Companionship. He insists that it is *mursal* and that therefore we cannot establish that he was a Companion. Ibn Ḥajar challenges al-Dhahabī’s conclusion, saying that Qabīṣah’s case was not unique. There were a lot of people who did not use “I heard” and therefore their Traditions might be *mursal*, but they were still Companions.<sup>172</sup>

Another example may suffice to clarify all of this. Uhbān ibn Aws was an early convert (*qadīm al-Islām*) and prayed in two directions (*ṣallá al-qiblatayn*), i.e., to al-Masjid al-Aqṣá in Jerusalem and al-Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca. As far as I am concerned no single scholar has ever doubted these facts, let alone his Companionship. However no single Prophetic Tradition has ever been attributed firmly to him. Al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, according to Ibn Ḥajar, only mentions one *ḥadīth mawqūf*<sup>173</sup> (i.e., a Tradition about the sayings and the deeds of the Companions).<sup>174</sup> In his *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* al-Bukhārī mentions a Tradition which reports Uhbān’s own story of how he became a Muslim. The chain of transmission of this Tradition, al-Bukhārī maintains, is not sound (*laysa bi-al-qawī*).<sup>175</sup> That is because the chain includes ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Āmir al-Aslamī who is considered weak (*da‘īf*).<sup>176</sup> All of these points demonstrate that, first, the

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<sup>172</sup> See Ibid., 3: 215; al-Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, 2 : 11.

<sup>173</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1: 91.

<sup>174</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 46.

<sup>175</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīyah, n.d.), 2 : 45.

<sup>176</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1: 91.

existence ( or the non-existence) of a Prophetic Tradition cannot be used to decide whether a transmitter was or was not a Companion;<sup>177</sup> and that, second, even if it is found out that the Tradition related by a Companion contains a questionable link in its chain of transmission, this still cannot destroy the credibility of the Companion, nor can it be used to question his status as such.

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<sup>177</sup> Other examples of Companions who did not narrate Traditions are Jibārah ibn Zurārah (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 1: 278) and Abū Jundan al-'Utaqī (*Jahu ṣuḥbah wa-laysa lahu ḥadīth*, see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 4 : 34)



## CHAPTER II

### THE GENESIS OF THE COMPANIONS

#### 1. Definition

Authors who write about the Companions seldom bother to ask themselves who the Companions actually were. Joseph Schacht<sup>1</sup> and Fazlur Rahman<sup>2</sup> are just two examples. In one way or another, especially when they are dealing with the Prophetic Traditions, they speak of the Companions without ever explaining what they mean by this word. In his *Muslim Studies*, Ignaz Goldziher gives a definition of "Companion" which is taken from al-Bukhārī: "He among the Muslimīn who was in the company of the Prophet *or* has seen him, is to be counted among the Companions."<sup>3</sup> But Goldziher quotes al-Bukhārī as an example of how theological motives caused variant readings of texts (in this case, "or (*aw*)" can be read as "and (*wa*)"). Like Schacht and Rahman, Goldziher assumes that the Companions are so famous that no further definition is needed. As will be shown later this kind of thinking is misleading. Defining a Companion is not as easy as one might think.

Etan Kohlberg<sup>4</sup> and Miklos Muranyi<sup>5</sup> are rather exceptional in this regard. They discuss how the term "Companion" is defined by Muslim scholars. This is mainly

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammedan Jurisprudence* (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), 3, 4, 5, 9, 11, 13, 14 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 43, 48, 51, 52, 53 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S. M. Stern and translated from the German by C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern (Chicago: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), 2 : 222.

<sup>4</sup> Etan Kohlberg, "The Attitude of the Imāmī-Shī'īs to the Companions of the Prophet" (Ph. D., University of Oxford, 1971), 2-3, 21-2.

because the main focus of their research is the Companions.<sup>6</sup> Muranyi's discussion of this topic is the more elaborate of the two. He explains how the term was defined and expanded by Muslims over generations. However, he fails to give the context in which the term expanded in meaning, thus leaving its essential definition unclear. It is this point to which we will devote our attention in the first part of this chapter. We will begin by arguing that the meaning of the term "Companion" was closely linked with the emergence of the Prophetic Traditions as the second most important source of Islamic teachings next to the Qur'ān, a process which depended in large part on the efforts of the Traditionists (*ahl al-Ḥadīth*). Next it will be shown that the development of the term "Companion" also owes much to the criticism advanced by the Traditionists' opponents, that is, the Mu'tazilīs. The latter's approach to revelation had led them to minimize the importance of Traditions, partly by reducing the number of Companions through a definition so strict that the number of Companions (and therefore the Traditions they narrated) was seriously reduced. Holding the opposite view, the Traditionists did exactly the converse. Full discussion of how the term "Companion" was developed by the Traditionists is a necessity for two reasons. First, the main sources of this study are the biographical dictionaries written by the Traditionists; thus the inclusion in or the exclusion of a person from the class of Companions in our

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<sup>5</sup> Miklos Muranyi, *Die Prophetengenossen in der frühislamischen Geschichte* (Bonn: Selbstverlag der Orientalischen Seminars der Universität, 1973), 12-21.

<sup>6</sup> Sometimes even though a writer's main concern is the Companions, a definition is not given. One example is Abdulkader I. Tayob, "Islamic Historiography: the Case of al-Ṭabarī's Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa 'l-Mulūk on the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad" (Ph. D., Temple University, 1988). Nowhere does he mention what he means by the term "Companions."

analysis will be heavily influenced by the Traditionists' definition. Second, the emergence of these biographical dictionaries can only be understood if we perceive the context in which the authors of these works worked.

We can start the discussion by viewing the position of the Companions in relation to the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. Needless to say, the Qur'ān is the most important source of all Islamic teachings. But many detailed rulings (*ahkām*) and other religious matters (*umūr al-dīn*) are found not in the Qur'ān but in the Sunnah. The Sunnah is based on the knowledge of those who were involved in its transmission, the most important of whom were the Companions. Hence one's failure to know the Companions is a failure to establish proof (*hujjah*) for one's religious deeds,<sup>7</sup> and it is to be remembered that every action of a Sunnī Muslim must have its reference either in the Qur'ān or in the Sunnah. Hence Muslims who are unaware of the identity of the Companions are condemned. Knowing nothing about them is considered to be willful ignorance and the greatest denial (*ashaddu jahlan wa-a'zamu inkāran*).<sup>8</sup> But those who discredit them are guilty of even worse. Abū Zur'ah al-Rāzī (200-64/815-77)<sup>9</sup> (see below) declares that anyone who disparages one of the Companions is a Zindīq. This is because, according to him, the truth of the Prophet and the Qur'ān was handed down to

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<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah fi Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥābah* ([Cairo]: al-Sha'b, [1970]-1973), 1 : 18.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 : 18.

<sup>9</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fi Asmā' al-Rijāl*, ed. Bashshār Ma'rūf 'Awwād (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1980-92), 19 : 96; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Isābah fi Tamayīz al-Ṣaḥābah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.), 1 : 18; Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah fi 'Ilm al-Riwāyah* (Hyderabad: Idārat Jam'iyat Dā'irat al-Ma'arif al-Islāmīyah, 1938), 68.

mankind by the Companions; therefore, those who contest the authority of the Companions are similar to those who deny the Qur'ān and Sunnah.

Abū Zur'ah's statement quoted above is a good starting point to understand the development of the meaning of the term Companion. The word "Zindīq" emerged for the first time in 125/742 in connection with the execution of Ja'd ibn Dirham.<sup>10</sup> During the Abbasid period, in which Abū Zur'ah lived, this term went from simply designating the followers of Mani to acquiring a wider sense so that it included "not only those who preached heresies deemed to be a threat to the state and to Islam, but also those who exhibited irreverence toward the *Sharī'ah*, and libertarian tendencies."<sup>11</sup> To the Traditionists the Mu'tazilīs were Zanādiqah, since they considered their views as dangerous to Islam.<sup>12</sup> Following Jahm ibn Ṣafwān, who was influenced by the Christian Zanādiqah (*Zanādiqat al-Naṣārā*),<sup>13</sup> the followers of 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd, i.e., the Mu'tazilīs, employed what was regarded as a faulty rational interpretation of the Qur'ān (*ta'awwala al-Qur'ān 'alā ghayr ta'wīlih*) and gave the lie to the Prophetic Traditions.<sup>14</sup> Since the term was also applied to the Mu'tazilīs,<sup>15</sup> then Abū Zur'ah's

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<sup>10</sup> Louis Massignon, "Zindīq," in *EF*.

<sup>11</sup> Mahmood Ibrahim, "Religious Inquisition as Social Policy: The Persecution of the *Zanādiqa* in the Early Abbasid Caliphate," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (1994): 56.

<sup>12</sup> For the Traditionists' reference for this statement see 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Umayrah's introduction in Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Radd 'alā al-Jahmīyah wa al-Zanādiqah*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Umayrah (Riyād: Dār al-Liwā', 1977), 51-2. Thus the interest in attacking the Zindīq was not solely propagated by the state as is claimed by Watt (W. Montgomery Watt, *The Majesty that was Islam* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1974), 111) and Kennedy (Hugh Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate: A Political History* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), 97-8). It was also the concern of Traditionists like Ibn Ḥanbal who wrote a treatise on this subject.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Radd*, 103.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

statements quoted above must be seen in the context of the controversy between the Traditionists and the Mu'tazilīs. For our purposes this means that the development of the meaning of the term Companions may also have been influenced by the bitter debate between these two camps.

Abū Zur'ah's own life and times show that this is not without grounds. He was a great Traditionist, a close associate of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal,<sup>16</sup> and was even considered as Ibn Ḥanbal's successor.<sup>17</sup> This is not an exaggeration since at the time he had already long been recognized as a master of Traditions (the number of Traditions he learnt by heart alone was reputed to be 100,000 or, according to another report, 200,000).<sup>18</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal praised him as the most learned of men (in Traditions),<sup>19</sup> and even prayed for him.<sup>20</sup> Although there is no news that he suffered like Ibn Ḥanbal during the Miḥnah, nevertheless we can assume that he was among its targets. His statement quoted above was one of the Traditionists' responses to the situation.

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<sup>15</sup> Another clear accusation by Traditionists that Mu'tazilīs were Zanādiqah is found in al-Bukhārī, "man qāla inna al-Qur'ān makhluq fa-huwa zindīq" (al-Bukhārī's *Khalq Af'āl al-'Ibād*, ed. Abū Muhammad Sālim ibn Aḥmad al-Salafī and Abū Ḥājir Muḥammad ibn al-Sa'īd al-Ibyānī (Cairo: Maktabat al-Turāth al-Islāmī, n.d.), 9.

<sup>16</sup> Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād aw Madīnat al-Salām* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1931), 10 : 326; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa-al-Ta'dīl* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1953), 5 : 325.

<sup>17</sup> Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 10 : 332.

<sup>18</sup> Abū Zur'ah is reported to have said, "Aḥfazū mi'at al-Ḥadīth kamā yaḥfazū al-nās 'Qul huwa Allāh aḥad'" (al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 19 : 98). In Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī: "mi'atay al-Ḥadīth" (Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 10 : 335).

<sup>19</sup> Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, 10 : 328; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 19 : 93

<sup>20</sup> Al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Jarḥ*, 5 : 325.

The Traditionists' response to the Mu'tazilī challenge was a reflection of their attitude towards revelation *vis-à-vis* reason. The Traditionists believed that revelation is the only source from which all values derive. Everything must be decided by revelation. Reason, on the other hand, has no power to confirm or deny revelation. This is not to say that the Traditionists disregarded reason altogether, for without reason it is impossible for man to deduce values from revelation and to extend its application. However, reason is subordinate to revelation. Its function is strictly limited. Faced with obscurity in revelation, the Traditionists did not turn to reason to interpret scripture but sought its meaning in the Prophetic Traditions. If it proved impossible to find it there, they chose not to discuss the subject.<sup>21</sup> Since Qur'ānic revelation especially is for the most part expressed in general terms, the Prophetic Traditions play a vital role in providing the practical guidelines for day-to-day life. It is in the Prophetic Traditions that clarification of revelation and practical guidance are to be found. The role assigned to Prophetic Tradition meant two things: first, the science of determining their meaning became the most important branch of knowledge of Islam and those who mastered this knowledge the most respected men in society<sup>22</sup> (while those who opposed them were labeled as enemies of Islam);<sup>23</sup> and second, the Companions, as the witnesses and the

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<sup>21</sup> An example of this is the doctrine of *bi-lā kayfa* according to which one should accept the description of God as contained in the Qur'ān and the Prophetic Traditions without comment on how or why. See Binyamin Abrahamov, "The *Bi-lā Kayfa* Doctrine and its Foundation in Islamic Theology," *Arabica* 42 (1995) : 365-79.

<sup>22</sup> "The traditionists are the best of the people (*khayr ahl al-dunyā', khayr al-nās*)," al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī, *Ma'rifat 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Tijārī lil-Ṭibā'ah wa-al-Tawzī' wa-al-Nashr, 1977), 5.

<sup>23</sup> Once Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal was told about the people who characterized the Traditionists as bad (*qawm sū*). To this Ibn Ḥanbal replied: "Zindīq, Zindīq, Zindīq!" al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī, *Ma'rifat*, 4; Fawwāz Aḥmad Zamarlī, *'Aqā'id A'immat al-Salaf* (Lebanon: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1411 H.), 54.

transmitters of prophetic Traditions, came to be considered the most highly respected generation in Islamic history.<sup>24</sup>

Al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820) makes a statement which validates these two points. He considered Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, the acknowledged master of Traditions in his time, as the scale by which a person's commitment to Islam could be measured. Ibn Ḥanbal was virtually a personification of the Sunnah. Thus whoever hates Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Shāfi'ī says, (automatically) hates the Sunnah, while whoever hates the Sunnah makes the Companions the target (of his hate). Targeting the Companions means hating the Prophet, and hating the Prophet is infidelity. By this line of argument al-Shāfi'ī establishes that those who hate Ibn Ḥanbal are infidels (*man abghada Aḥmad fa-huwa kāfir*).<sup>25</sup> The Companions and the Traditionists are hence the two pillars of Islam.

Ranged against these were the Mu'tazilīs who, arm in arm with al-Ma'mūn, attacked Ibn Ḥanbal and other Traditionists through the institution of the Miḥnah. The Traditionists are slandered in writings dating from this period as "the worst of the Muslim Community and the chief of errors," and as "vessels of ignorance, banners of falsehood and the tongue of the Iblīs."<sup>26</sup> The Traditionists for their part conceived this attack as an attack upon Islam, not merely against themselves. The triumph of Ibn

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<sup>24</sup> "The most noble religious knowledge," Ibn Ḥajar says, "is the knowledge concerning the Prophetic Traditions (*ilm al-Ḥadīth al-nabawī*) and the best way to know it is to know the Companions" (Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, 1 : 1).

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Fiqī (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sunnah al-Muḥammadiyah, 1952), 1 : 13.

<sup>26</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa-al-Mulūk*, ed. Nukhbah min al-'Ulamā' al-Ajillā' (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-A'lami li-al-Maṭbū'āt, n.d.), 7 : 196.

Ḥanbal was regarded as the triumph of Islam. Thus Ibn Ḥanbal came to be seen as the second savior of Islam after Abū Bakr, whose contribution during the Riddah wars was pivotal.<sup>27</sup>

The attitude of the Mu'tazilīs towards the Traditions is well-known. They constituted the extreme wing of a faction that rejected the Traditions altogether.<sup>28</sup> Their attitude derived from their general attitude toward values. They maintained that values are independent of anyone's will, including God's, and can be understood by reason alone. The function of revelation is not to assign these values, but to indicate those which had already existed long before revelation, and independently of revelation. This is another way of saying that reason is an equal source, along with revelation, of values. Since revelation and reason are equally sufficient in this respect there was no need, in their mind, to turn to the Traditions. Obscurity in revelation, which according to the Traditionists must be explained by the Traditions, can be clarified by reason. The Mu'tazilīs even tried to show that the Traditions are so full of contradictions that one cannot depend on them as a source for religious doctrine.<sup>29</sup> There was no motivation therefore for the Mu'tazilīs to hold the Companions in the same respect as the Traditionists did.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibn Abī Ya'lá, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, 1 : 13. It is even said that Ibn Ḥanbal is superior to Abū Bakr for, while Abū Bakr had friends and helpers around him, Ibn Ḥanbal was alone; *ibid*, 1 : 17.

<sup>28</sup> Joseph Schacht, *The Origins*, 41, 258-259; Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, 61.

<sup>29</sup> The Mu'tazilīs' criticism of the Prophetic Traditions can be seen in Ibn Qutaybah's *Ta'wīl Mukhtalaf al-Ḥadīth* (n.p.: n.d.). The main aim of Ibn Qutaybah is precisely to show that there are no contradictions whatsoever in the Traditions.



The controversy between the Traditionists and the Mu'tazilīs stimulated the Traditionists to come up with a definition of who exactly was a Companion. As we shall see, opposite views were held on this as well: while the Traditionists extended the definition so that as many people (and consequently, as many Traditions) as possible would be included, the Mu'tazilīs preferred to restrict it. However, since the opposition of the Mu'tazilīs was a later phenomenon—it emerged in the 3rd/9th century—it would be instructive to see how the term “Companion” was defined in the early period, when this phenomenon was absent. In the following pages we will discuss the definition of the Companions as it developed chronologically. This will reveal that the earlier definition was simpler than the later one. Being simple, on the one hand it was inclusive, but on the other hand it failed to foresee the problems that would arise as a result of this simplicity.

Anas ibn Mālīk, the famous Companion who died between 90-3/708-11, provides perhaps the earliest account of who the first generation of Muslims considered to be Companions. Once Mūsā al-Saylānī asked Anas ibn Mālīk whether there were Companions other than himself who were still alive. To this question Anas answered that some Arabs who had seen the Prophet were still alive, but they had not accompanied him (*baqiya nās min al-a'rāb qad ra'awhu, fa-ammā man ṣaḥibahu fa-lā*).<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āṣir; Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1986), 294; al-'Irāqī, *al-Taḥqīd wa-al-Idāh Sharḥ Muqaddimat Ibn al-Ṣalāh*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1981), 299; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rawī fi Sharḥ Taqrīb al-Nawawī*, ed. 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb 'Abd al-Laṭīf (Medina: al-Maṭba'ah al-Islāmīyah, 1959), 398; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā'ith al-Ḥathīth fi Ikhtisār 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), 97-8. Another report gives a slightly different wording, “*Qad baqiya qawm min al-a'rāb, fa-ammā min Aṣḥābīhi fa-anā ākhir man baqiya*,” al-'Irāqī, *Fath al-Mughīth Sharḥ Fath Alfiyat al-Ḥadīth*, ed. Ṣalāh Muḥammad 'Uwaydah (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, n.d.), 4 : 336.

Here Anas makes a distinction between “to see (*ra’ā*)” and “to accompany (*ṣahiba*).” He clearly considered the name Companion to apply only to those who had been with the Prophet for quite a long time.

The implication of Anas’s statement is that he did not consider those who only saw the Prophet to be Companions. Although he knew that there were many who had seen the Prophet, he still referred to himself when he was asked who was the last Companion still alive. Anas was among the six Companions to receive the most Traditions from the Prophet (*aktharuhum ḥadīth* or *al-mukaththirūn min al-Ṣaḥābah ‘an al-Nabī*).<sup>31</sup> He was the Prophet’s servant for the last eight or ten years of the latter’s life.<sup>32</sup> He would surely have known those who had accompanied the Prophet during his lifetime, and as a result he ought to have been aware that he was indeed the last Companion still alive. So there can be no serious objection to his statement.

The Traditionists, however, did not regard Anas as the last Companion. For them this honor was held by Abū al-Ṭufayl (‘Āmir ibn Wāthilah), who died around the year 100/718.<sup>33</sup> Abū al-Ṭufayl himself made a statement to this effect, saying, “I saw the Prophet. There is nobody [who is still alive] on the earth who saw the Prophet except me (*ra’aytu Rasūl Allāh wa-mā ‘alā wajh al-arḍ rajul ra’āhu ghayrī*).”<sup>34</sup> As can be observed, Abū al-Ṭufayl used only the word “to see (*ra’ā*),” not “to accompany

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<sup>31</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 41-3; al-‘Irāqī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 4 : 342-3.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 1 : 151.

<sup>33</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 300; al-‘Irāqī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 4 : 352; al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth Sharḥ Alfīyat al-Ḥadīth li al-‘Irāqī*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ‘Uthmān (Medina: al-Maktabah al-Salafiyyah, n.d.), 3 : 127; al-‘Irāqī, *al-Taḥyīd*, 313.

<sup>34</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 412; also Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 6 : 180.

(*sahiba*),” in describing his relationship with the Prophet. His claim differs therefore from Anas’s. Whereas Anas stated that he was the last man *to accompany* the Prophet, Abū al-Ṭufayl claimed that he was the last man *to see* the Prophet. Based on these statements, Anas did not apparently consider Abū al-Ṭufayl to be a Companion; nor did Abū al-Ṭufayl himself, for that matter. But although they saw themselves differently, both of them seem to have agreed that ‘seeing’ was different from ‘accompanying’ the Prophet. It was the later Traditionists, who included Abū al-Ṭufayl among the Companions, who introduced a looser definition.

Some Traditionists admitted the difficulty and tried to solve it by acknowledging both Anas and Abū al-Ṭufayl as the last Companions. So we read such statements as, “The last Companions to die were Anas ibn Mālik and then Abū al-Ṭufayl ‘Āmir ibn Wāthilah,”<sup>35</sup> or “The last Companion to die was Abū al-Ṭufayl, who died in the year 100, whereas the last Companion to die before him was Anas ibn Mālik.”<sup>36</sup> Whether they mention Anas first or Abū al-Ṭufayl,<sup>37</sup> this does not hide the fact that in the back of their minds they still acknowledged the truth of Anas ibn Mālik’s definition.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā’ith*, 102.

<sup>36</sup> Al-Nawawī, *al-Taqrīb wa al-Taysīr li-Ta’rifat Sunan al-Bashīr al-Nadhīr fī Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh ‘Umar al-Bāwardī (Beirut: Dār al-Jinān, 1986), 83.

<sup>37</sup> Actually there is one other person who, by definition, should be considered as the last Companion. This is the Prophet ‘Īsā (whose specific status will be discussed below). Since he is considered to be a Companion and still alive (it is believed that on the eve of the Last Day he will be sent to kill the Dajjāl), then he must be the final Companion. Although the Traditionists agree on most of these points, they do not as a rule consider him when debating the identity of the last Companion. Ibn al-Labbūdī is an exception. He acknowledges that Abū al-Ṭufayl was the last Companion, but immediately after that he says that the last Companion to die (or will die) is the prophet ‘Īsā, Ibn al-Labbūdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zawāhir fī Ma’rifat al-Awākhir*, ed. Ma’mūn al-Ṣaghari and Muḥammad Adīb al-Jādir (Damascus: Majma’ al-Lughah al-‘Arabīyah, 1995), 73.

Coming to the second generation of the Muslim community (the Companions being the first) we find that its members shared this view. Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab (d. 94/713)<sup>38</sup> is reported to have said that he would not regard anyone as a Companion unless he had stayed with the Prophet one or two years and participated in the Prophet's battles once or twice.<sup>39</sup> 'Āṣim al-Aḥwal (d. 142/759),<sup>40</sup> who was responsible for *ḥisbah* in Kufa and was a *qāḍī* in al-Madā'in for Abū Ja'far, also reserved the name Companion for those who had accompanied the Prophet. Thus he refused to call 'Abd Allāh ibn Sarjis a Companion because he had only seen the Prophet and nothing more.<sup>41</sup>

Anas ibn Mālīk, Abū al-Ṭufayl, Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab and 'Āṣim ibn al-Aḥwāl represent the early Muslim scholars who defined Companions in a very limited way. Since the intensity of association (the length of the Companionship) counted for so much, the number of the people who deserved the title of Companion was also limited. This view may have not created a problem for those of Anas ibn Mālīk's generation, nor even for Abū al-Ṭufayl's, but for the next generation, when the Prophetic Traditions were being compiled and the issue of numbers became more and more important, the limitation created problems. Restricting the number of the Companions determined the number of Traditions which could be accepted (as we shall see below). Those who were

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<sup>38</sup> He was the most respected scholar at his time in Medina. See Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 381.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 293; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-Bārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), 7 : 4; Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, 68-9; al-'Irāqī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 4 : 338; al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 3 : 94

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (Hyderabad: Majlis Dā'irāt al-Ma'ārif al-Nizāmiyah, 1325-7 H.), 5 : 42-3.

<sup>41</sup> Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, 68; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, 7 : 4; idem, *al-Iṣābah*, 2 : 308; al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 3 : 93.

most inconvenienced by this definition were those who engaged in collecting, preserving, and spreading the Sunnah of the Prophet--i.e., the Traditionists.

The Traditionists' concern was to guard the Sunnah of the Prophet as one of the two most important sources of Islamic teachings. Since the most important documentary record of the Sunnah was the body of Prophetic Traditions, guarding the Sunnah meant guarding the Traditions themselves. Those regarded as having the fullest knowledge of Traditions were the Companions who had themselves listened to the Prophet and witnessed his actions with their own eyes. The greater the number of Traditions that needed to be preserved, the wider the definition of Companion that had to be allowed. The view of Anas ibn Mālik clearly did not support this end. Such a view, were it to have become formal, would have applied to only a very limited number of people, for a great number those who had only seen the Prophet would be excluded and the status of their Traditions consequently downgraded from *al-musnad* to *al-mursal*.<sup>42</sup> And since the majority of the Traditionists classified *al-mursal* Traditions as weak, this meant that they could not be used as an authoritative source (*ḥujjah*) of law.<sup>43</sup> This was disturbing, for instance, to Abū Zur'ah al-Rāzī who, in response to the question: "Were not the Traditions of the Prophet only 4000 [in number]?" replied angrily: "Whoever said that, may Allah shake his eyetooth! This is the saying of the

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<sup>42</sup> As is well known, when the chain of transmissions reaches the Companions without a break, the Prophetic Tradition is called *al-musnad*. But when the chain of transmissions only reaches the Followers (*al-Tābi'ūn*) (i.e., the Followers, who did not remember from which Companions they received the Prophetic Traditions), the Tradition is called *al-mursal*.

<sup>43</sup> For a discussions on various views of *al-mursal* as an authoritative source see Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī, *Qawā'id al-Taḥdīth min Funūn Muṣṭalah al-Ḥadīth*, ed. Muḥammad Bahjah al-Bayṭār (Beirut: Dār al-Nafā'is, 1987), 137-46.

Zanādiqah. Whoever counts the Traditions of the Prophet, the Prophet died leaving behind him 114,000 Companions who took *riwāyah* from him and heard from him.”<sup>44</sup> This response is indicative of the resistance that Traditionists felt towards attempts to lower the number of Companions.

It was in order to maintain the soundness of these Traditions as much as possible that the Traditionists worked hard to formulate a definition which fitted this purpose. The definitions put forward by the early generation were revisited. Some words were added and other changed. Expressions were carefully chosen to avoid any possible ambiguity.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) and ‘Alī ibn al-Madīnī (d. 258/871-2),<sup>45</sup> followed by their student Al-Bukhārī (d. 257/870), were among the scholars who expended the greatest effort in revising the early generation’s definition. In doing so, they first of all explicitly included the word “*ra’ā* (to see)” in their formal definition; and second, they discounted the need to have accompanied the Prophet for any length of time as a requirement for the status of Companion by introducing expressions which indicated a shorter period of acquaintance. Hence a Companion is defined by Ibn Ḥanbal: “Whoever *accompanied (ṣahība)* the Prophet within a year or a month or a day

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<sup>44</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 298. Al-‘Irāqī criticizes this report, for it does not have any *isnād* and it is not mentioned in well known historical works. It is only mentioned by Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī in an appendix and without *isnād*. Al-Suyūṭī however is able to produce its *isnād* from al-Khaṭīb (al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-Rāwī*, 406).

<sup>45</sup> Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ja‘far, one of the chief authorities for Prophetic Tradition, died in Sāmarrā. Ibn Nadīm, *The Fihrist of Ibn Nadīm: A Tenth Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, translated by Bayard Dodge (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 2 : 556.

or a short time or only *saw* (*ra'ā*) him is one of his Companions."<sup>46</sup> 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī defines one as "Anybody who accompanied the Prophet or saw him although for (very) short time of the day ..."<sup>47</sup> and al-Bukhārī as "Whoever accompanied the Prophet or saw him while he was a Muslim ...."<sup>48</sup> Unlike his predecessors, i.e., Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Madīnī, al-Bukhārī felt the need to add the qualification "while he was a Muslim (*wa-huwa Muslim*)," so that by his definition the non-believers who accompanied the Prophet or saw him could not be regarded as his Companions. A great defect in his predecessors' definition was thereby corrected.

Although al-Bukhārī's definition, with a slight difference in wording, was then adopted as the Traditionists' formal definition,<sup>49</sup> the Traditionists needed time before realizing that it still had some weaknesses. First of all, it effectively excluded blind Companions like Ibn Umm Maktūm who never 'saw' the Prophet. It also left unclear the status of Companions who had apostasized. Could they still be considered as

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<sup>46</sup> "*Man ṣaḥibahu sanatan aw shahran aw yawman aw sā'atan aw ra'āhu fa-huwa min Aṣḥābiḥ*," Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, 69; al-'Irāqī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, 4 : 335; al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, 3 : 86; Fawwāz Aḥmad Zamnārī, 'Aqā'id, 28.

<sup>47</sup> "*Man ṣaḥiba al-Nabī aw ra'āhu wa-law sā'atan min nahār fa-huwa min aṣḥābiḥ*", Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 7 : 5; al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, 3 : 86.

<sup>48</sup> Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, 69; al-'Irāqī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, 4 : 335; al-Sakhawī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, 3 : 86.

<sup>49</sup> Although this definition found wide acceptance among the Traditionists, different expressions are used. These expressions might describe a degree of acceptance perceived by different writers. Al-Nawawī used "*all* the Traditionists (*sā'ir al-Muḥaddithīn*)," al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa-al-Lughāt* (Damascus: Idārat al-Ṭibā'ah al-Muniriyyah, n.d.), 1 : 14; "*the majority* of our people (means, the Traditionists) (*akthar aṣḥābinā*)," al-Āmidī, *al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, n.d. ), 2 : 130, or ("*al-jumhūr min al-Muḥaddithīn*"), al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, 3 : 86; "*a lot of* the Traditionists (*kathīr min ahl al-Ḥadīth*)," al-'Irāqī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, 4 : 335; or simply "the Traditionists" without giving any expression of quantity, al-Nawawī, *al-Taqrīb*, 21; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb*, 396; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 293. Sometimes other groups are included explicitly. "*A group of* the jurists (*jamā'ah min al-fuqahā*)" and "*the majority of* the *Uṣūliyyūn* (*al-jumhūr min al-Uṣūliyyīn*)" are further examples (al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, 1 : 14; al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, 3 : 86).

Companions? To solve the first problem some later Traditionists introduced a more neutral verb, i.e., “to meet (*laqiya*)” as a substitute for the verb “to accompany (*ṣahiba*)” or “to see (*raʿa*).” By using the word “to meet (*laqiya*)” the Traditionists were able not only to eliminate the problem of the blind Companions, but also to avoid any ambiguity. To solve the second problem, (that is the case of Companions who apostasized) they added the phrase “and died as a Muslim (*wa-māta ʿalā al-Islām*).” The Companions who apostasized and died before returning to Islam are not therefore counted as Companions. So the final definition reads as follows: “Whoever met the Prophet while he was Muslim and died as a Muslim.”<sup>50</sup> To have met the Prophet, to have been Muslim and to have died as a Muslim, were the three minimal requirements of Companionship on which all the Traditionists agreed.

Some riders were added to these requirements. First, since prophecy (*nubūwah*) was the only reason why Muhammad became such an extraordinary figure, it automatically became the determining factor. In other words, to be a Companion one had to have met or seen Muhammad after he became a prophet. Those who had only seen him before that were not considered Companions.<sup>51</sup> Likewise, those who rejected his prophecy after once having been believers would lose the title of Companion. Nevertheless any such apostate who returned to Islam and saw the Prophet before he died could regain the title. One example of this was ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Al-ʿIrāqī says that this is the sound expression (of the definition) (*al-ʿibārah al-sālimah*). Al-ʿIrāqī, *al-Taḡyīd*, 292; *ibid.*, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 4 : 336.

<sup>51</sup> An example is Tabīʿ al-Ḥimyarī. He was a guide (*ḍalīl*) of the Prophet, but he refused to become a Muslim when the Prophet called him. He only became a Muslim in the time of Abū Bakr (Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1 : 189).

<sup>52</sup> Al-ʿIrāqī, *al-Taḡyīd*, 292.



However, the Traditionists disagreed on those who returned to Islam after the Prophet had died. Abū al-Ḥanīfah refused to count such people as Companions, because apostasy, he believed, canceled out all their previous deeds. In general, however,<sup>53</sup> the Traditionists preferred to count them as Companions. The reason for this is provided by al-Shāfi'ī. For him, apostasy could only wipe out their good deeds if they were to die during their apostasy; were they to return to Islam, however, their previous good deeds (achievements, status, etc.) would be restored. Thus al-Ash'ath ibn Qays and Qurrah ibn Hubayrah, who apostasized and returned to Islam after the Prophet died, are counted as Companions and their Prophetic Traditions included in the *masānid*.<sup>53</sup> Another logical consequence of the definition was that Companionship was opened up to anyone who was made the object of Muhammad's mission, which included the Jinns. Like human beings, some of them accepted the Prophet's teaching and became believers (*mu'minūn*), while others did not and remained non-believers (*kāfirūn*). Those in the first category who would have seen the Prophet and listened to him fulfilled the criteria of Companionship as set by the Traditionists.<sup>54</sup> Angels, on the other hand, because they

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<sup>53</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 3 : 92.

<sup>54</sup> Al-Suyūfī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 397; al-'Irāqī, *al-Taqyīd*, 295; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, 7 : 4; al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 3 : 88. Muranyi declares that the theory of inclusion of Jinns among the Companions only gained currency in the year 100 and therefore, he says, it is meaningless for historical analysis. Miklos Muranyi, *Die Prophetengenossen*, 13-4. Muranyi, however, clearly fails to recognize the significance of the inclusion of Jinns in the discussion of Companions. Its meaningfulness lies in the fact that it gives us a better understanding of the historical development of the term Companion. It shows that by formulating a more inclusive definition, on one hand, the Traditionists successfully achieved their purpose of preserving the Prophetic Traditions by including people as many as possible in its definition of Companion; while on the other, they had also to face the consequences of their speculation. By their definition, Jinns could be also Companions and the Traditionists *should* acknowledge them, regardless of whether could contribute to raising the number of the Prophetic Traditions.

were not creatures addressed by the Prophet, were not eligible to be considered his Companions.<sup>55</sup>

Second, a person's meeting with the Prophet had to have occurred in this real world (*'alam al-shahādah*). Those who met the Prophet in the other world (*'alam al-ghayb*), such as al-Rabī' ibn Maḥmūd al-Mārdīnī, a Sufī who met him in a dream,<sup>56</sup> could not be counted as Companions.<sup>57</sup> The same applies to the prophets (or to be precise, their spirits) who met the Prophet in heaven during his *Mi'raj*. The prophet 'Īsá, however, is considered a Companion. The reasons for this are: first, because it was believed that he was still alive and that he saw the Prophet during his *Isra' Mi'raj* (thus the meeting was a real one); and second, although himself a prophet with his own teachings which are in many ways different from Muhammad's, 'Īsá was now bound by the latter's new message. Hence he believed in Muhammad and was counted as one of his followers.<sup>58</sup>

Third, the legal status of those who saw the Prophet was a factor, i.e., whether or not they had reached puberty (*bāligh*) when they met him. During the Prophet's lifetime some of the Companions did produce children. Their parents usually brought them to the Prophet and the Prophet would pray for them, cut their hair and give them

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<sup>55</sup> Al-Qaṣṭallānī however acknowledges that the Angels could be also be defined as his Companions since the Prophet was sent to them also (though he does not give any reference for this statement). Al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād al-Sārī li-Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1990), 5 : 156. Ibn Ḥajar also mentions the disagreement about the status of Angels among the *Uṣūliyyūn* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, 7 : 4).

<sup>56</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1 : 513.

<sup>57</sup> See al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 3 : 88.

<sup>58</sup> Al-'Irāqī, *al-Taqyīd*, 295-6.

their first food, and sometime give them their names. Yet when the Prophet died most of these children had not yet reached puberty. Were they be counted as Companions as well? On this issue the Traditionisits were bitterly divided. Yaḥyá ibn Ma‘īn, Abū Zur‘ah, Abū Ḥātim and Abū Dāwud were of the opinion that those who had not reached legal majority when the Prophet died cannot be considered as Companions.<sup>59</sup> They insisted that these children enjoyed the privilege of “seeing” the Prophet but did not have his “Companionship” (*lahu ru’yah wa-laysat lahu Ṣuḥbah*). Al-‘Alā’ī even denies that they ever truly saw him (*wa-lā Ṣuḥbata lahu wa-lā ru’yata qat‘an*).<sup>60</sup> Al-Wāqidī is also reported as having held this view.<sup>61</sup> The majority of the Traditionists however disagreed. It was too difficult for them to reject the claims of Companions like al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī and his generation, who knew the prophetic era (*‘aṣr al-nubūwah*) and accepted *riwāyah* from the Prophet, but reached legal majority only after his death.<sup>62</sup> Were they not to be counted among the Companions, the Traditions reported by them would have fallen into the category of *al-mursal*. Their position was by and large similar to that of the Followers, although not exactly so. We saw above that the term *al-mursal* refers to those prophetic Traditions whose chains of transmission reached back only to the Followers. But the Traditionists had a special term for prophetic Traditions reported by

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.,292-3

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 293

<sup>61</sup> “[W]a ḥaká al-Qāḍī ‘Iyyād ‘an al-Wāqidī annahu yashtaritu bāligh,” al-Shawkānī, *Irshād al-Fuḥūl ilā Tahqīq al-Ḥaqq min ‘Ilm al-Uṣūl* (Cairo: Muṣṭafá al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Awlāduh, 1937), 70. See footnote 84 for his complete definition.

<sup>62</sup> Al-Shawkānī, *Irshād al-Fuḥūl ilā Tahqīq al-Ḥaqq min ‘Ilm al-Uṣūl* (Cairo: Muṣṭafá al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1937), 70; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī* : 7 : 4; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-Rāwī*, 397. Al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī assigned them to the lowest level of the class of Companions; see his *Ma‘rifat*, 22.

people who had not reached puberty when the Prophet died. This term was *al-mursal al-Sahābī*. Unlike the other *mursal*, this type was not weak and could be used as an authoritative source.<sup>63</sup> Given that the Traditionists insisted that those born in the final years of the Prophet's lifetime deserve the title Companions, it might have been expected that they would include their Traditions in the category of *al-musnad*. That they did not implies that the Traditionists did not see these younger Companions as Companions in the fullest sense of the word.

From the above discussion we can see that, for the Traditionists, membership among the Companions was automatic. It is beyond anybody's control. Whoever met the Prophet, like it or not, had to be included as Companions. Thus men like al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-'Āṣ al-Qurashī al-Umawī, the father of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, whom the Prophet disliked and whom he expelled from Medina, was nonetheless a Companion.<sup>64</sup>

There were other scholars who did not see membership as automatic. For them, to be a Companion meant more than just seeing the Prophet. Within the Traditionists' circle those who held this view were known as the *Uṣūliyyūn*. The Traditionists did not bother to explain clearly who the *Uṣūliyyūn* were, being mainly concerned with their views rather than with their identity. So while these views were widely quoted (in order to be refuted), their names are barely mentioned in the sources. But the way they are presented indicates that they must have been the opponents of the Traditionists whose opinions they fought to reject. The *Uṣūliyyūn* were not scholars whose expertise was

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<sup>63</sup> Al-Qāsimī, *Qawā'id*, 148.

<sup>64</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 1 : 359-60.

*uṣūl al-fiqh* or *uṣūl al-dīn*, because Ibn Ḥāḥib and al-Bāqillānī, two of the scholars who belonged to these two groups respectively, were in line with the Traditionists. The most likely candidates were in fact the adversaries of the Traditionists, i.e., the Mu'tazilīs. We have already noticed that the development of the term Companion has to be seen in the context of the debate between these two camps. 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, and al-Bukhārī, who seem to have been among the first Traditionists to give a formal definition of the Companions, found themselves in an awkward position when the Mu'tazilīs openly attacked the Traditionists with the help of the rulers al-Ma'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq (218-34/833-49).<sup>65</sup> Their definition was an effort aimed at answering this challenge and at defending their position regarding the prophetic Traditions.

The names of the *Uṣūlīyūn* which are occasionally cited by the Traditionists support this assumption, in that they include Ibn al-Ṣibāgh, Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, al-Kiyā' al-Ṭabarī, and 'Amr ibn Yaḥyá. Abū al-Ḥusayn and 'Amr ibn Yaḥyá were Mu'tazilīs; 'Amr ibn Yaḥyá, the Traditionists claimed, was none other than Abū 'Uthmān al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868 in Basra), one of the leading Mu'tazilī scholars<sup>66</sup> and a student of the Mu'tazilī theologian al-Nazzām.<sup>67</sup> Abū al-Ḥusayn was for his part a famous Mu'tazilī scholar, active in Baghdad, who died in 436/1044.<sup>68</sup> Ibn al-Ṣibāgh and

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<sup>65</sup> See I. Goldziher, "Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal," in *SEI*.

<sup>66</sup> His father's name, Yaḥyá, is a misreading of Baḥr. See al-'Irāqī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 4 : 338; al-Sakhāwī gives his father's name as Tajr (al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 3 : 95).

<sup>67</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 2 : 471, 474; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Mu'tazilah*, ed. Susanna Diwald-Wilzer (Beirut: al-Maṭba'ah al-Kathūfīkiyah, 1961), 68, 70.

<sup>68</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, 4 : 271

al-Kiyā' al-Ṭabarī are not known, but it would not be surprising if they were shown to have had some connection with the Mu'tazilis. According to the author of *al-Wādih*<sup>69</sup> the leading figures (*shuyūkh*) of the Mu'tazilis held views similar to those of Abū al-Ḥusayn.<sup>70</sup>

In contrast to the Traditionists, the *Uṣūliyyūn* insisted that the name Companion be given only to those who accompanied the Prophet for a long time, and who often had sessions with him.<sup>71</sup> Thus Ibn al-Ṣibāgh is said to have asserted that the Companions were those who met the Prophet and stayed with him and followed him; those who came to him and departed from him without accompanying and following him therefore did not deserve this title.<sup>72</sup> Abū al-Ḥusayn apparently said more or less the same thing:

To be a Companion, a person must have two qualifications: one is to have had long sessions (*majālis*) with the Prophet, because a person who only saw him, like those who came to him (*al-wāfidiin*) and others, and did not stay long, are not to be named Companions; the other is to have prolonged his stay with him, to have followed him (*al-tab' lahu*), to have taken (Traditions) from him (*al-akhdh 'anhu*), and to have placed himself under his authority (*al-itbā' 'anh*).<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> So far I have not been able to find the author of this book or its full title.

<sup>70</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 3 : 92.

<sup>71</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 393; al-Āmidī, *al-Ihkām*, 130; al-Nawāwī, *al-Taqrīb*, 81-2; idem, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, 1 : 14; al-Shawkānī, *Irshād al-Fuḥūl*, 70; al-Bihārī, *Kitāb Musallam al-Thubūt* ([Cairo]: al-Maṭba'ah al-Ḥusayniyah al-Miṣriyah, 1908), 2 : 120.

<sup>72</sup> Al-'Irāqī, *al-Taqqīd*, 297; al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 3 : 92.

<sup>73</sup> Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, *al-Mu'tamad fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (Damascus: al-Ma'had al-'Ilmī al-Firansī lil-Dirāsāt al-'Arabiyah, 1965), 2 : 666.

The basis of the *Uṣūliyyūn*'s argument was that the meaning of the word *Ṣuḥbah* itself necessitates close association.<sup>74</sup> Hence the phrase *aṣḥāb al-Rasūl* (the people of the Prophet) is similar to *aṣḥāb al-qaryah* (the people of the village), *aṣḥāb al-Kahf wa-al-Raqīm* (the People of the Cave and Inscription), *aṣḥāb al-Jannah* (the people of Paradise) and *aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth* (the people of Traditions), all of which imply a close association. Likewise it is obvious that one who only comes to a person or sees him or does business with him cannot be said to have been a companion of that person.<sup>75</sup>

The Traditionists, however, insisted otherwise. The word *Ṣuḥbah*, they maintained, never originally signified a long-term association. All linguists agreed that the word *Ṣaḥābī* is derived from the word *al-Ṣuḥbah*. This word is applied, without any restriction, to whoever associates himself with others regardless of whether the association is long or not. It is just like other words such as *mukallim* (speaker), *mukḥāṭib* (preacher) and *ḍarīb* (beater) which are derived from *al-mukālahah*, *al-mukḥāṭabah* and *al-ḍarb*, and which are applied to those who perform these acts (i.e., to speak, preach, and beat) regardless of whether they do so once or many times in succession.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 293; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 398.

<sup>75</sup> Al-Āmidī, *al-Iḥkām*, 133-4. See also al-Baṣrī, *al-Mu'tamad*, 2 : 666-7. Compare the *Uṣūliyyūn*'s argument with the Shī'īs'. They share the view that the title "Companion" should only be given to those who were really close to the Prophet. But, whereas the *Uṣūliyyūn* basically open the possibility of being a Companion to every Muslim, the Shī'īs limit this title to the descendants of the Prophet. They divide Companionship into two: the true Companionship (*al-Ṣuḥbah al-ḥaqīqīyah*) and the external Companionship (*al-Ṣuḥbah fi zāhir al-amr*). Unlike the latter, the former is applied only to those who complied fully with the Prophet's commands and prohibitions and followed him in everything that came from him. And this is only applied to the Imāms of his descendants (*al-a'immah min dhurriyatih*). See Ibn Ḥayyūn, *Tarbiyyat al-Mu'minīn* or *Ta'wīl Da'ā'im al-Islām*, Ms., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Ms. 25736, 20 recto.

<sup>76</sup> Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, 69-70; al-'Irāqī, *al-Taḥqīd*, 296-7; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 398

To strengthen their point, supporters of the Traditionist view made a careful distinction between the original meaning (*al-ma'ná al-aṣḥī*) and the customary meaning (*al-ma'ná al-'urfī*) of words. The meaning of *Ṣuḥbah*, as the *Uṣūliyyūn* understood it, fell into the category of customary meaning, that is the meaning customarily used (*fi 'urf al-isti'mā*). In contrast to its customary meaning, the original meaning of *Ṣuḥbah* would be applicable to those who associate themselves with others regardless of whether they do so often or not. The existence of the customary meaning does not negate that of the original meaning; they even argue that one can actually negate the customary meaning without negating the original one.<sup>77</sup> Thus, "the negation of the more specific (i.e., the customary meaning) does not necessitate the negation of the more general (i.e., the original meaning)."<sup>78</sup>

The only trouble was that many within the Traditionists own circle disagreed with this very definition. The view of Anas ibn Mālik and Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab have already been mentioned. Their understanding of what a Companion was reflected the customary meaning of the word *Ṣuḥbah* advocated by the *Uṣūliyyūn*. 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī, Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Bukhārī also seem to have believed that the term *Ṣuḥbah* did not originally include those who had only seen the Prophet. If this is the case, then what the later Traditionists call the customary meaning (*al-ma'ná al-'urfī*) of *Ṣuḥbah* was actually closer in spirit to the meaning assigned by the earliest generation of Traditionists. And yet, how could Traditionists like Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab, whose

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<sup>77</sup> See al-Āmidī, *al-Iḥkām*, 132.

<sup>78</sup> Ibn al-Ḥājjib, *Muntahá al-Wuṣūl wa-al-'Amal fi 'Ilm al-Uṣūl wa-al-Jadal* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1985), 81.



Prophetic Traditions are considered as the soundest of *al-mursal*,<sup>79</sup> be at variance with other Traditionists over so fundamental an issue?

To solve this problem, the Traditionists had to do at least one of two things: either reinterpret the past or negate it; they in fact tried to do both. They reinterpreted Anas ibn Mālik's statement, saying that what Anas meant by the word "*ṣahībah*" (in "*fa-ammā man-ṣahībahu fa-lā*") was a particular kind of *Ṣuḥbah* (*al-Ṣuḥbah al-khāṣṣah*).<sup>80</sup> The views of Abū Zur'ah and Abū Dāwud whose opinions on puberty tended to limit the boundaries of Companionship--and therefore could be seen as sympathetic to the position of the *Uṣūliyyūn*--were also interpreted in the same way. Thus what they meant was that those who had not reached their legal majority when the Prophet died did not enjoy the status of the special Companionship (*Ṣuḥbah khāṣṣah*).<sup>81</sup> They denied that Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab ever made the statement attributed to him, insisting that it must have had its origin among the *Uṣūliyyūn*.<sup>82</sup> They pointed for instance to the fact that its chain of transmission included al-Wāqidi, whose reputation among the Traditionists

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<sup>79</sup> The reason why his Prophetic Traditions enjoy such a high esteem is because he was the son of a Companion (his father among the *Aṣḥāb al-Shajarah* and was present at the *Bay'at al-Riḍwān*) and because he was one of the only two Successors who knew (*adraka*) and heard reports from the ten Companions to whom the Prophet promised Paradise. See al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī, *Ma'rifat*, 25.

<sup>80</sup> Al-'Irāqī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 4 : 338; al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 3 : 93. It seems that the Traditionists often used this approach to interpret any statement coming from other Traditionists that contradicted their view. Thus when Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal was reported to have denied Maslamah ibn Mukhallad's Companionship (*Ṣuḥbah*), Ibn Hajar says that what Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal meant was particular Companionship (*al-Ṣuḥbah al-khāṣṣah*) (Ibn Hajar, *al-Isābah*, 3 : 398). Likewise when Muḥammad ibn 'Awf says that he does not know if Mālik ibn Ḥubayrah had Companionship, it is interpreted by Ibn Hajar to mean, once again, that Muḥammad ibn 'Awf is referring to the particular Companionship (Ibn Hajar, *al-Isābah*, 3 : 337).

<sup>81</sup> Al-'Irāqī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 4 : 338; al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 3 : 95.

<sup>82</sup> Ibn al-Salāh, *Ulūn al-Ḥadīth*, 293.

was not very sound.<sup>83</sup> This claim may be accurate; yet it must be kept in mind that not only did the Traditionists acknowledge that al-Wāqidī's own definition differed from Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab's<sup>84</sup>--so that it is unlikely that he would have tampered with the latter's definition for his own good--but also that, on other occasions, the Traditionists did not hesitate to use information from al-Wāqidī.<sup>85</sup> Sometimes the reason had nothing to do with al-Wāqidī. Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab's view was reckoned weak because it necessitated the exclusion of Companions like Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bajāli who only became a Muslim in the year of the Prophet's death.<sup>86</sup> So the issue was not whether this report truly came from Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab. It was rejected because its content contradicted the formal definition favored by the Traditionists. In this case the Traditionists relied on their definition, which was formulated later, to evaluate Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab's, which was formulated earlier.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Al-'Irāqī, *al-Taḥqīq*, 297; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 398. The full *isnād* of Ibn al-Musayyab's view is given by Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, 68-9.

<sup>84</sup> "Qāla Ibn 'Amr [al-Wāqidī]: ra'aytu ahl al-'ilm yaqūlūna kull man ra'ā Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama wa-qaḍ adraka al-ḥilm wa-aslama wa-'aqala amr al-dīn wa-raḍiyahu fa-huwa 'indana min man ṣaḥība al-Nabī ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama wa-law sā'atan min nahār" (Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, 69).

<sup>85</sup> Reading biographical dictionaries on the Companions, one can see clearly the truth of this statement. The Traditionists' argument for differentiating between historical information and *Ḥadīth* information (to make the point that, while we can accept al-Wāqidī's information on history, we cannot accept his information on *Ḥadīth*) is problematic. How can we decide that al-Wāqidī's information concerning Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab belongs to *Ḥadīth* and therefore should be rejected while his information about other people belongs to history and therefore can be accepted?

<sup>86</sup> Al-Nawawī, *al-Taḥqīq*, 82; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 398-9.

<sup>87</sup> The same thing happens when they nullify al-Wāqidī's requirement of legal majority. Al-Wāqidī's reputation is not questioned. His definition is rejected because it excludes some Companions who are included by virtue of a definition which was formulated later by the Traditionists (see p. 71).

The result was that the Traditionists extended the meaning of the word *Ṣuḥbah* to include those who were with the Prophet for only a very short time, or who had even had no more than a glimpse of him, claiming this extended meaning to be the original meaning. The *Uṣūliyyūn*'s words, as quoted by Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Sam'ānī, express this phenomenon correctly: "The Traditionists assign the name Companion to everyone who narrated from the Prophet a tradition or a word, and they extend (the meaning) so that they also count as Companions those who saw him only one time (*ra'āhu ru'yah*)."<sup>88</sup> The Traditionists for their part reasoned that, because the Prophet was so eminent, anybody who saw him had been specially favored.<sup>89</sup> To have spent with the Prophet even a (very short) time (*sā'atan*) was an accomplishment superior to any other.<sup>90</sup> Thus 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, the most pious Umayyad Caliph, lagged far behind in terms of religious achievement when compared to Mu'āwiyah, who rebelled against a legally appointed Caliph 'Alī. As it was expressed: "One of Mu'āwiyah's days with the Prophet was better than 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz('s lifetime) and his family('s)."<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 293.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā'ith*, 98; al-'Irāqī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 4 : 337. The *Uṣūliyyūn* have a different way of seeing it. To them, the position of Companion is so prestigious that not just anybody can easily achieve it. It must be more than just seeing the Prophet. So the difference is that while the Traditionists make the Prophet the starting point for defining the Companions (because the Prophet is so eminent that everyone who saw him deserves the respected title. i.e., Companion) the *Uṣūliyyūn* give more weight to the high position of the Companions (because the position of the Companions is so eminent).

<sup>90</sup> This is Ibn 'Umar's statement, al-Bayhaqī, *al-I'tiqād wa-al-Hidāyah ilā Sabīl al-Rashād 'alā Madhhab al-Salaf wa-Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth*, ed. Aḥmad 'Iṣām al-Kātib (Beirut: Dār al-Afāq al-Jadīdah, 1981), 323. Ibn Ḥanbal says almost the same; see Fawwāz Aḥmad Zamarly, *'Aqā'id*, 29.

<sup>91</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā'ith*, 98. There are others who refuse to pass judgement on who was superior, Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān or 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. The reason given is that because Mu'āwiyah was a Companion, possessing *'adālah*, the issue cannot even be discussed (Ibn 'Abd al-Barī, *Jāmi' Bayān al-'Ilm wa-Fadlihi wa-mā Yanbaghī fī Riwayātihi wa-Ḥamlihi*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān (Medina: al-Maktabah al-Salafiyah, 1968), 2 : 227). Since however Mu'āwiyah is being compared with 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz who was not a Companion, can the refusal to pass judgement be interpreted as an implicit acknowledgement of the inferiority of Mu'āwiyah?

Turning to the biographical dictionaries, one might expect to find there an elaborate discussion of the definition of the Companions. Indeed, as authors of biographical dictionaries of the Companions, Ibn Sa'd, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar should have decided from the outset what kind of definition to employ. Only a clear definition would have allowed these authors to decide whom to include in their works and whom not. The previous discussion on the development of a definition indicates that the term Companion had been subject to a wide ranging discussion among Muslims. Hence, since Ibn Sa'd was a contemporary of Ibn Ḥanbal, 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī and al-Bukhārī, the three scholars who played a significant role in establishing the Traditionist definition of Companion,<sup>92</sup> we may assume that he would have been aware of what they were proposing and why. Around the 11th century, when Ibn 'Abd al-Barr was composing his dictionary, he must have had many more possible definitions from which to choose. Likewise with Ibn al-Athīr, two centuries later, and Ibn Ḥajar, writing four centuries after Ibn 'Abd al-Barr. This is why it is reasonable to expect that, since they belonged to the Traditionist circle, the definition arrived at by these latter would have found its way into their works. But that is not the case.

Of the four authors referred to above, it is only Ibn Ḥajar who states his working definition clearly at the beginning, as we shall see. Still, neither does he elaborate, as one might expect, on the definitions available to him, nor does he show us how he finally came to choose a particular definition. It is right that he should mention the variety of definitions, but he seems unwilling to show his readers the complexity of the

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<sup>92</sup> See p. 66.

problem. He mentions, for example, the view of Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab, without naming its author. Had we only Ibn Ḥajar's book at our disposal we would never have known that this view belonged to (or was attributed to) Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab. Consequently we would not have known that it presented a problem for the Traditionists, the group to which Ibn Ḥajar belonged. Yet, compared to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and Ibn al-Athīr, he is far more open.

While Ibn Sa'd does not bother to set forth his own definition, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr only discusses in passing what is meant by the term Companion and fails to state clearly what definition he himself adopts. Out of the twenty-five pages of his introduction he devotes only one paragraph, at the very end, to stating his definition indirectly. He mentions, for instance, in hierarchical order, the persons included in his work. First he states that he will not limit himself only to those whose Companionship is sound (*ṣahḥat Ṣuḥbatuhu wa-mujālasatuhu*). Thus he will also include those who had only met (*laqiya*) the Prophet once; those who had only seen (*ra'a*) him; those who had heard from him; those who were born of Muslim parents at the time of the Prophet; and finally, those who believed in the Prophet and gave him *ṣadaqah*, even though they had never met him.<sup>93</sup> What does this tell us of his definition of a Companion? His first statement (that he would not limit his book to only those whose Companionship was sound) implies that had he decided to limit his book, he would have only mentioned those whose Companionship was sound. This implies that Ibn 'Abd al-Barr did not actually regard any of those comprising the last five groups to be a "sound"

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<sup>93</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti'āb*, 1 : 24

Companion.<sup>94</sup> By reverse logic we know that those whose Companionship was sound were the people whose relationship with the Prophet consisted of more than just meeting, seeing, or hearing him, or in being taken to the Prophet when they were born, or in believing in him and giving him *ṣadaqah* without ever into his presence.

Does Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr count those whose Companionship was not sound as Companions? It is well-known that he considered legal majority to be a requirement for this status.<sup>95</sup> In other words, he did not count as Companions those who were born in the time of the Prophet and who were still children when the Prophet died. As‘ad ibn Sahl al-Anṣārī, who was born two years before the Prophet died and whose name was given him by the Prophet, is considered a *Tābi‘ī*.<sup>96</sup> If this is so, then we cannot think that Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr actually counted the last group, i.e., those who believed in the Prophet but never met him (like al-Aswad ibn Yazīd ibn Qays al-Nakha‘ī,<sup>97</sup> Asīd ibn Ṣafwān,<sup>98</sup> and al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays al-Sa‘dī<sup>99</sup>) as Companions. But we might also conclude that he had no objection to acknowledging those who only met the Prophet or saw him as Companions.

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<sup>94</sup> For example, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr refuses to use the verb “*ṣaḥiba*” in connection with ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ma‘mar, who was still a little boy when the Prophet died. He only says that he saw (*ra‘ā*) the Prophet, “*wa-lā yuṭlaqu ‘alā mithlihi annahu ṣaḥiba al-Nabī ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama li-ṣughrihi, wa-lākinn ra‘ābī*” (ibid., 3 : 1013).

<sup>95</sup> Al-‘Irāqī, *al-Taqqīd*, 293.

<sup>96</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 1 : 82.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 1 : 92.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 1 : 97.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 1 : 144.

If Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr does not count as Companions those who were born at the time of the Prophet and those who only believed in him but never met him, why should he even have mentioned them in this book? The motive was theological. He wished to sanctify the space and time in which the Prophet lived. Those who did so and shared the same beliefs as the Prophet did were blessed. He even believed that the Companions who died at the time of the Prophet were more excellent than those who were still alive after the Prophet died.<sup>100</sup> The foundation for this opinion is a Prophetic Tradition: “The best of my community is my time, and then those who came after them and those who came after them.”<sup>101</sup>

However, most surprising is the absence of the phrase “and he died as a Muslim (*wa-māta ‘alā al-Islām*)” from Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s definition. Does this mean that he acknowledges as Companions those who later apostasized? ‘Abd Allāh ibn Khaṭal, Rabī‘ah ibn Umayyah and Muqays ibn Ṣubābah, all of whom apostasized, are not mentioned in his books. This means that he did not consider them to be Companions. But how about those who returned to Islam ? These he does accept, making no distinction between whether they returned to Islam at the time of the Prophet, like al-Ḥārith ibn Suwayd,<sup>102</sup> or after the Prophet died, like al-Ash‘ath ibn Qays.<sup>103</sup>

As far as a definition is concerned, Ibn al-Athīr is more generous than Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr. He makes an effort to introduce to his readers the variety of definitions

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<sup>100</sup> al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ed. Khalīl al-Mays (Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, 1987), 15 : 157.

<sup>101</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 1 : 11-2

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 : 300.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 : 133.

proposed by Muslims. He mentions Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab, al-Wāqidī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and al-Bukhārī. He also discusses the argument of the Traditionists that, based on linguistic analysis, the term Companion should be applied both to those who accompanied the Prophet for a long time and those who did so for only a short time. Al-Ghazālī's definition, which by and large is in line with the Traditionists', is also quoted.<sup>104</sup> Although he does not state clearly which definition he prefers, Ibn al-Athīr nonetheless inclines to that of the Traditionists.

Ibn al-Athīr shows his position by referring to the historical events in which these Companions were involved. According to him, more than twelve thousand Muslims participated in the Battle of Ḥunayn. A great many Muslims came to the Prophet seeking protection for their wives and children. When the Prophet left Mecca it was full of people, and so was Medina. Everyone who went to him was Muslim, and each of them was a Companion. A lot of people also participated in the Battle of Tābūk and the Farewell Pilgrimage, and every one of them was also a Companion.<sup>105</sup> Ibn al-Athīr is making two points by this statement. First, the term Companion is to be applied to all those people who only saw the Prophet, even from a distance (during the Farewell Pilgrimage, for example, when thousands of people gathered, it could hardly be imagined that everybody had a chance to talk to the Prophet or to be close to him). Second, with all these people included, the number of Companions according to his definition is enormous.

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<sup>104</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 1 : 18-9.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 : 28.



Like Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr also refuses to elaborate on whom he would exclude from the definition. The factors of apostasy and puberty are not discussed. But it is nevertheless clear from his writing that he employs the same definitions as Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr. He does not count as Companions those who never saw the Prophet, even if they became Muslims in his lifetime.<sup>106</sup> He clearly dislikes ‘Āṣim ibn al-Aḥwāl’s definition and, quoting Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, tries to undermine its importance by saying explicitly that only a small number of scholars accepted it.<sup>107</sup> Moreover, he disagrees with Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr and other Traditionists who considered Jinns to have been eligible to become Companions.<sup>108</sup>

Another thing which distinguishes Ibn al-Athīr from Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr is that the former often uses historical data to support his identification of a person as a Companion. ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ma‘mar<sup>109</sup> is a case in point. According to Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr,<sup>110</sup> he could not have been a Companion since he was still only a young boy (*ghulām*) when the Prophet died. (It is to be remembered that Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr saw legal majority as a requirement for a person being accepted as Companion.) Ibn al-Athīr, however, includes him--not because he had changed his mind about the bar of the age of majority, but because he had evidence that ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ma‘mar was a mature man when the Prophet died. According to his information, ‘Ubayd Allāh was

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 1 : 119-20; 6 : 288.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 3 : 256.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 4 : 205.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 3 : 531-2.

<sup>110</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1013.

killed in Iṣṭakhār in the year 29/649 at the age of forty. Therefore when the Prophet died he must have been twenty-three (by Ibn al-Athīr's count, twenty-one) years old, making him more than old enough to be called a Companion. Using historical evidence, Ibn al-Athīr is also sometimes able to add new names to the list of Companions or to eliminate others. Thus he includes 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Uthmān ibn Maz'ūn<sup>111</sup> as a Companion on the basis of the fact that his father died in Medina in the year 2/623, while his mother was also there. In other words he must have been more than eight years old when the Prophet died. But he eliminates 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad<sup>112</sup> from the list of Companions because his father was killed at Jamal in the year 36/656, rendering it likely that his father was born only at the end of the Prophet's life. It is unthinkable that 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad could have been old enough, or even born at all, at the time of the Prophet's death.

Ibn Ḥajar provides the fullest definition of all three authors. Unlike Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn Ḥajar elaborates clearly on what he means by Companions. The soundest approach to defining a Companion, he says, is to treat "whoever met the Prophet while he believed in him and died as a Muslim," as such.<sup>113</sup> This was the Traditionists' formal definition as well. Having said this, he immediately records who should be included in and who debarred from this definition. He relies on three key concepts for this purpose: "to meet," "to believe" and "to die as a Muslim." Under the

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<sup>111</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 3 : 473.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 598.

<sup>113</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1 : 10.

heading “to meet” he includes those who had prolonged sessions with the Prophet as well as those who did not, those who narrated from him and those who did not, those who participated in his wars and those who did not, and those who saw the Prophet once and those who did not—like Ibn Umm Maktūm, a blind man. While the heading “to believe” includes everyone who was obligated to observe the precepts of religion (*mukallaḥ*), including human beings and Jinns, it excludes the non-believers who met the Prophet, even in spite of the fact that some of the latter, after the death of the Prophet, became believers. Finally the heading “to die as a Muslim” excludes those who believed in him but then apostasized and died in apostasy like ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jaḥsh, the husband of Umm Ḥabībah, who migrated to Ḥabashah and converted to Christianity before dying there. However, those who returned to Islam before they died, regardless of whether they ever again met with the Prophet, are included.

He rejects the non-Traditionist definitions even when they come from within the circle of the Traditionists themselves. These views he declares to be strange (*shādhah*). He refuses for instance to limit the Companions only to those who fulfilled one of the following requirements: having had prolonged sessions with the Prophet, having learnt his *riwāyah*, having died in his presence, or having reached puberty before the Prophet died. Furthermore, he persists in rejecting as Companions those who saw the dead body of the Prophet, i.e., whose first sight of the Prophet was as a corpse. He likewise criticizes Ibn al-Athīr for denying that Jinns could have been Companions. This claim is groundless, he says.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 1 : 538.

Ibn Ḥajar also offers at the outset some general principles on which he relies when considering whether to include people in the range of Companions. First, only the Companions were ever appointed as leaders of campaigns; second, he acknowledges that every newborn baby was brought to the Prophet so that the latter could pray for him; and third, all the people in Mecca and Taif were Muslims and must have joined the Prophet during the Farewell Pilgrimage.<sup>115</sup> Based on these principles, he includes as Companions whoever was appointed as leader of a campaign, was born at the time of the Prophet, or was known to have been living in Mecca or Taif at the time of the Prophet.

Let us summarize what we have discovered so far. The definition of a Companion emerged out of the Traditionists' need to protect the Prophetic Traditions. The Mu'tazilīs' criticisms helped the Traditionists establish their formal definition either by negating the contradictory definitions put forward by Muslims in the past or by reinterpreting them. The tendency was to move from a limited to a more open-ended definition in order to include as many people as possible. For our own purposes, a more open-ended definition will be adopted: "A Companion is any person who had any personal contact at all with the Prophet while he was a Muslim and who died as a Muslim, regardless of whether that person had reached puberty when the contact

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 1 : 16. But later on in his *Iṣābah* he points out that the first principle is only valid as far as the conquest of Iraq was concerned, "*qaddamtū annahum kanū lā yu'ammārūna fī zaman al-futūḥ illā man kāna Ṣaḥābī, lākinn innamā fa'alū dhālik fī futūḥ al-'Irāq*" (ibid., 3 : 459). He also cites another principle: the appointment of a person to an official position (at the time of 'Umar) could be an indication of his companionship. Thus 'Abd Allāh ibn Khalaf may have been a Companion for he was 'Umar's secretary of the *diwān* of Basra, "*wa-istiktāb 'Umar lahu yu'dhanu bi-anna lahu Ṣaḥbī*" (ibid., 2 : 295). But, Ibn Ḥajar asserts that Ḥibbān ibn Abī Jabalah is a *Tābi'ī* regardless of the fact that 'Umar had sent him to the people of Egypt to teach religion, "*ba'athahu 'Umar ilā ahl Miṣr li-yufaqqihahum*" (ibid., 1 : 372).

occurred or whether he had ever heard anything from him.” Basically this definition is similar to Ibn Ḥajar’s with some minor modification. While Ibn Ḥajar did not consider those whose Traditions were *mursal* as Companions, we always do. Furthermore, while he placed those who had not reached puberty at the death of the Prophet in a separate group—implying that he actually did not fully recognize them as Companions—we treat them as such. By doing so, we are left with a greater statistical base for our analysis of the pattern of tribal distribution and political alignments. But what is more, it helps us to understand the most important principle underlying the Traditionists’ definition of a Companion, i.e., that the Prophet was of such elevated status that whoever was fortunate enough to meet or to see him, regardless of sex or age, came to be highly esteemed by those who were not. Accordingly, any information about the Prophet from these people—including even those who had not yet reached puberty when the Prophet died—was worthy of recording.

## 2. Muslim Views on the Companions

The Companions occupied a very important position in Islam. It was they who lived together with the Prophet. Since the Prophet’s deeds and sayings were controlled by revelation or consisted in revelation itself, it was the Companions who knew best, after the Prophet, what revelation meant and how it was to be applied.<sup>116</sup> This being so,

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<sup>116</sup> In the words of al-Rāzī, “*fa-amma Aṣḥāb Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama fa-hum alladhīn shahidū al-wahy wa-al-tanzīl wa-‘arafū al-tafsīr wa-al-ta’wīl wa-hum al-ladhīn ikhtārahum Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla li-ṣuḥbat Nabīyihī ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama wa-naṣratihī wa-iqānat dīnihī...*,” al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa-al-Ta’dīl* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 1952), 1 : 7. See also al-Bāqillānī, *al-Insāf: fī mā Yajību I’tiqāduhu wa-lā Yajūzu al-Jahl bih*, ed. ‘Imād al-Dīn Aḥmad Ḥaydar (Beirut: ‘Alam al-Kutub, 1986), 107-11.

the Companions then served as the bridge by which Islam was transmitted to succeeding generations.<sup>117</sup> No Muslim can pronounce on Islam without relying on the Companions as his or her primary authorities. The application of revelation in daily life required an extensive knowledge not only of the Prophet's life but also those of the Companions,<sup>118</sup> which provided the context in which revelation was delivered and applied for the first time.

When the Prophet was still alive he was the central figure in his community. Other Muslims would come to the Prophet to seek guidance in solving problems. But this was the only the case when Muslim society was still relatively small. After the spread of Islam the number of believers increased considerably. This meant that the Prophet had to rely even more on his Companions. Some of his political and religious authority was as a result delegated to the Companions. It is recorded that the Prophet often appointed some of the Companions to meet the believers who came to Medina to ask questions concerning religious matters,<sup>119</sup> to lead the army against their enemies and to teach Islam in far-off lands.

After the death of the Prophet the Companions played a much greater role than ever before. All the Prophet's functions, with the exception of receiving revelation, were taken over by them. They became the central figures in Muslim society, exercising full religious and political authority. There are several explanations as to why, after the

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<sup>117</sup> “[L]i-annahum al-wāsiṭah bayna al-Nabī wa-bayna ummahatih” (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 1 : 19).

<sup>118</sup> This statement is clearly made by Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣābah*. 1 : 1.

<sup>119</sup> Ibn Sa’d has a special section on the Companions who gave *fatwās* in the time of the Prophet (Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 2 : 334-50).

Prophet, the Companions enjoyed such a high position in Muslim society. Muslims believed that if the Prophet was the only one on whom God could rely to spread His truth, then he must have been trustworthy. To a degree this special status also applied to the Companions. If the Companions were considered to be the only figures through whom Islam, as revealed to the Prophet, might be made known, then they too must have been trustworthy.<sup>120</sup> Whatever therefore that can be proved to come from them had to be considered true. Al-Awzā'ī even went so far as to say that whatever came from the Companions was knowledge (*'ilm*) and that whatever did not come from them was not.<sup>121</sup> Sa'īd ibn Jubayr said that whatever was not known to those who joined the Battle of Badr is not religion (*dīn*).<sup>122</sup> Finally, al-Shāfi'ī maintains that any *mujtahid* before performing his *ijtihād*, is forbidden to follow blindly the opinions of others (*taqlīd*); nonetheless, he is allowed to follow the Companions'.<sup>123</sup>

Needless to say, not all Muslims viewed the Companions with such high respect. The Sunnī view was clearly different from those of the Mu'tazilī and the Shī'ī. What is more, differences also existed within the members of these groups. Different Sunnī schools like the Ḥanbalīs and Ḥanafīs, or different Shī'ī schools, like the Imāmīs and Zaydīs, for example, had different views on the Companions. Even among the Mu'tazilīs, the Basrans held opinions that differed from those of the Baghdādīs.

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<sup>120</sup> "[F]a-nafā 'anhum al-shakk wa-al-kadhb wa-al-ghalaṭ wa-al-rībah wa-al-ghamz," al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Jarḥ*, 1 : 7

<sup>121</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' Bayān al-'Ilm*, 2 : 36.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 : 37.

<sup>123</sup> Quoted by al-Shātibī, *al-Muwāfaqāt fī Uṣūl al-Sharī'ah*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Darāz, et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, n.d.), 2 : 57.

Kohlberg has made an extensive study of the views of these different Muslim groups concerning the Companions.<sup>124</sup> To avoid repetition, the discussion here will concentrate on the views of the Sunnī Muslims with special reference to the question of *'adālah* (the integrity of the Companions), which is briefly discussed by Kohlberg.<sup>125</sup> There are various reasons for this approach. To begin with, it was within Sunnī circles that the works on the Companions of the Prophet first emerged. Anyone undertaking a quantitative approach to the Companions is obliged to refer to this literature. Before doing so, however, we need to know precisely the Sunnī views (or to be more specific, the views of the Sunnī Traditionists) on the Companions. Second, the question of *'adālah* must itself be addressed. Sunnī authors had to substantiate the *'adālah* of the Companions because it is on this basis that the acceptability of their reports regarding Islamic teachings would be decided. The Fitnah, which saw the involvement of Companions, is closely connected to this issue. Can we still accept the testimony of those who were involved in the Fitnah? The issue of *'adālah* must then be addressed before discussing Fitnah itself.

The majority of Muslims<sup>126</sup> believe that all the Companions were legally just (*'udūl*). This meant that their testimony (on matters related either to *Ḥadīth* or *Fiqh*)

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<sup>124</sup> Besides his dissertation quoted above, see also Etan Kohlberg "Some Imāmī Shi'ī Views on the *Ṣahābah*," *JSAI* 5 (1984) : 143-75, and idem, "Some Zaydī Views on the Companions of the Prophet," *BSOAS* 39 (1976) : 91-8.

<sup>125</sup> Kohlberg, "The Attitude," 22-5.

<sup>126</sup> This majority is described in different ways: "*ahl al-Sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*" (Ibn Kāthir, *al-Bā'ith*, 98), "*salaf al-ummah wa-jamāhūr al-khalaf*" (al-Ghazālī, *al-Muṣtaṣfā fī 'Ilm al-Uṣūl* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1983), 1 : 164), "*al-salaf wa-jumhūr al-khalaf*" (al-Shawkānī, *Irshād al-Fuḥūl*, 69), "*al-jumhūr min al-'immah*" (al-Amidī, *al-Ihkām*, 2 : 128), "*madhhab kāffat al-'ulamā' wa-man ya'taddu bi-qawlihi min al-fuqahā'*" (Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, 64), "*al-ummah*" (Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 295), or simply "*al-akthar*" (Ibn al-Ḥājib, *Muntahā*, 80; al-Bihārī, *Musallam al-Thubūt*, 2 : 119)



must be considered as valid. Questioning their *'adālah* was not allowed.<sup>127</sup> Qur'ānic verses were quoted to support this view, among them 2:143, "Thus have We made of you an *ummah* justly balanced (*ummatan wasaṭan*), that ye might be witnesses over the nations, and the Apostle a witness over yourselves" (*wasāṭan* here means *'udūlan*).<sup>128</sup> Likewise, 3:110 reads, "Ye are the best of people." But how can we be sure that the *mukhāṭab* (the addressee), i.e., the "you," in these verses, refers only to the Companions and not to others? Al-Shāṭibī confirms that the *mukhāṭab* is particular (*'alā al-khuṣūs*), i.e., it specifically refers to particular group of people, the Companions. Those who came after them (the *Tābi'īn* and the *Tābi'ī al-Tābi'īn*) can only be included through *qiyās* and other *dalīl*. Even if the view is accepted that the *mukhāṭab* is general (meaning Muslims in general), al-Shāṭibī continues, it still stands that the Companions were the first generation included in the *mukhāṭab*. It was they and they alone who completely lived up to the attributes expressed in these verses.<sup>129</sup> According to al-Baghdādī,<sup>130</sup> even if the word is general the meaning is still particular. Among the other

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<sup>127</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 294. See also G.H.A. Juynboll, *The Authenticity of the Tradition Literature: Discussion in Modern Egypt* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969), 12-3, and Chapter VI (54-61) on the modern discussion of the subject by Muslims. Juynboll believes that the doctrine of the *'adālah* of the Companions was established at the end of the 3rd/9th century, G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim Traditions: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Ḥadīth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 199, 201.

<sup>128</sup> Al-Āmidī, *al-Iḥkām*, 129; Ibn al-Ḥājjib, *Muntahā al-Wuṣūl*, 80; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 400; al-Shawkānī, *Irshād al-Fuḥūl*, 69; al-Bihārī, *Musallam al-Thubūt*, 2 : 119. Others quote these verse without explaining how they determine that it is the Companions who are being addressed: al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā*, 164; al-Taftāzānī, *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā fī al-Uṣūl li-Ibn al-Ḥājjib* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, 1983), 2 : 67; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, 1 : 15. Investigating "the oldest *tafsīr* works available," Juynboll states that nowhere is it said that the word *wasāṭan* is meant *'adl* as it is understood in *Ḥadīth* transmission (G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 195).

<sup>129</sup> Al-Shāṭibī, *al-Muwāfaqāt*, 55-6.

<sup>130</sup> Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, 64.

verses cited by the Traditionists to strengthen this view, we find 48:18, "Allah was well pleased with the believers when they swore allegiance unto thee beneath the tree, and He knew what was in their hearts, and He sent down peace of reassurance on them, and hath rewarded them with a near victory"; 9:100, "And the first to lead the way, of the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār, and those who follow them in goodness—Allah is well pleased with them, and they well pleased wāth Him"; and finally 59:8, "And (it is) for the poor fugitives [Muhājirīn] who have been driven out from their homes and their belongings, who seek bounty from Allah and help Allah and His messenger. They are the loyal."<sup>131</sup>

However the argument that the *mukhāṭab* refers to the Companions alone does not seem to be favored by the exegetes. Although al-Ṭabarī, al-Bayḍāwī, Ibn Qutaybah, Ibn Kathīr, al-Baghawī, al-Farrā' and al-Samarqandī all confirm that *wasāṭa* means 'udūl, none of them share the view that the attribute of 'adl described in 2:143 belongs exclusively to the Companions.<sup>132</sup> All of the early authorities, among them Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, Mujāhid, Qatādah, Ibn 'Abbās and 'Abd Allāh ibn Kathīr, all of whom are cited by al-Ṭabarī, were of the opinion that the *mukhāṭab* in the verse refers to the *ummah* of the Prophet in general, not the Companions in particular. Even the Prophet

<sup>131</sup> There are some other verses which are usually cited: 56:11, 8:64, 48:29, See *ibid.*, 64; Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 294-5; al-Bayhaqī, *al-I'tiqād*, 317-8; Ibn Abī Zamanayn, *Riyāḍ al-Jannah bi-Takhrīj Uṣūl al-Sunnah*, ed. 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Ḥusayn al-Bukhārī (Medina: Maktabat al-Ghurabā' al-Atharīyah, 1415 H.), 263.

<sup>132</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān 'an Ta'wīl Āy al-Qur'ān*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākīr and Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), 3 : 145; al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa-Asrār al-Ta'wīl*, ed. H.O. Fleischer (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1968), 1 : 88; Ibn Qutaybah, *Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān*, ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaqr ([Cairo]: 'Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1958), 64; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1987), 1 : 196; al-Baghawī, *Ma'ālim al-Tanzīl*, ed. Khālīd 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Akk and Marwān Sawwār (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1986), 1 : 122; al-Farrā', *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*, ed. Aḥmad Yūsuf Najātī and Muḥammad 'Alī al-Najjār (Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, 1955), 1 : 83; Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Baḥr al-'Ulūm*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad Mu'awwid, et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1993), 1 : 164.

himself confirmed this view.<sup>133</sup> The reason why the *ummah* of the Prophet was called *wasf* or *'adl* was because that *ummah* stood in the middle of two extremes: the Christians who exaggerated their belief in Jesus on the one hand, and the Jews who fell short of the ideal because they had changed the book of Allāh, killed their prophets, lied to their God and did not believe in Him, on the other. Possessed of *'adl*, the *ummah* of the Prophet will be appointed by God as a witness on the day of Judgment. At that time the *ummah* of the previous prophets will deny that their prophets ever conveyed God's message to them. To establish that these prophets discharged their task, however, the *ummah* of the Prophet will be called to testify.<sup>134</sup> It is also in this context that verse 3:110, which reads, "Ye are the best of people," is seen by the exegetes. In contrast to what Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ suggests,<sup>135</sup> the exegetes do not at all agree that this verse refers to the Companions. It is true that 'Umar, Ibn 'Abbās and al-Daḥḥāk, for example, are reported to have believed that in this verse God is addressing the Companions--in other words, it is only the Companions who are characterized as the best.<sup>136</sup> But this interpretation is not favored by the exegetes. Al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr, after mentioning the differences in interpretation, clearly state their preference: the verse

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<sup>133</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān*, 3 : 142.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 3 : 151; al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-Tanzīl*, 1 : 89; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 1 : 196-7; al-Farrā', *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*, 1 : 83; Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Baḥr al-'Ulūm*, 1 : 164.

<sup>135</sup> Commenting the verse *kuntum khayra ummah* (3:110), he says that the exegetes agree on that it refers to the Companions (*ittafaqa al-mufasssirūn 'alā annahū wārid fī Aṣḥāb Rasūl Allāh*); see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 294-5.

<sup>136</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān*, 7 : 151-2; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 1 : 399; al-Baghawī, *Ma'ālim al-Tanzīl*, 1 : 341.

refers to the *ummah* of the Prophet. Both al-Baghawī and al-Samarqandī,<sup>137</sup> after mentioning both interpretations, neglect to state their own preferences. Others<sup>138</sup> do not mention at all the possibility that the Companions may have been the ones referred to the verse. These may be thought of as having shared the opinion of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr.

Since the works of the exegetes cited above (i.e., al-Ṭabarī, al-Bayḍawī, al-Baghawī, al-Farrā', al-Samarqandī, Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Qutaybah) were commonly read in Traditionist circles one might wonder why they did not align themselves with the Traditionists' interpretation of the passage. One possible answer is related to the different natures of their respective fields. The Traditionists interpreted these verses in an atmosphere of controversy. They had their opponents, i.e., the Mu'tazilīs, in mind when they were elaborating their views on the Companions. We might even assume that it is mainly to repudiate their opponents' view that they developed this particular doctrine on the Companions. The exegetes on the other hand were not quite as preoccupied with such problems. They did not have the Mu'tazilīs in mind when they were interpreting these verses, and so were not motivated to use these verses as a weapon against their opponents. This argument makes even more sense when we consider that the same scholar could interpret the same verse differently on different occasions depending on his preoccupation at that time. Al-Shawkānī is a case in point. As is well-known, when he was defending the view that the Companions were '*udūl*' he

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<sup>137</sup> Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Baḥr al-'Ulūm*, 1 : 291.

<sup>138</sup> Al-Bayḍawī, *Anwār al-Tanzīl*, 1 : 170; al-Farrā', *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*, 1 : 229.

used verse 3:110 as an argument.<sup>139</sup> But when he was interpreting the same verse in his *Tafsīr*<sup>140</sup> he did not connect this verse with the issue of the ‘*adālah* of the Companions.

Prophetic Traditions are also quoted to support the ‘*adālah* of the Companions. It is inferred from one Tradition in particular that the Companions were the best of the Ummah:<sup>141</sup> “*Khayrukum qarnī thumma al-ladhīn yalūnahum thumma al-ladhīn yalūnahum* (the best of you are those living in my era, and then those who will come after them, and then those will come after them).”<sup>142</sup> Although the Tradition does not use the word “Companions,” the inference that it refers to the generation of the Companions is acceptable. One other oft-quoted tradition states that the Companions were like a celestial compass guiding Muslims on their journey: “*Ashābī ka-al-nujūm bi-ayyihim iqtadaytum ihtadaytum* (My Companions are like the stars; whichever among them that you choose to follow you will be guided).” Despite the fact that this tradition is known to be a forgery,<sup>143</sup> it is still quoted to support the view.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> al-Shawkānī, *Irshād al-Fuḥūl*, 69.

<sup>140</sup> Al-Shawkānī, *Fath al-Qadīr* (Libanon: Dār al-Fikr, 1983), 1 : 371.

<sup>141</sup> Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, 64-5; al-Nawāwī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā’*, 1 : 15; al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustasfā*, 164; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 400; al-Bihārī, *Musallam al-Thubūt*, 2 : 119; al-Bayhaqī, *al-I’tiqād*, 319-20; Ibn Qudāmah, *Tahrīm al-Naẓr fī Kutub Ahl al-Kalām*, ed. George Makdisi (London: Luzac & Company, 1962), 20.

<sup>142</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Cairo: Maktabat ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad Ḥanafī, n.d.), 1 : 8, 9; 3 : 171; 8 : 91, 141-2. Sometimes *khayrukum* is substituted by *khayr al-nās*: al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8 : 91; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi’ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ‘Abd al-Laṭīf (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1983), 5 : 357, or by *khayr ummatī*: al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5 : 2-3; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt (Beirut: Dār al-Jinān: Mu’assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyah, 1988), 2 : 625-6). See also Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo: Dār al-Ma’ārif, 1949) 1 : 204-5, 230-31.

<sup>143</sup> Al-Ṭahāwī, *Kitāb Sharḥ al-Ṭahāwīyah fī al-‘Aqīdah al-Salafiyyah*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn Al al-Shaykh et al. (Mecca: al-Matba‘ah al-Salafiyyah, 1249 H.), 398. Al-Shawkānī also acknowledges that this tradition does not come from the Prophet. But he maintains that the argument is still valid. See al-Shawkānī, *al-Qawl al-Mufīd fī Adillat al-Ijtihād wa-al-Taqlīd*, ed. Shaykh Muḥammad Munīr (Cairo: Idārat al-Tibā‘ah al-Munīriyyah, n.d.), 9-10.

In their efforts to establish the doctrine of the *'adālah* of the Companions, the Traditionists went to disturbing lengths. First of all the relationship between revelation and the context in which it was revealed could not be fully explained. God's message was revealed partly in order to respond to the reality of the first generation of Muslim society, a reality which was by no means perfect. The Companions were also human beings who, by nature, sometimes committed sins and errors. This was the reality that made the revelation meaningful. Had the Companions been free of such defects, the revelation would have been meaningless. The emergence of the *'ilm asbāb al-nuzūl* may be seen as expressing an awareness of the fact that as the objects of revelation, the Companions were fallible human beings in need of guidance. An example is the criticism expressed in the Qur'ān of those Companions who were involved in building the Masjid al-Dīrār.<sup>145</sup> To pretend that all of the Companions were *'udūl* therefore seems to contradict the very purpose of revelation, without which any understanding of the Qur'ānic verses becomes difficult, if not impossible.

Another disturbing aspect in the discussion of the *'adālah* of the Companions was the ambiguity among the Traditionists themselves. The latter were also trapped by

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<sup>144</sup> Ibn al-Hājib, *Muntahā*, 80; al-Taftāzānī, *Hāshiyah*, 2 : 67; al-Shawkānī, *Irshād al-Fuḥūl*, 69; al-Bihārī, *Musallam al-Thubūt*, 2 : 119; al-Shāṭibī, *al-Muwāfaqāt*, 65; Ibn Qudāmah, *Tahrīm al-Naḥr*, 20. There are also other similar traditions with slightly different wordings which are also known to be unsound (see al-Bayhaqī, *al-I'tiqād*, 318-9 and the editor's footnotes). Ibn Ḥayyūn does not question this Tradition, but he sees it differently. According to him this Tradition does not talk about the Companions of the Prophet in general, but only about the Imāms of the Prophet's descendants (*al-a'immah min dhurriyatihī*). Since those who are called Companions by the people—or the masses—(*al-'āmmah*) were in disagreement and killed each other, they cannot be followed. See Ibn Ḥayyūn, *Tarbiyat al-Mu'minīn*, 20 recto.

<sup>145</sup> See Michael Lecker, *Muslim, Jews and Pagans: Studies on Early Islamic Medina* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 74-149.

this contradiction. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, for instance, tries to establish that all the Companions were ‘*udūl*’ and in support of this view, like his fellows, quotes the Qur’ānic verses and the Prophetic traditions. But how, after having established this fact, could he report that Bujayr ibn ‘Abd Allāh,<sup>146</sup> for example, stole a leather bag belonging to the Prophet? On one hand he wanted to establish that the Companions were ‘*udūl*’ so that all Traditions coming from them should be considered as true, yet on the other hand he could not deny the fact that there were some Companions who were of dubious morality. In other words, there is a gap between doctrine and historical reality.

But the most disturbing fact of all is that some of the most important Companions, such as ‘Alī, ‘Ā’ishah, Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr and Mu‘āwiyah, were involved in the Fitnah. This was an event that was devastating for Muslims, resulting in many deaths and in a society that was badly torn apart. How did the Traditionists reconcile the Companions’ involvement in these civil wars with their supposed ‘*adālah*’? How did they explain this apparent contradiction?

There were various approaches taken within Sunnī circles in an effort to cope with this dilemma. The first was to refuse altogether to discuss the involvement of the Companions in the Fitnah. Ibn Ḥanbal stresses that it is part of the Sunnah of the previous generation (*salaf*) to refrain from mentioning this dispute among the Companions,<sup>147</sup> (while others said that it was even compulsory (*wājib*) to do so<sup>148</sup>). Al-

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<sup>146</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 1 : 150.

<sup>147</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal in Fawwāz Aḥmad Zamarlī, ‘*Aqā’id al-Salaf*’, 39, 41. Ibn Ḥanbal refused even to talk about the bad deeds of the generation following the Companions. Once Ibn Ḥanbal was asked whether God cursed Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah (the Umayyad Caliph who ordered the murder of al-Ḥusayn). To this, he answered that he preferred to refrain from discussing it. His reference is the Prophetic tradition, *khayr ummatī qarnī thumma al-ladhīn yalūnahum thumma al-ladhīn yalūnahum*. Yazīd is not a Companion,

Awzā'ī was also among those who held this view.<sup>149</sup> "That was the blood of which God had purified our hands, so we should also purify our tongues of it," says al-Shāfi'ī.<sup>150</sup> Hence the only thing that could be done was respect them, ask their forgiveness, and talk about them in positive terms.<sup>151</sup> Another approach was to minimize, or even to negate, the role of the Companions in the Fitnah. In the case of the murder of 'Uthmān it was said that none of the Companions were involved.<sup>152</sup> Those who were present at the time had tried to stop the rebels, but were overwhelmed by the rebels' superior forces.<sup>153</sup> The Battle of Jamal furthermore occurred despite the best efforts of the Companions to avoid it;<sup>154</sup> it was neither 'Alī's idea, nor Ṭalḥah's, nor al-Zubayr's, but an initiative of the people of Basra.<sup>155</sup> At the Battle of Ṣiffin moreover, less than one

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but he belongs to first *thummah al-ladhīna yalawnahum* in the Prophetic Tradition (Fawwāz Aḥmad Zamarī, *'Aqā'id*, 53).

<sup>148</sup> Abū Ya'lā, *Kitāb al-Mu'tamad fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, ed. Wadī' Zaydān Ḥaddād (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1974), 261.

<sup>149</sup> Ibn Qudāmah, *Taḥrīm al-Nazar*, 23

<sup>150</sup> Al-Ījī, *al-Mawāqif fī 'Ilm al-Kalām* (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, [1983]), 413. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz said about the same thing, "That was the blood from which Allah has purified our swords, so we should not dye our tongues with it" (al-Shawkānī, *Irshād al-Fuḥūl*, 69; see also Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 5 : 394).

<sup>151</sup> Fawwāz Aḥmad Zamarī, *'Aqā'id*, 39, 169; Ibn Qudāmah, *Lam'at al-I'tiqād* (Damascus: Manshūrāt al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1964), 24; al-Ījī, *al-Mawāqif*, 413.

<sup>152</sup> Nizām al-Dīn, *Fawātih Rahamūt*, 2 : 156.

<sup>153</sup> Al-Nawāwī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 7 : 158. In order to free the Companions from any responsibility some maintained that the Companions really did not know that 'Uthmān had been surrounded.

<sup>154</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā'ith*, 98.

<sup>155</sup> This is Hishām al-Fūṭī's opinion. See al-Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār wa-al-Radd 'alā Ibn al-Rawandī al-Mulḥid mā Qaṣada bihi min al-Kadhāb 'alā al-Muslimīn wa-al-Ṭa'n 'alayhim* (Beirut: al-Maṭba'ah al-Kāthūlikīyah, 1957), 50.



hundred Companions were involved on both ‘Alī’s and Mu‘āwiyah’s sides.<sup>156</sup> The third approach was to recognize the involvement of the Companions in the Fitnah while at the same time exempting them from errors by introducing the concept of *ijtihād*. The basis for this argument was the prophetic tradition according to which people who exercise *ijtihād* will always be rewarded. If their *ijtihād* is correct the reward is doubled, but even if it is not, it will not go unrewarded. At the time of the Fitnah however the situation was so unclear that the Companions’ *ijtihād* inevitably contradicted itself. One group of Companions saw that the truth lay with a particular side and so they decided to help that side against the other. Another group of Companions, however, saw things in exactly the opposite way, while the rest, finding themselves unable to make up their minds, withdrew from the two conflicting groups.<sup>157</sup> Because all groups had exercised their *ijtihād*, whatever position each decided to take was valid and it did not affect their ‘*adālah*.<sup>158</sup>

Muslims agree that the result of *ijtihād* is *ẓanni* (relative), which means that it may be either right or wrong. However, in the case of ‘Alī, ‘Ā’ishah, Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr and Mu‘āwiyah, who was to decide who was right and who wrong? The general opinion of the Sunnīs was in favor of ‘Alī. But this did not necessarily lead to full blame being laid on his opponents. Somehow, Sunnī authors tried to protect the reputations of the other Companions as well. Hence they highlighted the fact that ‘Ā’ishah and al-Zubayr,

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<sup>156</sup> Ibn Kāthir, *al-Bā’ith*, 182.

<sup>157</sup> Al-Nawāwī, *Sharḥ*, 158-9.

<sup>158</sup> Al-Suyūfī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 400-401; al-Āmidī, *al-Iḥkām*, 129-30; al-Shawkānī, *Irshād al-Fuḥūl*, 69; al-Taftāzānī, *Hashiyah*, 2 : 67; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā’ith*, 98.

realizing that the result of their *ijtihād* was wrong, withdrew from the battlefield, while Ṭalḥah gave ‘Alī his *bay‘ah* before he died.<sup>159</sup> The reason why Mu‘āwiyah fought ‘Alī was also explained along the same lines: Mu‘āwiyah fought ‘Alī not because he did not accept the Imāmah of ‘Alī and claimed it for himself, but because he held ‘Alī to be responsible for the murder of ‘Uthmān and thought that he was right in this.<sup>160</sup> The language of expression was also carefully chosen. A statement such as “‘Alī was nearer to the truth (*ḥaqq*),”<sup>161</sup> recognizes that Mu‘āwiyah also shared the truth and ‘Alī the fault. But even if the basis of the Companions’ actions could not be discovered by *ijtihād* and, consequently, they deserved no reward for their actions, they would still be forgiven. This was attributed either to their repentance and their early attachment to Islam, or because they had performed a sufficient number of good deeds (*ḥasanāt*) to compensate for their faults.<sup>162</sup>

Other views on the *‘adālah* of the Companions generally fell into one of the following categories: (1) there was no difference between the Companions and the rest of the Muslim Community anywhere or at any time; (2) *‘adālah* can only be applied to

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<sup>159</sup> Nizām al-Dīn, *Fawātih Rahumūt*, 2 : 156.

<sup>160</sup> Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī, *Luma’ al-Adillah fi Qawā’id ‘Aqā’id Ahl al-Sunnah wa-al-Jamā‘ah*, ed. Fawqiyah Ḥusayn Maḥmūd al-Khuḍayrī (Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1987), 129.

<sup>161</sup> “[K]āna ‘Alī wa-aṣḥābuhu aqrab ilā al-ḥaqq min Mu‘āwiyah wa-aṣḥābihi radiya Allāh ‘anhum ajma‘in (Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā‘ith*, 98); “wa-huwa (meaning ‘Alī) *alyan ilā al-ḥaqq*” (Nizām al-Dīn, *Fawātih Rahumūt*, 2 : 156) .

<sup>162</sup> The following Qur’ānic verses are quoted to support the view: 46:16 and 15:47. See Abū Ya‘lá, *al-Mu‘tamad*, 261; Henri Laoust, *La Profession de foi d’Ibn Taymiyya: texte, traduction et commentaire de la Wāsitiyya* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1986), 24 (Arabic text).

those who were close to the Prophet; (3) the *'adālah* of the Companions had to be decided on the basis of their involvement in the Fitnah.

Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Qaṭṭān held the first of these views. He grounded his argument in the fact that some of the Companions committed evil deeds, such as Waḥshī, who killed Ḥamzah, or al-Walīd, who drank wine. He proposed moreover that any Companion who acted contrary to *'adālah* should no longer be considered a Companion.<sup>163</sup> The Traditionists refuted his argument by pointing out rightly that Waḥshī's deeds before Islam could not be used to judge his status, although they could not explain away the fact that the latter, even after accepting Islam, still often drank wine.<sup>164</sup> In the case of al-Walīd they affirmed that evil deeds could not affect his status, basing their argument on his Companionship: the virtue of a Companion is so great that nothing can change it.<sup>165</sup>

Their discussion reveals two different understandings of the nature of Companions. The Traditionists insisted on the fact that being a Companion and being *'ādil* were inseparable concept. The Companions had to have been *'udūl*. Their foundation for this statement was their view of the virtue of Companionship. The *'adālah* of the Companions was not established on the basis of their daily activities, but rather through self-affirmation. The Companions were *'udūl* because they were Companions. Nothing they did could ever alter their status. Al-Qaṭṭān on the other hand

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<sup>163</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 3 : 103-4.

<sup>164</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* 4 : 1565.

<sup>165</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 3 : 104.

argued on the basis of the deeds of the Companions. He held that since the attribute of *'adālah* was intrinsic to being a Companion, those who had lost their *'adālah* would also lose their Companionship. From this point of view, al-Qaṭṭān is more consistent. The Traditionists were ambiguous about affirming the inseparability of *'adālah* from Companionship. If the two were inseparable this would mean that one could not exist without the other. But their affirmation that evil deeds cannot nullify Companionship meant that what was eternal was the title of Companion itself. In other words *'adālah* was not inherent in being Companion. It could be lost, whereas Companionship could not. Behind the consistency of al-Qaṭṭān's argument there is a hint of what it is that the Traditionists feared. If Companionship could vanish because of evil deeds, then the most important factor in deciding *'adālah* was to judge actual deeds. This may have been what al-Qaṭṭān sought to accomplish, i.e., establishing the high position of the Companions by eliminating the evil-doers from their ranks. But the consequence of his statement is obvious: that being a Companion has nothing to do with *'adālah*. The Companions should be treated like other Muslims.

Among those who held the second view were Al-Māziri<sup>166</sup> and al-Māwardī.<sup>167</sup> They explained that *'adālah* did not belong to those who only saw the Prophet or visited him for a short while. The only ones who truly possessed this attribute were those who were closely attached to the Prophet and helped him. This could mean either that al-Māziri and al-Māwardī accepted the Traditionists' definition of the Companions

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<sup>166</sup> Quoted in al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 401.

<sup>167</sup> Al-Shawkānī, *Irshād al-Fuḥūl*, 70.

as whoever met the Prophet and died a Muslim but refused to apply the attribute of *'adālah* to all of the Companions, or that they rejected the definition of the Traditionists and bestowed the attribute of *'adālah* only on those who were closely attached to the Prophet. It would be interesting to know how al-Māziri and al-Māwardi defined the Companions. Based on their statements alone, however, we can see that their position seems to have been closer to the Traditionists. They did not question their Companionship, only their *'adālah*.

But as far as the *'adālah* of the Companions was concerned, what was it that determined the attitude of al-Māziri and al-Māwardi: deeds (as in the case of al-Qaṭṭān) or status (as in the case of the Traditionists)? The fact that they excluded those who only saw the Prophet from possessing the quality of *'adil* does not alone permit us to say that they were on the Traditionists' side. But neither can we range them on al-Qaṭṭān's side, for they acknowledged the automatic *'adālah* of those who were closely attached to the Prophet. They fall in between the two positions. The Traditionists resented this, since, if this view were to be accepted then many Companions, who had never been closely connected to the Prophet, would have to be excluded along with the Prophetic Traditions that they narrated.<sup>168</sup> Hence there was a clear connection between the Traditionists' refusal of any attempt at restricting the definition of the Companions and their determination to preserve the number of the Traditions.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 401.

<sup>169</sup> It is likely that Ibn al-Anbārī separates the issue of morality and the refusal or the acceptance of Traditions out of the willingness to protect the number of Traditions. According to him the concept of *'adālah* has nothing to do with affirming the attribute of *'iṣmah* to the Companions or with allowing *ma'siyah* to them. It is related to the acceptance of their *riwāyah* (see al-Shawkānī, *Irshād al-Fuḥūl*, 70)

The third view was held by the Mu'tazilīs. Basically, they agreed that the involvement of the Companion in the Fitnah affected their Companionship, although as to the extent to which it caused damage the Mu'tazilīs disagreed. The disagreement ranged from a pro-Traditionist to an anti-Traditionist stance. As we noted earlier, the Traditionists admitted in principle that the Fitnah had indeed happened, but they maintained that it did not have any influence on the status of the Companions. One wing of the Mu'tazilīs, however, went further than the Traditionists did in asserting that the Fitnah never happened. This view was attributed to the Hishāmīs, i.e., the followers of Hishām ibn 'Amr al-Fuwaṭī (d. between 227/842 and 232/847).<sup>170</sup> They maintained that, " 'Uthmān was never surrounded and was never assassinated."<sup>171</sup> Of course it would have been naive to deny the historicity of the event, and this is not what Hishām intended to do. It seems that his aim was to underline that the words "surrounded" and "assassinated" were not appropriate to describe the events as they occurred, for they implied passivity on the part of other Companions. " 'Uthmān was never surrounded, certainly not in a twinkling of an eye, because had he been surrounded while the (other) Companions were present, these Companions would have been guilty of sinful actions (*fasaqū*) in not defending 'Uthmān."<sup>172</sup> The motive is clear. He wanted to save the reputation of the Companions. The same motive led him to say that the Battle of Jamal was neither the will of 'Alī, nor that of Ṭalḥah, nor that of al-

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<sup>170</sup> "[F]a-ammā al-fitān wa-al-ḥurūb al-wāqī'ah bayn al-Ṣaḥābah, fa-al-Hishāmīyah ankarū wuqū'ahā" (al-Ījī, *al-Mawāqif*, 413).

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 417.

<sup>172</sup> Al-Khayyāt, *al-Intiṣār*, 50.

Zubayr; it was rather that of their followers.<sup>173</sup> Hishām lived during the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33),<sup>174</sup> during which time the Miḥnah against the Traditionists was being intensively pursued. The similarity of Hishām's views on the Companions to those of the Traditionists is unique. For al-Ma'mūn, who propagated the Mu'tazilī doctrine, he was an obstacle, but for the Traditionists he was a hero. Hishām exercised a great influence both among the *khāṣṣah* (the elite) and the *'āmmah* (the people).<sup>175</sup> The *'āmmah* did not favor the Mu'tazilī cause for, in spite of official support, its adherents were unable to win the sympathy of the people. The *'āmmah* could only mean the people who were under the influence of the Traditionists. The harsh attack launched by the Mu'tazilīs with the help of al-Ma'mūn was reason enough to explain why Hishām, though a Mu'tazilī, was able to win the support of the people. While the Mu'tazilīs must have found it difficult to deal with Hishām, since he was part of their circle, the people were able to appreciate him. His views on the Companions, as well as on others,<sup>176</sup> were not common amongst the Mu'tazilīs. He was an anomaly. Inasmuch as he was both a Mu'tazilī and a favorite of the Traditionist element, Hishām wielded considerable influence. Al-Ma'mun was likely well aware of the threat his position and popularity represented to the established order.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> This is inferred from Ibn al-Murtadā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mu'tazilah*, 61

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> “[W]a-qad tafarrada Hishām bi-masā'il,” ibid.

<sup>177</sup> “[K]āna idhā dakhala 'alā al-Ma'mūn yataḥarraku ḥattā yakāda yaqūmu,” ibid.

This element in his thinking nevertheless showed a Mu'tazilī color. He concluded that the involvement of the Companions in the Fitnah endangered their Companionship. For if in fact they were ever involved in it, they could be accused of being *fāsiqūn*, meaning that they were no longer believers. It was to prevent the Companions from falling into this category that Hishām made an effort to disassociate them from any involvement. The Traditionists, even though they attempted something similar, would never even have considered the possibility of applying the epithet 'unbeliever' to a Companion. To understand this point we have to see the views of the generality of Mu'tazilīs on the Companions and to situate them in the general context of their doctrines.

One of the Mu'tazilīs' main doctrines was that of *al-manzilah bayn al-manzilatayn*. According to this doctrine Muslims who committed great sins were neither believers nor infidels, for the Qur'ānic description of believers and infidels could not be applied to them. Thus their precise position was in between these two categories.<sup>178</sup> This sort of categorization was applied to every Muslim who had committed a great sin, including the Companions. But, when the great Companions came into conflict, it was certainly not always easy to decide which one was wrong and which one right. Thus, what Wāsil and his followers did was admit that one of the conflicting parties must have been wrong and that basically all of them were potentially liable to be blamed. 'Uthmān, 'Alī and Ṭalhah may therefore have been wrong, and very possibly faced eternal damnation as a result.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> See H. S. Nyberg, "al-Mu'tazila," in *SEL*.

<sup>179</sup> Al-Ijī, *al-Mawāqif*, 415.



The other Mu'tazilis did not hold such an intricate position. Instead of admitting the possibility of errors in both parties, they blamed both groups or singled out individuals whom they felt were responsible for all errors. Hence while 'Amr and his followers proclaim that both parties are *fāsiqūn*,<sup>180</sup> others use 'Alī as the determining figure in this issue. Those who fought 'Alī were therefore not *'udūl*.<sup>181</sup> Behind this statement was the conviction that 'Alī was in the right, and that those who had fought him were wrong. The *'adālah* of the Companions here is not decided by their deeds or their virtue but by their closeness to 'Alī.

In spite of these differences, all of the views discussed above ultimately led to the same consequence. The suspension of judgment, as in the case of Wāsil's view, resulted in obscurity regarding the legal status of these Companions. Since it is not known which one was right, we cannot establish with certainty that either of these parties was *'ādil*; therefore the testimony of both parties should be rejected. This is similar to the final judgment of 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd: since both parties were *fāsiqūn* their testimony must have been rejected.<sup>182</sup> The same can be said of those who were against 'Alī. In the eyes of the Traditionists, this was an insult to such an important figure.

In summing up we can say that the question of *'adālah* is important for several reasons. First, it is the basis on which the acceptability of their transmission of Islamic

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Al-'Irāqī, *al-Taḡyīd*, 302; Ibn al-Ḥājjib, *Muntahá*, 80; al-Taftāzānī, *Ḥāshiyah*, 2 : 68; al-Bihārī, *Musallam al-Thubūt*, 2 : 119; al-Shawkānī, *Irshād al-Fuḥūl*, 70; al-'Irāqī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 4 : 342; al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 3 : 104.

<sup>182</sup> Al-Ijī, *al-Mawāqif*, 413.

teaching (especially in the form of the Prophetic Traditions) is established. Second, it has a decided impact on how one defines a Companion. Questioning their *'adālah* was seen as a threat to the status they enjoyed as Companions. In the case of the involvement of the Companions in the Fitnah, the Traditionists tried to explain it in such a way that their positions as Companions were secured, (although their explanations, as we will see in Chapter Four, do not always stand up to historical analysis).

The controversy over the *'adālah* of the Companions certainly had an impact on the writers of biographical dictionaries of the Companions. As was discussed above in Chapter One, these works were authored by Traditionists who were concerned to preserve the Prophetic Traditions. To establish their sound transmission, the Traditionists had to engage in extensive research in order to give the best possible accounts of these Companions, including their relation to the Prophet and their contribution to the Islamic community. However, since this kind of project requires an extensive knowledge of history (familiarity with the events surrounding the Battle of Badr itself, for example, is essential for establishing the number of Companions who participated in it and what each of them contributed to winning it), only Traditionists who were familiar with historical writings were in a position to discharge this task. Ibn Sa'd, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar all fulfilled this requirement. But there was certainly a risk involved in citing such authorities. The historians, such as al-Wāqidī and Ibn al-Kalbī, were not as concerned to protect the *adālah* of the Companions as the Traditionists were. Thus in the hands of these historians the involvement of the Companions in the questionable events of early

Islamic history--the Fitnah being one of them--was often discussed in great detail, revealing behaviour and attitudes that the Traditionists might have preferred to ignore. When the writers of biographical dictionaries consulted the historians' works in order to give a fuller account of a particular Companion, much information detrimental to the *'adālah* of the Companions found its way into their writings. In other words the biographical dictionaries were a means through which the historians' outlook on the Companions entered the Traditionists' circle. The more these dictionaries were read by the students of Traditions, the more widely these historians' views were spread. This was a dilemma for guardians of the Traditions like Ibn al-Ṣalāh.<sup>183</sup> They were well aware of the danger that the biographical dictionaries posed to the elevated reputation that the Traditionists were trying to build for the Companions. Yet on the other hand they could not prohibit their students from using these dictionaries since they were indispensable for studying the Traditions.

This dilemma seems to have confronted the writers of the biographical dictionaries themselves. It has been said that the paradox of maintaining the *'adālah* of the Companions on one hand and the need to present a fuller account on the biography of the Companions on the other created ambiguity. This paradox may help to explain the lack of information on the attitudes of the Companions during the Battle of Ṣiffin in Ibn Sa'd's biographical dictionary. In other words had there not been such a paradox, more names might have appeared in the latter's work.

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<sup>183</sup> See pp. 19-20.

## CHAPTER III

### GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE COMPANIONS

In Chapter Two we discussed the importance of the Companions to the preservation of Prophetic Traditions. Assessing the correctness of these Traditions depended at least partly on the correct identification of the Companions; hence the main task of the Traditionists was to account for the Companions in such a way that information on them could be easily accessed by those wanting to learn the Traditions. In doing so the Traditionists had to overcome many impediments, one of the most difficult of which was the wide range of the Companions' geographical distribution. The latter had, after all, dispersed widely throughout the Empire.<sup>1</sup> Their names and other information concerning them were constantly in danger of disappearance.

If we want to know the settlement patterns of the Companions in the various regions and other details on their lives we are faced with the same problem: the scarcity of information. Thus it is fortunate that some scholars like Ibn Sa'd classified the Companions on the basis of their geographical location. The Companions who lived in Basra, for example, were placed in one group, as were the Companions who lived in Kufa, Syria and so on. But as soon we read his work we find out that his list is so limited that any comprehensive study of the geographical distribution of the Companions would be virtually impossible if based solely on his work. To fill this gap we have to look at other sources. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athir, al-Dhahabi and Ibn

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<sup>1</sup> Al-Hakim Al-Nisaburi, *Ma'rifat 'Ulum al-Hadith* (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Tijari lil-Tiba'ah wa-al-Tawzi' wa-al-Nashr, 1977), 24-5; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* (Beirut: Dar al-Sadir, n.d.), 2 : 371.

Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī did not arrange the entries in their biographical dictionaries according to the Companions’ geographical distribution. Nevertheless, information relating to the whereabouts of individual Companions is sometimes mentioned, although only in passing. When all this information, however, is collected, a rather long list can be produced. Of course the list is far from final, but it may shed more light on the geographical distribution of the Companions.

### 1. Expressions of Geographical Location

First of all it should be pointed out that authors’ statements on the settlements in Iraq, Syria and Egypt varied in terms of precision. In speaking of Iraq, for example, they are often very specific about where these Companions actually resided. Thus they never say “*sakana al-‘Irāq*,” but rather “*sakana al-Baṣrah*” or “*sakana al-Kūfah*,” depending on the city involved. In the case of Syria however these authors are less consistent. Sometimes they use a general statement like “*sakana al-Shām*” and sometimes a more specific one such as “*sakana Ḥims*.” As for the early Muslim settlements in Egypt these authors consistently employ “*Miṣr*.” The cases of Syria and Egypt, therefore, call for some explanation before we can finally decide what these expressions actually refer to. These issues will be discussed below when we come to the subject of settlement. For now it is sufficient to state that whereas in the case of Syria each term will be accepted according to its literal meaning, i.e., “*al-Shām*” as Syria, “*Ḥims*” as Hims and so on, in the case of Egypt “*Miṣr*,” will be identified as Fustat.

How can we know that a particular Companion lived in a particular place? There are a number of words employed in the biographical dictionaries to indicate the geographical location of the Companions. The most important ones are “*nazala*,” “*sakana*,” “*yā nisbah*” and “*ahl*.” Thus the fact that a Companion lived in Basra, for example, might be indicated by the words “*sakana al-Baṣrah*,” “*nazala al-Baṣrah*,” “*al-Baṣrī*” or “*ahl al-Baṣrah*.” Another question that arises is whether each of these words gives any idea of the length of the time that a particular Companion spent in a particular place. To put it differently: did those of whom it is said “*sakana al-Baṣrah*” live longer in Basra than those described by the phrase “*nazala al-Baṣrah*”? Does “*al-Baṣrī*” or “*ahl al-Baṣrah*” indicate that he was a native of Basra, and “*sakana al-Baṣrah*” imply that he was originally from another place and then came to reside in Basra? It is not easy to answer these questions. But analyzing the use of these words in different contexts may yield some clues.

“*Sakana*” is certainly one of clearest statements indicating the close relation between a person and a place. Hence there is no doubt that those who are described as “*sakana al-Baṣrah*” for example, were indeed long-term residents of Basra. To see this point clearer one can compare the use of “*sakana*” and that of “*nazala*.”

“*fa-nazala Abū Mūsá ḥīna'idhin bi-al-Kūfah wa-sakanahā.*”<sup>2</sup>

“*nazala (Zayd ibn Arqam) al-Kūfah wa-sakanahā.*”<sup>3</sup>

“*nazala (Ḍamrah ibn al-Ḥuṣayn) Miṣr fa-sakanahā.*”<sup>4</sup>

“*nazala 'Adī ibn Ḥātim al-Kūfah wa-sakanahā.*”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rifat al-Aṣḥāb* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992), 3 : 980.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 2 : 535.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.), 2 : 203.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 1085.

*“nazala (‘Amr ibn Hurayth) al-Kūfah wa-ibtanā bihā dār wa-sakanahā.”*<sup>6</sup>  
*“nazala Jarīr al-Kūfah wa-sakanahā wa-lahu bihā dār.”*<sup>7</sup>  
*“wa-kāna (‘Uqbah ibn ‘Amr) qad nazala al-Kūfah wa-sakanahā.”*<sup>8</sup>  
*“Kāna ‘Uthmān qad aqta ‘a Sa‘īd arḍ bi-al-Kūfah, fa-nazalahā wa-sakanahā ilā an māta.”*<sup>9</sup>

These kinds of statements all point to one interpretation: namely, that “*sakana*” was used to indicate the permanent attachment of a person to a place. Unlike “*nazala*,” which is used to describe a beginning or an intermediary state (see below), “*sakana*” points to the end of the process. A person first took up residence in (“*nazala*”) a place, then later decided whether he wanted to stay, dwell (“*sakana*”) there or not.

The second expression used to indicate a close geographical attachment is the “*yā’ nisbah*.” “*Shāmī*” for instance indicates a resident of Syria. Of Abū al-Ghādiyāh al-Juhānī it is said “*sakana al-Shām wa-nazala Wāsīt ... yu‘addu fī al-Shāmīyīn*.”<sup>10</sup> Here we find three words used to describe al-Juhānī’s attachment to Syria: “*sakana*,” “*nazala*” and “*yā’ nisbah*.” “*Sakana al-Shām*” and “*al-Shāmīyīn*” here bring the same message that Abū al-Ghādiyāh permanently resided in Syria.

In other places the “*yā’ nisbah*” gives more information, i.e., the place of origin:

*“Abū Rāfi‘ ... Madanī nazala al-Baṣrah.”*<sup>11</sup>  
*“‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ya‘mar ... Makkī sakana al-Kūfah.”*<sup>12</sup>  
*“Qabiṣah ibn Dhu‘ayb ... Madanī nazala al-Shām.”*<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 3 : 1127.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 1 : 238.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 3 : 1075.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 2 : 618.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 4 : 1725.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 4 : 74.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 2 : 417.

*“Abū Ruḥm ... Kūfi nazala al-Shām.”*<sup>14</sup>

These sentences tell us that Abū Rāfi‘, who was originally from Medina, resided in Basra. Likewise ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ya‘mar was originally from Mecca but resided in Kufa. This means that not all the people of Mecca (*“Makkī”*), for example, resided (*“sakanā”* or *“nazalā”*) there. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was a Meccan but resided in Kufa. Al-Jārūd ibn al-Mu‘alli al-‘Abdī resided in Baḥrayn but was still counted as a Basran (*“qad kāna sakana fī al-Baḥrayn wa-lākinnahu yu‘addu fī al-Baḥrīyīn”*).<sup>15</sup> Of Yazīd ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Ḥajar says, *“Baḥrī sakana Miṣr thumma Ifriqiyyah thumma raja‘a ilā al-Baḥrah.”*<sup>16</sup> He was originally from Basra, then he resided in Egypt and then in Africa (Tunisia), before finally returning to Basra.

The same author however can sometime give rather ambiguous information. Of ‘Ubayd ibn Duḥayy, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr says, *“‘Ubayd ibn Duḥayy al-Jahdamī, Baḥrī, sakana al-Baḥrah.”*<sup>17</sup> Since usually only one expression is used to describe the geographical base, i.e., in this case either *“Baḥrī”* or *“sakana al-Baḥrah,”* the use of both expressions for a single person by the same author arouses curiosity. The statement implies that there were people who were Basrans but did not reside in Basra. Thus to avoid any misunderstanding, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr underlines that ‘Ubayd was a Basran and still resided in Basra, not somewhere else. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s information on Ayman ibn

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 3 : 254.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 4 : 72.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 1 : 263.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣṣabah*, 3 : 625.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1016.



Khuraym even explicitly supports the argument that the “*yā’ nisbah*” was used to indicate “*al-aṣl*,” that is the place of origin: “*Huwa Shāmī al-aṣl, nazala al-Kūfah.*”<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, in stating where Yazīd ibn al-Akhnas resided, Ibn al-Athīr says “*qāla Ibn Sa’d sakana al-Kūfah, wa-qāla ghayruhu Shāmī.*”<sup>19</sup> For Ibn al-Athīr to have used “*yā’ nisbah*” opposite “*sakana*” in such a construction, he must have understood that “*yā’ nisbah*” has the same meaning as “*sakana*,” i.e., that both describe the permanent geographical residence.

Having said that, we still have to remember that not all instances of “*yā’ nisbah*” indicate origin. There is a dispute among our authors as to whether Rabī‘ah ibn Rawā’ al-‘Ansī and Rabī‘ah ibn Rawḥ al-‘Ansī are actually one person. Ibn Ḥajar believes that these two names actually refer to the same person. His argument is that there was a *tashhīf* (misreading) of his father’s name (Rawḥ being a misreading of Rawā’ or vice versa). Ibn al-Athīr however argues that the two names refer to two persons. For him, Rabī‘ah ibn Rawā’ is not the same as Rabī‘ah ibn Rawḥ. After seeing the Prophet, Ibn al-Athīr continues, while the former returned to his country, the latter resided in Medina and thus came to be called Madanī.<sup>20</sup> The relevant point for our discussion is that although Rabī‘ah ibn Rawḥ was not originally from Medina, nonetheless he is described in the sources as Madanī. Qays ibn al-Haytham is said to be “*Shāmī*” (a Syrian) and “*Baṣrī*” (a Basran) at the same time.<sup>21</sup> It is of course impossible that both Basra and

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 1 : 129.

<sup>19</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah fī Ma’rifat al-Ṣaḥābah* ([Cairo]: al-Sha’b, [1970]-1973), 5 : 474-5.

<sup>20</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isābah*, 1 : 495.

<sup>21</sup> “*Qays ibn al-Haytham al-Shāmī al-Baṣrī*” (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti‘āb*, 3 : 1302).

Syria here should both refer to the land of his birth. One must be his place of origin, while the other must be the place where he came to settle later on. It is not easy to decide which one is which.

The third expression which functions exactly as “*yā’ nisbati*” is “*ahl*.” Like “*yā’ nisbah*,” “*ahl*” indicates in the first place a close (permanent) relationship between a person and a place, then also points to origin. It is said of Bilāl ibn al-Ḥārith: “*Bilāl ibn al-Ḥārith al-Muzanī min ahl al-Madīnah ... wa-kāna yaskunu warā’ al-Madīnah thumma taḥawwala ilā al-Baṣrah* (Bilāl ibn al-Ḥārith al-Muzanī is a native of Medina ... he used to reside outside of Medina and then he moved to Basra).”<sup>22</sup> Of Mālīk ibn ‘Atāhīyah it is said, “*ma’dūd fī ahl Miṣr min al-Ṣaḥābah wa-fihā suknaḥā* ([Mālīk ibn ‘Atāhīyah] is counted among the native Companions of *Miṣr*<sup>23</sup> and there he resided).”<sup>24</sup> On other occasions “*ahl*” is also used to indicate originality:

“*Abū ‘Aqrab al-Bakrī ... kāna min ahl Makkah thumma sakana al-Baṣrah.*”<sup>25</sup>  
“*Sufyān ibn ‘Abd Allāh .. ma’dūd fī ahl al-Ṭā’if ... yu’addu fī al-Baṣriyyīn.*”<sup>26</sup>  
“*Ribāḥ ibn al-Rabī’ ... yu’addu fī ahl al-Madīnah wa-nazala al-Baṣrah.*”<sup>27</sup>  
“*Sahl ibn Ṣakhr al-Laythī ... yu’addu fī ahl al-Madīnah sakana al-Baṣrah.*”<sup>28</sup>  
“*‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith ... min ahl al-Madīnah wa-sakana al-Baṣrah.*”<sup>29</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1 : 168.

<sup>23</sup> On the meaning of *miṣr*, see pp. 151-2.

<sup>24</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī’āb*, 3 : 1354.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 4 : 136.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī’āb*, 2 : 630.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 : 486; “*min ahl al-Madīnah, nazala al-Baṣrah*” (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 2 : 202)

<sup>28</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 2 : 473.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 201.

Abū ‘Aqrab who was originally from Mecca, Sufyān ibn ‘Abd Allāh who was originally from Ṭā’if, and Ribāh ibn al-Rabī‘, Sahl ibn Ṣakhr and ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith who were originally from Medina, all came to Basra to stay there.

Unlike “*sakana*,” “*yā’ nisbah*” and “*ahl*,” “*nazala*” is used to indicate several different types of geographical attachment. When we were discussing the use of “*sakana*” we noticed that “*nazala*” is employed as an expression indicating a temporary stay. However, Ibn Sa’d uses “*nazala*” in the heading of some sections of his book, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*. For example, the Companions who resided in Kufa are grouped under the heading “*Tasmiyat Man Nazala al-Kūfah min Aṣḥāb Rasūl Allāh*.”<sup>30</sup> Here the verb “*nazala*” is given the same force as “*sakana*,” “*yā’ nisbah*” and “*ahl*.” Nevertheless we read the following of al-Zibirqān ibn Badr: “*kāna yanzilu arḍ Banī Tamīm bi-bādiyat al-Baṣrah, wa-kāna yanzilu al-Baṣrah kathīran*.”<sup>31</sup> The first “*yanzilu*” indicates that the permanent home of al-Zibirqān was in the desert (“*bādiyah*”) outside of Basra, while the second is used only to inform us that he often spent some time in Basra. Had it meant that al-Zibirqān also resided in Basra permanently (so that he had two permanent homes: one in the desert and the other in Basra) the word “*kathīran*” would have not been used here. The description would have been like that made of Tha‘labah ibn al-Ḥakam al-Laythī, “*nazala al-Baṣrah wa-al-Kūfah*,”<sup>32</sup> or that of Abū Faṭimah al-Laythī, “*sakana al-Shām wa-sakana Miṣr ayḍan*,”<sup>33</sup> or that of ‘Umayr ibn al-Aswad al-‘Ansī,

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 6 : 5.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 7 : 37.

<sup>32</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Tajrīd Asmā’ al-Ṣaḥābah*, ed. Ṣāliḥ ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm Sharaf al-Dīn (Bombay: Sharaf al-Dīn al-Kutubī, 1960-70), 1 : 66.

<sup>33</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 4 : 1726.

“*sakana Dārāyyā min Dimashq wa-sakana Hims aydan*,”<sup>34</sup>--all of which indicate explicitly that these people had two fixed residences.

Sometimes we are able to discover how long a person had to spend in a place in order for the term “*nazala*” to be used in reference to it. This is the case with Ibn Hajar’s statement: “*Shurayh ibn al-Ḥārith ... nazala al-Baṣrah sab‘ sinīn*.”<sup>35</sup> Here we learn specifically that Shurayh ibn al-Ḥārith resided seven years in Basra and that his stay could still be described as “*nazala*.” In another instance this kind of information is obtained indirectly. Ibn Sa’d counts Khuzaymah ibn Thābit among the Companions who resided in Kufa. His arrival in Kufa and the time of his death are both recorded. “*Khuzaymah ibn Thābit min al-Anṣār wa-yuknā Abā ‘Umārah, wa-huwa Dhū al-Shahādātayn, wa-qadima al-Kūfah ma‘a ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib fa-lam yazal ma‘ahu ḥattā qutila bi-Ṣiffīn sanat sab‘ wa-thalāthīn, wa-lahu ‘aqib*.”<sup>36</sup> This is all the information that Ibn Sa’d provides for Khuzaymah ibn Thābit. Since Khuzaymah was one of the Anṣār, we can safely assume that he originally resided in Medina before going to Kufa with ‘Alī. ‘Alī left Medina in the year 36/656. He entered Kufa about a month after Jamal, which took place in Jumādā al-Ākhir 36/656. Ṣiffīn on the other hand occurred between Dhū al-Ḥijjah 36/656 and Ṣafar 37/657. If Khuzaymah was killed at the end of the Battle of Siffīn, this would have made his effective residence in Kufa one of only seven or eight months, or perhaps even less since he had already left Kufa for Ṣiffīn before

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<sup>34</sup> Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 3 : 120.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 : 144.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 6 : 51.

Dhū al-Ḥijjah 36/656. For this length of stay, Ibn Sa'd considered the verb *nazala* appropriate.

Thus as far as “*nazala*” is concerned, we can say that it was the most flexible expression available to Ibn Sa'd and others. It covers a wide variety of residential concepts: a short visit, as in the case of Salīmān al-Fārisī, “*fa-kāna idhā nazala al-Shām nazala ‘alā Abī al-Dardā’*”;<sup>37</sup> repeated short visits as in the case of al-Zibirqān ibn Badr above and in that of ‘Umrān ibn al-Ḥuṣayn, “*aslama qadīman ... wa-lam yazal fi bilād qawmihi wa-yanzilu ilā al-Madīnah kathīran ilā an qubūda al-Nabī* (he converted to Islam early ... yet he remained in the land of his tribe and often visited Medina until the Prophet died);”<sup>38</sup> a seven or eight months’ stay as in the case of Khuzaymah ibn Thābit; a seven years’ stay as in the case of Shurayḥ ibn al-Ḥārith; and even an unspecified permanent stay as in the case of those whose geographical status could just as easily have been described by the words “*sakana*,” “*yā’ nisbahī*” and “*ahlī*.”

Another clue to an individual’s geographical base can be found in references to occupations such as those of *wālī* and *qādī*, occupations which led to many people being sent to particular regions. In such cases the length of the stay varied. Shurayḥ ibn Ḥārith held the office of *qādī* in Kufa for fifty-three years.<sup>39</sup> Others held such posts for as little as a year. One of the recommendations in ‘Umar’s testament (*wasīyah*) was not to install someone in an office for longer than one year.<sup>40</sup> This was of course in order to

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<sup>37</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 2 : 637.

<sup>38</sup> Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 7 : 9.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 2 : 144.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 : 352.

prevent people from accumulating power, whether political or economic. But no matter how short a time they resided in a given place, it still gives us clues as to geographical distribution and patterns of alignment. Was a person who held an office in a given place actually identified with that place, so much so that terms such as “*sakana*” or “*ahl*” could be applied to them? Of Sufyān ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Thaqafī, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr says, “*ma‘dūd fī ahl al-Ṭā‘if, lahu Ṣuḥbah wa-simā‘ wa-riwāyah, kāna ‘āmil li-‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ‘alā al-Ṭā‘if, wallāhu ‘alayhā idh ‘azala ‘Uthmān ibn Abī al-‘Āṣ ‘anhā, wa-naqala ‘Uthmān ibn al-‘Āṣ ḥīna‘idhin ilā al-Baḥrayn, yu‘addu fī al-Baṣriyyīn* (he was counted as one of the people of Ṭā‘if, he had Companionship, had heard something (from the Prophet) and narrated (something from the Prophet), he was a governor of ‘Umar in Ṭā‘if, appointed there as the governor when ‘Umar dismissed ‘Uthmān ibn Abī al-‘Āṣ from the post and moved the latter to Baḥrayn, and was counted among the people of Basra).”<sup>41</sup> Here Sufyān ibn ‘Abd Allāh is associated with two places Ṭā‘if (“*ahl al-Ṭā‘if*”) and Basra (“*al-Baṣriyyīn*”). As for Ṭā‘if two terms of description are used: “*ahl*” and “*wallāh*.” From the text itself it is not clear whether he was counted as a man of Ṭā‘if because he was the *wālī* of Ṭā‘if or because he was originally from Ṭā‘if. He might already have resided in Ṭā‘if before he became its *wālī*. This cannot be solved until information comes to light as to where he was born, Ṭā‘if or Basra. Were we able to decide, for example, that Basra was his place of origin, we could then determine that in fact there is a positive relation between being a *wālī* of a place and becoming an inhabitant of that place. Or could we decide that Basra was his

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<sup>41</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 2 : 630.

“hometown” based on the fact that his tribe Thaqīf was one of the major tribes in Basra? (See Table IV).

Some other expressions, though rarely used, indicate different degrees of geographical attachment. When a person is reported to have moved (*tahawwala*, *intaqala*)<sup>42</sup> to a particular place, this new place might be considered as his new permanent residence. The same is true of the word “*min*,” (meaning “part of” or “from”).<sup>43</sup> “*Ikhtatta*” is another expression of geographical attachment. It has been debated whether *khittah* is an expression used to refer to a well-planned city or a chaotic and un-planned city.<sup>44</sup> Without going into the details of this debate, we would point out that *khittah* also indicates the right of a person to a piece of land without involving ownership.<sup>45</sup> At the time of the expansion of Islam this right was given to persons who had participated in the conquest.<sup>46</sup> Hence, the existence of *khittah* dates back to this original construction.<sup>47</sup> It does not follow however that a person who was entitled to a

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<sup>42</sup> Some examples of this are: Ḥaml ibn Mālik, “*tahawwala ilā al-Baṣrah*” (Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 7 : 33); Ma’qil ibn Yasār, “*tahawwala ilā al-Baṣrah*” (ibid., 7 : 14); Thābit ibn al-Daḥḥāk, “*intaqala ilā al-Baṣrah*” (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 1 : 205; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1 : 271).

<sup>43</sup> For example, Maysarah al-Fajr, who is described as “*min a’rāb al-Baṣrah*” (al-Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, 2 : 99).

<sup>44</sup> For this discussion see Jamel Akbar, “*Khattā and the Territorial Structure of Early Muslim Towns*,” in *Muqarnas*, 6 (1989): 22-32, and the works cited there.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 23.

<sup>46</sup> That there was a relation between the conquest and the distribution of *khittahs* can be seen in the following examples. Ka’b ibn ‘Adī: “*shahida fath Miṣr wa-ikhtatta bihā*” (Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 3 : 283), ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Udays: “*shahida fath Miṣr wa-lahṭa bihā khittah*” (ibid., 2 : 336), Busr ibn Arṭāh: “*shahida fath Miṣr wa-ikhtatta bihā*” (ibid., 1 : 152), Buḥūr ibn Dubu’: “*shahida fath Miṣr wa-ikhtatta bihā*” (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 1 : 189). However this was not always the rule. Sometimes a *khittah* could be bought, as in the case of Yazīd ibn Asad who bought a *khittah* in Kufa (Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 7 : 428).

<sup>47</sup> A.R. Guest, “The Foundation of Fustat and the Khittahs of that Town,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (January, 1907), 57.

*khittah* in a place necessarily resided there,<sup>48</sup> or even had a home there.<sup>49</sup> Likewise the expression “*aqṭa‘a*.” Having an *iqṭā‘* in a place did not necessarily mean that a certain person resided in that place. Furāt ibn Ḥayyān had an *iqṭā‘* in Bahrayn, but resided in Kufa.<sup>50</sup>

So far we have discussed the expressions which positively relate a person to a particular place. It would also be useful to know what expressions tend to indicate geographical attachment but which in fact do not, or do not always do so. One example is the expression “*lahu dār* (he has a house).” Having a house in a particular place does not always indicate that the owner of the house stayed there. So although Shaqrān had a house in Basra, he resided (*sakana*) in Medina.<sup>51</sup> Zinbāgh ibn Salāmah, although he had a home in Damascus, was nonetheless counted as a Palestinian.<sup>52</sup> Also the place of death cannot be used as an indication of domicile. Those who died or were buried in Basra cannot be said to have lived there. (We do not include people like al-Ḥārith ibn

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<sup>48</sup> Or vice versa: those who stayed in a place did not necessarily have a *khittah* there. Abū Muslim al-Ṣadafī resided in Egypt but he did not possess a *khittah* in that region (Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isābah*, 1 : 217).

<sup>49</sup> Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihri had a *khittah* in Egypt, but did not build anything except a fence around it. He left for Syria and died there. Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akḥbārūhā*, ed. Charles C. Torrey (New Haven: Yale University Press, n.d.), 135.

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isābah*, 3 : 195.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 : 150.

<sup>52</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isābah*, 1 : 533. Thawbān ibn Bujdud had three houses—one in Egypt, one in Hims and one in Ramallah—but the house where he lived permanently was the one located in Ramallah (Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 1 : 296).



Mukhāshin in the list for Basra for this reason).<sup>53</sup> Ka‘b ibn ‘Ujrah died in Medina, but he did not stay there. He resided in Kufa.<sup>54</sup>

One might imagine that there would be a relationship between the place where a person’s Traditions circulated and the place where he lived. Those whose Traditions circulated in Syria, for example, must have lived in Syria too. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s account of Abū Salmá seems to support this idea. According to him, Abū Salmá was Syrian because his Traditions were Syrian, “*yu‘addu Abū Salmá fī al-Shāmīyīn li-anna hadīthahu Shāmī.*”<sup>55</sup> But this was not the case, or at least not an indication that we can rely on. According to Ibn al-Athīr, both Ibn Mandah and Abū Nu‘aym committed this kind of mistake exactly because they thought that there was a relationship between the place where a Tradition was circulated and the place where the Companion lived. Ibn Mandah and Abū Nu‘aym reported a Tradition from Ḥawshab containing the Prophet’s pronouncement about the dead body of a boy. Learning that the Tradition of Ḥawshab had been brought from Egypt, they thought that Ḥawshab himself must have been an Egyptian (*Miṣrī*), and based on this, they decided that this Ḥawshab must have been different from Ḥawshab Dhū Zulaym, who was a Syrian (*Shāmī*). Ibn al-Athīr demurred. He said that the boy had died in Hims. Ḥawshab, who witnessed the dead body, must also have been in Hims too. Ibn Mandah and Abū Nu‘aym should not have thought that there was another Ḥawshab who was an Egyptian.<sup>56</sup> For a similar reason Ibn Ḥajar could

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<sup>53</sup> “*Al-Ḥārith ibn Mukhāshin min al-Muhājirīn, qubruhu bi-al-Baṣrah,*” Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 1 : 290; al-Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, 1 : 108.

<sup>54</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1321.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 : 1673.

<sup>56</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 2 : 70.

not establish firmly that ‘Arūs ibn ‘Amīr resided in Syria merely on the basis of information that his Traditions had circulated in Syria.<sup>57</sup>

In the third part of this chapter we will analyze not only tribal alignment but also how various expressions were used to describe the connection of the Companions to three centers of geographical distribution, i.e., Iraq (Kufa and Basra), Syria (including Damascus, Palestine and Hims) and Egypt. The purpose is to see the pattern of distribution of the Companions, and to reveal the degree of connection of the Companions to these places. The tribal alignment of the Companions also allows us to see the heterogeneity of these Companions in certain regions. Which tribes were dominant in a particular place and why? And later, in Chapter Four, the question becomes: Who was supported by the dominant tribes in a place like Kufa or Syria—‘Alī or Mu‘āwiyah? And why?

## 2. Motives for Settlement.

At least nine principal motives can be detected behind the settlement of Companions in different regions. First, the call for Hijrah; second, Jihad; third, socio-economic reasons; fourth, social status; fifth, official appointment; sixth, the death of important figures; seventh, family; eighth, politics; and ninth, expulsion. While the first four are very important the last five are auxiliary.

First, let us consider the importance of the call for Hijrah. To understand the major impetus behind the spread of the Companions and their settlement in different

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<sup>57</sup> “[K]a-annahu nazala al-Shām fa-inna ḥadīthahu ‘inda ahlihā,” Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 2 : 467.

places we might start by looking at how Islam emerged in seventh century Arabia. The hostility that met the first appearance of Islam gave the Prophet and the Companions no other choice but to migrate. Their loyalty to the Prophet meant a change in fortune. They found themselves hated and resented by their friends and families. The treatment was so bad that they were forced to leave Mecca and to migrate to Ḥabashah, Ṭā'if and finally Medina. Hence migration--designated by the term Hijrah--was an important part of Islamic history.

There are at least three reasons why the Prophet encouraged the new converts to emigrate to and settle in Medina. First of all their safety was often in jeopardy. To become a Muslim was to break with the whole system on which pre-Islamic society was built and it created enmity between them and their own tribes and families. Medina represented a safe haven. Second, as new converts of a religion, which was being revealed, their presence in Medina was a necessity if they wanted to keep learning and practicing Islam in their daily life. The final reason why the Prophet encouraged his new followers to migrate to Medina was related to his long-term plans. The future of his religion would lie in his success at building a strong and compact society on which all his mission would rely. This aim could hardly have been realized with his new followers scattered all over the place. The call of the Prophet to migrate was heard by his followers. A great number of new Muslims came to Medina either individually or in groups. Thus we are told that the whole of the Banū 'Adī tribe, seventy men in all (*"wahuḥum sab'ūn rajulan"*), moved from Mecca to Medina, so that "nobody was left in Mecca."<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 1 : 294; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 1 : 408.

The call of the Prophet to new converts to migrate was so strong that at one time being Muslim and being a Muhājir (a migrant) were virtually the same thing. To be a Muslim meant to perform Hijrah. The Prophet himself explicitly says this. When al-Ḥabbāb ibn ‘Abd al-Fazārī asked the Prophet what his command was (“*Mā ta’murun?*”), the Prophet said, “Be a Muslim and migrate! (*Tuslim thumma tuhājir*).”<sup>59</sup> This statement had been interpreted to mean that those who did not migrate could not be counted as Muslims (“*lā Islāma li-man lā Hijrata lahu*”), and therefore must perish (“*man lam yuhājir halaka*”).<sup>60</sup> It is precisely this kind of thought that caused deep worries for those who chose not to migrate after becoming Muslim. The problem must have been widespread enough to induce some of the new converts like Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah al-Qurashī and Fudayk al-Zubaydī to go to the Prophet to verify their position. To Ṣafwān the Prophet said that there was no Hijrah after the conquest of Mecca (“*lā Hijrata ba’d al-Fath*”), while to Fudayk he said, “Pray, pay the Zakāh, migrate from the bad things, and stay in the land of your tribe as you wish (*aqim al-ṣalāh wa-āti al-zakāh wa-uhjur al-sū’ wa-uskun min ard qawmik haythu shi’ta*).”<sup>61</sup> What this tells us is that, first of all, the Prophet’s command to perform Hijrah elapsed after the Conquest of Mecca; and second, from this time onwards Hijrah acquired a new meaning.

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<sup>59</sup> Ibn Hajar, *al-Isābah*, 1 : 301.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 2 : 720.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*; 3 : 1268.

Since the prohibition of Hijrah was declared at the time of the Conquest of Mecca, we can consider it a reaction to a sudden explosion of enthusiasm among Meccans. It was said earlier that the wish of the Prophet to build a strong community necessitated a large number of people who could be at his disposal at any time he needed. Shortly before the Conquest of Mecca this target must have been achieved. His success in conquering Mecca without a battle would have been unthinkable had the Quraysh not been faced with a force too large to resist. In other words, the Prophet had been able to gather in his hands so much manpower that the Meccans did not even dare to challenge him. This meant that his previous command to migrate to Medina became irrelevant.

Thus, a sudden migration in great numbers was not only no longer necessary but would have in fact created social imbalance both in Medina and in Mecca. Qurashī parents even complained to the Prophet because their youngsters wanted to perform Hijrah to Medina when they did not want them to leave. This was quite a dilemma for the Prophet. On the one hand he could not simply suppress the youngsters' enthusiasm for Hijrah, but on the other hand he also understood what these youngsters meant, both economically and emotionally, to their parents. The solution was an extension of the meaning of Hijrah. "No Hijrah after the Conquest (of Mecca), now it becomes Jihad and *nīyah* (*Lā hijrata ba'd al-fath wa-innamā huwa al-jihād wa-al-nīyah*)."<sup>62</sup> *Nīyah* (intention) was henceforth regarded as equivalent to Hijrah, and so was Jihad. This psychological way out of a sudden emotional explosion does not seem to have

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<sup>62</sup> Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 3 : 183.

invalidated the whole idea of Hijrah. That is to say, in normal circumstances Hijrah continued to go on in spite of official opinion. 'Ikrimah ibn Abī Jahl ran away to Yemen when the Conquest of Mecca occurred, but later he came to the Prophet with his wife seeking to become a Muslim, and the Prophet addressed him as Muhājir.<sup>63</sup> Thus while the original Hijrah was maintained, its meaning was extended.

The inclusion of Jihad in Hijrah opens the vast subject area of the destination of emigration. The original destination was certainly Medina. When Hijrah after the Conquest of Mecca became a major issue and was thought to be an integral part of being Muslim, some Anṣār came to the Prophet to make him a pledge to perform the rite. Of course the Prophet refused. "You Anṣār do not [have to] go anywhere to perform Hijrah; in fact, others come to you in performing Hijrah."<sup>64</sup> With the emergence of a new meaning of Hijrah, however, which included the obligation to perform Jihad, there was no longer any reason for the Anṣār not to pursue either duty. Frontier states like Syria and garrison cities such as Basra and Kufa became the preferred destinations. Abū Shurayḥ al-Khuẓā'ī, a Companion, had moved from Medina to Kufa in order to be closer to the campaigns ("*li-yadnu min al-ghazw*").<sup>65</sup>

Second, there was the motivation of Jihad. Coupled with Hijrah, Jihad was the second major drive behind the geographical distribution of the Companions. According to early authorities like Mujāhid, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Ibn 'Abbās, 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, Zayd

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<sup>63</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 1082

<sup>64</sup> Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1 : 278; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 1 : 393; 2 : 73.

<sup>65</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ummah wa-al-Mulūk*, ed. Nukhbah min al-'Ulamā' al-Ajillā' (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-'Alamī lil-Maṭbū'āt, n.d.), 3 : 326.

ibn Aslam, Muqātil ibn Ḥayyān and Qatādah, the first Qur'ānic verse allowing Muslims to undertake Jihad is 22:39<sup>66</sup>: "Sanction is given unto those who fight because they have been wronged; and Allah is indeed able to give them victory." Although this verse could be interpreted as referring to the universal right of people to resist oppression, no matter when and where, the revelation of this verse was tied to the banishment of the Prophet and his Companions.<sup>67</sup> The ill treatment by the Quraysh of the Prophet and his Companions had been going on since the first call of the Prophet. But God's permission to fight was only given after they had migrated to Medina. The reason is understandable. It might have spelled disaster if the Muslims, who were at that time still weak, had been encouraged to fight back. So the moral of this verse is that the permission to fight was only given, first of all, when the Muslims had been wronged, and second, once they had sufficient strength to face their enemies. Strength was gained through the institution of Hijrah.

Hence we could safely say that during the early part of the Prophet's life the triad Islam - Hijrah - Jihad was in some respects a crucial matter of doctrine. To embrace Islam one had to perform Hijrah, while Hijrah was a necessity for Jihad. Those who could not boast of at least one of the three were not considered true believers. The Qur'an criticizes the Arabs who converted to Islam but refused to perform Hijrah and consequently did not join in Jihad (49:14-15, 8:72). But once Medina was filled with

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<sup>66</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1987), 3 : 235.

<sup>67</sup> See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 2 : 236-237; al-Shawkānī, *Fath al-Qadīr, al-Jāmi' bayna Fannay al-Riwāyah wa-al-Dirāyah min 'Ilm al-Tafsīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1983), 3 : 456-457; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān 'an Ta'wīl Āy al-Qur'ān*, ed. Mahmūd Muḥammad Shākīr and Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), 17 : 123; al-Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi' li-Aḥkām al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabīyah, 1967), 12 : 69.

people, Islam ceased to be identified with Hijrah. One could still be a good Muslim without moving to Medina but one still had to answer the Prophet's call to Jihad. So, although Islam ceased to be identified with Hijrah, it continued to be identified with Jihad.

After the death of the Prophet, when a series of military campaigns was launched, the identification of Islam, Hijrah and Jihad came up again. 'Umar's instruction to Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas after the Battle of Jalula' (14/635) is instructive in showing the close relation between these three concepts. "Establish for the Muslim the place for Hijrah and Jihad (*ittakhidh li-al-muslimin dar Hijrah wa-manzil Jihad*),"<sup>68</sup> an instruction which was later given substance with the establishment of Kufa. So the people of Kufa, like those of Basra, who no longer participated in further conquests and settled in the conquered lands, are called "people who left their Hijrah (*taraka Hijratahu*)." <sup>69</sup> The Muslims on the frontiers, moreover, were known as Muhajirun.<sup>70</sup> Thus al-Nudayr ibn al-Harth, who went to Syria to perform Jihad, is described as a Muhajir, "*kharaja ila al-Sham muhajiran wa-shahida Yarmuk wa-qutila biha*."<sup>71</sup> The same is true of Jundab ibn al-Nu'man al-Azdi ("*hajara ila al-Sham fi khilafat 'Umar*")<sup>72</sup> and Juways ibn al-Nabighah al-Ghanawi ("*kana muhajiruhu ila al-Sham fa-kana ma'a*

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<sup>68</sup> Al-Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam*, 3 : 80.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 3 : 241.

<sup>70</sup> For example ibid., 2 : 607; 3 : 262. See also Khalid Yahya Blankinship's footnote to his translation of al-Tabari, *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. 11, *The Challenge to the Empires*, translated and annotated by Khalid Yahya Blankinship (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 121.

<sup>71</sup> Ibn Hajar, *al-Ishabah*, 3 : 528.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. 1 : 252.



*al-umarā'*).<sup>73</sup> Although in the last two examples there is no explicit reference to their participation in battles, the fact that Jundab went to Syria in the time of 'Umar and that Juways was among the army's leaders (*'umarā'*) indicates that they were engaged in Jihad. The frontiers or the places whence the campaigns were launched were called *dār al-Hijrah*. Kufa was identified as a destination for Hijrah after the (Prophet's) Hijrah ("*lil-Hijrah ba'd al-Hijrah*").<sup>74</sup> Now, as had happened in the early time of the Prophet, those who performed Hijrah and settled in the new cities like Basra and Kufa were considered more faithful than the nomadic Arabs. Again the criterion was their involvement in Jihad. Choosing to settle in these garrison cities meant committing themselves to be sent to meet the enemies of Islam at any time and anywhere, whereas the nomadic Arabs were not in the same position.

The third motive behind Hijrah-Jihad was socio-economic in nature. By committing themselves to be sent to fight the enemy, those who settled in these cities were certainly entitled to any booty acquired. The nomadic Arabs on the other hand did not have this right. It is reported that whenever the Prophet sent an army, he instructed them to give the enemy three choices, one of which was to convert to Islam and to perform Hijrah, in the event of which their rights and obligations would be similar to those of the Muhajirūn; if they converted to Islam but refused to perform Hijrah, they were to be considered like the nomadic Arab Muslims (*a'rāb al-Muslimīn*) who did not

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 1 : 258.

<sup>74</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 160. Gautier. H.A. Juynboll sees the first "*al-Hijrah*" in "*lil-Hijrah ba'd al-Hijrah*" as "the technical term conveying that one embraces the cause of Islam by giving up one's links with one's tribe and throwing one's lot with the Muslims." See Juynboll's note in al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 13, *The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia, and Egypt*, translated and annotated by Gautier H.A. Juynboll (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 95.

have right to share booty unless they participated in Jihad.<sup>75</sup> Sura 8: 72 says: “Lo! those who believed and left their homes [*hājarū*] and strove [*jāhadū*] with their wealth and their lives for the cause of Allah, and those who took them in and helped them: these are protecting friends one of another. And those who believed but did not leave their homes [*āmanū wa-lam yuhājirū*], ye have no duty to protect them till they leave their homes; but if they seek help from you in the matter of religion then it is your duty to help (them) except against a folk between whom and yourselves there is a treaty.” The verse, while basically giving freedom to the new converts to choose between staying home or leaving (to perform Hijrah), explains the disadvantage of staying home: they might be left unprotected. This meant that, economically speaking, there was no security for their wealth. Once they were attacked, their possessions would become the booty of the attackers. Even if they could remain in safety they were still in danger of losing one of their key economic rights: inheritance. Interpreting this verse, Abū ‘Ubayd says that blood relatives who do not perform Hijrah are excluded from mutual inheritance.<sup>76</sup>

Success in opening up vast new lands meant the accumulation of great wealth in Medina. Nevertheless an important question arose: Should the booty be distributed only to those who performed Hijrah and to those who participated in Jihad, leaving the rest of the Muslim community unrewarded? ‘Umar must have seen it as an injustice, because he decided to change the rule. Under his policy, all Muslims, whether or not they had

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<sup>75</sup> The other choices were to pay *jizyah* and to fight. See Abū ‘Ubayd, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, ed. ‘Abd al-Amīr ‘Alī Muhannā (Beirut: Dār al-Ḥadāthah, 1988), 220.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 223-4.

gone on Hijrah or participated in Jihad, were entitled to ‘*atā*’.<sup>77</sup> However, as far as the Muhājirūn were concerned, his new policy did not change: they had more right to the ‘*atā*’ than other Muslims. ‘Umar was reported to have said “Whoever hastens to Hijrah, he hastens to ‘*atā*’” and vice versa (“*Man asra’a ilā al-Hijrah asra’a bihi al-‘atā’ wa-man abta’a ‘an al-Hijrah abta’a ‘anhu al-‘atā’*”),<sup>78</sup> meaning that the earlier one performed Hijrah the more economic benefits one received. Thus according to the *dīwān* that ‘Umar established for the purpose of controlling the distribution of wealth, those who migrated early to Medina (*al-Muhājirūn al-awwalūn*), for example, is the second group of Muslims (the first group being the wives of the Prophet) to be given priority.<sup>79</sup> This was the policy that Abū Bakr had refused to institute. In the face of heavy criticism,<sup>80</sup> Abū Bakr had decided to distribute the wealth equally among the people, regardless of age, sex or social status.

When the meaning of Hijrah was extended so that it included also those who had moved from their homelands to the new cities like Basra and Kufa, ‘Umar’s policy remained unchanged. He preferred the new Muhājirūn, i.e., the inhabitants of the cities (*ahl al-amṣār* or *ahl al-ḥadīrah*) over the nomadic Arabs. When one of these Arabs (*rajul min ahl al-bādiyah*) came to him to ask for his share (*rizq*), ‘Umar refused. “No, by God,

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<sup>77</sup> On the legal discussion surrounding why ‘Umar chose not to follow literally Qur’ānic guidance and Prophetic Tradition in this case see *ibid.*, 221-30.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 230-31.

<sup>79</sup> Abū ‘Ubayd, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, 230.

<sup>80</sup> His critics argue that Abū Bakr should have taken into consideration the fact that they were a people who had converted to Islam earlier (and therefore should be treated differently). Abū Bakr’s reply was that while one should acknowledge their virtue, it is only Allah who should bestow on them a reward. As far as daily life was concerned, equality was better. See Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (Cairo: al-Maṭba‘ah al-Salafiyah wa-Maktabatuhā, 1352 H.), 42.

I will not give you it until I have given all the people of the city (*ahl al-ḥāḍirah*) [their share].”<sup>81</sup> The same thing happened when ‘Utbah ibn Ghazwān, after the Battle of al-Ubullah (14/635), went to Medina to see ‘Umar. During his absence he ordered Mujāshī’ to take over his governorship in Kufa. On learning of this, ‘Umar became very angry. He said, “You are assigning a Bedouin (*rajul min ahl al-wabar*) over city dwellers (*ahl al-madar*)?” ‘Umar then appointed al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah to take over the position of Mujāshī’ and confirmed him when ‘Utbah died on the way back to Kufa.<sup>82</sup> How can we explain this policy? What was it that made ‘Umar think that urban dwellers had more right to the wealth than the nomadic Arabs? In the case of the first Muhājirūn—that is, those who emigrated to Medina at the time of the Prophet—we might easily understand ‘Umar’s preference for them. They were the first people to answer the Prophet’s call and to suffer from the maltreatment of their own tribes, the first to be driven away from their own homes. What was the achievement of the second Muhājirūn—i.e., those who migrated to the new settlements—compared to this?

To answer this question, it must first of all be remembered that those who settled in these cities were basically warriors. The veterans of al-Madā’in had moved to Kufa, Basra, Damascus, Hims, Jordan, Palestine and Egypt.<sup>83</sup> In the case of Kufa and Basra, these cities were built especially for them so that they could be easily mobilized whenever needed. When they were sent to fight, the land that they conquered and the

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<sup>81</sup> Abū ‘Ubayd, *Kitāb al-Aḥwāl*, 234.

<sup>82</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 94.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 110.

booty derived from it belonged to them. The precedent came from the Prophet, who distributed the land of Khaybar among the Muslims. When Iraq and Syria were conquered, on the other hand, 'Umar did not consider it wise to redistribute the land. The army that conquered the land was not the last army he sent. There would be other waves of soldiers sent to open further lands. What would happen if the succeeding armies found that the land, which was supposed to be placed at their disposal, had already been divided among the first conquerors? After a long discussion with the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār, and after being opposed by the majority of Muslims, including important Companions like Bilāl and al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām—the most ardent critics of 'Umar in this case—'Umar prevailed. He declared that the conquered lands belonged to the state and were to be cultivated under the supervision of the state. Its revenue would be collected by the state and divided amongst the Muslim community.<sup>84</sup>

When it came to distribution of wealth the conquerors became the first priority. Since the captured lands were originally the property of its conquerors, it was they and their families who ought to have received the 'atā' in the first place, and then the Muslims who came after them.<sup>85</sup> Here we see clearly the idea behind 'Umar's answer to the nomadic Arabs that he would not give them their share until he had given shares to all the inhabitants of the city. The city dwellers were the warriors and their families.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, 23-7.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 25; Abū 'Ubayd, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, 231.

<sup>86</sup> In order to raise sufficient troops to meet the Persians at Nihāwand 'Umar wrote to the people of Kufa and Basra asking them to send two thirds of their forces to the battlefield (Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 5 : 342).

<sup>87</sup> Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, 14.

The nomadic Arabs, on the other hand, who refused to settle in the cities, had nothing to do with the conquests, and did not therefore have any right to the conquered lands. Although these nomadic Arabs were described as “the origin of Arab and the root of Islam (*aṣl al-‘arab wa-māddat al-Islām*),” in order of importance they were only ranked in fourth place after the Muhājirūn, the Anṣār and the city dwellers.<sup>87</sup>

With the new Muhājirūn ‘Umar basically adopted the same principle that he had used among the early Muslims: seniority. Like the early Muslims, the new Muhājirūn were ranked according to the time of their involvement in military actions. Hence, those who had fought in the Battle of al-Qādisīyah (14/635) received a stipend of 2000 dirhams (plus another 500 dirhams for those who showed outstanding bravery), while those who had joined after al-Qādisīyah, i.e., the late-comers, only received 1000 dirhams. The second wave of late comers (*rawādif*) only received 500 dirhams.<sup>88</sup> Since the time of involvement is taken into consideration, the social system that ‘Umar established was relatively static. Events could not be repeated. Those who had been unlucky enough to miss the Battle of al-Qādisīyah had to accept the fact of their occupying a lower rank than those who had participated in it. The only thing they could do to raise their status was to join in future battles. This might explain why the late-

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<sup>88</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 109.

<sup>89</sup> “[*K*]āna asra’ ahl al-Kūfah ilā dhālik (meaning, in answer to ‘Umar’s call to join al-Nu‘mān in marching against Nihāwand) *al-rawādif li-yabluwa fī al-dīn wa-li-yudrikū ḥazz*),” *ibid.*, 3 : 213.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 210.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 208-9.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 221.

<sup>93</sup> Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 46.

comers in Kufa, for example, were so enthusiastic when summoned by 'Umar to wage war against the Persians in Nihāwand.<sup>89</sup> It is not surprising that it was they who pressed 'Umar, who was at first reluctant to send the army any further, to let them pursue the attack against these Persians.<sup>90</sup> One of the reasons why the people of Kufa did not like Sa'd, their governor, was, they said, because Sa'd did not wage campaigns.<sup>91</sup> This is understandable because, were conflict ever to come to an end, the opportunities to raise their status (social and economic) would cease as well. After Sa'd was finally removed from office, they fought an action at Nihāwand and won. According to al-Wāqidī,<sup>92</sup> 'Umar placed those who were present at Nihāwand and the late-comers who fought valiantly in the same rank as the veterans of the Battle of al-Qādisiyyah. Now, like these earlier veterans, they were entitled to two thousand dirhams.

But there was another reason why the city dwellers were in a special category. The Prophet was born among city dwellers. His center of activities was in the cities of Mecca and Medina. When he was forced to migrate to Medina he summoned all his new converts to move and settle with him there. After the death of the Prophet it was the inhabitants of Medina to whom the Caliphs would turn for advice. They lived with the Prophet and, therefore, knew the Prophet's sayings and deeds. When the Caliphs vowed to follow in the footsteps of the Prophet, the people of Medina, mainly the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār, naturally became the referees who watched over the Caliphs' policies to make sure that all of them were in accordance with the Sunnah of the Prophet.

The function of the people of Medina as a reference was duplicated in other cities, where governors--the local representatives of the Caliphs--executed their duties

under the supervision and guidance of the local inhabitants. "... the Prophet's companions and their descendants act as guarantors of the true faith in the cities where they settled."<sup>93</sup> The nomadic Arabs who wandered around the cities, although they were under the administration of the governors, were hardly ever involved in making decisions. Thus when it is said that the people (*Jamā'ah*) had agreed on something, it did not mean *all* the people had agreed, but only the people of the cities. Hence, going back to the nomadic Arab who had asked him for a share of the wealth, 'Umar, after saying that he would not meet this request until he had paid all the city dwellers, said, "Whoever wants the middle of the garden, he has to be part of the *Jamā'ah* [meaning *ahl al-hādirah*, the city dwellers], for the hand of Allāh is with the *Jamā'ah*."<sup>94</sup> The reason why the people of the cities were considered as a *Jamā'ah* is obvious. Like the people of Medina, they were the ones who knew the Qur'ān and the Sunnah of the Prophet and who knew how to apply the laws of Gods (*ḥudūd*). So it was they who took care of the

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<sup>94</sup> Abū 'Ubayd, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, 234. Ibn Qutaybah supports this argument. He cites a Tradition from the Prophet as narrated by Abū Hurayrah. "You must be with the *Jamā'ah* for the hand of Allāh is above *fusṭāṭ* ('*alyakum bi-al-Jamā'ah fa-inna yad Allāh 'alā al-fusṭāṭ*)." *Fusṭāṭ*, according to Ibn Qutaybah, means city. The Arabs were liable to call any city *fusṭāṭ*. See Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intisār li-Wāsiyat 'Aqd al-Amṣār fī Tārīkh Miṣr wa-Jughrafiyatihā*, ed. Lajnat Ihya' al-Turāth al-'Arabī (Beirut: Dār al-Afāq al-Jadīdah, n.d.), 2; Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, [1955-6]); thus the tradition means that Muslims have to follow the *Jamā'ah*, who are by definition city dwellers.

<sup>95</sup> Abū 'Ubayd, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, 235; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 110. That the people who resided outside the city did not always know Islam is illustrated by 'Umar's experience. On the way from al-Jābiyah in Syria to Medina, 'Umar was presented with two legal cases. A man was brought to 'Umar because he had married two sisters at the same time. When interrogated, he explained that he did not know that Islam forbade him to do so. The other case involved an old man who had allowed a young man to sleep with his wife in return for his service in grazing his animals. Again the man was ignorant of the fact that this was forbidden by his religion. See Ibn al-A'thām al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān (Beirut: Dār al-Nadwah al-Jadīdah, n.d.), 1 : 299-301.

<sup>96</sup> Even the Prophet treated persons in accordance with this principle. Once Khālid ibn al-Walīd, who had converted to Islam shortly before the Conquest of Mecca, argued with 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, who was one of the early converts. Knowing this, the Prophet said to Khālid that he should not have argued with 'Ammār in such a fashion for, compared to Khālid, 'Ammār was one of the people of Paradise and was a combatant at Badr (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 2 : 430).



community's affairs.<sup>95</sup> Why was knowledge of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah concentrated in the cities? Partly it has something to do with 'Umar's policy in sending the Companions to teach Islam outside Medina, and mainly to the cities. This may have been due to a scarcity of well-versed Companions available for the purpose.

Thus there are two important roles that the city dwellers played. First, they acted as soldiers who were ready at any time to be sent on Jihad to defend the faith and Muslim territory against outside enemies. Second, they were a group of people on whom the governors could rely in executing all affairs of state. These two roles automatically brought them an enormous economic benefit, another of the driving forces behind the settlement of people in the cities.

Fourth, there was the motive of increased social status. As was noted above, after the death of the Prophet the status of people was decided on the basis of their involvement with him during his lifetime. Those who had fought at Badr were higher in rank than those who had converted at the time of the Conquest of Mecca.<sup>96</sup> *Ṭabaqāt* works are an excellent mirror of how this system worked. The death of the Prophet had sealed off opportunities to raise one's status. Medina was a closed door, and social stratification was fixed. That it was so can be seen from al-Bukhārī's report: "The Muhājirūn and the Anṣār stood before 'Umar's door. They were given permission (to enter the house) according to their ranks (*'alá qadr manāzilihim*)."<sup>97</sup> So those who converted later had to win status somewhere else. The frontier lands such as Syria, where the war with the Byzantines was being waged, became a popular place. On being

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<sup>97</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, n.d.), 4 : 104.

<sup>98</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 2 : 672

asked what later converts could do to win virtue (*al-faḍl*), ‘Umar said, “ ‘I know of no other way but this one,’ and pointed out to them the Byzantine front.”<sup>98</sup>

The following event gives a good idea of the widening gap between the early converts and the later ones and the growing popularity of frontier regions like Syria as an asylum for later converts. It was reported that Suhayl ibn ‘Amr, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb and other shaykhs of the Quraysh were standing at the door of ‘Umar. While ‘Umar gave permission to the people of Badr--Ṣuhayb, Bilāl, and others--to enter, he left these Quraysh waiting. Abū Sufyān was really angry. He saw that ‘Umar had great respect for slaves (like Bilāl), but not for the Quraysh. Knowing that his fellow Quraysh were upset, Suhayl ibn ‘Amr said:

O people, by God, I noticed what was in your faces. If you want to be angry with someone, be angry with yourselves. People were called (to Islam), and so were you. But while they hastened (to respond), you held back. By God, the virtue (*faḍl*) in which they preceded you is more powerful than the door in which you are contending.” Then he said: “O people (of Quraysh), as you see, those people have preceded you, and there is no way for you to make yourselves equal to them. So look to the Jihad. Compel yourselves to it. Hopefully God will grant you martyrdom.” Then he dusted off his dress, stood up, and went to Syria.<sup>99</sup>

What disturbed these later converts was not merely the degradation of their social status, but also the decline of their economic interests. The economic distribution set up by ‘Umar was based on seniority in Islam (*al-sābiqah fī al-Islām*). As a result, the important figures of the Quraysh who had converted to Islam on the day of the Conquest of Mecca received stipends less than those who had converted to Islam

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 2 : 671.

earlier.<sup>100</sup> They protested to ‘Umar, who simply replied that the stipend was not decided on the basis of ancestral nobility but on seniority in Islam.<sup>101</sup>

‘Umar’s hostility to the Quraysh stemmed from his resentment of that tribe’s enmity to the Prophet and the early Muslim converts. But that was not all. ‘Umar also disliked the arrogance of the Quraysh. They deemed themselves to be so superior that others were nothing but their subordinates. Once Muḥammad ibn ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ and ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ treated an Egyptian badly. On being apprised of their action, ‘Umar said to them, “By God, you Quraysh, you do not think of others as being anything but your slaves (*lā, wallāh yā ma’shar Quraysh! mā tazunnūma illā anna al-nās lakum ‘abīd*).”<sup>102</sup> Of course he did not have all the Quraysh in mind when he was saying this, but men like Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān and the other later converts who became the target of ‘Umar’s anger.

A fifth motivation behind migration was official appointments. This factor is apparent in ‘Umar’s policy to send Companions to various cities, either to teach the inhabitants about Islam or to hold religious offices such as *qādī* and *wālī*. ‘Umrān ibn Ḥuṣayn was sent by ‘Umar to Basra to teach religion to its inhabitants (“*li-yufaqqiha ahlaha*”).<sup>103</sup> So was Mujammi‘ ibn Jāriyah.<sup>104</sup> Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah sent a letter to

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<sup>100</sup> They received three thousand dirhams, compared to the five thousand that the participants in Badr had received (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 109)

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 3 : 109.

<sup>102</sup> Al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 2 : 82.

<sup>103</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 3 : 27.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 3 : 346.

'Umar saying that the people of Syria were in need of teachers who could instruct them in the Qur'ān and enlighten them on religious matters ("*yu'allimuhum al-Qur'ān wa-yufaqqihuhum*"). In response, 'Umar sent Mu'ādh, 'Ubādah ibn al-Ṣāmit al-Anṣārī and Abū al-Dardā'.<sup>105</sup> The task of 'Ubādah is described as having been that of a judge and a teacher ("*qāḍiyan wa-mu'alliman*").<sup>106</sup> At his death, the Prophet left behind him a new Muslim community which did not yet fully understand what Islam was. The emergence of the Riddah is a strong indication of how trivial was their understanding of the message that the Prophet had tried to spread. One of the most important problems that 'Umar faced was how to build a strong religious foundation for the new community. The realization of this idea was more difficult when he was faced with having to mobilize this new community and send its members to the frontier to fight. Who would be responsible for making sure that the armies would still pursue their study of Islam when they were away from Medina for a considerable length of time? Who would ensure that war and other related problems (such as which enemies could legally be killed, the problems of booty, the property of the enemy, children, women, etc.) would be conducted in accordance with religious prescriptions? This situation forced 'Umar to institute a policy: besides giving clear instructions to the army, he also sent those who were well-versed in religion to campaign with the army or to live in the places where these new Muslims resided either temporarily or permanently.<sup>107</sup> Massive conversions

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 2 : 260.

<sup>106</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 2 : 808.

<sup>107</sup> Whenever an army of believers gathered the Commander of the Faithful appointed as their immediate commander someone from the people of knowledge and law (*ahl al-'ilm wa-al-fiqh*) (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 260). One example was al-Sā'ib ibn al-Aqra'. He knew how to write and how to count (*kātiban wa ḥāsiban*). 'Umar asked him to join the army sent to Nihāwand and stay with

which followed the conquests and the settlement of nomads in the new cities also gave 'Umar cause to appoint those who were knowledgeable about Islam to a variety of offices. "I do not send them (the governors of the cities) except to teach people about their religion, to distribute (the wealth) to them, to wage holy war against their enemies and to judge their affairs rightly (*innī lam ab'athhum illā li-yufaqqihū al-nās fī dīnihim wa-yuqassimū 'alayhim wa-yujāhidū 'adūwahum wa-yahkumū fihim bi-al-ḥaqq*)."<sup>108</sup> This is one of the most succinct expressions of what 'Umar expected to be the role of the governors.

Sixth, people were motivated to migrate by the thought of accompanying important figures. These latter were of course surrounded by people for different reasons. It was they who influenced, for instance, where some people chose to reside or move. A good example was the Prophet himself. His call for Hijrah had caused migration to Medina. But having been the main reason of migration in the first place, with his death the reason to stay there elapsed. So many Companions moved from Medina, which meant another migration. Al-Ḥakam ibn 'Amr was one such example. He accompanied the Prophet until the Prophet died, and then afterwards moved to Basra.<sup>109</sup> Other figures had the same influence on the decisions of certain people to migrate from one place to another. Tamīm al-Dāri moved (*intaqala*) from Medina to Syria after the

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them. He was given the responsibility of dividing the booty correctly (ibid., 3 : 204, 213). For the people who were sent to al-Qādisiyah, 'Umar appointed 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Rabī'ah al-Bāhilī as judge and supervisor of the spoils and their distribution, while Salmān al-Fārisī was entrusted with the task of calling people to prayers and with scouting duties (ibid., 3 : 9). For other examples see ibid., 2 : 594.

<sup>108</sup> Al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 2 : 84-85. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 273.

<sup>109</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1 : 346, 186.

murder of ‘Uthmān,<sup>110</sup> while Muḥammad ibn Maslamah went to al-Rabadhah.<sup>111</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mall<sup>112</sup> moved from Kufa to Basra after al-Ḥusayn was killed. The conflict between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah caused a lot of people to migrate, and influential figures like Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh played a significant role in this process.<sup>113</sup>

Seventh, family reasons often motivated emigration. A person who moved from his home city was usually accompanied by his family. So when ‘Utbah was appointed governor of Basra his wife, Ardah bt. al-Ḥārith, went with him, along with Abū Bakrah and other relatives.<sup>114</sup> ‘Utbah ibn Suhayl al-Qurashī al-‘Āmirī went to Syria with his family (*ahl baytib*) during the reign of ‘Umar to perform Jihad. Al-Ḥārth ibn Hishām, also with his family, joined him.<sup>115</sup> Al-Nu‘mān ibn ‘Amr ibn Muqarrin, Ma’qil ibn Muqarrin, Sinān ibn Muqarrin, Suwayd ibn Muqarrin, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muqarrin and ‘Uqayl ibn Muqarrin were all brothers who resided in Kufa.<sup>116</sup> ‘Uthmān ibn Abī al-‘Āṣ, al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-‘Āṣ and Ḥafṣ ibn Abī al-‘Āṣ, were brothers living in Basra.<sup>117</sup> Although we do not know whether these brothers all arrived at the same time in Kufa and Basra, or whether one brother followed the others, it is clear that family or blood

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<sup>110</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 1 : 193.

<sup>111</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 3 : 364.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 3 : 99.

<sup>113</sup> See Chapter Four.

<sup>114</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 4 : 221.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 2 : 446.

<sup>116</sup> Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 6 : 18-9.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 7 : 40-41.

ties constituted an important factor in migration. Some other examples similar to this case are the brothers Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥaydah and Mālīk ibn Ḥaydah,<sup>118</sup> Mujāshī' ibn Mas'ūd and Mujālid ibn Mas'ūd,<sup>119</sup> al-Barrā' ibn Mālīk and Anas ibn Mālīk,<sup>120</sup> and Thābit ibn Zayd ibn Qays and his son Bashīr ibn Abī Zayd.<sup>121</sup> All of them resided in Basra.

Eighth, politics were an important factor. Other Companions moved to other places because of political conditions. The Banū al-Arqām refused to stay longer in Kufa because they could not stand to hear 'Uthmān humiliated. They went to Mu'āwiyah, who settled them in al-Ruhā' in Jazīrah. Abū Shurayḥ's return from Kufa to Medina also falls into this category. Since the time of 'Uthmān conflicts and treason had developed in Kufa.<sup>122</sup> This meant that for some people Kufa was no longer a good place to live. Abū Khuzā'ah, after witnessing one of his neighbors being killed, took his family to Medina.<sup>123</sup>

Ninth, expulsion was often a strong reason for migration. Some people were forced to migrate because, for certain reasons, they were unwanted. The Prophet asked

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 7 : 35.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 7 : 30.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 7 : 16-7.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 7 : 27.

<sup>122</sup> An example of this was the case of al-Walīd, the governor of Kufa. Regardless of the fact that al-Walīd was loved by the ordinary folk, he was hated by the elite. The latter in fact strove continuously, using every means at their disposal, to depose him. The families whose sons had been executed by al-Walīd and those who had been deposed by him joined the cause. The result was chaos, which ended with the resignation of al-Walīd from office. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 325-34.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 3 : 326.

al-Ḥakam to leave Medina because, according to a report, he was suspected of being a spy for the Prophet's enemy, and so he migrated to Ḥabashah.<sup>124</sup> The Prophet also asked Waḥshī to leave Medina because he could not stand to be so close to the man who killed his uncle, Ḥamzah, at Uḥud. Waḥshī went to live in Hims.<sup>125</sup> 'Umar asked Naṣr ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Sulamī to leave Medina because he had caused a woman to become so attracted to him that she had almost made him into an idol.<sup>126</sup>

To sum up, as far as the motives underlying the disposal of the Companions were concerned, we can make the following statement. The main drive behind their migration was the call for Hijrah and Jihad. From the early history of Islam these two had become indistinguishable from Islam itself. At the time of the conquest, the call for these two practices was revived and given a new impetus. Hence, in contrast to Richard Bulliet's generalization,<sup>127</sup> religious motives did play a significant role in the distribution and settlement pattern of the early Muslims. Economic benefits were after all enjoyed only by those who joined Hijrah and Jihad.

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<sup>124</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 1 : 359.

<sup>125</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 3 : 594.

<sup>126</sup> al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 15-7.

<sup>127</sup> To Bulliet the most important motive behind the settlement of the Arabs was economic. Religious zeal only played an auxiliary role. See his "Sedentarization of Nomads in the Seventh Century: The Arabs in Basra and Kufa," in Philip Carl Salzman (ed.), *When Nomads Settle* (New York: Praeger, 1980), 37-8.



### 3. Centers of Geographical Distribution

As stated above, the emergence of Islam was an urban phenomenon. That is to say, Islam first emerged in cities, i.e., Mecca and Medina, and, after expansion, continued to flourish in cities. Hence when we are talking about centers of geographical distribution, we are not talking about villages. It was 'Umar's policy to keep the army from becoming too scattered so that it would be ready any time he needed it. This policy necessitated not only a large place where the army could settle in great numbers but also good facilities for transportation and communication. Only cities could fulfill these requirements. So it was perfectly reasonable for 'Umar to instruct his army not to scatter in villages, but to stay in cities.<sup>128</sup>

Soon after the conquests began the Muslims spread and settled in urban areas. There were cities—like Hims and Damascus—which were already there when the Muslims came, while others were founded by the Muslims themselves—as in the case of Basra, Kufa and Fustat. When the Muslims settled in the existing cities they lived in the houses which were given up by the local inhabitants in accordance with post-conquest agreements. This was what happened, for example, in Hims.<sup>129</sup> As for places to pray, Muslims often re-used churches as mosques.<sup>130</sup> This process of integration between

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<sup>128</sup> 'Umar actually instructed the commanders not to let the army settle in the villages, but to ensure that they stayed in the cities. See Tarif Khalidi, "Tribal Settlement and Patterns of Land Tenure in Early Medieval Palestine," in Tarif Khalidi (ed.), *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1984), 182.

<sup>129</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 97.

<sup>130</sup> Henry Innes MacAdam, "Settlements and Settlement Patterns in Northern and Central Transjordan, ca. 550 - ca.750," in G.R.D. King and Averil Cameron (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East II: Land Use and Settlement Patterns* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1994), 59.

Muslim and non-Muslim after the conquests evolved for the most part peacefully.<sup>131</sup> There was no break in everyday life.<sup>132</sup> Where Muslims had to build their own cities, they started by building *amṣār*. Here three aspects are outstanding: “.. that they occurred on new land, avoiding older urban settlement; that conversion to permanent and sophisticated architecture was rapid and extensive; and that almost all these foundations were successful and enduring.”<sup>133</sup>

“*Miṣr*” (the singular form of *amṣār*) literally means a borderline between two things or two lands or two regions (“*al-ḥājiz wa-al-ḥadd bayn al-shay’ayn*” or “*al-ḥadd bayn al-arḍayn*” or “*kull mā ḥajaza bayn jihatayn*”).<sup>134</sup> In common use (“*ind al-’awwām*”) it means any big city (“*balad kabīr jalīl*”) like Rayy, Mawṣil, and Ramallah.<sup>135</sup> But in a more specific sense, a place can be called a *miṣr* when it functions as the place where a ruler resides, where government offices are located, and where official duties--such as execution of canonical punishments (*ḥudūd*), distribution of booty and taxes--are performed.<sup>136</sup> In other words, a *miṣr* is a center for religious and

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid, 51.

<sup>132</sup> See Ali Ziyadeh, “Settlement Patterns, An Archeological Perspective: Case Studies from Northern Palestine and Jordan.” in King and Cameron (eds.), *Near East 2* : 119, 131; also Robert Schick, “The Fate of the Christians in Palestine During the Byzantine-Umayyad Transition, 600-750 A.D.” in M. Adnan Bakhit and Robert Schick (eds.), *The Forth International Conference On The History Of Bilād al-Shām During the Umayyad Period* (Amman, 1989), 41; al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma’rifat al-Aqālīm*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967), 3 : 47.

<sup>133</sup> Donald Whitcomb, “The *Miṣr* of Ayla: Settlement at al-’Aqaba in the Early Islamic Period,” in King and Cameron (eds.), *Near East 2* : 161.

<sup>134</sup> Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-’Arab*, al-Jawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ: Tāj al-Lughah wa-Ṣiḥāḥ al-’Arabiyyah*, ed. Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Ghafūr ‘Aṭṭār (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-’Arabī, 1955-7.)

<sup>135</sup> al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, 47.

<sup>136</sup> Al-Laythī defines *miṣr* as “*kull kūrāh tuqāmu fihā al-ḥudūd, wa-yuqassamu fihā al-fay’ wa-al-ṣadaqāt min ghayr mu’āmarah lil-khalīfah*” (Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-’Arab*). Al-Muqaddasī defines *miṣr* as

administrative activities. So, compared to other cities, *amṣār* must have been fairly common.<sup>137</sup> In the first century of Hijrah, after the death of the Prophet, it was mostly the Companions who served as local rulers and who executed all official tasks. So it is not surprising that it was in the cities that the majority of the Companions lived.

The following is an effort to investigate the patterns of the tribal distribution of the Companions and the degree of their connection to Iraq (Basra and Kufa), Syria (including Hims, Damascus and Palestine) and Egypt. Before proceeding, however, some points must be noted.

First, in the biographical dictionaries, as in any other type of source, a person is often described as belonging to different tribes. If the tribes to which a person was attached were closely related, he will be counted only once in our tabulation. For example, Yūnus Abū Muḥammad was attributed to three tribes: Anṣār (see below), Aws and Zafar.<sup>138</sup> But Zafar was from Aws and Aws was from Anṣār, so that Yūnus will be counted only once, i.e., as an Anṣārī. But if a person was attributed to tribes which were unrelated or not closely related, he will be counted in accordance with the number of tribes he is assigned to. For example, Qays ibn Abī Gharazah is said to have been Anṣārī,<sup>139</sup> Ghifārī,<sup>140</sup> Juhānī,<sup>141</sup> and Bajālī.<sup>142</sup> Since these tribes were not closely

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*"kull balad ḥallahu al-sultān al-a'ẓam wa-jummi'at ilayhi al-dawāwīn wa-qullidat minhu al-a'māl wa-udfā ilayhi mudun al-aqālīm"* (al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥṣan al-Taqāsīm*, 47)

<sup>137</sup> This is why, I think, al-Jawharī gives the meaning of *miṣr* as being "the well-known city (*al-madīnah al-ma'rūfah*).” See al-Jawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*.

<sup>138</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 5 : 530.

<sup>139</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 6 : 55.

<sup>140</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 1297; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 4 : 439; al-Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, 2 : 23; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 3 : 246.

related, they will be counted separately. In other words, Qays ibn Abī Gharazah will be counted four times. However, some tribes were actually related to others, but acted independently and must be treated as such. Thaḳīf and ‘Āmir ibn Ṣa‘ṣa‘ah were subtribes of Qays, but, because they were large and powerful, they can be considered as having been autonomous. Likewise, Aws and Khazraj were a part of Azd, but for the same reason must be counted as independent tribes.

Second, when people are attributed to different places, they will also be counted twice. Accordingly, Abū Salmá was a man of Kufa (“*sakana al-Kūfah*” or “*al-Kūfi*”) and, at the same time, a man of Syria (“*fi al-Shāmi*”).<sup>143</sup> He will thus be found in the list of the people of Kufa and in that of the people of Syria.

Third, some Companions were recognized by a non-tribal identification. One example was that of Anṣār, the new name for Aws and Khazraj.<sup>144</sup> The name Anṣār, which certainly constituted a symbol of high status and pride, often displaced the original names, i.e., Khazraj and Aws. Thus, of the twenty-nine Anṣār who resided in Basra, nineteen were known by this designation. Their original tribe, whether it had been Aws or Khazraj, is unknown to our sources. In those cases therefore where the original tribal affiliation has been lost, such non-tribal designations will be considered as

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<sup>141</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1297; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 4 : 439; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 3 : 246.

<sup>142</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 3 : 246.

<sup>143</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 4 : 1683; also Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 6 : 153.

<sup>144</sup> See W. Montgomery Watt, “al-Anṣār,” in *EF*

tribal. In addition to Anṣār (Anṣārī), therefore, we have the example of Yemen (Yemenī).

Fourth, it is not known in some instances to which side individual Companions belonged. This of course prevents us from making a more accurate analysis of tribal representation in the various centers. The difference in numbers between those whose tribal affiliations are known to us and those for whom this information is unknown can be seen in the following table.

Table II  
The Population of the Companions:  
Those whose Tribes are Known/Unknown

	Basra	Kufa	Syria	Egypt
Population of Companions	335	337	441	260
Companions whose tribes are unknown	50	44	85	19
Companions whose tribes are known	295	301	356	162

While such limitations should be acknowledged, the results of this kind of approach ought not to be underestimated. Among other things, the findings on the distribution of the tribes in Basra, Kufa, Syria and Egypt can be used to reaffirm or to question some of the statements that have been made in relation to the tribal composition or distribution in these places. Since our concern is solely with the class of Companions, our findings have a limited validity. In statement (a) below, to cite only one example, our findings do not confirm the claim made by Khalidi. As far as Syria in general is concerned it is acknowledged that the Azd were the largest group among the newcomers there and our analysis of the Companions settled in Syria confirms this: they

were the largest group among the settlers in that region.<sup>145</sup> But does this mean that they were also the largest group in Palestine? Our information on the pattern of Azd settlement in Syria does not confirm this allegation. Forty-six Companions of Azd background settled in Syria, whereas only 5 Azd chose to settle in Palestine. The rest settled in Hims (13 Companions), Damascus (6) and al-Urdunn (1), while it is not known exactly where the remaining 21 settled (for their geographical location is only vaguely indicated by our sources, who use expressions such as “*sakana al-Shām*”). Unless we accept the suggestion that *al-Shām* equals Damascus<sup>146</sup> (raising the number of Azd who settled in Damascus to 27, hence making that city their preferred destination), the majority of the Azd must be acknowledged to have settled in Hims, not in Palestine. But we should acknowledge that our objection is somewhat marred by two weaknesses. First, we cannot establish firmly that all the Companions of Azd in our list were early arrivals. (It is unfair to judge Khalidi’s statement on early settlers by findings related to later ones, for example.) Second, it is more than likely that not all the Azd early-comers were Companions; hence it is inaccurate to make general comments on the Azd in general on the basis of what is known of the Companions among them. However, the fact that the number of the Companions of the Azd in our list corresponds to that of early arrivals in Syria (in both cases the Azd were the largest group) may indicate a positive relation between early-comers and Companions. This methodology allows us therefore to verify with some confidence statements on tribal distribution in the 1st/7th century. The following are just some examples: (a) among the newcomers (to Palestine),

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<sup>145</sup> see Table VI.

<sup>146</sup> See pp. 173-4.

“the Azd seem to have been the largest single group;”<sup>147</sup> (b) in Fustat and Hims the Yemenīs represented the majority of the new settlers; in these places Kindah played the major role;<sup>148</sup> (c) there were only a few Azd Sarāt (including Daws, Zahrān, Thumālah, Ghāmid) amongst the first settlers in Basra and Kufa, some having gone to Egypt;<sup>149</sup> (d) during the Muslim conquest the emigration of ‘Abd al-Qays was mainly directed towards Basra; in Kufa they were not strongly represented;<sup>150</sup> (e) under Islam the emigration of Bāhilah was predominantly directed towards Syria and the rest towards Basra;<sup>151</sup> (f) Ḍabbah seems to be missing from the first division of the population of Kufa, while the bulk of the tribe emigrated to Basra;<sup>152</sup> (g) the bulk of Tamīm were among the first settlers in Kufa and Basra;<sup>153</sup> (h) “The Bajīlah were one of the largest tribal groups in Kūfah. They were approximately equal in numbers to the Anṣār ....”<sup>154</sup> and lastly (i) “For the most part, the Bakr migrated to Baṣra, but a certain number of them settled at Kūfa.”<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Khalidi, “Tribal Settlement,” 182.

<sup>148</sup> Mikhail B. Piotrovsky, “Late Ancient and Early Medieval Yemen: Settlement Traditions and Innovations,” in King and Cameron (eds.), *Near East 2* : 219.

<sup>149</sup> G. Strenziok, “Azd,” in *EF*

<sup>150</sup> W. Caskel, “Abd al-Qays,” in *EF*

<sup>151</sup> W. Caskel, “Bāhila,” in *EF*

<sup>152</sup> W. Caskel, “Ḍabba,” in *EF*

<sup>153</sup> G. Levi Della Vida, “Tamīm,” in *EF*

<sup>154</sup> Michael G. Morony, *Iraq After the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 240.

<sup>155</sup> Hichem Djait, “al-Kūfa” in *EF*

Now, based on our findings we can verify and in some cases modify the above statements. (a) It is not correct to say that in Palestine Azd formed the largest *single* tribe; they were only *one* of the largest (Lakhm and Kinānah being the others). (b) It is right that Yemenīs were in the majority in Fustat (i.e., Egypt, see below) and Hims, and it might also be true that, especially in Hims (where Kindah was the biggest tribe), but not in Fustat, Kindah played the major role. (c) It is right that there were few Azd Sarāt amongst the first settlers in Basra and Kufa, for, although Azd were one of the major tribes in Basra and Kufa, most of them were from Khuza‘ah (especially Aslam); and it is right that a few Azd went to Egypt. (d) In Basra ‘Abd al-Qays made up only 7% (21 out of 313) and in Kufa only 4% (14 out of 320) of the population; so, since the difference between ‘Abd al-Qays in Basra and in Kufa was insignificant, we can hardly say that (that during the Muslim conquest) the emigration of ‘Abd al-Qays was mainly directed towards Basra; as for representation, they were not strongly represented either in Kufa nor in Basra. (e) There were 7 Bāhilah (out of a total population of 313 Companions) in Basra, 1 (of 320) in Kufa, 2 (of 445) in Syria and 3 (of 187) in Egypt; so we cannot really state that under Islam the emigration of Bāhilah was predominantly directed towards Syria and the rest towards Basra. (f) Ḍabbah is not missing from the first division of the population of Kufa; and it is not right to say that the bulk of the tribe must have emigrated to Basra, for in Basra there were only 5 of them (a similar number existed in Kufa). (g) It is true that the bulk of Tamīm were among the first settlers in Kufa and, especially, in Basra. (h) It is not true that Bajīlah were one of the largest tribal groups in Kufa, nor is it true that they were approximately equal in



numbers to the Anṣār (Bajīlah were made up of only 12 and Anṣār of 40). (i) It may be that for the most part, Bakr migrated to Basra, and that a certain number of them settled at Kufa.

What are the most common expressions used to indicate geographical connection? To what extent do these expressions vary from one place to another? The following table may shed some light on these questions:

Table III  
The Expressions of Geographical Connection of the Companions  
in Basra, Kufa, Syria and Egypt

	Basra	Kufa	Syria	Egypt
<i>nazala</i>	225	192	212	72
<i>sakana</i>	102	87	91	51
<i>ya nisbah</i>	105	172	215	67
<i>ahl</i>	46	59	105	43
<i>a'rāb</i>	34	1	1	0
official position	35	35	30	21
others	23	46	41	27
Total	570	592	695	281

Except in Syria, "*nazala*" is the most common expression used to indicate residence. And of Basra, Kufa and Egypt, it was mainly with respect to Basra that the term "*nazala*" is used. It was stated above that "*nazala*" is an ambiguous expression. It can be used to indicate a wide range of attachment, from permanent residence to a short visit. If this generalization has any validity at all, then we could say that the frequent employment of the expression "*nazala*" in connection with Basra, Kufa and Egypt indicates one of two possibilities. First, it could mean that the commitment of a considerable number of Companions to these places, especially Basra, could not be fully established. That is to say, the authors of the biographical dictionaries, i.e., Ibn Sa'd,

Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar (and the authorities from whom they took their information) were not fully convinced that these Companions actually resided permanently in Basra, Kufa and Egypt and in the circumstances thought it best to use “*nazala*.” Second, it could be said that the people in Basra, Kufa and Egypt were highly mobile. In this case the problem has nothing to do with either the certainty or the uncertainty of these authors, but with the nature of the population in these places. The attachment of the Companions to these places—especially Basra—was apparently unstable.

By contrast, the word “*nazala*” is less frequently used in reference to Companions who resided in Syria for any length of time. Perhaps this is because their connection with this region was more permanent. Nevertheless, “*nazala*” is used to designate residence in Syria on a number of occasions. In fact, it is second only to “*yā’ nisbah*” in the number of times it is used and the difference between the two is slight. But when we combine all the expressions that convey stability, i.e., “*sakana*,” “*yā’ nisbah*,” and “*ahl*,” the difference becomes significant. These constitute 59% of the total number of expressions used regarding domicile in Syria. Compared to Basra, Kufa and Egypt, where combinations of the same expressions amount to 44%, 54% and 57% respectively, Syria is still the highest. In terms of stability of population, therefore, Syria emerges as number one, followed by Egypt, Kufa and Basra.

The expression “*a’rāb*”, i.e., nomadic Arabs, is interesting in its own right, for it is most often used in reference to Basra. Beyond this we find only one instance of its use in connection with Kufa (“*yu’addu fī a’rāb al-Kūfah*,” in the case of Mujālid ibn

Thawr<sup>156</sup>) and one other in reference to Syria (“*fi a‘rāb bādiyat al-Shām,*” in the case of ‘Awsajah ibn Ḥarmalah).<sup>157</sup> This seems to imply that—unlike in Syria, Kufa and Egypt—in Basra there were still some Companions who chose not to stay inside the city limits but instead remained *a‘rāb*. It would be interesting to know why, in spite of the great social and economic benefits bestowed by ‘Umar on city dwellers, these Companions chose to remain nomadic.

#### A. Basra

Basra was originally a base camp. It was founded by ‘Utbaḥ ibn Ghazwān at ‘Umar’s request in 14/635.<sup>158</sup> About five hundred people accompanied ‘Utbaḥ, including a number of nomadic Arabs (“*qawm min al-a‘rāb wa-ahl al-bawādi*”).<sup>159</sup> These people settled in 7 villages (*dasākir*), 2 in Khuraybah, 2 in Azd, 2 in Tamīm and 1 in Zābūqah.<sup>160</sup> In the beginning they did not construct any permanent buildings, but used

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<sup>156</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 5 : 62; or “*min a‘rāb al-Kūfah,*” al-Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, 2 : 51

<sup>157</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 3 : 43.

<sup>158</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 89, al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh Anīs al-Ṭabbā’ and ‘Umar Anīs al-Ṭabbā’ (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Ma‘ārif, 1987), 483. However, according to Sayf ibn ‘Umar, ‘Utbaḥ founded Basra in the year 16. Al-Ṭabarī tends to date this to the year 14 and introduces Sayf’s opinion by “*za‘ama Sayf*” (“Sayf claimed”). Some even maintain that it was founded in the year 17, such as al-Mas‘ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-al-Ishrāf* (Beirut: Khayyāt, 1965), 357. Pellat maintains that it is possible that the difference reflects the rivalry between the Kūfans and the Basrans. The Basrans wanted to have their city built before Kufa. See Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Gaḥiẓ* (Paris: Adrien - Maisonneuve, 1953), 2-3.

<sup>159</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 90. The numbers were variously given as 300 (ibid., 3 : 92), “more or less 500” (ibid., 3 : 90), 800 (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 478, 488). For further discussion on the variety of numbers see Pellat, *Milieu*, 5; Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-‘Alī, “Kḥiṭaṭ al-Baṣrah,” in *Sumer* 8 (1952) : 72.

<sup>160</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 90; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 478, 488.

tents as their homes.<sup>161</sup> After a time they began to build houses, mosques and a government building (*dār al-imārah*).<sup>162</sup> Judging from the materials they used, however, it would seem that they never intended to settle there permanently.<sup>163</sup> Thus it is reported that when they went out to battle they pulled up the cane stakes that formed their primary building material, tied them up and put them aside. When they returned they would untie them once again and rebuild.<sup>164</sup> Only when more people came to Basra did they use more solid building materials, like bricks.<sup>165</sup> The progress from a temporary to a permanent settlement was largely determined by the results of battle. When the army defeated an enemy, it brought home considerable booty. The more enemies they had defeated, the more booty they brought home, and in turn the more people were attracted to come to Basra to join in the military effort and settle there. After Ubullah (14/635) was conquered, 'Utbah ibn Ghazwān sent Anas ibn Ḥujjīyah to 'Umar. When 'Umar asked him to describe the state of the Muslim community there, Anas replied,

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<sup>161</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 478.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 483.

<sup>163</sup> Ira M. Lapidus, "Arab Settlement and Economic Development of Iraq and Iran in the Age of the Umayyad and Early Abbasid Caliphs," in *The Islamic Middle East, 700-900: Studies in Economic and Social History*, ed. A. L. Udovitch (Princeton: 1981), 178. That 'Utbah's army originally did not plan to settle can also be seen from the fact that they did not bring a lot of women with them. See Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-'Alī, *al-Tanzīmāt al-Ijtimā'iyah wa-al-Iqtisādīyah fī al-Baṣrah fī al-Qarn al-Awwal al-Hijrī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalī'a, 1969), 38.

<sup>164</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 484.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 478, 488; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir wa Dār Beirut, 1955-1957), 1 : 433. A.J. Naji and Y.N. Ali place the transformation of Basra from transient camp to a permanent urbanized settlement as occurring under the governorship of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir (25-36/646-57) (A.J. Naji and Y.N. Ali, "The Suqs of Basrah: Commercial Organization and Activity in A Medieval Islamic City," in *JESHO* 24 (1981) : 298-299). To them, the change of building materials from reeds to mud and then bricks is evidence of this transformation. They do not explain why they chose this date, however, since if building materials are any indication, mud and bricks had already been used by Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī (17-29/638-50), the governor of Basra before 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir, "*wa-banā Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī al-masjid wa-dār al-imārah bi-lubn wa-ṭīn*," al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 484.

“The wealth has overwhelmed them, they are drunk with gold and silver, and people are so attracted to Basra that they come there (*inthālat ‘alayhim al-dunyā’ fa-hum yahlūna al-dhahab wa-al-fiddah, fa-raghība al-nās fi al-Basrah fa-atūhā*).”<sup>166</sup>

How many people actually lived in Basra at the time of ‘Umar? We know for instance that those who fought alongside ‘Utbah ibn Ghazwān in the Battle of al-Qādisīyah settled in Kufa and Basra. It is said that 30,000 of them settled in Kufa, while only 5000 settled in Basra. These figures, like others found in the medieval sources, may not be accurate. But it still tells us that the majority of those who fought in al-Qādisīyah settled in Kufa. For some reason, however, ‘Umar later decided to end the imbalance of population in these two cities by adding to the inhabitants of Basra those who participated in al-Ahwāz, so that “their number should be similar to that of the inhabitants of Kufa.”<sup>167</sup> In other words the population of each city can be estimated to have been in the area of thirty thousand.<sup>168</sup>

In the following table we see a breakdown of the tribal affiliation of the Companions residing in Basra.

Table IV  
The Tribes of Companions in Basra

The Northerners		The Southerners		Unspecified	
Name	Number	Name	Number	Name	Number
1 ‘Abd al-Qays	21	Anṣār	29	Ka’b	1

<sup>166</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 93.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 173.

<sup>168</sup> In the 7th century, according to Massignon, there were about 300,000 soldiers registered in Basra. Massignon, “Explication du Plan de Basra (Irak),” in F. Meier (ed.), *Westöstliche Abhandlungen Rudolf Tschudi* (Wiesbaden: n.p., 1954), 158. With only 30,000 accounted for in the sources, Massignon’s estimation seems to be too high. For the development of the population of Basra see Ṣāliḥ A. al-‘Alī, “Khitāṭ al-Basrah,” 72; Pellat, *Le milieu*, 5.

The Northerners		The Southerners		Unspecified		
Name	Number	Name	Number	Name	Number	
2	ʿAmir ibn Ṣaʿsaʿah	23	Ashʿar	1	Balʿanbar Duʿl	1
3	Asad	5	Azd	25	Salamah	1
4	Bāhilah	7	Bajīlah	4		
5	Bakr ibn Wāʿil	16	Ḥimyar	4		
6	Ḍabbah	5	Jarm	3		
7	Hudhayl	6	Kalb	1		
8	Kinānah	26	Khatʿam	1		
8	Muḥārib	3	Kindah	2		
9	Muzaynah	16	Ṭāʿī	2		
10	Qays ʿAylān	39				
11	Quraysh	19				
12	Saʿd	1				
13	Tamīm	51				
	TOTAL	238	TOTAL	72	TOTAL	3

From the above table, a number of conclusions can be drawn.

1. The biggest tribal component of the Companions of Basra was Tamīm with 51 members (16 % of the tribal population). The second was Qays with 39 (12%), the third Anṣār with 29 (9%), the fourth Kinānah with 26 (8 %) and the fifth Azd with 25 (8%). As far as the split between northerners and southerners was concerned, the northerners constituted the majority. They were 238 in number (76 %) compared to the southerners at 72 (23%). The most important group among the northerners was Tamīm with 51 Companions (21 % of all the northerners) followed by Qays at 38 (16%). Among the southerners two important groups emerged, the Anṣār at 29 (40%) and Azd at 25 (34%).

2. Tamīm had maintained close relations with Mecca since the time of the Jāhiliyah.<sup>169</sup> Contrary to Watt's conclusion,<sup>170</sup> a great number of Tamīm must have been

<sup>169</sup> M. J. Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm (Aspects of their Relations)," in *JESHO* 8 (1965) : 113, 130-131, 46-47. 157.

<sup>170</sup> "So far as Muḥammad's lifetime is concerned, then, there were probably few Muslims from Tamīm, ...", Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina* (London: Clarendon Press, 1956), 139.

among those who became Muslims during the lifetime of the Prophet. It is not surprising that they should have been the biggest tribe in Basra since their traditional tribal domain was close to that city.<sup>171</sup> Qays was among the largest groups to participate in the Battle of al-Qādisiyyah, serving under Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ. According to al-Ṭabarī they were about one thousand in number altogether.<sup>172</sup> The Madhhij, however, who exceeded the Qays in number (having some 1300 men<sup>173</sup>), were not found in Basra. This was either because none of them were Companions, and so the biographical dictionaries do not have any record of them, or because they simply did not stay in Basra. Al-Ṭabarī also reports that some 2300 men from Yemen gathered in Medina, half of whom were sent to Iraq with Sa'd.<sup>174</sup> Since the Azd represented 35 % of the southerners who settled in Basra, the Azd tribe members must have been the largest group among these who were sent to Iraq.

3. There were five tribal divisions in Basra:<sup>175</sup> 'Abd al-Qays, Ahl al-'Āliyah, Azd, Bakr ibn Wā'il and Tamīm. But who exactly were Ahl al-'Āliyah? There are two possible explanations. The first is that the name offers a clue to their place of origin. 'Utbah's army was mainly from the upper Hijāz, i.e., Mecca and Medina. The people of this region were known as the people of the highlands.<sup>176</sup> The second explanation is that

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<sup>171</sup> F. M. Donner, "Tribal Settlement in Basra During the First Century A.H.," in Khalidi (ed.), *Land Tenure*, 103.

<sup>172</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 6.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.* 3 : 5.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 10.

<sup>175</sup> See Pellat, *Le milieu*, 23-4; Massignon, "Basra," 158-62.

<sup>176</sup> Morony, *The Muslim Conquest*, 246.

the name refers to a hierarchical arrangement, designating the people of high status, and the prominent people of Basra (either originally from Medina or elsewhere).<sup>177</sup> The fact that the Anṣār and the Quraysh are not mentioned among the *akḥmās* (the five tribal groups)--although they were as large as Tamīm, Azd, Bakr, and ‘Abd al-Qays--leads us to conclude that Ahl al-‘Āliyah were indeed those who come originally from Medina.<sup>178</sup> The term “‘Āliyah” would thus refer either to Medina and Mecca, which are the highlands or the upper Ḥijāz, or to upper Medina as opposed to lower Medina. Upper Medina was important because it was here that the mosque of the Prophet was located. This also happened to be the most important agricultural area in the Medina region. When ‘Umar distributed the annual stipend, he asked Zayd ibn Thābit to start with the people of ‘Awālī (plural of ‘Āliyah).<sup>179</sup> It has been mentioned that ‘Umar’s treatment of his subjects was based on seniority in Islam. This meant that ‘Umar’s order to Zayd ibn Thābit to begin the distribution of the annual stipends with Ahl al-‘Āliyah indicates the important position of this group. During the campaigns against the Persians these people must have been among those who responded to the call. Thus the Quraysh who settled in Basra were not the Quraysh who had come from Mecca, but those who had migrated at the time of the Prophet and settled in Medina. ‘Umar’s attitude to the later converts from Quraysh supports this interpretation. He also discouraged the involvement of the later Quraysh converts in campaigns. Once he even argued with Abū Bakr because the

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<sup>177</sup> Whitcomb, "The Miṣr of Ayla," 162.

<sup>178</sup> It is interesting that in Kufa the quarter of the Ahl al-‘Āliyah was also called the quarter of Medina. F. M. Donner, "Muzayna" in *EF*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>179</sup> On the importance of ‘Āliyah, see Michael Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and Pagans: Studies on Early Islamic Medina* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 1-3.



latter had summoned the later converts of Quraysh to become involved in the conquest of Syria.<sup>180</sup>

## B. Kufa

Like Basra, Kufa<sup>181</sup> was established as a military base camp in the year 15/636.<sup>182</sup> As such, 'Umar personally refused to let the first inhabitants of Kufa build permanent buildings which would have made them less mobile.<sup>183</sup> It was only because he wanted to avoid open disagreement with them that he ever let them build their houses from cane. A great fire however destroyed these houses and they asked 'Umar once more to let them use bricks. Again 'Umar agreed.<sup>184</sup>

Kufa was first populated by those who had been settled before in al-Madā'in.<sup>185</sup> These people were Sa'd's army who had fought at al-Qādisīyah in the year 14/635. In other words, the composition of the first settlers in Kufa was similar to that of Sa'd's

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<sup>180</sup> Al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 1 : 120-121.

<sup>181</sup> Al-Ṭabarī's account of Kufa is much more detailed than that of Basra. This is because his main source was Sayf, who was a Kūfan. Sayf was therefore able to produce many more details regarding Kufa than Basra. There is also the possibility that he wanted to express the superiority of Kufa over Basra. The latter attitude can be seen in the way he subordinates Basra in the narration of Kufa. "When the people destined for al-Kūfah had arrived there, *and* the people destined to populate al-Basra had settled there, .... The people of al-Kūfah asked permission to use reeds as building material. The people of al-Baṣrah put in *the same* request, ... The fires occurred in al-Kūfah, *as well as* in al-Baṣrah" (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 147-148. The translation is from Juynboll, *The History*, 13 : 67. Italics mine).

<sup>182</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 95.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 3 : 147.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 3 : 148.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 3 : 147.

army at al-Qādisīyah.<sup>186</sup> It was reported that the total number of those who participated in the Battle of al-Qādisīyah amounted to more than thirty thousand.<sup>187</sup> Thus if we accept that the composition of the early inhabitants of the city was similar to that of the contingents at al-Qādisīyah then we might estimate Kufa's early population as being not be more than thirty thousand. A few years after the death of 'Umar, that is in the time of 'Uthmān, year 24/644, there were said to have been forty thousand fighters residing there.<sup>188</sup>

As far as the Companions were concerned, it is said that around 680 of them participated in the Battle of al-Qādisīyah: about 70 of these had participated in the Battle of Badr, a further 310 had been the Prophet's Companions since the Pledge of Good Pleasures (*Bay'at al-Ridwān*), and 300 others had participated in the Conquest of Mecca.<sup>189</sup> Some of these Companions, like other participants in al-Qādisīyah, lived in Kufa.

When we look at the division of tribal backgrounds in Kufa, the following pattern emerges.

Table V  
The Tribes of the Companions in Kufa

The Northerners		The Southerners		Unspecified	
Name	Number	Name	Number	Name	Number
1 'Abd al-Qays	14	Anṣār	40	Juhm	1
2 'Amir ibn Sa'sa'ah	13	Ash'ar	3	Iyam	1
3 Asad	25	Azd	28	Jusham	1

<sup>186</sup> Fred M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 227.

<sup>187</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 7.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 307.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 10.

The Northerners		The Southerners		Unspecified	
Name	Number	Name	Number	Name	Number
4	Bāhilah	1	Bajīlah		12
5	Bakr ibn Wā'il	6	Balī		1
6	Dabbah	5	Himyar		8
7	Hudhayl	3	Hamdān		6
8	Kinānah	12	Khath'am		2
9	Muzaynah	14	Kindah		12
10	Qays 'Aylān	28	Murād		4
11	Quraysh	30	Quḍā'ah		4
12	Tamīm	27	Ṭā'ī		6
13	Thaqīf	13			
	TOTAL	191	TOTAL	126	TOTAL

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Several conclusions can be drawn from the above scheme:

1. The largest group of the Companions in Kufa was that of the Anṣār, numbering 40 (13%), followed by Quraysh with 30 (9%), Azd with 28 (9%), Qays with 28 (9%), Tamīm with 27 (8%), and Asad with 25 (8%). As far as tribal origins are concerned, both the northerners and the southerners were almost equally represented. Whereas the northerners constituted 60% of the inhabitants, the southerners made up 39% (compared to Basra where the northerners outnumbered the southerners by 75% to 23%). The most important southerners in terms of number were the Anṣār (32%), Azd (22%), Bajīlah (10%) and Kindah (10%). As for the northerners there were four important tribal groups which were almost equal in number: Quraysh (16%), Qays (15%), Tamīm (14%) and Asad (13%). At the second level we find four other groups which were also almost equally represented: Muzaynah (7%), 'Abd al-Qays (7%), 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah (7%) and Kinānah (6%).

2. How did the Anṣār and Quraysh become the largest group of Companions represented at Kufa? This is interesting for there is no mention that they were ever a

part of Sa'd's army. Since of 27 known martyrs, 8 were from the Anṣār, the latter must obviously have participated in the Battle of al-Qādisiyyah.<sup>190</sup> Since they are not mentioned as having been in Sa'd's army when it departed from Medina, when did they come? It is highly probable that they arrived in Iraq with the first army that had been sent by 'Umar under al-Muthanná ibn al-Ḥārithah. The Muhājirūn (meaning the Quraysh) and the Anṣār were among the first to answer 'Umar's call to undertake Jihad against Persia. It is said that there were about four thousand Muhājirūn and Anṣār who joined al-Muthanná.<sup>191</sup> They likely joined up with Sa'd once he had arrived in Iraq and then participated in al-Qādisiyyah. Eventually, when Kufa was built, they chose to reside there permanently. But there are also some who came to Kufa later. Examples are Abū Aḥmad ibn Qays,<sup>192</sup> 'Ubayd ibn 'Āzib,<sup>193</sup> Qarazah ibn Ka'b<sup>194</sup> and Mujammi' ibn Jāriyah.<sup>195</sup> They were not in Sa'd's army but rather were sent to Kufa by 'Umar to teach religion and the Qur'ān. As for the Quraysh, since only 1 of 27 martyrs of al-Qādisiyyah is from this tribe, it could mean that either they--like the Anṣār--formed part of the previous army that had survived and resided in Iraq but which--unlike the Anṣār--did not take an active part in the battle,<sup>196</sup> or that the majority of them only arrived in Kufa

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<sup>190</sup> Donner, *Islamic Conquests*, 208.

<sup>191</sup> Al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 164-5.

<sup>192</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isābah*, 4 : 4.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 2 : 437; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 6 : 17.

<sup>194</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 6 : 17; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 1306; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 4 : 400; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isābah*, 3 : 223.

<sup>195</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isābah*, 3 : 346.

<sup>196</sup> Donner, *Islamic Conquest*, 208.

after the conquest. As for Tamīm and Asad, they settled close to Kufa, and so it is understandable to find them among the first to settle in Kufa. Azd on the other hand lived far away from Kufa. Their presence can only be explained by the process of conquest, as can that of Qays.

3. As in Basra, in Kufa the Azd were one of the most important tribes. In spite of their small number (only around seven hundred of the total number of Sa'd's army in al-Qādisīyah),<sup>197</sup> many of the Companions came from this tribe. The Azd had already played a considerable role in the history of the Prophet. Once the Prophet asked them to undertake Jihad, against the polytheists of Yemen.<sup>198</sup> When 'Umar summoned the Muslims to return to Iraq to undertake Jihad once again, the Azd immediately came forward. They were part of Sa'd's army and so were among the first settlers in Basra and Kufa.<sup>199</sup>

4. According to al-Ṭabarī, these are the tribes who settled in Kufa with Sa'd: Sulaym, Thaḳīf, Hamdān, Bajīlah, Taym al-Lāt, Taghlib, Banū Asad, Nakha', Kindah, Azd, Anṣār, Muzaynah, Tamīm, Muḥārib, Asad, 'Āmir, Bajālah, Bajlah, Jadīlah, Juhaynah, and Banū al-Bakkā'.<sup>200</sup> There are, however, differences between this list and al-Ṭabarī's own account of the tribes who joined Sa'd at al-Qādisīyah.<sup>201</sup> If the early

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<sup>197</sup> For the list of the participants in the Battle of al-Qādisīyah, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 5-7.

<sup>198</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1 : 338.

<sup>199</sup> G. Strenziok, "Azd" in *EF*.

<sup>200</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 149

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid*, 3 : 5-7

inhabitants of Kufa were similar in origin to those who had previously settled in al-Madā'in, and the composition of those who settled in al-Madā'in are similar to those who joined Battle at al-Qādisiyah, then the tribes who participated in the latter event must have been among the first settlers in Kufa. But al-Ṭabari's list leaves out a number of tribes who were involved in the battle. Qays, for example, who participated in al-Qādisiyah, are not mentioned. Since Qays appears in the table--and their numbers were quite significant--we cannot infer that they did not stay in Kufa after the battle.

### C. Syria

In contrast to the situation in Iraq and Egypt, in Syria the Muslims did not build cities immediately after the conquest. This policy could be explained as reflecting the wish of the Muslims to continue the existing Byzantine political-military division of the country. Accordingly, post-conquest Syria was divided into four provinces, each of which was called a *jund*. These provinces were: Palestine, al-Urdunn, Damascus and Hims.<sup>202</sup> Drawing upon information supplied by the Arab chroniclers and geographers from the 3rd/9th to 6th/12th century, Haldon makes the following statement on the approximate boundaries of the four provinces:

... the *jund* of Ḥimṣ is the most northerly, having a border with that of Dimashq to the South running inland from the coast just north of Tripoli in a more-or-less easterly direction. .... The *jund* of Dimashq has a littoral reaching down as far as Tyre, at which point it meets the boundary of al-Urdunn. But it is important to note that, according to the sources, it actually encloses the area of the *jund* al-Urdunn on the

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<sup>202</sup> Irfan Shahid, "The Jund System in Bilād al-Shām: Its Origin," in Muḥammad Adnan Bakhit and Muḥammad Asfour (eds.), *Proceedings of the Symposium on Bilād al-Shām During the Byzantine Period* (Amman, 1986), 47; John Haldon, "Seventh-Century Continuities: the *Ajnād* and the 'hematic Myth'," in Averil Cameron (ed.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East III: States, Resources and Armies* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1995), 379-80.

desert side, including for example, the cities of Bostra and 'Ammān, before stretching down to meet the border of Filastīn, which covers the districts to the South, stretching into the Negev, and west as far as the coast. Even with the tidying-up carried out by the later geographers, these descriptions may be reasonable presumed to reflect the approximate extent of the *ajṅād* in the seventh century, since the evidence of the early Umayyad mints for the region fits in with these areas, ....<sup>203</sup>

The writers of the biographical dictionaries that we have consulted for our study lived between the 3rd/9th and 9th/15th centuries: Ibn Sa'd died in the 3rd/9th century, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in the 5th/11th, Ibn al-Athīr in the 7th/13th, al-Dhahabī in the 8th/14th and Ibn Ḥajar in the 9th/15th. If we accept Haldon's statement that the description of the four *ajṅād* made between the 3rd/9th and 6th/12th centuries by the Arab chroniclers and biographers reflects the approximate boundaries of these *ajṅād* in the seventh century, then we can assume that Ibn Sa'd's and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's statements on these four *ajṅād*, considering when they were written, also reflect the four *ajṅād* in the 1st/7th century. As for Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar, since they lived after the 6th/12th century, their statements on the four *ajṅād* may not reflect the 1st/7th century reality. In other words, we do not know precisely, for example, what Ibn Ḥajar meant when he said "*sakana Filastīn*." Did his Palestine still occupy the same territory as the Palestine of the 1st/7th century, or did it mean something different to him in the 9th/15th century? We cannot answer this question unless we assume that Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī, and Ibn Ḥajar all shared the same sources as Ibn Sa'd and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, or that the *ajṅād* after the 6th/12th century retained substantially the same borders as they had several centuries earlier.

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<sup>203</sup> John Haldon, "The *Ajṅād*," 388-9. For more precise boundaries of these *ajṅād* see map II (The *Ajṅād* according to Arab sources), *ibid*, xiii.

Unlike the terms Palestine and al-Urdunn, which are used only to indicate provinces, Damascus and Hims are also used to refer to cities. Al-Muqaddasī makes this clear. While he introduces Palestine with the phrase “*wa-ammā Filastīn fa-qaṣabatuhā al-Ramlah*” (as for Palestine, its capital city is Ramlah) and al-Urdunn with “*wa-ammā al-Urdunn fa-qaṣabatuhā al-Ṭabariyah*” (as for al-Urdunn, its capital city is Ṭabariyah), he introduces Damascus with “*wa-ammā Dimashq fa-ism al-qaṣabah aydan*” (as for Damascus, it is also the name of its capital city), and Hims with “*wa-ammā Hims fa-ism al-qaṣabah aydan*” (as for Hims, it is also the name of capital city).<sup>204</sup> Thus, when it is said “*sakana Filastīn*” this could mean that a Companion resided virtually anywhere—or in any city—in Palestine, whereas when it is said “*sakana Hims*” it means that he resided either in the city of Hims or in other cities in that province. Likewise “*sakana Dimashq*” could mean that he resided either in the city of Damascus or somewhere else in the province of Damascus.

This of course poses a problem when it comes to interpreting the phrase “*sakana al-Shām*,” the most frequently used expression for the Companions’ geographical connection to Syria. Where exactly did the Companions live? Palestine, al-Urdunn, Damascus or Hims? In early Islamic times moreover “*al-Shām*” could also mean Damascus.<sup>205</sup> Hence Damascus was referred to as either “*Dimashq*,” “*Dimashq al-Shām*” or simply “*al-Shām*.”<sup>206</sup> The fact that Damascus is the biggest city in Syria (“*ajall*

<sup>204</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, 154.

<sup>205</sup> C.E. Bosworth, “al-Shām,” in *EF*.

<sup>206</sup> N. Elisséeff, “Damascus,” *EF*.



*madīnah bi-al-Shām*”<sup>207</sup> and even its capital city (“*Dimashq hiya miṣr al-Shām*”)<sup>208</sup> may explain why it was identified with Syria (*al-Shām*). But does this mean that when we find the statement “*sakana al-Shām*,” we can generally assume that it is equivalent to “*sakana Dimashq*”? While it is certainly possible to hold this view, this is not the position that we take here. There are some expressions which prevent us from assuming that “*sakana al-Shām*” automatically means “*sakana Dimashq*.” It happens that the sources use both “*al-Shām*” and its province, or even its cities, at the same time, to indicate geographical location. Examples are: “*ākhir man māta bi-al-Shām bi-Ḥimṣ min Aṣḥāb Rasūl Allāh* (the last Companion of the Prophet who died in Syria in Hims),”<sup>209</sup> “*sakana Ḥimṣ min al-Shām* (he resided in Hims in Syria),”<sup>210</sup> “*nazala al-Urdunn min al-Shām* (he resided in al-Urdunn in Syria),”<sup>211</sup> “*sakana al-Urdunn min al-Shām* (he resided in al-Urdunn in Syria),”<sup>212</sup> and “*alladhīn nazalū al-Shām bi-Bayt al-Maqdis* (those who resided in Syria in Bayt al-Maqdis).”<sup>213</sup> These examples show us that *al-Shām* certainly does not equal *Dimashq*. The expression “*alladhīn nazalū al-Shām bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*” tells us that the author (i.e., Ibn Sa’d) fortunately knew in which part of Syria these people resided, which allowed him to be specific. Had he not known that

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<sup>207</sup> Ibn Ḥawkal, *Kitāb Sūrat al-Arḍ*, ed. J.H. Kramers (Leiden; E.J. Brill, 1967), 174.

<sup>208</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, 156.

<sup>209</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 2 : 736, 3 : 847; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 2 : 273; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 3 : 16, 186; Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 7 : 413.

<sup>210</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 2 : 511.

<sup>211</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 2 : 292; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 3 : 220.

<sup>212</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1326.

<sup>213</sup> Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 7 : 424.

these latter had settled in Bayt al-Maqdis, he would have said “*alladhīn nazalū al-Shām*,” period. Thus, it could be the case that when our authors write “*sakana al-Shām*” they indeed only knew that a Companion resided in Syria but not the exact whereabouts.

How many Companions went to Syria for Jihad? Although we do not know the precise answer to this question, the following information is suggestive. According to Sayf, there were about 1000 Companions who took part in the Battle of al-Yarmūk and about 100 of these had been participants in Badr.<sup>214</sup> A group of Companions is also reported to have participated in the conquest of Cyprus in the year 27.<sup>215</sup> In Khālīd ibn al-Wālīd’s army in Syria there were about 500 Companions.<sup>216</sup> While the number given by Sayf may not be accurate, it still gives us the impression that quite a number of Companions went to Syria to undertake Jihad. How many of them survived and finally came to reside there?

Further information which can also help us answer the question can be derived from Abū Bakr’s insistence on sending an army to Syria. It was his policy that when people came to Medina asking him to send them on Jihad, Abū Bakr would direct them to Syria. Some of them arrived with Abū ‘Ubaydah while others accompanied Yazīd. Any group could go with whomsoever it pleased.<sup>217</sup> On another occasion, in order to meet the Byzantine threat from Antakiya, Abū Bakr summoned the Muslims and urged

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<sup>214</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 2 : 594.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 315.

<sup>216</sup> Al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 1 : 253.

<sup>217</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 2 : 601.

them to help their brothers in Syria. People from Hamdān, Aslam, Ghifār, Muzaynah, Murād, Azd and other tribes answered this call.<sup>218</sup> It is also said that Abū ‘Ubaydah’s army consisted of Azd, Ḥimyar, Hamdān, Madhhij, Khawlān, Khath‘am, Kinānah, Qudā‘ah, Lakhm, Judhām and Ḥadramawt. No one from the Taym or Rabī‘ah tribes joined Abū ‘Ubaydah, for all of them were with Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ in Iraq.<sup>219</sup> There is no information on how many (if any) of these people were Companions. But they were certainly old enough to go to war and this means that they had been alive in the time of the Prophet. Hence, we can assume that there must have been some Companions among them.

The table below provides a glimpse of the Companions who were active in Syria, broken down by tribe of origin.

Table VI  
The Tribes of the Companions in Syria

Northerners		Southerners		Unspecified	
Name	Number	Name	Number	Name	Number
1 ‘Abd al-Qays		2 ‘Akk		7 Ahl	1
2 ‘Amir ibn Ṣa‘sa‘ah		16 Alhān		3 ‘Awf	1
3 ‘Anz ibn Wā‘il	1	Anṣār		37 Bayma‘	1
4 Asad		6 Aṣbah		1 Daylām	1
5 Bāhilah		2 Ash‘ar		16 Dhimār	1
6 Bakr ibn Wā‘il		3 Azd		46 Du‘al	1
7 Hudhayl		1 Bajīlah		1 Ḥabsh	5
8 Kinānah		18 Baī		2 Hawzin	1
9 Muḥārib		2 Ghassān		2 Hudayba	1
10 Muzaynah		3 Ḥadramawt		11 Jazr	1
11 Qays ibn ‘Aylān	19	Hamdān		6 Kulā‘	1
12 Quraysh	45	Ḥimyar		13 Lahb	1
13 Sulaym	24	Jarm		2 Laqīṭ	1

<sup>218</sup> Al-Kūfi, *al-Futūḥ*, 1 : 103-4.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 : 255.

Northerners		Southerners		Unspecified		
Name	Number	Name	Number	Name	Number	
14	Sa'd	1	Judhām	10	Mālik	1
15	Tamīm	11	Juhaynah	14	Mulaykah	2
16	Thaqīf	6	Kalb	3	Mut'	1
17			Khath'am	7	Bahrān	1
18			Khawlān	8	Sa'd ibn Bakr	2
19			Khuzā'ah	2	Sa'd ibn Layth	1
20			Kindah	31	Sama'	2
21			Lakhm	7	Shargh	1
22			Madhhij	11	Sibā'	1
23			Qudā'ah	1	Šubāh	1
24			Ṭaiyī	5	Šunābiḥ	1
25			Tanūkh	1	Tha'lab	1
26			'Udhrah	1	'Utk	1
27			Yaman	3	Zuhrah	1
TOTAL		160	TOTAL	251	TOTAL	34

These figures allow us to conclude the following:

1. The most important tribes in Syria were Azd, with 46 Companions (10%), Quraysh with 45 (10%), Anṣār with 37 (8%), and Kindah with 31 (7%). Sulaym with 24 (5%), Qays 'Aylān with 19 (4%), Kinānah with 18 (4%), 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'sa'ah with 16 (4%) and Ash'ar 16 (4%) came next. The majority of the Companions belonged to southern tribes (251 or 56%), as opposed to those who had affiliation with northern ones (160 or 36%). So far I have been unable to determine to which broad geographical group the remaining 34 Companions (8%) belonged.

2. The dominance of Azd in Syria can be explained by the fact that they formed the largest group among the newly arrived tribes in Syria. At the Battle of Yarmūk, they constituted one third of the whole Muslim army.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>220</sup> Donner, *Islamic Conquests*, 133, 147.

Table VII  
The Tribal Affiliation of the Companions who Resided in  
Hims, Damascus, Palestine and al-Urdunn

No.	Name	Hims	Damascus	Palestine	Al-Urdunn
<b>Northerners</b>					
1	'Abd al-Qays	1	-	1	-
2	'Amir ibn Sa'sa'ah	1	2	-	-
3	Asad	2	1	-	-
4	Bāhilah	1	-	-	-
5	Bakr ibn Wā'il	1	-	-	-
6	Hudhayl	1	-	-	-
7	Kinānah	4	2	5	-
8	Muzaynah	1	-	-	-
9	Qays 'Aylān	5	4	-	-
10	Qurasyh	11	8	2	1
11	Sulaym	9	2	-	1
12	Tamīm	6	2	1	-
13	Thaqif	3	1	-	-
	TOTAL 1	46	22	8	2
<b>Southerners</b>					
14	'Akk	-	-	1	-
15	Alhān	2	-	-	-
16	Ansār	10	7	4	1
17	Ash'ar	-	2	-	-
18	Azd	13	6	5	1
19	Hadramawt	6	-	-	-
20	Hamdān	1	1	-	-
21	Himyar	2	-	-	-
22	Judhām	1	-	4	-
23	Juhaynah	3	-	3	-
24	Kalb	-	2	-	-
25	Khath'am	-	1	1	-
26	Khawlān	2	2	-	-
27	Khuzā'ah	-	1	1	-
28	Kindah	15	1	1	1
29	Lakhm	1	-	5	-
30	Madhhij	4	2	-	-
31	Qudā'ah	-	1	-	-
32	Tā'i	2	1	-	-
33	Tanūkh	1	-	-	-
34	Yaman	1	1	1	-
	TOTAL 2	64	28	26	3
<b>Unspecified</b>					
35	'Anz	-	-	1	-
36	'Awf	1	-	-	-
37	Du'al	-	-	1	-
38	Fazā'i	-	-	1	-
39	Hābsh	1	-	1	-
40	Hawzin	1	-	-	-
41	Jarsh	1	-	-	-
42	Kawn(?)	1	-	-	-
43	Khashnah	1	-	-	-
44	Lāhb	1	-	-	-
45	Laqīt	-	-	1	-
46	Sa'd	1	-	-	-
47	'Utkī	-	-	1	-
48	Ya'mar	1	-	-	-
49	Yarāgh(?)	1	-	-	-
	TOTAL 3	10	0	6	-
	TOTAL 1, 2, 3	120	49	41	5

3. As was stated before, Hims, Damascus, Palestine and al-Urdunn were the four provinces that made up Syria in the time of Companions. As far as these *ajnād* were concerned the information that we get is not always specific, so that we do not know exactly where the Companions mostly settled or what tribes were dominant in each region. But from Table VII above we may be able to obtain a general idea of their distribution.

In overall terms, Kindah, Azd, Quraysh and Anṣār were the tribes with the largest numbers of Companions. The concentration of these tribes, however, is interesting. Almost all the Kindah Companions resided in Hims (13% of Hims's Companion population), while they formed only 2% of Damascus's and 2% of Palestine's. Companions of Quraysh origin resided mainly in Hims and Damascus (9% of Hims's Companion population and 16% of Damascus's) while only a few lived in Palestine (only 4% of the total). Companions of Anṣār and Azd origin on the other hand were almost equally present in Hims, Damascus and Palestine, ranging in each case from slightly more than 8% to slightly more than 14% of the total population of the Companions in these regions.

#### D. Egypt

Ibn Sa'd, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar all refer to the Companions who resided in Egypt as having been inhabitants of Miṣr. Neither Fustat nor Alexandria is ever mentioned.

In the period between the Arab conquest and the foundation of Cairo, the term *Miṣr* was understood to mean the settlement of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ and his army.<sup>221</sup> As was said earlier, the involvement of Companions in official administration led them to settle in cities, where these activities were actively pursued. In Egypt the center of administration, and the site where ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ and his army were for the most part settled, was Fustat. It was a city in the real meaning of the word (“*miṣr fī kull qawl*”), or the city of Egypt (“*miṣr Miṣr*”).<sup>222</sup> Hence when Ibn Sa‘d, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar say “*sakana Miṣr*” they most likely mean “*sakana Fuṣṭāt*.” The city was built in the year 20/640 or 21/641, soon after ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ conquered Alexandria.<sup>223</sup> Mu‘āwiyah ibn Ḥudayj al-Tujībī, Shurayk ibn Jibrīl al-Ghutaṭayfi al-Murādī, ‘Amr ibn Qahzam al-al-Khawlānī and Ḥaywayl ibn Nāshirah al-Mu‘āfirī were appointed by ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ to be responsible for settling the army.<sup>224</sup> Needless to say, not all the army settled in Egypt. From the biographical dictionaries used as sources for this thesis, we know that there were 151 Companions who participated in conquering Egypt. Of that number only slightly less than half (i.e., 66) Companions are known to have stayed in Fustat.

In the table below we see the breakdown of the Companions’ number in Egypt arranged by tribe.

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<sup>221</sup> A. J. Wensinck, “Miṣr,” in *EF*.

<sup>222</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsān al-Taqālīm*, 197.

<sup>223</sup> Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 2-3. al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāh wa-Kitāb al-Qudāh*, ed. Rhuvon Guest (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1912), 9.

<sup>224</sup> Yaqūt, *Mu‘jam*; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 3.

Table VIII  
The Tribes of the Companions in Egypt

No.	The Northerners		The Southerners		Unspecified		
	Name	Number	Name	Number	Name	Number	
1	*Abd al-Qays		2	*Akk	5	Abrahah	1
2	Asad		1	Anṣār	20	Daylām	1
3	Bāhilah		3	Aṣbah	2	Du'l	1
4	Kinānah		14	Ash'ar	1	Fāris	2
5	Muḍar		1	Azd	7	Ḥamrawah	1
6	Muzaynah		3	Bajīlah	1	Jayshān	2
7	Qays 'Aylān		3	Balī	21	Khāṣ	1
8	Quraysh		23	Ḥaḍramawt	10	Mu'āfir	1
9	Sulaym		2	Hamdān	3	Sabā'	1
10	Tamīm		1	Ḥimyar	3	'Utaq	2
11	Thaqīf		1	Juhaynah	8		
12				Judhām	1		
13				Khawlān	4		
14				Khuza'ah	2		
15				Kindah	12		
16				Lakhm	1		
17				Madhhij	3		
18				Murād	5		
19				Qudā'ah	3		
20				Tanūkh	1		
21				Yaman	6		
	TOTAL	54	TOTAL	119	TOTAL	13	

A number of observations can be made on the basis of the above.

1. Quraysh, with 23 (12%) Companions, Balī with 21 (11%), Anṣār with 20 (11%), Kinānah with 14 (8%), Kindah with 12 (6%) and Ḥaḍramawt with 10 (5%) are the tribes that had the highest concentration of Companions in Egypt. The majority of Companions belonged to tribes from the south (64%). The northern tribes boasted 29%. A further 14 Companions, or 7% of the total, belonged to tribes of uncertain origin.

2. One might think that, because the Quraysh and Anṣār were dominant in Egypt, there must have been many from these tribes who participated in the conquest of this region. This was, however, not the case. As the biographical dictionaries tell us,



there were only 13 Companions from Qurasyh and 6 from Anṣār who joined the conquest,<sup>225</sup> and only 10 of these (i.e., 8 from Qurasyh and 2 from Anṣār) who are known to have settled or had a *khittah* there. This means that the majority of the Quraysh and Anṣār came to Egypt after the conquest.

3. Contacts between Balī and the Prophet had been established since the early days of Islam.<sup>226</sup> Some of them even lived in Medina, so that when a delegation of Balī members went to the Prophet in order to accept Islam they stayed with a resident Balī, Rufay' ibn Thābit al-Balawī.<sup>227</sup> A considerable number of Balawīs fought alongside the Prophet at Badr and Uḥud.<sup>228</sup> When the Muslim army went to Egypt they joined them. They were closely attached to 'Amr, and were ranged on the right of his banner.<sup>229</sup> 'Amr was in fact related to Balī through the marriage of his grandfather to a woman of that tribe.<sup>230</sup> Of the 151 Companions who joined the expedition to Egypt, 17 were from Balī, 11 of whom decided to reside there (of the other 6 there is no way of determining whether they decided to reside there, or died, or went somewhere else). The total

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<sup>225</sup> When compared, for example, to Ghāfiq. It is told that one third of the three thousand original members of 'Amr's army who conquered Egypt were from this tribe. Their settlement in Fustat was so large that Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam could not even describe it all (al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāh*, 8; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 121, 122).

<sup>226</sup> But it was only the Balawī of Ḥijāz who supported the Prophet. The Balawī of the north, who resided in Syria, opposed the Prophet, and even fought alongside the Byzantines against the Muslims. See Donner, *Islamic Conquest*, 101-102; W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 111.

<sup>227</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqāt*, 1 : 330.

<sup>228</sup> For a list of the participants see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat Ansāb al-'Arab*, ed. É. Lévi-Provençal (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1948), 413-4.

<sup>229</sup> It was even claimed that 'Amr fought under the banner of Balī (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 62).

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

number of Balawī Companions who went to Egypt was 21, meaning that the majority of them (i.e., 17) went to Egypt with the army. The other 4 must have gone there after the conquest. It may well be the case that, among the tribes which settled in Egypt, Balī was the tribe which had the highest representation in Companions (“*fa-ammā Balī fa-aktharuhā rajulan ṣahība Rasūl Allāh*”)<sup>231</sup> Not all the people of Balī who settled in Egypt came at the time of the conquest however. For some unknown reason ‘Umar asked his governor (‘*āmil*) in Syria to send one third of the Quḍā’ah tribe to Egypt, and since Balī constituted one third of Quḍā’ah, it was presumably they who were sent.<sup>232</sup>

So far we have discussed the pattern of the distribution of Companions by tribe in the main centers of settlement: Iraq (Kufa and Basra), Syria (mainly Damascus, Hims and Palestine) and Egypt (in this case, Fustat). From the discussion certain points emerge. First, as far as the number of tribes was concerned, Syria and Egypt were more heterogeneous than Basra or Kufa were. Second, the southerners were in the majority in Syria and in Egypt, whereas the northerners, on the other hand, formed the majority in Basra and Kufa (although in Kufa the difference in numbers between northerners and southerners was not great.) Third, as far as representation is concerned, Qurasyh, Anṣār, Kinānah, Kindah and Azd were the tribes that boasted the greatest numbers of Companions. In every center of settlement they were in the majority. Fourth, there were tribes which formed the majority in a certain place or places but were in the minority in others, examples being: Bakr ibn Wā’il (strong in number of Companions only in Basra), Balī (strong only in Egypt), Qays ‘Aylān and Ash‘ar (strong only in

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<sup>231</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 116.

Syria), ‘Abd al-Qays (strong only in Basra and Kufa), Sulaym (strong only in Basra and Syria), Thaḳīf (strong only in Basra and Kufa), and ‘Āmir ibn Ṣa‘ṣa‘ah (strong only in Basra, Kufa and Syria).

In Chapter Four we will discuss whether the general pattern of settlement in Basra, Kufa, Syria and Egypt had any influence on the Battle of Ṣiffin.

## CHAPTER IV

### CENTERS OF DISTRIBUTION DURING THE FITNAH

#### 1. The Arena

Of the three main theaters of conquest (Iraq, Syria, and Egypt), Iraq traditionally was the least popular among soldiers. We see for instance that 'Umar's first initiative on becoming caliph was to summon warriors to accompany al-Muthanná ibn al-Ḥārithah (who had gone to Medina to request aid at around the time of Abū Bakr's death) on his return to Iraq. 'Umar waited three days and yet nobody came forward. Al-Ṭabarī acknowledges that "the Persian front was among the most disliked and difficult of the warfronts for them, because of the strength of the Persians' sovereignty, their military force, their might, and their subjection of the nations."<sup>1</sup> The same thing occurred when 'Umar was preparing to send Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ to Iraq in the year 14/635. Although Sa'd, it is said, was able to gather 4000 men around him, of whom 2300 were from Yemen and 700 from al-Sarāt,<sup>2</sup> these recruits, much to the dismay of 'Umar, only wanted to be sent to Syria. 'Umar insisted on sending them to Iraq but they still refused. The final solution was that half of them were sent to Iraq and the other half to Syria.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa-al-Muluk*, ed. Nukhbah min al-'Ulamā' al-Ajillā' (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-A'lamī lil-Maṭbū'āt, n.d.), 2 : 631. The translation is from *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 11, *The Challenge to the Empires*, translated and annotated by Khalid Yahya Blankinship (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 173.

<sup>2</sup> "A mountain range parallel to the Southwestern coast of the Arabian peninsula." Friedmann's note in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 12, *The Battle of al-Qādisīyah and the Conquest of Syria and Palestine*, translated and annotated by Yohanan Friedmann (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 10.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 5.

The Bajīlīs or, to be more precise, the scattered Bajīlīs whom Jarīr ibn ‘Abd Allāh had gathered together with the help of ‘Umar,<sup>4</sup> also refused to march to Iraq with al-Muthanná, insisting instead that they be sent to Syria. They paid no attention to ‘Umar’s explanation that the latter region was sufficiently garrisoned. Only after ‘Umar promised to compensate them with a quarter of the fifth part of the booty, in addition to their own share, did they finally agree to go to Iraq.<sup>5</sup>

The nature of the arena was of course not the only reason. The tribal composition in the destination was clearly another factor. The Yemenīs were inclined toward Syria on this account, while the Muḍarīs favored Iraq.<sup>6</sup> This explains why Sa’d’s army insisted on being sent to Syria, since the majority of them were from Yemen. The Bajīlīs made it clear that the reason why they preferred to be sent to Syria was because their brothers (*asīlāfuna*) were there.<sup>7</sup> Azd and Kinānah tendered the same reason before finally abandoning Syria, at ‘Umar’s request, as their first choice.<sup>8</sup> Like the Yemenīs and the Bajīlīs, the Azdīs and Kinānīs only reluctantly went to Iraq.

The difficulty that ‘Umar faced in recruiting troops on the one hand and in meeting the immediate need to send an army to face the powerful Persian troops on the other, forced him to take drastic measures. First, he recruited former apostates, a group

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<sup>4</sup> Jarīr had in fact already asked the Prophet’s permission to collect the Bajīlīs. But this was not realized until the time of ‘Umar (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. Abū al-Fidā’ ‘Abd Allāh al-Qādī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīyah, 1987), 2 : 288 - 9).

<sup>5</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 2 : 644, 645-6; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 289.

<sup>6</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 : 646.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 : 647.

from which Abū Bakr had never sought help in his wars against non-Arabs.<sup>9</sup> ‘Umar had no choice but to do so, although he never placed a former apostate in a position of authority.<sup>10</sup> The prohibition instituted by Abū Bakr against recruiting former apostates had in fact placed al-Muthanná ibn Ḥārithah, his general in Iraq, in a very delicate position, especially when half of his army went to Syria with Khālid ibn al-Walīd (on Abū Bakr’s instructions). The situation he faced was actually so difficult that he, as we have seen, was forced to go to Medina to inform the Caliph of the objective reality of the Muslims in Iraq and to ask his permission to recruit apostates, provided that they clearly showed their regret. Al-Muthanná arrived in Medina when Abū Bakr was already suffering from the illness which caused his death.<sup>11</sup> The pressure exerted by al-Muthanná--with whom ‘Umar finally discussed the matter--must have been instrumental in convincing ‘Umar to abandon Abū Bakr’s policy concerning the involvement of apostates in campaigns. Once ‘Umar allowed them to join the ranks, these apostates quickly stepped forward from every direction.<sup>12</sup> The second measure that ‘Umar took was to allow conscription, when necessary, as a means of raising troops. When ‘Umar sent Sa’d to al-Qādisīyah he instructed him to recruit any man of strength,

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<sup>9</sup> In one of his letters which he sent to Khālid ibn al-Walīd and ‘Iyāḍ ibn Ghanm (both of whom having been sent to Iraq), Abū Bakr said, “No one among those that have apostatized is allowed to campaign with you until I give my opinion” (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 2 : 554). Again, his instruction to Khālid ibn al-Walīd, when he sent him to Syria, was “Accept (that is, to be part of his army) only those who have not apostatized” (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 2 : 587; also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 238, 252).

<sup>10</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 9. However, faced with a very difficult situation, and regardless of ‘Umar’s prohibition, Sa’d put Qays ibn al-Makshūkh, one of the former leaders of the apostates, in command of a small expedition. This made ‘Amr ibn Ma’dīkarib, a Companion, angry. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 63-4.

<sup>11</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 2 : 607; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 263.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 2 : 634; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 283, 289.

courage and leadership, including non-Arabs, whom he encountered on the way, adding "if he refuses, just take him."<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, in one of his letters to Sa'd on the way to al-Qādisīyah, 'Umar reminded him to be cautious with his recruits.<sup>14</sup>

These reports on the reluctance of people to go to Iraq may be an indication of the socio-political conditions existing there. 'Umar's policy to use force and/or offer economic concessions suggests that the migration of people to Iraq was basically involuntary. Nor should we be surprised to learn that those who were sent to Iraq and finally settled there did not readily feel at home. This made for an unstable atmosphere, at least when compared to the situation in Syria. It should be remembered here that the settlement of the Companions in Iraq is most often described in the sources by the verb *nazala*, an expression which suggests impermanence.<sup>15</sup>

The poor relations existing between Kufa and Basra are in many ways indicative of the instability of Iraq. The two cities were not always in harmony. One source of conflict was the distribution of tax revenues. The rule that the taxes taken from conquered lands would belong to its conquerors had originally motivated the Basrans and Kufans to compete with each other in conquering as much land as possible. Which of the two actually conquered the land was crucial to deciding how much economic

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<sup>13</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 28; 2 : 658. But when conditions improved 'Umar abandoned this policy (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 223).

<sup>14</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 11. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 295. Some of these men embraced Islam either before or after the fighting. Non-Arabs, and even non-Muslims, as compensation, were entitled to a payment of two thousand dirhams, just like other participants in al-Qādisīyah (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 28). Another measure that 'Umar took to encourage the people to fight the Persians was to allow them to keep the spoils taken from the men they killed (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 71).

<sup>15</sup> See pp. 120-2.

benefit either group would receive. Problems certainly arose when both Kufans and Basrans jointly conquered certain regions. Each group tried to claim particular lands to the exclusion of the other. The Kufans, for example, claimed that Rāmahurmūz and Īdhaj were theirs since they had been conquered by them without any help from the Basrans, who had only joined forces with them once the two lands had been taken.<sup>16</sup> The Basrans, who were facing serious economic problems due to an imbalance between their numbers in Basra and the extent of the lands they possessed, proposed to ‘Umar through their governor ‘Umar ibn Surāqah that the problem be settled in such a way that the Kufans would share their lands with them.<sup>17</sup>

On another occasion the problem involved the conquest of Tustar (21/642). The Basrans claimed the land for themselves, but so did the Kufans. This might have erupted into war had ‘Umar not sent them a letter imposing a solution to the quarrel. Tustar, ‘Umar said, was the rightful prize of the Basrans, but, because the Kufans had helped them, the Basrans ought to share the booty with the Kufans. Everyone was satisfied with the settlement, the Basrans returning home following their leader Abū Mūsá al-Ash‘arī and the Kufans doing the same under ‘Ammār ibn Yāsir.<sup>18</sup> Later however Ḍabbah ibn Muḥṣan raised the problem again with ‘Umar, questioning the involvement of the Basrans in the conquest. He confronted Abū Mūsá al-Ash‘arī, accusing him of not

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<sup>16</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 240; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 432.

<sup>17</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 240

<sup>18</sup> Al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* (Beirut: Dār al-Nadwah al-Jadīdah, n.d.), 2 : 27.



having contributed to the victory. 'Umar summoned both Abū Mūsá al-Ash'arī and Ḍabbah to meet with him, but reserved most of his anger for Abū Mūsá.<sup>19</sup>

The rivalry between Kufa and Basra was damaging to the future of Iraq in its struggle against Syria. When 'Alī led the people of Iraq in the year 36/657 against the Syrian challenge, he faced many difficulties in gaining control. The fact that he was a newcomer himself made the situation worse. Not only did he have to deal with local problems, he also had to struggle to be accepted by the local people. The strong support he received from the Companions, particularly from those settled in Kufa, was not enough to overcome the internal crisis that 'Alī had to face.

Turning to Syria, a different picture emerges. Syria was a popular destination for Jihad. It was mentioned above that the Azd, Kinānah and Bajīlah tribes argued with 'Umar hoping that they would be allowed to be sent to Syria, only to be told that Syria already had enough personnel. Syria's popularity may explain the heterogeneity of the population there, since more tribes had come to settle in Syria than in Iraq.<sup>20</sup> When the Muslims first arrived in Syria they chose not to build new settlements, but to reside in already established communities. Hence, whereas the people of Iraq were preoccupied with building settlements and settling boundaries between their own peoples, newcomers to Syria were quickly absorbed by their kinsmen who were established locally. When the people of Iraq challenged the Syrians, Mu'āwiyah in Syria had no difficulty in raising and inspiring his troops. For unlike 'Alī, who had only arrived in

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 28-31.

<sup>20</sup> See Table VI.

Iraq shortly before the Battle of Şiffin, Mu'āwiyah had been in Syria for 16 years—4 under 'Umar and 12 under 'Uthmān.<sup>21</sup> From the second year of the caliphate of 'Uthmān, his control over Syria was not only firmer but also wider. 'Uthmān had combined Hims and Qinnasrīn, originally administered by 'Umayr ibn Sa'd, and Palestine, formerly ruled by 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Alqamah, under Mu'āwiyah, whose authority at the time of 'Umar had been limited only to Damascus and Jordan.<sup>22</sup> Hence, compared to 'Alī, Mu'āwiyah had two advantages: a more cohesive community and extensive experience in dealing with it.

But experience was not the only factor that enabled Mu'āwiyah to control Syria. The presence in Syria of other Meccan aristocrats, who, like Mu'āwiyah himself, had converted to Islam only at the last minute, must be considered. It was pointed out earlier that the presence of later converts in Syria dated back to the time of Abū Bakr. When he launched his campaign against the Byzantines, he needed a great army. The early Companions in Medina, i.e., the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār, had already been sent to face the apostates. Many of them were also sent to Syria with Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāh. The only people available to him were the Meccans and the Arabs living on the outskirts of the holy cities. It was to them that Abū Bakr turned in a moment of desperation.<sup>23</sup> Whenever Bedouin Arabs (*wafd min al-'arab*) came to Abū Bakr, he sent

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<sup>21</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 5 : 211.

<sup>22</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 339-40; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3 : 13; Sayf ibn 'Umar al-Tamīmī, *Kitāb al-Riddah wa- al-Futūh wa-Kitāb al-Jamal wa-Masīr 'Ā'ishah wa-'Alī*, ed. Qasim al-Samarrai (Leiden: Smitskamp Oriental Antiquarium, 1995), 96

<sup>23</sup> Abū Bakr had already been faced with this shortage of manpower at the time of the Riddah wars. To suppress the Kindah, who had apostatized under the leadership of al-Ash'ath ibn Qays, Abū Bakr sent the Muhājirūn and members of Anṣār under the leadership of Ziyād ibn Labīd, *'āmil* of the Prophet in Kindah, who had been driven away by them. The Kindah were so powerful that the Muslims needed

them to Syria.<sup>24</sup> When a letter came from Syria to Abū Bakr asking for help, he called upon the prominent members of the Quraysh in Mecca and asked their advice concerning the Byzantines. On learning what Abū Bakr had done, ‘Umar is said to have been quite angry. He strenuously argued that Abū Bakr should not have involved the Quraysh in the matter. To ‘Umar these people were unworthy of fighting alongside the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār. Even to ask their advice was inappropriate.<sup>25</sup> But despite ‘Umar’s harsh criticism, Abū Bakr sent these Quraysh to Syria and appointed ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ as their commander. The Meccans nevertheless resented ‘Umar’s hostility. Al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām, ‘Ikrimah ibn Abū Jahl and Sahl ibn ‘Amr actually went to ‘Umar to protest.<sup>26</sup> On the night before he went to Syria ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ also went to him for the same purpose.<sup>27</sup>

What made these later converts more willing to support Mu‘āwiyah was, besides their blood relationship, their opposition to efforts of the older establishment to raise ‘Alī to the caliphate. Again we must go back to the time of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar to find the root of the problem. Abū Bakr acknowledged that the Muhājirūn and Anṣār did indeed hold a high position in Islam. He even reminded ‘Umar to respect the Muhājirūn and Anṣār and seek their guidance.<sup>28</sup> But as far as practical needs were concerned, Abū

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reinforcements to overcome them. Abū Bakr sent ‘Ikrimah ibn Abī Jahl, a later convert, with his Meccan fellows to help (al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 1 : 59-83).

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 1 : 119.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 1 : 120

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 1 : 120-21.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 1 : 122.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 1 : 154.

Bakr believed, the later converts had be treated fairly and given an equal chance. To ‘Umar, who resented the Meccans’ late acceptance of Islam and their hostility to the early call of the Prophet, Abū Bakr said that having decided to convert, they had proved themselves to be good Muslims.<sup>29</sup> Thus when Abū Bakr distributed the wealth, he did it equally among the people, regardless of the time of their conversion, sex, age or status (slave or freeman).<sup>30</sup>

The appointment of ‘Umar as caliph after Abū Bakr signaled the beginning of a reassertion of the influence of the early converts. ‘Uthmān’s appointment, conversely, marked the return of the later converts to power. This also meant the return of the pride and arrogance of the Quraysh. One example of this may be seen in the words of Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ, the governor of Kufa appointed by ‘Uthmān. In an argument with al-Ashtar, Sa‘īd said, “All the land of Sawād belongs to the Quraysh, so whatever land we liked we took, and whatever land that we didn’t we left (*fa-inna al-Sawād kullahā li-Quraysh fa-mā nashā’u minhu akhadhnā wa-mā nashā’u taraknā*).”<sup>31</sup> These words would have been unthinkable for a governor of Kufa to express in the time of ‘Umar. ‘Alī’s rise to power, was therefore a threat to the later converts and consequently a triumph for the early ones. ‘Alī’s attitude toward the early converts resembled that of ‘Umar. When there was a dispute between Jarīr and al-Muthannā over the leadership of the army in Iraq, ‘Alī suggested to ‘Umar that he send somebody else to take over. This person however had

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 1 : 120.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 270.

<sup>31</sup> Al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 2 : 171; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 371; also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3 : 31

to be from the Muhājirūn or Anṣār and had to have participated at Badr.<sup>32</sup> Faced with this powerful threat, the later converts had no choice but to support Mu'āwiyah.

The way the conflict was understood by the Quraysh may also help us understand the closeness of their ties to each other and how they saw themselves as justified in regarding the rise of 'Alī as a threat to their established position (or at least the establishment that 'Uthmān had created, at the centre of which the later converts found themselves). We will see later how 'Uthmān was constantly criticized as caliph. But whereas his opponents couched their criticism in religious terms (focusing on his neglect of morality or religion), 'Uthmān's family viewed them as attacking the Quraysh, and the real issue as being one of tribal sentiment.<sup>33</sup> "You are embittered against the Quraysh," said Mu'āwiyah to the Kufans who, because of their harsh criticism against Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ ('Uthmān's governor in Kufa), were exiled at 'Uthmān's order to Syria.<sup>34</sup> What Mu'āwiyah meant here by the Quraysh did not include all Quraysh, since 'Alī, the contender, was also of that tribe; yet Mu'āwiyah would not countenance him as a candidate for the caliphate. The Quraysh that Mu'āwiyah had in mind were the old Quraysh aristocrats.

It is interesting to note that both 'Alī's army and Mu'āwiyah's are identified in many of our sources by their geographical attachment: *ahl al-'Irāq* for 'Alī's army and

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<sup>32</sup> Al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 1 : 172.

<sup>33</sup> The two issues, i.e., morality and tribal sentiment, could easily be confused. Those who were associated by the critics with evil-doing happened to come mainly from the family of 'Uthmān, i.e., the Umayyads. Accordingly, criticism of evil was automatically criticism of the 'Umayyads.

<sup>34</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 362; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3 : 32; Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 65.

*ahl al-Shām* for Mu'āwiyah's.<sup>35</sup> This identification indicates that geographical sentiment played an important role in the Fitnah. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that people from the same tribes often found themselves supporting the opposite faction. It was 'Alī's strategy at Ṣiffīn to face certain tribes from Syria with the same tribes from Iraq. Accordingly the Azd of Syria would be faced by the Azd of Iraq, the Khath'am of Syria by the Khath'am of Iraq, and so on. Only when there was no corresponding tribe among the people of Iraq would he alter this arrangement.<sup>36</sup> The fact however that people from the same tribes supported opposing parties can only mean that tribal affiliation cannot wholly explain the nature of the Battle of Ṣiffīn.

The identification of 'Alī with Iraq and Mu'āwiyah with Syria was apparently established only on the eve of the battle. Beforehand, the supporters of 'Alī and those of Mu'āwiyah remained divided between the two regions. It was only before the battle itself that they moved to join the main body of the troops that they supported. Thus Mu'āwiyah's supporters left Iraq while 'Alī's left Syria. We are informed that the supporters of 'Uthmān (*'Uthmāniyyūn*) and, therefore the supporters of Mu'āwiyah, in Basra and Kufa, fled from these cities and came to reside in al-Jazīrah, where, especially in al-Raqqah, the supporters of 'Uthmān were strong.<sup>37</sup> The Banū al-Arqām provide another example. In Kufa, the city where they lived, they heard 'Uthmān constantly

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<sup>35</sup> See for example Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 3 : 184; al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1990), 228, 229; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 3 : 254, 255.

<sup>36</sup> Al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 229. See also 263. Even two brothers having the same parents could find themselves fighting each other due to their support of opposite parties (al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 272).

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 12, 146; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 432.

being humiliated. Unable to endure this, they fled to Mu'āwiyah who then settled them in al-Ruhā (still in al-Jazīrah).<sup>38</sup> 'Alī himself encouraged those who would not join him to migrate. Thus he asked the Bāhilīs to move to Daylām, acknowledging the antipathy that they felt for each other. He did not expect them to join him at Ṣiffīn.<sup>39</sup> Sometimes the migrants did not have far to go. The Banī Sa'd, who resided in Basra, moved to Kufa in large numbers and gathered there with 'Alī.<sup>40</sup> Thus the common perception that the people of Mecca and Medina (*al-Ḥaramayn*), Basra and Kufa (*al-Miṣrayn*), Hijaz, Yemen, Egypt, 'Arūd, 'Umān, Baḥrayn, and Yamāmah had agreed on 'Alī<sup>41</sup> must be qualified by the assertion that they were not unanimous in their choice.<sup>42</sup>

But here is the problem. Whereas 'Alī was supported by a wide range of people spread over a vast territory, Mu'āwiyah was supported mainly by Syrians. When their respective supporters gathered around them, however, the picture was totally different. Whereas 'Alī's supporters, being so widely dispersed, were more loosely attached to him, Mu'āwiyah's supporters, dwelling for the most part in a single region, were more loyal to their leader. Al-Ḥajjāj ibn al-Ṣimmah's saying might well describe the difference: "With you (Mu'āwiyah) are the people who do not say anything when you are saying something, and do not question you when you are asking something, while

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<sup>38</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rifat al-Aṣḥāb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī (Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1992), 4 : 16.

<sup>39</sup> Al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 116.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>42</sup> Hence when the words 'people' (*inna al-nās bāya'ū 'Alī*) or 'masses' (*qad bāya'at al-'āmmah 'Alī*) are used, it should not be understood to mean 'all people' (ibid., 30-31),

with ‘Alī are people who speak when ‘Alī is speaking and who ask questions when he is asking.”<sup>43</sup> Mu‘āwiyah in Syria was surrounded by the leading figures of Qaḥṭān and Yemen, to whom he regularly turned for support and advice.<sup>44</sup> Shurahbīl ibn al-Simṭ al-Kindī (one of the most influential figures in Syria<sup>45</sup>) toured the cities of Syria to mobilize the people by spreading the official doctrine of Mu‘āwiyah: ‘Uthmān was killed unjustly and it was the responsibility of all Muslims to seek his revenge.<sup>46</sup>

One might ask: If Iraq was so unstable, why did ‘Alī move from Medina to Iraq after the death of ‘Uthman? It should be remembered that for a variety of reasons, which we have elaborated above in Chapter Three, the Companions left Medina and settled in Iraq, Syria and Egypt. The number of Companions who emigrated must have been so large that in reality Medina at the end of the caliphate of ‘Uthmān would have ceased to be the center of religious authority. It was furthermore ‘Umar’s policy not to let the notables of the Quraysh who emigrated to Medina (*a‘lām Quraysh min al-Muhājirīn*) go to the conquered lands except with his permission, and only for a set period of time. This policy was abandoned by ‘Uthmān.<sup>47</sup> When these Companions left Medina, therefore, the religious and political authority of the city was seriously weakened. In the time of ‘Uthmān, to cite Abū Dharr’s words, “[Medina was] corrupt

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 78.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 50. For the official position of Mu‘āwiyah see his *khutbah* in *ibid.*, 81.

<sup>47</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 426-427; Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 118-9, 120,121.



and abased.”<sup>48</sup> The Fitnah, which started in the time of ‘Uthmān, must have been an additional factor in influencing the Companions to leave Medina. ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ actually set the example for other Companions in the city by leaving Medina with his two sons, ‘Abd Allāh and Muḥammad. Others, including Ḥassān ibn Thābit, followed ‘Amr.<sup>49</sup> Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr also did the same. All the Umayyads who were able to flee likewise abandoned the city.<sup>50</sup> Hence when ‘Alī came to power in Medina he effectively had not enough people there to rely on, especially at a time when he was faced with a much greater problem: that of uniting all the factions within the Muslim community. All these considerations had forced ‘Alī to try to restrict the movements of the Quraysh. He forbade them from leaving Medina under any circumstances.<sup>51</sup> Thus when ‘Alī was informed that Ibn ‘Umar had left Medina for Syria he was very upset. Only after Umm Kulthūm assured him that the news was incorrect did ‘Alī stop searching for him.<sup>52</sup> Given this situation, instead of asking Companions outside Medina to come back to the city, ‘Alī decided to go to where most of them were. Other factors may have had a role to play as well, since economic conditions in Medina had drastically worsened. At the time of the murder of ‘Uthmān the Medinans experienced the worst economic crisis they had ever faced since the drought in the years

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<sup>48</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 354. (The translation is from *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 15, *The Crisis of the Early Caliphate*, translated and annotated by R. Stephen Humphreys (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 101).

<sup>49</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 558; Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 201.

<sup>50</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 455, also 467-8; Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 236.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 458.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 466.

17-8/638-9.<sup>53</sup> Mu'āwiyah, his opponent, was in Syria, making it impossible for 'Alī to consider that region as a base for his caliphate. Egypt on the other hand was also not a good choice for that purpose. Even if 'Alī had many supporters in Egypt, he could not go there without first bringing Syria under his control. Thus, Iraq was the only choice left to him.

A further question imposes itself: Why did 'Alī choose to go to Kufa and not Basra? Reading al-Ṭabarī, we are impressed by Kufa's importance at that time. The available information on Kufa is much more detailed than that on Basra, while the people of Kufa are praised in the sources as being braver than those of Basra.<sup>54</sup> If this description is accepted as accurate, then 'Alī's decision to base himself in Kufa was the logical one. Al-Ṭabarī reports that when 'Umar was preparing to do battle with the Persians in Nihāwand, 'Alī suggested to him:

write to the people of al-Kūfah, for they comprise the most eminent leaders of the Arabs as well as those people who do not even pay attention to the others who might have a more numerous following, better weapons and greater application than they themselves. Let two-thirds of the people of al-Kūfah march on the

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 3 : 193. The drought of 17-8/638-9 was described as follows. "The Drought brought famine, which affected all the people in Medina and the surrounding territory, and spread so much death that the wild animals began to seek food in the settlements of human beings. People even started to slaughter their sheep but then, disgusted with the loathsome appearance of (the meat of) the animals, they would not eat it, although they were starving" (ibid., 3 : 192; the translation is taken from *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 13, *The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia and Egypt*, translated and annotated by G.H.A. Juynboll (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 155). These conditions were repeated when 'Uthmān was murdered. "The inhabitants of Medina never saw anything like the drought again after it was over, until their trading route via the sea was cut off at the time of the murder of 'Uthmān. Then they became weak, poor, and trodden" (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 193; the translation is from *The History*, 13 : 159. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 397).

<sup>54</sup> However, compared to information on Syria, al-Ṭabarī's information on Basra is still better. Al-Ṭabarī is however not well informed about Syria. Hugh Kennedy, 'The Towns of Bilād al-Shām and the Arab Conquest,' in Muhammad Adnan Bakhit and Muhammad Asfour (ed.), *Proceedings of The Symposium on Bilād al-Shām During the Byzantine Period* (Amman: University of Jordan, Yarmouk University, 1986), 89.

Persians, with one third staying behind. And write to the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah to reinforce those of al-Kūfah with some of their men.<sup>55</sup>

First of all it should be remembered that most of al-Ṭabarī's information on the conquest of Iraq is taken from Sayf ibn 'Umar (d. 151/767). Other sources, such as Ibn Ishāq (d. 151/767), Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819) and al-Wāqidī (d. 207/819), were of marginal importance. The fact that Sayf himself was originally from Kufa, however, suggests that he may have been biased on at least two levels. In the first place, when talking about Iraq *vis-à-vis* Syria, he might be expected to have favored Iraq.<sup>56</sup> In the second place, even when talking about Kufa *vis-à-vis* Basra, he would naturally have preferred Kufa. It is against this background that the report of 'Alī's advice to 'Umar quoted above must be seen. According to Ibn A'thām al-Kūfī,<sup>57</sup> on the other hand, the letter was not directed to the Kufans, but to the Basrans. So it should not read "write to the people of Kufa," but rather "write to the people of Basra." Likewise according to al-Kūfī, 'Alī's advice was not to send two-thirds of the Kufans and some of the Basrans, but to send one-third of the inhabitants of Basra and one-third of those of Kufa. The reason he gives for the decision to send troops from these two cities was not because they were "the most eminent leaders of the Arabs," but because, according to 'Alī, it was only they, i.e., the people of Basra and Kufa, who could be sent without further endangering the Muslim community. Sending the Syrians to face the Persians could after all have motivated the Byzantines to invade Muslim territory. Nor could the

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<sup>55</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, 3 : 211 (the translation is from *The History*, 13 : 196).

<sup>56</sup> Khalid Yahya Blankinship, foreword to *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 11, *The Challenge to the Empire*, by al-Ṭabarī (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), xvii.

<sup>57</sup> Al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 2 : 37-8.

Yemenīs have been sent for they provided the barrier against possible attack by the Ethiopians. Hence it was only the people of Basra and Kufa who could face the Persians. Besides, they were already familiar with the way in which the Persians waged war.<sup>58</sup>

If Sayf's report must be questioned on account of bias, then another explanation of why 'Alī chose Kufa must be sought. First, it is to be remembered that 'Ā'ishah had already chosen to go to Basra before the Battle of Jamal. In the latter confrontation, the Basrans supported 'Ā'ishah. After Jamal, the Basrans remained opponents of 'Alī, or perhaps even worse, since he was now viewed by them as the one responsible for the death of their family members in that battle.<sup>59</sup> Thus 'Alī really had no other choice but to go to Kufa. And yet there were other factors at work as well behind 'Ā'ishah's decision to choose Basra and 'Alī's opting for Kufa. 'Alī's reason was in all likelihood independent from 'Ā'ishah's, meaning that even had 'Ā'ishah not gone to Basra 'Alī would still have gone to Kufa to find support.

Explaining why Kufa was more important than Basra, not to mention Syria itself, Hinds has said:

The answer to this seems to be that the system which 'Umar aspired to establish was best served by the heterogeneity of the Kūfan population. .... In the Baṣran territories, Tamīmīs and Bakrīs predominated and only a handful of about 300 early-comers had come from further away. At Kūfa, on the other hand, such early comers from a distance perhaps numbered 10,000 or more and were of a

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<sup>58</sup> See also al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 212. Here, like al-Kūfī, al-Ṭabarī produces 'Alī's reason not to send the Syrians or the Yemenīs. However, as far as the Basrans were concerned, 'Alī's suggestion was to send one-third of them to reinforce the Kufans. Thus, the Kufans were still deemed to be the main actors. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 413.

<sup>59</sup> 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ saw this problem correctly (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 562). It was said that there were ten thousand Basrans killed at the Battle of Jamal, compared to five thousand Kufans (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 543; Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 354).

miscellaneous composition in which there was a relative absence of large dominating clans or groups of clans.<sup>60</sup>

Furthermore:

The *khīṭat* of Kūfa were therefore primarily intended for those who had come from further away. 'Umar's notion was that Kūfa should be *dār hijra* for the Muslims, and these settlers were the *muhājirīn* of Kūfah. .... The presence of 370 early *ṣahāba* domiciled at Kūfa presumably fortified him in that hope.<sup>61</sup>

Based on the composition of the population of Basra and Kufa,<sup>62</sup> Hinds's assertion can be verified. The existence of several large tribes in Basra (such as Tamīm, 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'sa'ah, 'Abd al-Qays, Kinānah and Anṣār) makes it difficult to claim that Basra was dominated by one tribe (i.e., Tamīm). The same is true in Kufa. The fact that Quraysh, Anṣār, Asad and Tamīm, for example, were equally strong in Kufa did not allow for one tribe to dominate others. Accordingly it would be difficult to accept that 'Umar's choice of Kufa as the site for his Islamic experiment was based on the absence of dominant group in Kufa (for neither in Basra nor Kufa did any such dominant tribe exist). Also, judging from the way these early settlers came to Kufa, it cannot be said that 'Umar intentionally asked them to settle there (therefore forbidding them to settle in Basra).<sup>63</sup> There is no evidence to support this. That 'Umar called Kufa *Dār Hijrah* and its inhabitants *Muhājirūn* cannot be used as an argument to single out Kufa as more

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<sup>60</sup> Martin Hinds, "Kūfans Political Alignment and Their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D.," *IJMES* 2 (1971): 351.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> See Tables IV and V.

<sup>63</sup> In fact we are informed otherwise, for 'Umar strongly urged people to settle in Basra (see p. 162).

important than any other place, for Kufa was not the only city regarded as venerable enough for the purpose.<sup>64</sup> Nor was the presence of 370 (or 337 in our list) Companions in Kufa essential to establishing the importance of Kufa, for there were also a great number of them settled in Basra (335).

The only clue we have to the particular importance of Kufa is the fact that it was more heavily populated by early converts than Basra. Veterans of the early army that had been sent to Iraq resided mainly in Kufa. Five-sixths of the army reported to have fought at al-Qādisīyah under ‘Utbaḥ ibn Ghazwān--among whom were some that had been sent to Iraq under al-Muthanná--were the main early settlers in Kufa (thus only one-sixth of them resided in Basra).<sup>65</sup> That there were positive relations between the early settlers and the early converts can partly be seen from the presence of a great number of Anṣār and Quraysh in Kufa. While Anṣār were the highest ranked among the tribes there, the Quraysh were a close second. The Anṣār as we know were among the earliest converts. As for the Quraysh, there were indeed later converts among them, but the Quraysh who fought under al-Muthanná and ‘Utbaḥ in Iraq were not the Quraysh who had come from Mecca, but from Medina.<sup>66</sup> It is therefore understandable that ‘Alī should have been pleased when he found out that ‘Ā’ishah had chosen Basra for her base, for as he admitted, “The Arab chiefs and leaders are in Kufa.”<sup>67</sup> He must have

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<sup>64</sup> See pp. 133-4.

<sup>65</sup> See p. 162.

<sup>66</sup> See p. 166.

<sup>67</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 493, 494, 477; Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 273, 293. This report is again from Sayf, a Kufan, but, based on our analysis of the inhabitants of Kufa, Sayf’s statement is believable. For other examples of ‘Alī’s praise to the Kufans, see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 402.

thought that had she chosen Kufa, the problem facing him would have been far more difficult.

## 2. The Fitnah

Much has been said about this sequence of events,<sup>68</sup> but for our purpose some points are worth repeating, particularly insofar as they are related to the Companions of the Prophet. We have seen how 'Umar relied on seniority in accepting Islam as the most important variable in deciding where to position people.<sup>69</sup> Accordingly those who converted late, either because they had persistently refused Islam until they had no choice but to accept it or because they had only just been born in the time of the Prophet, were marginalized. The rise of 'Uthmān to the caliphate can be viewed as the move of these marginalized people to the center. The return of the family of al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-'Āṣ to Medina was symbolic of this. After being exiled to Ṭā'if by the Prophet, he was refused permission to return by Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Once 'Uthmān became caliph he was allowed to come back.<sup>70</sup> Al-Ḥakam thereupon found himself in Medina, at the center of Muslim affairs.

At the beginning of his caliphate 'Uthmān appointed such marginalized people to important offices. Doing so meant having to remove others, who, in terms of their religious achievements, were of a higher rank. The appointments of 'Abd Allāh ibn

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<sup>68</sup> See Martin Hinds, "The Murder of the Caliph 'Uthmān," *IJMES* 3 (1972): 451-69.

<sup>69</sup> See for example pp. 135-6; Hinds, "Political Alignments," 348-9.

<sup>70</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 1 : 359; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 342.

Sa'd, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir and Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ were cases in point. "Uthmān removed from office the Companions of the Messenger of God and appointed Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir," complained Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr and Muḥammad ibn Ḥudhayfah.<sup>71</sup> The contrast drawn here between the dismissal of Companions and the appointment of Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir suggests that the complainants did not regard the replacements as Companions; thus the issue was seen not as one of dismissing early converts in favor of later ones, but of the removal of Companions and the appointment of non-Companions. Nevertheless, the biographies of Sa'īd and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir, as well as of 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd, reveal that in fact they were Companions, at least according to the definition offered above in Chapter Two, i.e., "any person who had any personal contact at all with the Prophet while he was a Muslim and who died as a Muslim, regardless of whether that person had reached puberty when the contact occurred or whether he had ever heard anything from him." Thus we are faced with a transfer of power within the Companion class, but from those with greater seniority to those with less.

Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ was born in the year of the Hijrah or perhaps the year after. His father was among the infidels killed at Badr. Sa'īd was one of those who were later appointed by 'Uthmān to write the official *muṣḥaf* of the Qur'ān. He served as governor of Kufa, substituting for al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah, who had converted to Islam earlier than he (i.e., in the year of Khandaq).<sup>72</sup> Eventually the Kufans came to resent Sa'īd, and

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<sup>71</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ummah*, 3 : 342; al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 2 : 151; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3 : 14.

<sup>72</sup> See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 2 : 621-2.



‘Uthmān removed him in favor of another late convert, al-Walīd ibn ‘Uqbah, ‘Uthmān’s brother by the same mother. He had converted to Islam at the time of the Conquest of Mecca and was a *munāfiq* according to the original sense of al-Hujrah, verse 6. Furthermore, he was once drunk while performing morning prayer.<sup>73</sup> On later deposing al-Walīd, ‘Uthmān appointed Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ for a second time, who again was rejected by the Kufans.<sup>74</sup>

‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Āmir, the son of ‘Uthmān’s uncle, was born in the time of the Prophet. In the year 29/649 ‘Uthmān removed Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī from his governorship over Basra and ‘Uthmān ibn Abī al-‘Āṣ from his over Persia and combined these two regions under the stewardship of ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Āmir. Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī and ‘Uthmān ibn Abī al-‘Āṣ were however far more senior than ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Āmir, both in terms of age and religious achievement.<sup>75</sup> Abū Mūsā had converted to Islam when the Prophet was in the process of conquering Khaybar,<sup>76</sup> whereas ‘Uthmān ibn Abī al-‘Āṣ had been the Prophet’s *‘amil* at Ṭā’if.<sup>77</sup>

‘Abd Allāh ibn Sa‘d, the suckling brother of ‘Uthmān, converted to Islam before the Conquest of Mecca. After having migrated to Medina and written down revelation

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 4 : 1552-3, 1555, 1447.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 2 : 622, 609. According to Ibn al-Athīr, the chain was not from al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah to Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ to al-Walīd ibn ‘Uqbah then again to Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ, but from al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah to Sa‘īd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ to al-Walīd ibn ‘Uqbah then to Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 475-476). However the difference does not affect the point that the succession was given to those who converted earlier rather than to those who had converted later.

<sup>75</sup> ‘Uthmān is reported to have acknowledged the superiority of Abū Mūsā over ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Āmir (Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 5 : 45).

<sup>76</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 4 : 1763; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 491.

<sup>77</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1035.

for the Prophet, he apostatized and returned to the infidel Quraysh in Mecca. When Mecca was conquered, he was among those whom the Prophet condemned to death. He ran to 'Uthmān, who then hid him. After the situation had cooled down, 'Uthmān brought him to the Prophet asking him for his protection. After saying nothing for a long time, the Prophet finally agreed. He reconverted to Islam and in the year 25/645 was appointed by 'Uthmān as governor of Egypt, replacing 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ.<sup>78</sup>

There are two important conclusions to be drawn from the above discussion. First, 'Uthmān saw to it that all the centers of settlement of the Companions, i.e., Iraq (Basra and Kufa) Egypt, and Syria, were placed under the control of members of his own family. Second, all those who controlled these areas belonged to the later converts, who had been marginalized in the time of 'Umar. These two issues--together with questions of religiosity (such as the fact that al-Walīd was a *munāfiq* and a drunk, while 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd was an apostate)--were to cause difficulties for 'Uthmān down the road. And it is not surprising that his critics were chiefly those who did not belong to his own family, were early converts and who were ostensibly free from religious taint. Thus 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir and Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī--who met all three of these qualifications--became the most ardent critics of 'Uthmān. Other Companions, as well as other members of Muslim society, often expressed their criticism through these Companions. It is reported that a group of Companions made a written statement giving details of 'Uthmān's misconduct, which they asked 'Ammār to bring to 'Uthmān's attention,<sup>79</sup> while the Muhājirūn asked 'Alī to convey their message to the caliph.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 3 : 918; al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* 2 : 131; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 482.

<sup>79</sup> Al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 2 : 153-4.

When the criticism failed to let up, 'Uthmān was forced to recall his governors to Medina and to take them to the Prophet's mosque in the presence of the Companions.<sup>81</sup> Their promise not to treat anybody unjustly seemed not to have had any effect. Now, not only were more complaints coming to Medina but also more disaffected Muslims. 'Uthmān was soon surrounded. Some of the Companions in Medina wrote to the Companions in other regions to come help them overcome the problem.<sup>82</sup> The fact that the situation was getting rapidly worse while 'Uthmān did not have the strength to deal with it frustrated the Companions. The arrival of the Egyptians in Medina for a second time, after they had previously left there with 'Uthmān's promise to meet their demands, only made the Companions angrier and they almost gave up.<sup>83</sup> The Egyptians however had been given a letter in 'Uthmān's name to the governor of Egypt commanding him to execute them on their arrival.<sup>84</sup> When they read this, 'Uthmān's fate was sealed. This was beyond the Companions' expectations. They did not think at all that the Fitnah would cost 'Uthmān his life.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, ed. S.D.F Goitein (Jerusalem: The University Press, 1936), 5 : 60; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 376.

<sup>81</sup> Al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 2 : 189.

<sup>82</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 375-6, 400-1; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5 : 60. Some Companions did come to Medina at the beginning of the Fitnah. But perhaps, seeing that the situation was too complicated, they went back to the garrison cities (*amṣār*). Among them were 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ who went back to Palestine, Ḥanzala al-Katīb to Kufa, Abū Umāma to Syria and Samurah ibn Jundah to Basra (Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 167).

<sup>83</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5 : 68.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 : 62, 65, 67; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 395; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 65.

<sup>85</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5 : 97; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 71.

It should be remarked that ‘Uthmān’s response was not calculated to improve matters. Ill treatment, and even exile, were often the lot that such critics had to face. Al-Ashtar and his followers were just one example. They were all exiled by ‘Uthmān to Syria.<sup>86</sup> ‘Ammār ibn Yāsir, who brought the written statement from the Companions, was reported to have been physically assaulted at ‘Uthmān’s order.<sup>87</sup> In Syria, Abū Dharr witnessed Mu‘āwiyah seizing the property of Muslims in the name of God. By declaring that public property was God’s property, Mu‘āwiyah intended, as Abū Dharr saw it, to set himself up as owner of the property to the exclusion of other Muslims.<sup>88</sup> Fully aware of what had happened to ‘Ammār, Abū Dharr nevertheless intensified his criticism.<sup>89</sup> Mu‘āwiyah was no longer the only target of his criticism. He also urged the rich to pay more attention to the poor, even if they had already paid alms tax (*zakāh*).<sup>90</sup> He was so insistent that the poor began making demands upon the wealthy. The latter complained to Mu‘āwiyah, who then wrote to ‘Uthmān. The latter called Abū Dharr to Medina to question him and then sent him into exile outside the city.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 2 : 172-3; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 365, 367; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3 : 32.

<sup>87</sup> Al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 2 : 155.

<sup>88</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 335; Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 102.

<sup>89</sup> Al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 2 : 155.

<sup>90</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 336; Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 103.

<sup>91</sup> See al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 2 : 155-60. He was exiled to al-Rabadhah. He was there until Ibn Mas‘ūd and the Kufans found him dead (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 354). However, according to another report it was Abū Dharr himself who asked ‘Uthmān to let him stay in al-Rabadhah (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3 : 11). But the fact that exile was one of ‘Uthmān’s policies seems to indicate that it was ‘Uthmān who forced Abū Dharr to leave Medina.

'Uthmān's ill treatment of the Companions created even more anger amongst the people. The people of Kufa, when their governor was recalled to Medina, asked al-Ashtar to come out of exile in Syria and go to Kufa. After asserting that 'Uthmān had deviated from the Sunnah of the Prophet, al-Ashtar explicitly referred to 'Uthmān's mistreatment of the Companions as one of the reasons why he and his followers were entitled to use military force against 'Uthmān.<sup>92</sup> This was also the justification of the Egyptians who went to Medina.<sup>93</sup>

### 3. Attitudes

In the following pages an effort will be made to classify the Companions according to their attitudes during the Battle of Šiffin and to see whether these attitudes had any relation to their geographical base. These attitudes will be divided into three: pro-'Alī, pro-Mu'āwiyah and neutral. Sometimes, however, loyalties were not apparent. It is unclear in a number of cases just which cause certain Companions supported at Šiffin. In this case their loyalties may be categorized as 'unidentified'. At other times the sources disagree over the facts. In this case the letter 'd' will be used to indicate this. Thus "Alī (d)" in the table means that the sources disagree over whether a given Companion favored 'Alī or not. When the sources disagree over whether a certain Companion's loyalty was with Mu'āwiyah or whether he was neutral, these Companions will be classed separately under 'neutral/Mu'āwiyah.'

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<sup>92</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 375-6.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 408.

Before going any further, however, certain points should be raised. First, the attitudes of the Companions during the Fitnah were too complex to be classified into the three categories mentioned above. Some Companions were neutral while ‘Uthmān was being slandered, but died before the Battle of Şifḥīn occurred. One example was ‘Āmir ibn Rabī‘ah.<sup>94</sup> Others remained neutral under ‘Uthmān but took sides when the battle began, such as ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ.<sup>95</sup> Some joined ‘Alī in the beginning and then later opposed him, examples of this being Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr.<sup>96</sup> Others supported ‘Alī at the beginning then withdrew their support before the battle, such as, for instance, Jarīr ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Bajālī. He started out by supporting ‘Alī, and was even entrusted with the task of persuading Mu‘āwiyah to acknowledge ‘Alī’s authority. But when his mission failed, and Mu‘āwiyah persisted in rejecting ‘Alī and even started mobilizing against him, Jarīr’s relations with ‘Alī’s supporters took a turn for the worse. Al-Ashtar for one criticized his failure harshly. Jarīr withdrew to Qirqīsiyā. His people from the Banī Qasr, a subtribe of Bajīlah, to which Jarīr belonged, followed him so that only 19 of them joined ‘Alī at Şifḥīn, although some 700 from Aḥmas, another subtribe of Bajīlah, remained loyal.<sup>97</sup>

There were also some Companions who were at first against ‘Alī but then turned neutral or, at least, did not show support for ‘Alī’s enemy. ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Āmir belonged to this group. He was the son of ‘Uthmān’s uncle. In the year 29/649 ‘Uthmān

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<sup>94</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 2 : 791.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 919.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 : 497-8.

<sup>97</sup> Al-Minqarī, *Waq‘at Şifḥīn*, 60-1.

appointed him as governor of Basra after Abū Mūsá.<sup>98</sup> When ‘Uthmān was murdered, he was still the governor of Basra. Knowing that ‘Ā’ishah and Ṭalḥah were preparing war against ‘Alī, he took the wealth of the Bayt al-Māl of Basra and went to Mecca to join ‘Ā’ishah and Ṭalḥah, and gave this treasure to them. He joined ‘Ā’ishah at the Battle of Jamal. In the aftermath of Jamal he went to Syria and nothing was heard of him until al-Ḥasan gave up his claim to the caliphate to Mu‘āwiyah. At this point in time ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Āmir went to Mu‘āwiyah and asked him to appoint him as governor of Basra in order to recover his wealth which he had abandoned when he left Basra before Jamal.<sup>99</sup> Although his involvement in Jamal seems to have been motivated by his family relations with ‘Uthmān, he was not motivated strongly enough to devote himself to the Umayyad clan’s overall contest with ‘Alī. What is more, before he died, he made Ibn al-Zubayr his heir (*awṣá ilá ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr*),<sup>100</sup> something that he should not have done had he fully supported the Umayyad family.

Second, it will be argued that the conflict between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah can be viewed as a struggle between religious ideas and worldly interests. Accordingly, religious conviction played a significant role in the alignments. Nevertheless, while the importance of religious ideas in the Companions’ decision to act during the Fitnah has to be acknowledged, this is not to negate the involvement of other factors. Blood relationship was certainly an important factor. This means that a particular person

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<sup>98</sup> See p. 207.

<sup>99</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 3 : 288-9; Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 5 : 49.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 289.

might have joined a particular faction because his family asked him to do so, or because blood relationship required him to do so. Ṣafwān and Saʿīd, both sons of Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, were instructed by their father to give their allegiance to ʿAlī. Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān however died when news of the murder of ʿUthmān arrived in Kufa.<sup>101</sup> Ḥudhayfah certainly could not have known this murder would be followed by the Battle of Ṣiffin in which ʿAlī would become one of the key figures. Nevertheless, his original instruction to his sons to give their allegiance to ʿAlī meant that they were also bound to support ʿAlī against Muʿāwiyah. At least this was how his sons understood it. Thus they joined ʿAlī at Ṣiffin. Sometimes, however, people from the same family supported the same party, though it is not known whether they did so in obedience to instructions from their family or because they held the same views on that party. Mikhnaf ibn Sulaym, the great-grandfather of Abū Mikhnaf *ṣāhib al-akhbār*, and his brothers al-Ṣaqʿab and ʿAbd Allāh, were among the supporters of ʿAlī.<sup>102</sup> Saʿd ibn ʿAmr al-Anṣārī and his brother al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAmr,<sup>103</sup> Zayd ibn Jāriyah and his brother Mujammiʿ ibn Jāriyah,<sup>104</sup> ʿAbd Allāh ibn Budayl and his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān<sup>105</sup> and Abū Laylá and his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān<sup>106</sup> also supported ʿAlī at Ṣiffin.

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<sup>101</sup> Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 1 : 335.

<sup>102</sup> Both al-Ṣaqʿab and ʿAbd Allāh were killed at the Battle of Jamal. See *ibid.*, 4 : 1467.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 : 601.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 : 541.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 3 : 184, 429.

<sup>106</sup> Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 4 : 1744.



Needless to say, it was also because of family ties that the close relatives of the contending figures, i.e., Mu‘āwiyah and ‘Alī, chose to support their respective kinsmen. Al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and Muḥammad, sons of ‘Alī; ‘Abd Allāh and Qutham, sons of ‘Abbās; and Muḥammad, ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Awn, sons of Ja‘far ibn Abī Ṭālib, were all with ‘Alī.<sup>107</sup> Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq too was the son-in-law of ‘Alī,<sup>108</sup> and so it is not surprising to see him among ‘Alī’s supporters.

Family ties could also place certain people in a very delicate position. When one was connected by blood to either of the two parties, one was expected to give that party one’s support, but sometimes personal conviction made this impossible to do. The solution was often a compromise, such as passive support for one’s family. This was what happened to ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ. ‘Abd Allāh is described in the sources as a good Companion. He was well-versed in the religious sciences and full of knowledge. He knew how to read and write (hence he is reported to have read the Qur’ān as well as other old books (*qara’a al-Qur’ān wa-al-kutub al-mutaqaddimah*)).<sup>109</sup> He learnt many of the Prophet’s sayings, and even asked the Prophet’s permission to write them down. He fasted and prayed constantly, so much so that his father once complained to the Prophet that his son’s devotions were excessive. ‘Amr obeyed his father to reduce them. When Ṣiffīn took place his father, ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ, sided with Mu‘āwiyah. He subsequently asked his son ‘Abd Allāh to join him. ‘Abd Allāh could

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 3 : 939.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 3 : 1366.

<sup>109</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 3 : 349. See also Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 4 : 267.

not refuse. Later, when the battle was over, he repeatedly stated his repentance. He said that he had joined Mu'āwiyah at Ṣiffīn only because he did not want to disobey his father. And while on the battlefield, he said, he did not even shoot a single arrow.<sup>110</sup> This explains why al-Wāqidī, for example, states that 'Abd Allāh did not fight (*lam yuqātil*) at Ṣiffīn.<sup>111</sup> 'Abd Allāh's situation, and his regret at having to join Mu'āwiyah, mirrors well the two opposite worlds: the religious and the mundane. If it is accepted that 'Alī was identified with the religious cause, then 'Abd Allāh, having a strong religious inclination, ought to have supported 'Alī. His father, however, was a late convert who had much more in common with Mu'āwiyah.

It should be pointed out that family ties cannot always be used to explain the alignment of the people at Ṣiffīn. Brothers could easily end up in a situation where they supported both of the two opposing sides. One example was the sons of Khālid ibn al-Walīd. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid was on Mu'āwiyah's side while his brother al-Muhājir ibn Khālid ibn al-Walīd was on 'Alī's.<sup>112</sup> They were actually related to 'Alī's family through their mother, Lubābah bt. al-Ḥārith, who was the aunt of al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, for her sister was a wife of al-'Abbās. It was also their mother who connected 'Abd al-Raḥmān and al-Muhājir to the Prophet's family, and hence to the Ahl al-Bayt. She was the sister of Maymūnah, one of the Prophet's wives.<sup>113</sup> Their father,

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 3 : 230-51; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 957-8; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 4 : 266.

<sup>111</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 1375. But it is also said that the banner was with him at the time (ibid., 3 : 958; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 4 : 266).

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 2 : 829; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 3 : 440.

<sup>113</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 2 : 427.

Khālīd ibn al-Walīd, however, represented the old Quraysh aristocracy. He was one of the leading figures of the Quraysh before Islam. He converted to Islam only shortly before or perhaps after Ḥudaybiyah. This kind of family background justified Khālīd's sons in their decision to support either 'Alī or Mu'āwiyah. In the end each chose differently, 'Abd al-Rahmān opting for his father's world, and Muhājir his mother's. Khālīd ibn al-Walīd died between 21/641 and 22/642. Had he been as fortunate as Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān (who was able to give instructions to his sons before he died), it would have been interesting to see what he might have told 'Abd al-Rahmān and Muhājir to do.

Moreover, some Companions, although they shared the same religious convictions as the supporters of one of the contending parties (in this case, 'Alī), they only shared in them indirectly. This is to say, their support for 'Alī was not because they identified 'Alī with certain religious ideas (as others did), but because a certain figure who supported 'Alī was believed to be associated with the truth. This was the case with the followers of 'Ammār ibn Yāsir. 'Ammār was an early convert whose sufferings were well-known. Once the Prophet had said to him that he would be killed by an unjust party (*fi'ah baḡhiyah*).<sup>114</sup> In a time of confusion, when it was not easy to decide who was right and who was wrong, some people, basing themselves on belief in Prophetic Tradition, turned to 'Ammār ibn Yāsir as a reference.<sup>115</sup> Whichever party was supported

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 2 : 448; 3 : 1139; al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Siffin*, 324, 341, 343; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 4 : 133; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 2 : 506; Muḥammad ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Kitāb al-Muṣannaf fī al-Aḥādīth wa-al-Āthār*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt (Beirut: Dār al-Tāj, 1989), 7 : 548, 552; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 251, 252, 253, 254, 259.

<sup>115</sup> Abū Mas'ūd was told to give this kind of instruction (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 1139; also Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 262).

by ‘Ammār, they believed, must be engaged in a just cause. Hence some Companions joined ‘Alī at Şifīn not because of ‘Alī but because of ‘Ammār ibn Yāsir. During the Battle of Şifīn, these Companions watched ‘Ammār eagerly. They followed him wherever he went, “as if he was a token for them.”<sup>116</sup> Some Companions even basically remained neutral, although they were already on ‘Alī’s side, until ‘Ammār was actually killed. Khuzaymah ibn Thābit was among ‘Alī’s army at Şifīn, as well as at Jamāl. But he only unsheathed his sword after ‘Ammār was killed. He then fought on until he himself fell.<sup>117</sup>

Since religious motives were apparently important in the conflict between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah, it might be expected that the Companions who felt strongly about issues of faith would range themselves on one or the other side. Yet it was also the case that some were motivated by the same considerations to remain neutral. One source maintains that there were four Companions who were safe from Fitnah—Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqāş, ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar, Muḥammad ibn Maslamah and Usāmah ibn Zayd—and four among the Followers (*Tābi‘ūn*)—al-Rabī‘ ibn Khuthaym, Masrūq ibn al-Ajda‘, al-Aswad ibn Yazīd and Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī—who also fell into this category.<sup>118</sup> This may have been underestimating the case. There were at least seven Companions who were neutral during the Fitnah; and perhaps even more since there may

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<sup>116</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1138; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 4 : 134.

<sup>117</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 2 : 448; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 4 : 135; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7 : 552; Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 259.

<sup>118</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 1 : 77; 3 : 1377. According to ‘Adī ibn Ḥātim, three persons withdrew from the fighting: Sa‘d ibn Mālīk, ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar and Muḥammad ibn Maslamah (al-Minqarī, *Waq‘at Şifīn*, 65).

have been other Companions alive at the time whose attitudes are not known to us. The important question however is why these Companions chose to be neutral. Muḥammad ibn Maslamah justified his position by saying that the Prophet had made a sign to him to do so. The Prophet, he said, declared to him that in the event of Fitnah, one should only take up a sword that was made of wood. Muḥammad ibn Maslamah did literally this.<sup>119</sup> So did Wuhbān ibn Ṣayfī, referring also to the same Tradition.<sup>120</sup>

Other Companions were neutral for reasons that we are not sure of. Ḥanzalah ibn al-Rabī‘ remained neutral at Jamal. It is said that he refused to fight the people of Basra.<sup>121</sup> His refusal to fight the Basrans may be interpreted as unwillingness to fight his relatives who lived there, but this is unlikely, since when he was asked to fight the Syrians at Ṣiffin he also declined. The pressure from ‘Alī’s supporters forced him, and his followers, to leave for Mu‘āwiyah’s camp, although in the end he did not join Mu‘āwiyah either. He refused to support either party.<sup>122</sup>

Even more interesting was the guilt felt by those who either remained neutral or became involved in the Fitnah. All the regrets, as far as I have been able to determine, were due to their failure to support ‘Alī, whether because of their neutrality or because of their choice to support Mu‘āwiyah. No one expressed regret at having joined ‘Alī instead of Mu‘āwiyah. ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ and his son, ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Amr (of whom we have already spoken) regretted the fact that they supported Mu‘āwiyah. ‘Abd Allāh ibn

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 3 : 1377.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 4 : 1568.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 1 : 379.

<sup>122</sup> Al-Minqarī, *Waq‘at Ṣiffin*, 97.

'Umar, as well as Masrūq, one of the four Followers (also mentioned above), were also sorry that they did not join 'Alī.<sup>123</sup>

The following table shows a numerical breakdown of the attitudes of Companions during the Battle of Şiffin.

Table IX  
The Attitudes of the Companions at Şiffin

	I 'Alī	II 'Alī (d)	III Mu'āwi- yah	IV Mu'āwi- yah (d)	V Neutral	VI Neutral/ Mu'āwiyah	VII Unidenti- fied	VIII Unidenti- fied (d)	To- tal
Number of Companions	123	12	31	1	7	2	9	2	187

As we saw in Chapter Two, the Traditionists tried to minimize or even negate the involvement of the Companions in the Fitnah.<sup>124</sup> The above table however shows that their assertions were quite groundless. Of the 187 Companions whose attitudes were known during the Battle of Şiffin, only 7--or 9 if group VI is included--can be said to have been neutral. The remaining 180 were involved, either on 'Alī's side (123, or 135 if group II is counted) or on Mu'āwiyah's (31, or 32 if group IV is counted). Nine other Companions were known to have been involved, but it is uncertain as to which side they supported.

The difference between Mu'āwiyah's supporters and 'Alī's among the Companions calls for further explanation. The Companions occupied a high position in Muslim society. Whatever they did would have a great impact on the other members of

<sup>123</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 1 : 77; 3 : 951, 953.

<sup>124</sup> See pp. 99-101.

that society. "Both of you are the Companions of the Prophet, (so, be careful) you are watched,"<sup>125</sup> said Hāshim ibn 'Utbah to 'Abd Alfāh ibn Mas'ūd and Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqās, who were in the midst of a dispute in Kufa. When neither one agreed to back down but instead began trying to convert others to his cause, the people of Kufa were soon divided into two camps. Each blamed the other for this state of affairs.<sup>126</sup> In the context of the Companions' support for one of the two parties at Şiffin, we can see how their example was used to amass a following, as well as to justify a given party's position.

One can hardly fail to notice that the Companions exercised great influence within their society. When the people of Basra were torn apart over accusations that their governor al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah was guilty of impiety, 'Umar sent Abū Mūsá al-Ash'arī to substitute for al-Mughīrah and summoned the latter to come to Medina to appear before a tribunal. Knowing that 'Umar had sent him to heal the division in that society, Abū Mūsá asked 'Umar to send some Companions along with him. "O, Commander of the Faithful, assist me with some of the Companions from the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār for I have found that in this community as well as in those areas they are like the salt without which the food does not taste good." 'Umar agreed and asked him to choose for himself which Companions to bring along. In the end, twenty-nine of them went with Abū Mūsá to Basra.<sup>127</sup> The high expectations of the community placed in the

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<sup>125</sup> See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 311.

<sup>126</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 477.

<sup>127</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 169; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 384-5.

Companions were not limited to the great figures only--in Abū Mūsá's case the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār. The ordinary Companions also enjoyed this high estimation. This was clearly demonstrated when Khālid ibn al-Wālid and al-Muthanná ibn al-Hārithah argued over which of the Companions was on his side. Informed that the Byzantines had gathered in Yarmūk, Abū Bakr urged his commanders, who were scattered in different areas, to bring their armies there, Khālid ibn al-Wālid being no exception.<sup>128</sup> Abū Bakr asked him to bring half of his army from Iraq to Syria and to appoint al-Muthanná ibn Hārithah to remain in charge of the other half. Khālid had the Companions brought to him, as he planned to bring them all with him to Syria, leaving al-Muthanná with not a single Companion. Al-Muthanná protested to al-Wālid and urged him to leave some of the Companions with him, for "By God, I do not hope for victory except by them." Khālid responded by giving up as many Companions as it took to satisfy al-Muthanná.<sup>129</sup> The Companions they were bartering over were not even among the most important ones. In fact the expression used to describe these Companions is "those who had come to the Prophet in delegation (*man kāna qadima 'alá al-Nabī ṣallá Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama wāfidan*)." Hence, those who had only even seen the Prophet for a short time, let alone those who were closely attached to him, were considered significant by both al-Muthanná and Khālid.

Did their contemporaries see the Companions in this way? Since Abū Mūsá al-Ash'arī, who described the Companions' role in the community as being like that of

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<sup>128</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ummah*, 2 : 603.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 2 : 605; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 256.



“salt in the food,” and al-Muthanná ibn Ḥārithah, who said that the victory of the Muslims on the battlefield depended on the presence of Companions in the army, were Companions themselves,<sup>130</sup> it could be argued that their statements were nothing more than self-promotion. In other words, their attitudes were not representative of how their contemporaries saw the Companions.

In trying to answer this objection, one can go back to the biographical dictionaries that treat of the Companions. These works were not written by the Companions, and cannot therefore be said to be self-promotion. It was the people who came after them who selected whatever information they considered worthy of recording. Now, reading this information, one can sense how important the Companions were to their generation, so that even matters like the state of their beards<sup>131</sup> were considered noteworthy. Had the Companions been thought of as unimportant, information such as this would have been forgotten.

During the Fitnah, out of a belief that the Companions exercised great influence, each group tried to convert these Companions to their cause. The attachment of the Companions to particular groups would be emulated by other members of society (who were under their influence). When ‘Adī ibn ‘Amīrah could not stand to hear how ‘Uthmān had been humiliated at Kufa, he went to Syria. Other members of Banū Arqām who went along with him appeared to have been influenced by ‘Adī’s decision.<sup>132</sup> ‘Amr

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<sup>130</sup> Abū Mūsā went to Medina while the Prophet was in Khaybar (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 4 : 1763). Al-Muthanná ibn Ḥārithah went to the Prophet as part of a delegation between the years 9 and 10 (ibid., 4 : 1456).

<sup>131</sup> Thus ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Āmir, who was Abū Bakr’s father, was reported to have dyed his beard. He was even the first person to dye his beard after Islam (ibid., 3 : 1036).

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 4 : 16.

ibn Yāsir, Jarīr ibn ‘Abd Allāh, Simāk ibn Makhramah (who will be discussed below) are some additional examples. The leader of each party was of course happy to attract so many Companions to his side. Even ‘Alī, who was himself a formidable figure and seemingly self sufficient in terms of religious position, also needed the support of these Companions and was pleased when he got it.

Mu‘āwiyah was apparently less successful. In terms of getting support from Companions, the number who supported him was far below that of the Companions who joined ‘Alī. Why? Comparing the two figures, i.e., ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah, may give us some answers to this question.

There is no doubt that ‘Alī was an important figure. He was among the first converts,<sup>133</sup> having accepted Islam at some time between the ages of eight and sixteen.<sup>134</sup> He was the first one who prayed,<sup>135</sup> although some say that he was the next to

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<sup>133</sup> The first converts were Abū Bakr, Khadijah and ‘Alī (see Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1090). As to who among the three was actually the first, the sources disagree. Ibn ‘Abbās and Zayd ibn Arqam say it was ‘Alī (ibid., 3 : 1090, 1091, 1093, 1094, 1095; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 4 : 92, 93). Some say it was Khadijah (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1090, 1091). Ibrāhīm al-Ankha‘ī says it was Abū Bakr (ibid., 3 : 1090; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 4 : 93). Some tried to solve this problem by harmonizing the differences. So, according to Mujāhid and others, Abū Bakr was the first who showed his Islam (*azhara islāmahu*). Abū Bakr, according to Ibn Shihāb, Muḥammad ibn ‘Uqayl, Qatādah and Abū Ishāq, was the first to accept Islam among men (*awwal man aslama min al-rijāl*). And all (meaning Mujāhid, Ibn Shihāb, Muḥammad ibn ‘Uqayl, Qatādah and Abū Ishāq and others) agreed that Khadijah was the first who believed in Muhammad (*awwal man āmana billāh wa ṣaddaqahu fīmā jā’a bi-hi thumma ‘Alī ba’dahā*) (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1092; also Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 21). The various wordings are interesting. The word *aslama* is used to describe ‘Alī’s conversion, while the word *āmana* is used to describe Khadijah’s. It is to be noticed that *īmān* always comes before *Islām*. In so doing, the positions of ‘Alī and of Khadijah as the first are maintained, while the difference (that Khadijah preceded ‘Alī in conversion) is also stated. The word *min al-rijāl* serves the same purpose. This is to say that ‘Alī was *the first* among men (see also Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1093), while Khadijah was *the first* among women (nonetheless, both were still *the first*). As far as Abū Bakr was concerned he was *the first* man to show his Islam, while ‘Alī first hid it (ibid., 3 : 1092).

<sup>134</sup> The sources also disagree on the age of ‘Alī when he converted to Islam: 8 years (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1092, 1093, 1094), 9 years (Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 21), 10 years (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1093; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 4 : 92), 11 years (Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 22), 12 (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1093), 13 (ibid., 3 : 1093, 1094), and 15 or 16 (ibid., 3 : 1093, 1094)

do so after Khadijah.<sup>136</sup> He was the one who washed the body of the Prophet when he died and the one who buried him.<sup>137</sup> He participated in the battles of Badr, Uḥud, Khandaq, Khaybar, Ḥudaybiyah and other events.<sup>138</sup> The Prophet expressed his closeness to his son-in-law 'Alī in explicit terms.<sup>139</sup> In Mecca the Prophet established brotherhood among the Muslims (i.e., among the Muhājirūn), and in Medina he did the same among the Muhājirūn and Anṣār. On both occasions the Prophet proclaimed that he was the brother of 'Alī.<sup>140</sup> In terms of religious knowledge 'Alī was also quite advanced. He was described as the door to the city of knowledge by the Prophet,<sup>141</sup> as the most well-versed in religious matters (*aqḍānā*) by 'Umar,<sup>142</sup> and as the most knowledgeable in Sunnah by 'Ā'ishah.<sup>143</sup> In short, in terms of blood relation and

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<sup>135</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 1095; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 21.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 1090; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 4 : 92

<sup>137</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 1090.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 1096-7. There is no dispute that 'Alī joined in every occasion of battle (*mashhad*) once the Prophet had settled in Medina, except Tābūk, for on that occasion he was asked by the Prophet to remain in Medina to take care of the city and the Prophet's family (*ibid.*, 3 : 1097; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 4 : 91; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 24).

<sup>139</sup> Some Traditions about this topic have been reported. For example, once the Prophet said to 'Alī, "You are to me like Hārūn to Mūsā (*anta minnī bi-manzilat Hārūn bi-Mūsā*)" (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 1097, 1098; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 24). On another occasion the Prophet said to 'Alī, "You are my brother and my close friend (*anta akhī wa-ṣāhibī*)" (*ibid.*, 3 : 1098). However, the most famous Tradition on this topic is the Prophet's declaration in Ghadīr Khumm on his return from the Farewell Pilgrimage, that 'Alī is the patron of those who are under the patronage of the Prophet ("*Man kuntu mawlāhu fa 'Alī mawlāhī*") (see L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Ghadīr Khumm," in *EF*).

<sup>140</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 1098-9; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 4 : 91; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 22.

<sup>141</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 1102.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 1102

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 1104.

emotional attachment, as well as religious knowledge, 'Alī was a truly outstanding figure.<sup>144</sup>

With Mu'āwiyah, we get a totally different picture. He was among the last of the Quraysh to convert to Islam, doing so only at the Conquest of Mecca, when the Quraysh had no choice but to surrender to the Prophet.<sup>145</sup> This meant that in the battles of the Prophet like Badr, Uhud, and Khandaq, which occurred before the Conquest of Mecca, Mu'āwiyah was still considered an enemy of the Prophet. However, once he became Muslim, the Prophet employed him as one of his secretaries.<sup>146</sup> He was certainly not known for his knowledge of Islam. Compared to 'Alī, whether in terms of family relation or those of emotion and knowledge, Mu'āwiyah was far behind.<sup>147</sup>

The struggle between these two figures, different in terms of both background and personality, was nothing less than a competition between two different societies and sets of ideas. 'Alī's strength lay not only in his blood and marriage relationship to the Prophet and his military achievements but also in his religious achievements and ideas, and his supporters appear to have valued these qualities in him. A caliph, in their eyes, had to be the most outstanding person in his community, and in 'Alī's case this was made evident by his relationship to the Prophet and his achievements. Mu'āwiyah, on the other hand, had neither of these qualifications. So he had to find something else to

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<sup>144</sup> Al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Siffin*, 102.

<sup>145</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 1416. However, according to Mu'āwiyah himself he was a Muslim already when he met the Prophet (*ibid.*, 3 : 1104).

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 1416.

<sup>147</sup> 'Amr ibn al-'Ās's statement describes well the comparison between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah (*al-Minqarī*, *Waq'at Siffin*, 37-8). For similar comparisons see also *ibid.*, 85, 102, 118-9, 150, 187, 318,

justify his position, and to find his support from those who did not regard religious achievements, as well as blood relationship, as appropriate qualifications for leadership.

That 'Alī was associated with religious ideals can be seen from the way his position was justified. It was al-Ḥasan's opinion that 'Alī should not have accepted the *bay'ah* of the Medinans before the people of the garrison cities (*amṣār*) had given him theirs. To this objection, 'Alī answered that the appointment of a caliph was the business of the Medinans.<sup>148</sup> (And indeed all the Companions in Medina were reported to have given their allegiance to 'Alī.<sup>149</sup>) In other words, whatever the Medinans decided regarding the caliphal succession had to be followed by those outside Medina. Thus if there was disagreement over the succession, this disagreement would inevitably reflect Medinan issues. When Abū Mūsá was under pressure from the Kufans to join in the conflict between 'Alī and 'Ā'ishah, his suggestion was not to get involved at all. He argued that this was the business of the Medinans and not of the Kufans, let alone anyone else. So, according to him, the best thing to do was to ask these Medinans, i.e., 'Ā'ishah with her followers and 'Alī with his, to go back to Medina and settle the matter among themselves.<sup>150</sup>

If the Medinans were considered to be the ones most capable of selecting a caliph, it is likely that the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār fulfilled this role, and no other group in Medinan society. If so, then any figure who was supported by the Muhājirūn

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<sup>148</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 474; Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 272.

<sup>149</sup> “[B]āya ‘abu Ṭalḥah wa-al-Zubayr ... wa-jamī‘ man kāna bi-al-Madīnah min Aṣḥāb Rasūl Allāh, ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama, wa-ghayruhum” (Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3 : 31).

<sup>150</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 497; Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 299.

and the Anṣār would be granted an almost unassailable legitimacy. This was exactly what Jarīr ibn ‘Abd Allāh said to Mu‘āwiyah when he was sent by ‘Alī to Syria to ask the people their *bay‘ah*. Jarīr urged Mu‘āwiyah to give his *bay‘ah* to ‘Alī. According to Jarīr, ‘Alī was the legitimate caliph since he was the one who was elected by the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār. If the appointment of a caliph had to be based on consultation (*mushāwarah*) among Muslims, then it was the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār who had the most right to do so,<sup>151</sup> for it was said “they are the judges of the Ummah (*hum al-ḥukkām ‘alá al-nās*).”<sup>152</sup> ‘Alī himself certainly used this argument to affirm his position (“Consultation (*shūra*) belongs to the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār”) insisting that the one appointed by them as Imam must be accepted and followed, and that a person who refused to accept him must be forced to do so for he had deviated from the way of the believers.<sup>153</sup> Hence, ‘Alī viewed the agreement of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār as equivalent to the agreement of all believers. And indeed, for the supporters of ‘Alī, the support of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār was a token of their righteous position.<sup>154</sup>

Mu‘āwiyah, since he was not elected by the Muhājirūn and Anṣār, was not regarded as a legitimate caliph by the majority and thus had no right to question the legitimacy of ‘Alī’s caliphate. Likewise his followers. They were neither Muhājirūn and

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<sup>151</sup> Al-Minqarī, *Waq‘at Siffīn*, 16, 47. “The Jamā‘ah is in Medina among the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār (*innamā al-jamā‘ah bi-al-Madīna ‘inda al-Muhājirīn wa-al-Anṣār*)” (Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7 : 451). When ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Awf was entrusted to head the election after the death of ‘Umar, it was the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār whom he asked (Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 5).

<sup>152</sup> Al-Minqarī, *Waq‘at Siffīn*, 45.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 47, 65.

nor Anṣār, so their choice was not legitimate either.<sup>155</sup> Based moreover on the principle that the caliph must be the best of Muslims and that the best could only be found among the early converts, Mu'āwiyah would never become a caliph. Mu'āwiyah was one of the *ṭulaqā'*, a term used to refer to the people who had remained heathen until the time of the Conquest of Mecca when they had no other choice but to convert to Islam,<sup>156</sup> and it was asserted that "*ṭulaqā'* have no right whatsoever to the caliphate."<sup>157</sup> Mu'āwiyah's claim to leadership was therefore unjustified.<sup>158</sup> This is also what 'Abd Allāh ibn Budayl, one of the Companions who supported 'Alī, believed.<sup>159</sup>

The view that 'Alī had more right to the caliphate and that Mu'āwiyah's claim to it was invalid can also be said to have prevailed among the Traditionists. In spite of the Traditionists' doctrine that all Companions were *'udūl*,<sup>160</sup> the Traditionists could not hide their inclination towards 'Alī. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, for instance praises 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khālid ibn al-Wafīd al-Qurashī for his bravery, virtue (*fadl*), right direction (*hady*), excellence (*husn*) and noble-mindedness (*karam*). Yet, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr admits

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<sup>155</sup> 'Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib, when he came to Mu'āwiyah to support him against 'Alī, made the following statement: "I was in 'Alī's presence. I looked at the people who were there, and did not see except the Muhājirūn and Anṣār. Then I saw the people who were with you (meaning, with Mu'āwiyah). I did not see except the *ṭulaqā'*" (Ibn Ḥayyūn, *Sharḥ al-Akhhār*, Manuscript, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Ms. 25732, parts 13-4, 20 recto). See also Zayd ibn Ḥuṣayn's statement in al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Siffin*, 99.

<sup>156</sup> Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, [1955-6]).

<sup>157</sup> In 'Alī's words, "*I'lam annaka* (meaning Mu'āwiyah) *min al-ṭulaqā'* *alladhīn lā taḥillu la-hum al-khilāfah*" (al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Siffin*, 29). Ibn 'Abbās says more or less the same thing to Mu'āwiyah, "*wa-al-khilāfah lil-Muhājirīn al-awwalīn, wa-laysa al-ṭulaqā'* *minhā fī shay'*" (ibid., 416). See also ibid., 201, 237, 415.

<sup>158</sup> See, for example, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 873; also al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Siffin*, 63,

<sup>159</sup> Al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Siffin*, 234.

<sup>160</sup> See p. 92.

that unfortunately he deviated from ‘Alī and Banī Hāshim (*illā annahu kāna munḥarif ‘an ‘Alī wa-Banī Hāshim*).<sup>161</sup> This implies that deviating from ‘Alī or supporting Mu‘āwiyah was considered as something ‘unfortunate’, something that should not have been expected of someone possessing the qualities of bravery, virtue, right direction, excellence and noble-mindedness. In other words, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr implies, only those lacking these character traits could be expected to support Mu‘āwiyah.

Mu‘āwiyah himself seems to have been aware of his own position. He knew that, lacking religious justification, he had to rely on other means to attract people to his cause. In preparing for war with ‘Alī, among other things, Mu‘āwiyah wrote to people who, in his judgment, had something to fear from ‘Alī or hated him, as well as to those who thought that the murder of ‘Uthmān was a matter for concern and that ‘Alī was responsible for it.<sup>162</sup> ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn ‘Umar must have been among those whom Mu‘āwiyah had in mind. ‘Alī was a threat to his life<sup>163</sup> due to certain events that went back to the succession of ‘Uthmān to the caliphate.<sup>164</sup> When ‘Umar was killed, ‘Ubayd Allāh did not hesitate for a moment in killing al-Hurmuzān who was suspected of being involved in ‘Umar’s death. This brought up the question of punishment among the people of Medina. When ‘Uthmān became caliph the case was re-opened. ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ advised ‘Uthmān to let ‘Ubayd Allāh live, advice with which ‘Uthmān agreed. ‘Alī,

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<sup>161</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 829. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 3 : 440.

<sup>162</sup> See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 563.

<sup>163</sup> Mu‘āwiyah himself is reported to have been aware that ‘Ubayd Allāh’s reason to come to him was because he was afraid of ‘Alī (al-Minqarī, *Waq‘at Ṣiffīn*, 83).

<sup>164</sup> See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isābah*, 3 : 76-7; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1012.; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5 : 24; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 466-8; Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 8-9.



however, was of the opinion that ‘Ubayd Allāh should be killed and he persistently argued in favor of this policy. The appointment of ‘Alī as caliph after the murder of ‘Uthmān clearly was a threat to ‘Ubayd Allāh’s life. In such circumstances Mu‘āwiyah was certainly the right person to be with.

Mu‘āwiyah took a number of measures to strengthen his position. First he tried to protect the unity of his Syrian army by not allowing any outside forces to join it, even if they came forward to support him directly or indirectly. During the Fitnah there were people from Kufa and Basra who had resented the hatred shown toward ‘Uthmān in those cities, as well as those who did not want to join ‘Alī’s cause for whatever reason. These people apparently went to Syria. Their choice was a great advantage to Mu‘āwiyah, for at least they had not joined ‘Alī and were in no position to cause any trouble for Mu‘āwiyah. But despite this fact, Mu‘āwiyah did not want to take the risk of incorporating them into his Syrian army, even when they asked him to do so. He kept them separate, creating garrison cities in which to settle them. Al-Qinnasrīn, which had previously been a mere rural district of Hims, was transformed into a garrison town to accommodate these people. Al-Jazīrah and Mosul were other areas where these people were settled.<sup>165</sup> The Banī al-Arqam, for instance, who hated the situation in Kufa, came to Mu‘āwiyah, who placed them in al-Jazīrah.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 240-1.,339. Mu‘āwiyah had even made an effort to protect the unity of Syria since trouble had begun at the time of ‘Uthmān. At ‘Uthmān’s order some Kufans were exiled to Syria. But later Mu‘āwiyah sent a letter to ‘Uthmān asking him to send these Kufans back to Kufa. “If they remain in the midst of the Syrians, I worry that they may delude them with their sorcery and depravity,” wrote Mu‘āwiyah (ibid., 3 : 367; the translation is from *The History*, 15 : 124).

<sup>166</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 4 : 16.

The other step that he took was to try to convert Companions to his cause. The arrival of ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn ‘Umar in Syria was greatly welcomed by Mu‘āwiyah.<sup>167</sup> ‘Ubayd Allāh was a Companion and any support given by any Companion strengthened his position *vis-à-vis* ‘Alī. The support of the Companions could be considered as religious legitimation of his claim. Ka‘b ibn Murrah al-Sulamī, a Companion who lived in Jordan (Syria),<sup>168</sup> was said to have delivered a *khutbah* in support of Mu‘āwiyah in a mosque where about four hundred Companions were present. On that occasion Ka‘b narrated a Prophetic Tradition in which the Prophet foresaw the Fitnah and stated that in that Fitnah ‘Uthmān was “on the right path (*‘alā al-hady*).”<sup>169</sup> The claim of the presence of four hundred Companions and the report of the Prophetic Tradition on ‘Uthmān were both efforts at conveying the idea that Mu‘āwiyah was religiously justified in his cause. Once this was established, Mu‘āwiyah could gain the support of the people without much difficulty.

Given their influence, the Companions’ decision to support a particular group was often emulated by other members of society. Thus, once Mu‘āwiyah was able to win support from any one of the Companions, that Companion would bring those loyal to him over to Mu‘āwiyah’s cause. One example of this was Simāk ibn Makhramah al-Asadī, a Companion who lived in Kufa. It seems that he exercised an influential role in Kufa, having been one of that city’s delegates to ‘Umar. One of the mosques in Kufa

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<sup>167</sup> Al-Minqarī, *Waq‘at Siffin*, 82.

<sup>168</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1326.

<sup>169</sup> Al-Minqarī, *Waq‘at Siffin*, 81-2.

was even named after him.<sup>170</sup> When the conflict between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah broke out, Simāk, a supporter of ‘Uthmān, fled from Kufa to al-Raqqah. With him came one hundred men from Asad. From al-Raqqah he wrote to his people to join him under Mu‘āwiyah’s leadership. Another seven hundred men, also from his tribe, decamped to al-Raqqah.<sup>171</sup>

The Companions who were neutral were also summoned by Mu‘āwiyah to come and support him. Thus he sent letters to ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar,<sup>172</sup> Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqās,<sup>173</sup> and Muḥammad ibn Maslamah.<sup>174</sup> None of these latter, however, lent him their support.

Nor did Mu‘āwiyah hesitate , when necessary, to buy people’s support. It is even said that he strove to convert ‘Alī’s most valued supporters until they sold their religion for affluence.<sup>175</sup> Those who openly declared their worldly ambitions were quickly satisfied by Mu‘āwiyah, as can be seen in the case of the people of the tribes of ‘Akk and Ash‘ar.<sup>176</sup> ‘Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib--‘Alī’s brother--and ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ were other examples. ‘Aqīl decided to join Mu‘āwiyah after he realized that his brother ‘Alī could

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<sup>170</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti‘āb*, 2 : 652.

<sup>171</sup> Al-Minqarī, *Waq‘at Siffin*, 146.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 436.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 435.

not satisfy his greed.<sup>177</sup> ‘Amr was responsible for the conquest of Egypt, and indeed was appointed as governor of Egypt until ‘Uthmān removed him. He was angry with ‘Uthmān and did nothing when ‘Uthmān was surrounded and murdered.<sup>178</sup> He remained neutral when ‘Alī was appointed as caliph. But when Mu‘āwiyah approached him, he proposed that he be given control over Egypt in exchange for his support.<sup>179</sup> It is not without grounds therefore that we find Mu‘āwiyah identified with worldliness and those who joined Mu‘āwiyah accused of having placed personal advancement ahead of conscience.<sup>180</sup>

The difficulties that Mu‘āwiyah faced in trying to win his struggle with ‘Alī were caused in part by the fact that it seems no Companion with a status that even approached ‘Alī’s had settled in Syria by the time of the Fitnah. This issue is important in relation to the conflict between Mu‘āwiyah and ‘Alī. It was right that the appointment of a caliph had to be based on seniority in Islam. But there was another variable which was also decisive, i.e., that a candidate had to be from the Quraysh. Thus there were two important factors involved in deciding whether a person could legitimately fill the post of caliph: he had to be (1) an early convert and (2) a Qurayshī.

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<sup>177</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1079. It is reported that ‘Aqīl even asked ‘Alī, who was in Kufa, to give him the wealth that belonged to the Muslims. ‘Alī turned down his request (Ibn Ḥayyūn, *Sharḥ al-Akḥbār*, 19 verso.)

<sup>178</sup> See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ummam*, 3 : 314; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 919; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5 : 74, 89.

<sup>179</sup> Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 4 : 254, 258.

<sup>180</sup> Al-Minqarī, *Waq‘at Šifīn*, 48, 77. 92, 102; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ummam*, 3 : 460. ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ is reported to have acknowledged his worldly interests in his decision to join Mu‘āwiyah (Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 4 : 254). A certain Abū Qays al-Awdī (al-Azdī?) said that people were divided into three groups (*ṭabaqāt*): the people of religion who loved ‘Alī, the people of worldly life who loved Mu‘āwiyah, and the Kharijites (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 3 : 1115).

At the time of the Fitnah any support from early converts belonging to the Quraysh was of critical importance. Syria however does not seem to have been able to boast of such personalities. This must have been one of the reasons why ‘Alī challenged Mu‘āwiyah on this ground. In one of Mu‘āwiyah’s letters to ‘Alī, Mu‘āwiyah, on the other hand, claimed that the people of Syria were the judges of the people of the Hijaz (*hum al-hukkām ‘alá ahl al-Hijāz*).<sup>181</sup> The purpose of this allegation was to affirm that the people of the Hijaz (including the people of Medina) could not decide anything without the consent of the people of Syria, and that since the people of Syria were the judges of the people of the Hijaz, these latter had to implement any decision arrived at by the Syrians. Thus Mu‘āwiyah’s own leadership, which was accepted by the Syrians, ought also to have been accepted by the people of the Hijaz. Similarly, the Syrians’ view that ‘Uthmān was killed unjustly and that ‘Alī was (directly or indirectly) involved in the murder ought also to have been accepted in their view. In answer to this allegation ‘Alī challenged Mu‘āwiyah to present any one from the Quraysh of Syria who was eligible to be consulted and who was allowed to hold the position of caliph (“*hāti rajul min Quraysh al-Shām yuqbalu fī al-shūrā aw taḥillu lahu al-khilāfah*”).<sup>182</sup> ‘Alī must have known that there was no such individual living in Syria, let alone one who supported Mu‘āwiyah. Mu‘āwiyah in fact could not meet this challenge. Moreover, not only was there no such a figure in Syria, but Mu‘āwiyah also had a different sort of person in mind when he made his original allegation. Unlike ‘Alī, who associated the *hukkām*

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<sup>181</sup> Al-Minqarī, *Waq‘at Siffin*, 58.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

with the early converts, Mu'āwiyah associated the *ḥukkām* with the traditional tribal hierarchy. Here again two different world views were in conflict: Islamic and pre-Islamic.

An analysis of the backgrounds of the Companions who supported either 'Alī or Mu'āwiyah might help us to decide whether the identification of 'Alī with religious ideas and that of Mu'āwiyah with irreligion is valid. But first of all it should be pointed out that the sources disagree on the number of the important Companions who were involved in the Battle of Ṣiffīn. According to one report, eight hundred Companions who were present at the *Bay'at al-Riḍwān* supported 'Alī.<sup>183</sup> The best Companions of Muḥammad, says another, were with 'Alī's army, seventy of whom had fought at Badr.<sup>184</sup> Al-Ashtar, one of the most important figures in 'Alī's army, gave a speech in which he stressed that 'Alī's forces were on the right path (by which it was understood that those fighting for Mu'āwiyah were on the wrong one), since 'Alī had the support of almost one hundred veterans of Badr, in addition to other Companions.<sup>185</sup> Dhū al-Kalā', a Yemenī leader who supported Mu'āwiyah, acknowledged that there were indeed great Companions in 'Alī's army.<sup>186</sup> While the above reports tend to exaggerate the number of

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<sup>183</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3 : 1138; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 2 : 381.

<sup>184</sup> Al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 236.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 238.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

important Companions at Ṣiffīn, there is one which claims that no more than six, or seven at the most, veterans of Badr were involved in the Fitnah.<sup>187</sup>

Biographical dictionaries may help to clarify this issue. According to these sources, as was shown in Table IX, ‘Alī was supported by more Companions than Mu‘āwiyah. If it may be accepted that the support of Companions was a religious endorsement for one of the parties to the dispute, then ‘Alī was clearly perceived as the more legitimate contender. The biographical dictionaries confirm this interpretation. They also provide further details as to what kinds of Companions supported either ‘Alī or Mu‘āwiyah. In ‘Alī’s camp we find the following breakdown: of the 123 Companions supporting him, 43 were early converts who had fought alongside the Prophet in such early battles as those of Badr and Uḥud; 23 were ordinary Companions, i.e., those who were with the Prophet for only a short time or had converted to Islam at the end of the Prophet’s life; 11 were young Companions, i.e., either they were born in the time of the Prophet or they were still young when the Prophet died; while the other 46 were unknown even to our sources. The backgrounds of the Companions who supported Mu‘āwiyah were as follows: of the 31 Companions in his camp, one was an early convert, 12 were ordinary Companions and 6 were young Companions. Hence, comparing the backgrounds of both parties, the claim that ‘Alī was supported by the great Companions and that Mu‘āwiyah by the less important ones is clearly confirmed:

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<sup>187</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 467; Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 254-5. It cannot be established whether Abū Ayyūb had already fought at Ṣiffīn before participating in al-Nahrawān. If he did then there were seven participants from Badr involved.

the majority of 'Alī's supporters were early converts, while Mu'āwiyah's were later converts or young Companions.

The same picture emerges when the analysis is extended to those whose participation on either 'Alī's side or Mu'āwiyah's is still uncertain. Of the 12 Companions who may have fought on 'Alī's side, 8 were early converts, 1 was an ordinary Companion, 1 a young Companion, and the other 2 unknown. In this category only one Companion is more likely to have been on Mu'āwiyah's side, and he was a young Companion. Two were known furthermore to be either neutral or on Mu'āwiyah's side. One of these was a young Companion, while the other was only an ordinary Companion. So even if these two were to be included on Mu'āwiyah's side, the picture would still be the same.

How many of the Companions were actually still alive in Iraq, Syria and Egypt at the time of the Battle of Şiffin? In Chapter Three it was pointed out that there were 335 Companions in Basra, 337 in Kufa, 441 in Syria and 260 in Egypt.<sup>188</sup> From the dates of their respective deaths it is known that some 250 Companions were still alive in these places when the Fitnah occurred: 50 in Basra, 70 in Kufa, 90 in Syria and 40 in Egypt. How many of them were involved in the Battle of Şiffin? Table X may shed some light on the question. Only 4 Companions from Basra were known to have been involved in the Battle of Şiffin, 23 (or 25 if category II is included) from Kufa, 18 (or 19) from Syria, and 8 (or 10) from Egypt.

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<sup>188</sup> See Table II.



Table X  
Political and Geographical Alignments of the Companions at Şiffin

	I 'Afi	II 'Afi (d)	III Mu'āwiyah	IV Mu'āwiyah (d)	V Neutral	VI Neutral/Mu 'āwiyah	VII Unidentified	VII Unidentified (d)
Basra	4							
Kufa	23	2				1		
Persia	1							
Syria	3	1	7					
Hims			4					
Damascus			1					
Palestine			2					
Urdun			1					
Egypt	4		4	1		1		
Yemen	1							
Hijaz			1					1
Mecca								1
Medina	6			1				
Wasit			1					
Dawmat al- Jandal			1					
Total	42	3	22	2		2		2

Where were the rest? Since the involvement of Companions in the Battle of Şiffin was so important for both parties, it would be reasonable to expect that their names would appear in the sources. The fact that the majority of the 250 Companions who might be still have been alive in Iraq, Syria and Egypt during the Battle of Şiffin are not recorded could mean that in fact they stayed out of it. To put it differently, whereas many of the Companions were actively involved in the dispute, the majority of them stayed away. But there might be another explanation for their absence. To later generations any dispute between the great Companions was a subject that was not spoken about. The Traditionists were among those who propagated this attitude. Accordingly, the number of the Companions in the Fitnah may actually have been larger than we are told it was, but the reluctance of the Traditionists to discuss this issue, whether in their writings or in their daily speech, gradually led to a curtain being drawn

over their involvement. This seems unlikely, however, since there were others besides the Traditionists who would not have participated in this conspiracy of silence, historians like al-Ṭabarī among them. In his history, for example, he writes about the Fitnah in great detail. So it is most likely that the absence of most living Companions in the Battle of Ṣiffīn only meant that they chose not to get involved in it.

The information given in the above table is insufficient to explain wholly the relation between geographical attachment and political alignment on the part of the Companions. Only a small number of the Companions, whose attitudes were known during the Battle of Ṣiffīn, can be identified with a geographical location. Of the 187 (see Table IX), the whereabouts of only 73 can be determined. Nonetheless this limited information can help us to find the answers to certain specific dilemmas.

First, there are some grounds to accept that the conflict between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah was a conflict between Iraq and Syria, the Companions who supported ‘Alī having come from Iraq (4 from Basra, 25 from Kufa, 1 from Persia), and those who supported Mu‘āwiyah mainly from Syria (7 from Syria, 4 from Hims, 1 from Damascus, 1 from Jordan). This information may suggest that the sources were probably right to call ‘Alī’s army the *ahl al-‘Irāq* and Mu‘āwiyah’s the *ahl al-Shām*. A comparison between the Kufan and the Basran Companions could further pinpoint this geographical connection: since there were only 4 from Basra and 25 from Kufa, then it was mainly the Kufans whom the sources meant by the term *ahl al-‘Irāq*.

The relations between Syria and Kufa before the Fitnah confirm the assumption that it was mainly the Kufans, not the Basrans, who were at odds with the Syrians.

Once Mu'āwiyah asked 'Uthmān to send auxiliary troops to face the Byzantines in Armenia to reinforce the army which had been sent there with Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah as commander. In response 'Uthmān asked al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah, the governor of Kufa, to send ten thousand Kufans under the command of Salmān ibn Rabī'ah al-Bāhifī. On learning of this, Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah reminded his fellow Syrians that if the city were conquered after the arrival of the Kufans then the credit might go to these latter. He urged the Syrians to attack before their arrival. This they did successfully and won much booty, which they distributed amongst themselves. When the Kufans came, they asked the Syrians to share the booty. The Syrians refused on the ground that the Kufans had not been involved in the conquest. We are told that "a quarrel broke out between the people of Iraq (*ahl al-'Irāq*) and the people of Syria (*ahl al-Shām*), and then they fought with each other ... the fight was the first enmity between the people of Iraq and the people of Syria."<sup>189</sup> The way the information is narrated is noteworthy for our discussion. At first, "the people of Kufa" is the phrase used to identify the auxiliary army sent to Syria, but later on, when the disagreement is being discussed, "the people of Kufa" is replaced by the phrase "the people of Iraq." Hence the fight is not described as a fight between the people of Kufa and the people of Syria, but between the people of Iraq and the people of Syria. As far as the Syrians were concerned, they were consistently known as "the people of Syria."

The enmity between the Kufans and the Syrians on the one hand, and the poor relations between the Basrans and the Kufans on the other, may have brought the

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<sup>189</sup> Al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 2 : 108-10; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 350-1, 353; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3 : 26; Sayf, *al-Riddah*, 62.

Syrians closer to the Basrans. There may therefore be some truth in 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir's claim that he had some influence in Basra when he suggested to 'Ā'ishah that she go there from Mecca.<sup>190</sup> The Umayyads too must have seen more hope for support in Basra than in Kufa. 'Uthmān's letter supports this assumption. When he was surrounded, he sent letters to the Syrians and the Basrans asking them to help him. In his letters, 'Uthmān considered the Kufans, together with the Egyptians and the Medinans, as his enemies (and therefore the Syrians and the Basrans as his allies).<sup>191</sup> Here again is a further indication that it was mainly the Kufans whom our sources considered to be the *ahl al-'Irāq*.

Second, our study of the tribal distribution of the Companions in Iraq, Syria and Egypt in Chapter Three showed that, as far as representation was concerned, Qurasyh and Anṣār were the most important groups. In every center of settlement they formed one of the major groups within the population. Again, the fact that it was only a small number of those who participated in the Battle of Ṣiffīn whose geographical locations are known to us makes it difficult to prove directly that, since Anṣār and Quraysh formed the majority in Syria, Iraq and Egypt, they must have exercised considerable influence during the Fitnah. In other words, the relation between their number and their role in these areas during the Fitnah can only be proven indirectly. To show this, we will first list the tribal backgrounds of the Companions whose loyalties were known in the following table.

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<sup>190</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 469; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 5 : 48.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 217.

Table XI  
Tribal and Political Alignment of the Companions at Šiffin

Tribes	I 'Alī	II 'Alī (d)	III Mu- āwiyah	IV Mu- āwiyah (d)	V Neutral	VI Neutral/ Mu- āwiyah	VII Unidenti- fied	VIII Unidenti- fied (d)
<b>A. Northerners</b>								
'Abd al-Qays	1							
'Amir ibn Sa'sa'ah	2		1					
Asad ibn Khuzaymah	1							
Bahilah	1		1					
Kinānah	3				1			
Muhārib	1							
Qays ibn 'Aylan	2		1					
Quraysh	11	2	9		1	2		
Sulaym	3		2					
Sa'd	2							
Thaqif	1		1		1			
Tamīm	5		1					
TOTAL-1	33	2	16		3	2		
<b>B. Southerners</b>								
Alhān			1					
Ansār	29	4					2	
- Aws	12	2			1		1	
- Khazraj	25	2		1			2	
Ash'ar	1		1		1			
Azd	3		1				1	
Bajīlah	1		1					
Balī	2	3						
Hadramawt	1		1					
Himyar	1		3					
Juhaynah			2					
Kalb			1					
Khawlān		1						
Khuza'ah	8	2						1
Kindah	3		2					
Madhhij	1		1					1
Murād	2							
Tā'ī	2		1					
'Udhrah			1					
TOTAL-2	91	14	16	1	2		6	2
<b>C. Unidentified</b>								
Abrahah	1							
Asbah			1					
'Awd	1							
Dannah (?)			1					
Dhikwān							1	
Hāmidah	1							
Khushaynah					1			
Nājah (?)	1							
Tha'lab			1					
TOTAL-3	4		3		1		1	
TOTAL-1, 2, 3	128	16	35	1	6	2	7	2

This table shows that it is correct to say that both the Ansār and the Quraysh were actively involved during the Fitnah. These two groups after all boasted the greatest number of participants. Is there any way to establish the geographical connection of these Companions? It was explained above that during the reign of ‘Uthmān many Companions had left Medina. If this is so then it is likely that for the duration of the Fitnah the vast majority of the Companions resided outside Medina. This is one conclusion; the other is that these same Companions, and particularly the Anṣār, were clearly concerned about the Fitnah and did become involved in it.

Third, the question of which party was actually supported by the Anṣār and Quraysh remains to be answered. As for the Anṣār it can be said that most of them clearly supported ‘Alī. The Anṣār saw themselves as the ones best suited to help ‘Alī. They saw ‘Alī’s situation as being similar to the Prophet’s in that both had been unjustly rejected.<sup>192</sup> It is reported that they were among the first to give their allegiance to ‘Alī, while others simply followed them.<sup>193</sup> Only a few of them refused to take this oath.<sup>194</sup> Their support meant a lot to the latter, especially when people from his own tribe, the Quraysh, were not fully behind him. Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar did not however declare their allegiance immediately. They waited until other people had done so.<sup>195</sup> Ṭalḥah ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh and al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām on the

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<sup>192</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 2 : 498.

<sup>193</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 450. At the death of the Prophet, some members of Anṣār apparently turned first to ‘Alī instead of Abū Bakr, especially when their leader Sa’d ibn ‘Ubādah declined this position (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 189).

<sup>194</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 452.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 : 451.

other hand are reported to have given theirs involuntarily.<sup>196</sup> The fact that the supporters of 'Alī were mainly from Kufa indicates further the importance of the Anṣār in the Fitnah. Kufa was an area where the Anṣār were particularly strong.

But even more interesting is the background of those Anṣār who joined 'Alī at Ṣiffin. Of the 64 who were present, we know the tribal origin of 41 of them and 27 of these were Khazrajīs (see Table XI). Why did they become such enthusiastic supporters of 'Alī? Going back to the time of the Prophet, the Khazrajīs were more ready than the Awsīs to accept the message of the Prophet. When the Prophet called the people of Medina to Islam, the Khazrajīs answered the call enthusiastically. Of the 12 participants in the first 'Aqabah, 10 were from Khazraj and only 2 from Aws.<sup>197</sup> Given their contribution, the Khazrajīs must have felt themselves that they were highly placed, for when the Prophet died they saw themselves as the most rightful group to assume the Muslim leadership. They chose Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah as their new leader. It was only after Abū Bakr, the close friend of the Prophet and his trustee, was nominated, that the Khazrajīs chose give up their claim.<sup>198</sup> But not their leader, Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, who, until his death, refused to pay Abū Bakr allegiance. Nevertheless, 'Umar's policy of relying on seniority in Islam as the basis for the leadership of the Muslim community worked to the benefit of the Khazrajīs. The appointment of 'Uthmān as the next caliph, however, followed by the arrival on stage of the later converts, must have been viewed by them as

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<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 3 : 452. It is even said that al-Zubayr did not give his allegiance to 'Alī at all (ibid.), or that he did so only with his hands, not with his heart (Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, 7 : 537).

<sup>197</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 1 : 220.

<sup>198</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam*, 3 : 455-9; al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, 1 : 3-5; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2 : 191-4.

a threat to their position.<sup>199</sup> ‘Alī, whose views on Islamic seniority were close to ‘Umar’s, was the right person for the Khazrajīs to support.

During the Battle of Şiffin, unlike the Anşār who were unanimous in their support of ‘Alī, Qurasyh split over the issue. Of the latter, numbering 22 in all, 13 were with ‘Alī while 9 were with Mu‘āwiyah. Thus ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah each received about an equal share of their support. The background of these Quraysh tells us something else as well. First, none of the early converts from Quraysh joined either ‘Alī or Mu‘āwiyah. Second, the majority of the Quraysh who supported ‘Alī had much in common in terms of their geographical attachment and tribal affiliation. They either resided in areas which strongly supported ‘Alī--i.e., Kufa (1 person), Egypt (1 person) and Medina (1 person)--or which belonged to the Hāshimī tribe (4 persons). Third, the Quraysh who supported Mu‘āwiyah can also be explained partly through their geographical attachment, since 4 of the 9 lived in Syria. The other 5 came either from Mu‘āwiyah’s tribe (1 person) or had a (close) blood relationship with a particular person (2 persons, i.e., ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ’s sons) or viewed Mu‘āwiyah as an asylum (2 persons, i.e., ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn ‘Umar<sup>200</sup> and ‘Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib<sup>201</sup>).

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<sup>199</sup> See also Hinds, “The Murder”, 465.

<sup>200</sup> See pp. 230-1.

<sup>201</sup> See pp. 233-4.



## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

There was a close connection between the attitude displayed by the Muslim community towards the Companions and its attitude towards the Prophetic Tradition. The greater the respect for the Traditions, the greater the respect for the Companions, and vice versa. The Traditionists, who protected and developed the Traditions, demonstrated the most profound respect for the Companions of the Prophet, while the Mu'tazilīs, who were less inclined to rely on Traditions, had comparatively less respect for them.

How one defined a "Companion" and the quality of *'adālah* were two issues over which the different views of these two groups came to be expressed. The Traditionists, wanting to save sound prophetic Traditions (to be used as *ḥujjah* in the application of religious teaching in day-to-day life) tended to inflate the numbers of the Companions by setting a lower standard for inclusion in this prestigious group. The Mu'tazilīs, on the other hand, who considered intellect the most important aid in interpreting revelation, and therefore considered Tradition less important than intellect, tended to restrict the number of Companions by setting higher standards, thus decreasing in turn the number of Traditions and their role in establishing dogma vis-à-vis reason. The question of *'adālah* reduced even further the already limited number of Companions. The view that Companions were not automatically *'udūl* opened the door to the possibility of rejecting some of the Traditions narrated by even the most respected Companions,

including important figures like 'Alī and 'Ā'ishah. This was the second barrier facing Companions before their Traditions could be accepted. The Traditionists tried to lift this by establishing the doctrine that all the Companions were *'udūl*. Their integrity could not be questioned and, therefore, once it was established that the Traditions really came from the Prophet through the Companions, these Traditions had to be accepted. How this was established was also dictated by the Traditionists.

Whereas the various definitions of Companion were only established after the third century, the importance of the role itself had been acknowledged ever since the death of the Prophet. These Companions, the elite and the common alike, were instrumental not only in establishing the basis of political and social order in Medina but also in the early spread of Muslims outside Medina and their settlement in newly conquered lands. Several factors were responsible for this migration and settlement: socio-economics, official appointments, influence of family or important figures, politics or expulsion. But the most important factor seems to have been the blend of Islam-Hijrah-Jihad. One could not be a good Muslim without performing Hijrah to Medina and performing Jihad against Islam's enemies. This trinity of values was spelled out by the Prophet himself in his early career when he needed to persuade new converts to stand by him in Medina. After the conquest of Mecca, while Islam ceased to be identified with Hijrah (to Medina), it could still be identified with Jihad. After the death of the Prophet, particularly at the time of 'Umar, when manpower was needed to expand Muslim territory, the blend of Islam-Hijrah-Jihad was revived. With this, the function and status of Medina was duplicated elsewhere. Like Medina, the new settlements became the

destination for Hijrah and the base for launching Jihad. And like the Medinans, those who migrated to the new settlements were considered as possessing a higher religious, social and, therefore, economic status than those who did not. The social status and economic benefits which accompanied the act of Hijrah and Jihad encouraged more people to settle.

The creation of a Medinan model outside Medina made Medina even stronger. As the model, Medina became the symbol of political and religious authority. As far as the election of the new caliph was concerned, the decisions taken by the Medinans would be accepted by the settlements. The fact that both in Medina and in these settlements the early Companions became the key figures was a guarantee that good communications and order were being maintained.

The situation began to change however in the time of 'Uthmān. The strength of the Islam-Hijrah-Jihad concept even encouraged the Companions who had settled in Medina to leave it for the settlements. Unlike 'Umar, who tried to control the spread of these Medinan Companions (to make sure that he still had enough of them at his disposal), 'Uthmān made no effort to restrain them. By the time of his murder, therefore a completely different situation had emerged: whereas the settlements housed many Companions, Medina had hardly any. Thus the de facto religious, social and political gravity had shifted from Medina to the settlements. The decision of 'Alī, the next caliph, to leave Medina and go to the settlements to solicit the Companions' support was not surprising in these circumstances.

Since the Companions constituted the major actors in the history of the first century, the conflicts within the Muslim community at that time were often reducible to disputes involving this group. Hence to understand the events of that time one has to know fully who the Companions were, their position in the Muslim community, the stratification within their ranks, and their internal relationships.

There are two points that are crucial to gaining an understanding of the corps of Companions. First, the term "Companion" owes its existence to the Prophet. Therefore the position of Companion was decided on the basis of a person's relationship to the Prophet. The closer a Companion was to him, the higher the rank he or she was accorded. Second, since prophecy was a religious office, that of "Companion," which was linked to prophecy, was also a religious title. It goes without saying that religious ideas or considerations are important to our understanding the conflicts among the Companions.

From the above perspective the Battle of Şiffin and the attitudes of the Companions during this battle may be explained. The Battle of Şiffin was a battle between factions which were wide apart in terms of Companionship and religious ideas. In other words, the battle was between those who had been close to the Prophet (either in terms of blood relationship or in terms of religious message that the Prophet brought), and those who were less so.

The economic and social factors underlying the conflict may be explained accordingly. 'Alī and his supporters, being close to the Prophet and having been converted earlier, enjoyed high social status and economic benefits. Mu'āwiyah and his

supporters, by contrast, suffered socially and economically. Thus, almost by default, Ṣiffīn was a conflict between the rich and impoverished. The more affluent group established during the caliphate of ‘Umar, was threatened with loss of privilege when ‘Uthmān held the caliphate. Under ‘Uthmān’s policy the later converts gradually took over the position formerly held by the early converts. The death of ‘Uthmān was the beginning of a long struggle between ‘Alī, who tried to return to the order that ‘Umar had imposed, and Mu‘āwiyah, who resolved to maintain the momentum set in place by ‘Uthmān. In this struggle the later converts lost.

Our analysis of the tribal composition of the settlements supports this argument. The tribal alignments of that time reveal that Iraq was dominated by northerners while Syria and Egypt were controlled by southerners. In view of their relations, it might have been expected that, since ‘Alī was associated with the *ahl al-‘Irāq* and Mu‘āwiyah with the *ahl al-Shām*, the northerners would be dominant among ‘Alī’s supporters and the southerners among Mu‘āwiyah’s. However, this was not the case, since the majority of ‘Alī’s supporters were southerners (they were almost three times as numerous as their counterparts), while Mu‘āwiyah’s forces reveal a fairly consistent balance between northerners and southerners. Thus, a comparison of the tribal composition of the settlements and that of the conflicting parties ( i.e., Mu‘āwiyah’s party and ‘Alī’s) reveals that during the Battle of Ṣiffīn, at least as far as the Companions were concerned, the southerners - northerners division cannot be used to explain the political alignment.

The relative absence from the Battle of Şiffin of major tribes from the contending regions, i.e., Iraq, Syria and Egypt suggests that tribal sentiment played an insignificant role in this event. If it had been a determining factor, we might have expected that a large number of Companions from Quraysh, Anşār, Kinānah, Kindah and Azd (since these tribes had a large representation in every one of the settlements discussed in our study) would have been among the most enthusiastic participants. But this is not the case. Among them only Quraysh and Anşār were greatly involved and their involvement in the battle was not based on purely tribal sentiment. Anşār were not after all a tribe. They shared a name which had been bestowed on them in recognition of their religious achievement in supporting the Prophet in his religious mission. It was this achievement which gave them their common identity, not their tribal background. As for Quraysh, tribal sentiment seems to have been of secondary importance in determining loyalties. In fact, the most important figures among the parties to the conflict at Şiffin came from this tribe. Thus, the real issue was not rooted in tribal loyalties, but in religious achievement, and it was this that split Quraysh between those who had been closely linked with the Prophet and his mission, and those who had converted to Islam at a later stage.

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APPENDICES

## PREFACE TO APPENDICES

The first seven appendices list in alphabetical order the names of the Companions identified by our sources as having lived in each of the principal cities/regions of the Islamic Middle East, Appendix I being devoted to Basra, Appendix II to Kufa, and so on. The entry for each individual contains information on the sources in which he/she is mentioned, followed by the specific phrases used to denote his/her residence in the region, tribal affiliations, other relevant information, date of death, and the sources for these. This information is divided over two successive pages.

The eighth appendix lists in alphabetical order those Companions whose allegiances are known to us, without regard for geographical residence. Thus after indicating what is known of their tribal affiliations and whereabouts, we list the various references to their relations with the Prophet and then their connection with 'Alī and/or Mu'āwiyah on or around the occasion of the Battle of Ṣiffin, and the sources for all these. This information is divided over three successive pages.

In order to familiarize the reader with how the tables operate, an example will be given from Appendix I which can serve to illustrate other entries in Appendices I-VII; this will be followed by another example illustrating Appendix VIII. Thus for Abān al-Muḥāribī, entry no. 1 in Appendix I, the table may be read as follows:

SOURCES	S-H	Abbreviations for the sources referring to his residence in Basra (see list of abbreviations at the end of preface to appendices)
EXPRESSION-1	nazala al-Baṣrah	Ibn Sa'd's expression for his residence in Basra
SOURCES-1	S7:5	The sources for Ibn Sa'd's statement (vol. and page)

EXPRESSION-2	'idāduhu fi ahl al-Baṣrah	Ibn Ḥajar's expression for his residence in Basra
SOURCES-2	H1:25	The sources for Ibn Ḥajar's statement
-Remaining columns for expression of residence are left blank due to a lack of information		
TRIBE-1	Muḥāribī	One reference to his tribal affiliation
SOURCES-1	S7:88; H1:25	The sources for the aforementioned (Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Ḥajar)
TRIBE-2	'Abdī	Another reference to his tribal affiliation
SOURCES-2	S7:88; H1:25	The sources for the aforementioned
- Remaining columns for tribal affiliation are left blank due to a lack of information		
OTHER INFORMATION		No relevant information is available. In other cases references will be made to residence in other locations (with mention of sources)
DIED		No relevant information is available. In other cases the date of death or latest activity known will be given (with mention of sources).

For 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās, entry no. 1 in Appendix VIII, the table may be read as follows:

SOURCES	B-A-H	Abbreviations for the sources referring to his tribal affiliations
TRIBE-1	Qurashī	One of the tribes to which he is said to have been affiliated
SOURCES-1	B3:933; A3:290; H2:322	The sources for the aforementioned
TRIBE-2	Hāshimī	Another of the tribes to which he is said to have been affiliated
SOURCES-2	B3:933; A3:290; H3:322	The sources for the aforementioned
- Remaining columns for tribal affiliation left blank due to a lack of information		
RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	wulida qabl al-Hijrah bi-thalāthat sinīn	The first of the phrases denoting his relationship to the Prophet
SOURCES-1	B3:933; A3:291; H2:322	The sources for the aforementioned

RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	qīla bi-khams (sinīn qabl al-Hijrah)	Another phrase denoting his relationship to the Prophet
SOURCES-2	H2:322	The sources for the aforementioned
- Remaining columns for relation to the Prophet contain other similar information		
PRO	*Alī	Indicates the party to which he is said to have been loyal (N.B., entries marked (d) indicate disputed loyalty)
EXPRESSION-1	shahida 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās ma'a 'Alī raḍiya Allāh 'anhumā al-Jamal wa-al-Şifīn wa-al-Nahrawān	One of the expressions denoting his loyalty, taken in this case from Ibn 'Abd al-Barr
SOURCES-1	B3:939	The source for the aforementioned statement
EXPRESSION-2	shahida ma'a 'Alī Şifīn	Another expression denoting his loyalty, taken in this case from Ibn al-Athīr
SOURCES-2	A3:292	The source for the aforementioned statement
- Remaining columns for expressions of loyalty to the contending parties at Şifīn contain information where available		

Abbreviations used in the tables:

S = Ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad. *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*. 9 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Şādir, n. d.

B = Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Yūsuf ibn 'Abd Allāh. *Al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rifat al-Aşḥāb*. 4 vols. Edited by 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī. Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992

A = Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn. *Usd al-Ghābah fī Ma'rifat al-Şaḥābah*. 7 vols. [Cairo]: al-Sha'b, [1970] - 1973.

D = al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. *Tajrīd Asmā' al-Şaḥābah*. 2 vols. Edited by Şāliḥ 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Sharaf al-Dīn. Bombay: Sharaf al-Dīn al-Kutubī, 1960-70.

H = Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Aḥmad ibn 'Alī. *Al-Işābah fī Tamyīz al-Şaḥābah*. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, n. d.

(d) = His/her Companionship and or loyalty is disputed.

Brackets [( )] enclosing a reference indicate that the information is contained in a chapter heading rather than in the entry for the Companion him/herself; this only happens in the case of Ibn Sa'd's work.



Appendix - 1 : The Companions Who Lived in Basra

No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
1	'Abān al-Mujaribi (d)	S-II	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	'idāduhu fi ahl al-Basrah	I1:25			
2	'Abbād ibn Shurahbil (d)	S-A-II	nazala al-Basrah	I12:256; (S7:5)	yu'addu fi al-Basryin	A3:153			yanzilu bi-al-bādiyah bi-nāhiyat al-Basrah
3	'Abbās al-Sulamī	S-II	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
4	al-'Abbās ibn Mirdās	S-B-II	yanzilu bi-al-bādiyah	I12:820;					
5	'Abd Allāh al-'Adawī	II	bi-nāhiyat al-Basrah	also I12:264					yanzilu bi-wādi al-Basrah
6	'Abd Allāh al-Muzani	S-B	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	yu'addu fi al-Basryin	I12:377	Basri	I13:1004	
7	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Mujallib	A-II							wallāhu ('Alī) al-Basrah
8	'Abd Allāh ibn Abī al-Ḥamṣā (al-Jamā')	S-B-A	'idāduhu fi al-Basryin	A3:217	yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	B3:892	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	
9	'Abd Allāh ibn Abī al-Jadhī'	S	nazala al-Basrah	S7:59					
10	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amir	B-A-II							
11	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amir	S	nazala al-Basrah	S7:31					wāli nāyihā (al-Basrah)
12	'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Aswad	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
13	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Awf	A-D-II	nazala al-Basrah	A3:356; D1:327; I12:347					
14	'Abd Allāh ibn Damarah	A-D-II	nazala al-Basrah	D1:319	'idāduhu fi ahl al-Basrah	A3:282; I12:319			
15	'Abd Allāh ibn Dhurrah	II	nazala al-Basrah	I12:295					
16	'Abd Allāh ibn Faḍālah (d)	B-D-A							'alā qada' al-Basrah
17	'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ghasīl	A-D-II			yu'addu fi bādiyat al-Basrah	A3:361; D1:328; I12:349			

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
1		Muhāribī	S7:88; H1:25 S7:54; A3:153;	'Abdī	S7:88; H1:25								
2		Yashkurī	H2:256 S7:76;	Bakrī	H2:256	Qhubarī	A3:153; H2:256						
3	H2:264	Sulamī	H2:263 S7:33; B2:817;										
4	S7:33	Sulamī	H2:263										
5		Ghifārī	H2:377										
6		Muzanī	S7:32										
	H2:325;		A3:260;		A3:260;								
7	also A2:262	Qurashī	H2:322	Hāshimī	H2:322								68 (A3:264; H2:326), 70 (A3:264), 73 (A2:264)
8		'Āmirī	A3:217	Kinānī	A3:217	Tamīmī	A3:217					yuqālu sinkana Makkah (B3:892)	
9		'Abdī	S7:59										
	B3:933; also A3:268;		A3:288;										
10	H2:61	Qurashī	H3:61	'Abshāmī	A3:288; H3:61								57, 58 (A3:286; H3:61)
11		Muzanī	S7:31										
12		Sadūsī	S7:67										
13		'Abdī	H2:347 A3:282; D1:319;										
14		Bajalī	H2:319										
15		Muzanī	H2:295										
	B3:962; A3:362;		A3:362;										
16	D1:328	Laylī	D1:328										
17													

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
18	'Abd Allāh ibn al-Jarīth	B-A-D-II	sakana al-Basrah	B3:885; A3:201, 208			waliya al-Basrah li- Ibn al-Zubayr	H3:59	Ittafaqa 'alayhi ahli al-Basrah ba'd Yazid
19	'Abd Allāh ('Abd al- Rahmān) ibn Jābir	A-II	sakana al-Basrah	H2:277					Intaqala ilā al-Basrah
20	'Abd Allāh ibn al-Jaz'	A-D			yu'addu fi al-Basriyyin	A3:168	Basri	D1:302	
21	'Abd Allāh ibn Khālaf (d)	B-A-II							kātib li-Umar alā diwān al-Basrah
22	'Abd Allāh ibn Khālid (d)	H							istakhtafahu Ziyād 'alā al-Basrah
23	'Abd Allāh ibn Mā'iz (d)	A-D-II	'idāduhu fi al-Basriyyin	A3:374	'idāduhu fi ahli al-Basrah	H2:355	Basri	D1:332	
24	'Abd Allāh ibn Nu'arid	S	mazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
25	'Abd Allāh ibn al- Mughaffal	S-B-A-II	sakana al-Basrah	H2:364	mazalahā (al-Basrah)	S7:13	ahad al-'ashtarab al-ladhi ba'athahum 'Umar ilā al-Basrah	A3:366; S7:14 D1:309	(thumma tajawwala 'anā (al-Madīnah) ilā al-Basrah
26	'Abd Allāh ibn Rabī'ah	D					Basri		
27	'Abd Allāh ibn Sabrah	S-B-A-D- II	mazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	yu'addu fi ahli al-Basrah	A3:255; B3:916	Basri	D1:213; H2:307	
28	'Abd Allāh ibn Sarjis	S-B-A-II	mazala al-Basrah	H2:308; (S7:5)	'idāduhu fi al-Basriyyin	A3:256	Basri	B3:916	
29	'Abd Allāh ibn al- Shikikhir	S-B-A-D	mazala al-Basrah	S7:34; D1:317	yu'addu fi al-Basriyyin	B3:926	sakana al-Basrah	A3:276	
30	'Abd Allāh ibn Sinān	A-D	mazala al-Basrah	A3:267; D1:316					

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
18	D1:304; also A3:201, 18:208; H3:59	Hāshimī	A3:201, 208; H3:58	Qureshī	A3:208; H3:58							in ahl al-Madīnah (A3:201)	84 (B3:886; A3:208; H3:59), 79 (H3:59) he participated in the Battle of Jamal (H2:279-280)
19	A3:163	'Abdī	A3:163; H2:277									sakana al-Bahrayn (A3:163)	
20		Sulamī	A3:168; D1:302										
	B3:895; also A3:224; H2:295;		A3:224; H2:295; H3:89										participated in the Battle of Jamal (A3:224)
21	H3:89	Khuzā'ī											
22	H2:393	Makhrūmī	H2:293	Umayyī	H2:293								
			A3:374; D1:332; H2:355										
23		Tamīmī	H2:355										
24		Bāhilī	S7:77										
	B3:996; also A3:366; S7:13	Muzanī	S7:13; A3:398; H2:364										56 (H2:364), 59 (A3:366; H2:364), 60 (B3:996; A3:366; H2:364), 61 (H2:364), in the end of the caliphate of Mu'awiyah (S7:14)
25	S7:13											sakana al-Madīnah (A3:366)	
26													
27		Juhānī	A3:255; D1:213; H2:307										
			B3:916; A3:256; H2:308										
28		Muzanī	H2:308	Makhrūmī	B3:916								
			S7:34; A3:274; D1:317		A3:274; D1:317								
29		'Amrī	D1:317	Ka'bī		Hārithī	A3:274						
			A3:267; D1:316										
30		Muzanī	D1:316										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
31	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Ajlān (d)	H					Basrī	H3:153	
32	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khabbāh	S-A-D-H	nazil al-Basrah	H2:388; (S7:5)	yu'addu fi al-Basriyin	A3:441	Basrī	D1:346	
33	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khanbāsh	S-B-H	sakana al-Basrah	H2:389	yu'addu fi al-Basriyin	B2:831	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	
34	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Sahl	A							ista'malahu 'Umar 'alā al-Basrah
35	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Sannurāh	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Basrah	H2:393; S7:15	sakana al-Basrah	A3:455; B3:835			tahawwala ilā al-Basrah
36	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Yazīd (d)	B-A-D	sakana al-Basrah	A3:502			Basrī	B2:856; D1:357	
37	al-'Addā' ibn Khālid	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	'idāduhu fi a'rāb al-Basrah	A3:3; H2:459	Basrī	B3:1237	
38	Ahmar ibn Jaz'	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
39	'Ā'idh ibn 'Abd 'Amr	A-H			'idāduhu fi al-Basriyin	A3:147; H2:253			
40	'Ā'idh ibn 'Amr al-Muzanī	S-B-A-D-H	sakana al-Basrah	B2:799; A3:148; A2:194; H2:254	nazala al-Basrah	D2:174; (S7:5)			
41	'Alā'ihah ibn Shajjār	H	nazala al-Basrah	H2:492	sakana al-Basrah	A2:326			
42	'Alqamah ibn al-Buwayrith	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
43	'Alqamah ibn Sufyān	A-D	nazala al-Basrah	D1:391	sakana al-Basrah	A4:84			
44	'Āmir ibn 'Abd al-Qays (d)	A					Basrī	A3:132	
45	'Āmir ibn Kurayz	A-D-H							qadima 'alā ibnithi 'Abd Allāh al-Basrah
46	'Anmārah	B			yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	B3:1144			
47	'Amr al-Bikāfī	B			yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	B3:1206			
48	'Amr ibn al-Ahtam	S-D	nazala bi-nawāhij al-Basrah	D1:401					yanzilu arq Bani Tamim bi-bādiyat al-Basrah
49	'Amr ibn Akhtab	S-H	nazala al-Basrah	H2:515; (S7:5)					lanu masjid yunsabu ilayhi bi-al-Basrah

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
31													
32		Aslamī	DI:346	Sulamī	S7:78; H2:388	Salamī	A3:441						
33		Tamīmī	H2:389										
34	A3:458	Anṣarī	A3:457										
			S7:15; B3:835; A3:454;										
35	S7:15	'Abshamī	H2:393	Qurashī	B3:835								50 (A3:455; H2:393), 51 (B3:835; A3:455; H2:393)
36		Anṣarī	A3:502										
			S7:51; A3:3; H2:459										10 I (H2:459), 102 (H2:459)
37		'Amrī	H2:459										
38		Saqīṣī	S7:47										shortly after 'Uthmān (H2:253)
39		Azdl	A3:147; H2:253										
			S7:31; A3:147; A2:194;										during the reign of Yazīd (B2:799; A3:148; H2:254)
40		Muzanī	H2:253										
			H2:492; A2:326		H2:492; A2:326								
41		Tamīmī	A2:326	Saffī									
42		Ghiffarī	S7:77										
			A4:84; D1:391										
43		Thaqafī											
44		Tamīmī	A3:132	'Anbarī	A3:132								
	A3:138; D1:287;		A3:138; D1:287;		A3:138; D1:287;								
45	H2:248	Qurashī	H2:247	'Abshamī	H2:247								
46													
47												'addahu qaawm fi ahli al-Shām (B3:1206)	
48	S7:38	Tamīmī	D1:401	Mingarī	D1:401								
			S7:28;										
49	S7:28	Anṣarī	H2:515	Khazraḥī	H2:515								

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
50	'Amr ibn Arākah	B-A-D-II	nazala al-Basrah	D1:399	yu'addu fi al-Basriyin	B3:1162	sakana al-Basrah	A3:161; II2:515	
51	'Amr ibn Ghaylān (d)	II	nazala al-Basrah	H3:10					amir al-Basrah
52	'Amr ibn Salamah (d)	B	nazala al-Basrah	B3:1179					
53	'Amr ibn Shazbi	II							kāna 'Uthmān istaqdāhu 'alā al-Basrah
54	Amr ibn Sufyān	A-D			yu'addu fi a'rāb al-Basrah	A4:233			imin a'rāb al-Basrah
55	'Amr ibn Taghlib	S-B-A-D-II	nazala al-Basrah	D1:402; II2:519; (S7:5)	yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	B3:1166	sakana al-Basrah	A4:201	
56	'Amr ibn 'Umayr	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
57	'Amr ibn Yathribi	B-A-D							istaqdāhu 'Umar (or 'Uthmān) 'alā al-Basrah
58	Anas ibn Mālik	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	qafana al-Basrah	H1:84	Basri	B1:109	Innahū ākhir man māta bi-al-Basrah min Ashāb Rasūl Allāh
59	Anas ibn Mālik	B-A-D	sakana al-Basrah	B1:111	nazala al-Basrah	A1:150; D1:31			
60	Anas ibn Mālik	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
61	'Aqfān ibn Shu'thum	A-II			'idādūhu fi a'rāb al-Basrah	H2:487; A4:63			
62	al-Aqra' ibn Hābis	S							yanzilū arḍ Baṣīl Tamīm bi- bādīyat al-Basrah
63	A'ras ibn 'Amr	A			yu'addu fi al-Basriyin	A1:122			
64	'Arfajah ibn As'ad	S-B-A-II	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	ma'dūd fi ahl al-Basrah	II2:467	Basri	B3:1062; A4:21	
65	A'shā al-Māzini	S-B-A-D	sakana al-Basrah	B1:143; A1:122	nazala al-Basrah	D1:25; (S7:5)			
66	Ashajj 'Abd al-Qays	S	nazala al-Basrah	S7:86					
67	'Āsim Abū Nasr ibn 'Āsim	S	nazala al-Basrah	S7:78					

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIFD
50		Thiqafi	B3:1162										
51	II3:10	Thiqafi	II3:10										
52		Jami	B3:1179										
53	II3:119	Dabbi	II3:119 A4:233; D1:409										at the Battle of Jami (II3:119)
54	D1:409	Muharibi	A4:201; D1:402; II2:519; S7:67										
55		'Abdi		Namri	S7:67; II2:519	Bakri	A4:201						in the calliphate of Mu'awiyah (II2:519)
56													
	B3:1206; A4:278; S7:D1:419	Demri	A4:278; D1:419										
57													
	BI:110; also AI:152; II:84; S7:26	Ansar	BI:109; AI:151; II:84 AI:150; D1:31 S7:45	Khazraj	BI:109; AI:151; II:84 A2:150; D1:31 S7:45	Najjari	AI:151; S7:17						90 (AI:152; II:84); 91 (BI:110; AI:152; II:84), 92 (S7:25; BI:110; AI:152; II:84), 93 (S7:26; BI:110; AI:152; II:84)
59		Qusayri	D1:31	Kabi	D1:31								
60		Harishi	S7:45	'Amiri	S7:45								
61		Tamimi	II2:487										
62	S7:37	Tamimi	S7:37										
63		Yashkurfi	AI:122										
64		Taymi	B3:1062; A4:21 S7:53; BI:143; AI:122; D1:25 S7:85	Sadi	II2:467	'Ujaridi	S7:45; II2:467	Tamimi	S7:45				
65		Mazini	D1:25	Tamimi	S7:53								
66		'Abdi	S7:85										
67		Laythi	S7:78										



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
68	ʿĀṣim ibn Faḍālah	H							fi man istaqḍāhu Ziyād min al-Ṣaḥābah lammā walliya al-Basrah
69	ʿĀṣim ibn Hadrah	B					Basri	B2:781	
70	Asla' ibn Shaḥīk	B-A	nazala al-Basrah	B1:139; A1:91					
71	Asmar ibn Mudarris	S-A-H	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	'idāduhu fi ahl al-Basrah	III:56			min a'rāb al-Basrah
72	Aṣram	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
73	al-Aswad ibn Rabī'ah	A-D	nazala al-Basrah	D1:19	'idāduhu fi a'rāb al-Basrah	A1:102			
74	al-Aswad ibn Sarī'	S-B-A-D	nazala al-Basrah	B1:89; (S7:5)					awwal man qassa bi-jāmi' al-Basrah
75	'Aḥīyah ibn 'Azīb (d)	H					Basri	III:478	
76	Awf ibn al-Qa'qā' (d)	A-D	nazala al-Basrah	D1:428	'idāduhu fi a'rāb al-Basrah	A4:312			
77	Awfā ibn Mawlah	A-D			yu'addu fi al-Basriyyīn	D1:38; A1:178			
78	'Ayyādh ibn 'Amr	A	sakana al-Basrah	A4:320					
79	Azhar ibn Munqid (Minqar)	A-D-H							min a'rāb al-Basrah
80	al-Barrā' ibn Mālik	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
81	Bashīr ibn Abī Zayd	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
82	Bashīr ibn al-Khaṣāsiyah	S-A	sakana al-Basrah	A1:230	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)			
83	Bashīr ibn Zayd	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
84	Bayḥarah ibn 'Amr	H	'idāduhu fi a'rāb al-Basrah	III:172					
85	Bilāl ibn al-Hārith	A-H	sakana al-Basrah	A3:242					thumma tahawwala ilā al-Basrah
86	Bishr Abū Khalīfah	A-H			'idāduhu fi ahl al-Basrah	A1:220; III:161			
87	Bishr (Bashīr) ibn 'Abd	B-A-D-H	sakana al-Basrah	B1:169; A1:223; III:157	nazala al-Basrah	D1:50			

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
68	H2:338	Laythi	H2:238										
69		Anṣārī	B2:781										
70		A'wajl	B1:139; A1:91	Tayml	B1:139	Tamīml	A1:91						
71	A1:98	Tā'ī	A1:97; H1:56										
72		Shaqīrī	S7:78										
73		Yasīkūrī	A1:102; D1:19										
74	A1:104; D1:19; S7:42	Sa'dī	S7:46; B1:89; A1:103; D1:19	Tamīml	S7:46; B1:89; A1:103; D1:19								In the time of Mu'āwiyah (H1:60)
75													
76		Tamīml	A4:312; D1:428	Dārimī	A4:312; D1:428								
77		Tamīml	D1:38; A1:178	'Anbarī	D1:38; A1:178								
78		Azdī	A4:320										in the caliphate of 'Uthmān (A4:320)
79	A1:78; D1:13; H1:45												
80		Najjārī	S7:16										at the battle of Tustar (S7:17)
81		Anṣārī	S7:27										at the day of Jarrāh (S7:27)
82		Sadūsī	S7:55; A1:229										
83		Ḍubā'ī	S7:77										
84		'Abdī	H1:172	Azdī	H1:172								
85	H1:168	Muzanī	A1:242; H1:168									min ahl al-Madīnah (kāna yaskunu warā' al-Madīnah ) (H1:168; also A1:242)	60 (A1:242; H1:168)
86													
87													

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
88	Buraydah ibn al-Husayb	S-B-A-D-	nazala al-Basrah	DI:47			sakana al-Basrah	HI:150	thumma tahawwala ila al-Basrah
89	Burz (Abū Abī Rafīʿ)	H	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
90	Daghfal ibn Hanzaliyah (d)	H	nazala al-Basrah	HI:465					
91	Dhuwayb ibn Shā'ithan	A-D	nazala al-Basrah	DI:171	sakana al-Basrah	A2:182			
92	Dhubāb ibn Fātik	H	nazala al-Basrah	HI:469					
93	Fadālah	S-B-A	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	B3:1264; A4:365			
94	al-Fākih ibn Sa'd	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:7)					
95	al-Fujay ibn 'Abd Allāh	A			yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	A4:350			
96	Ghassān	H	sakana al-Basrah	HI:183					
97	Hābil ibn Khirāsh	A-D-H	'idāduhu fi ahl al-Basrah	HI:305	'idāduhu fi al-Basriyyin	DI:117; A4:442			
98	Hābis ibn Rabī'ah (d)	S-B-H	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	yu'addu fi al-Basriyyin	B1:280; HI:271			
99	Hāfis ibn Abī al-'Āṣ (d)	S-H	nazala al-Basrah	HI:341; (S7:5)					
100	Hajjāj ibn 'Abd Allāh	S-H	nazala al-Basrah	HI:311; (S7:41)					
101	al-Hakam ibn Abī al-'Āṣ	S-B-A-D	nazala al-Basrah	DI:135; (S7:5)	yu'addu fi al-Basriyyin	B1:358; A2:38			
102	al-Hakam ibn 'Amr	S-B-A-D- H	sakana al-Basrah	B1:356; A2:40	nazala al-Basrah	DI:137; HI:346; S7:28	tahawwala ila al-Basrah	S7:28	anna Ziyād istamala al-Hakam ibn 'Amr al-Ghifārī 'ala al-Basrah
103	al-Hakam ibn al-Hāfith	S-A-D	sakana al-Basrah	A2:34	nazala al-Basrah	DI:134; (S7:5)			

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
88	S7:8; B1:185; A1:209	Aslamī	S7:8; B1:185; A1:209; D1:47; H1:150									min sākinī al-Madīnah (B1:185), thumma (nazala) Marw (D1:47; H1:150)	in the time of Yazīd (B1:185; H1:150), 63 (S7:8; H1:150)
89		'Uṭarīdī	S7:75										
90		Shaybānī	H1:464	Dhuhfī	H1:464								70 (H1:463)
91		'Anbarī	A2:182; D1:171	Tamīmī	A2:183								
92		Dabbī	H1:469										
93		Laythī	S7:79; B3:1263; A4:364	Zahrānī	A4:365								
94													
95		Bakkā'ī	A4:350	'Amīrī	A2:350							sakana al-Kūfah (A4:350)	
96		'Abdī	H3:183										
97		'Asarī	D1:117; H1:305; A1:442	'Abdī	A4:442								
98		Tamīmī	B1:280; H1:271; S7:82										
99		Thaqafī	S7:41; H1:341										
100		Thaqafī	S7:41; H1:311	Jushamī	H1:311							thumma (nazala) al-Kūfah (H1:311)	
101		Thaqafī	S7:41; B1:358; D1:135; A2:38									kāna amīr 'alā al-Baḥrayn (A2:38)	
102	A2:40	Ghīfarī	B1:356; D1:136; H1:345; S7:28; A2:40									wallāhu Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān Khurāsān (S7:28; A2:40)	45 (H1:4346), 50 (S7:29; B1:356; H1:346; A2:40)
103		Sulamī	S7:76; D1:134; A2:34										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
104	Haml (or Hamla) ibn Ma'lik	S-B-A-D- H	nazala al-Basrah	HI:376; D1:140; HI:354; S7:33; A2:58	yu'addu fi al-Basriyin	B1:376; A2:58			tahawwala li al-Basrah
105	al-Harith ibn 'Amr	S-B-H	nazala al-Basrah	HI:285; (S7:64)	ma'dud fi al-Basriyin	B1:294			
106	al-Harith ibn Nawfal	S-B-A-D- H	nazala al-Basrah	S7:14	Ikhtalifa bi-ha (al-Basrah)	S7:14; A1:419	waliya al-Basrah	D1:110	Intaqala li al-Basrah (min al-Madinah)
107	al-Harith ibn Uqaysh	S-B	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	yu'addu fi al-Basriyin	B1:282			
108	Hamalah ibn 'Abd Allah (or Ibn Yas)	S-B-A-H S	nazala al-Basrah	HI:319; (S7:5)	yu'addu fi al-Basriyin	B1:338; A1:475	Idaduhu fi ahl al-Basrah	HI:319	sakana al-Basrah
109	Hamalah ibn 'Abd Allah	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					kana ma'a 'Utbah ibn Ghazwan bi-al-Basrah
110	Hamalah ibn Murayrah	A-H					Idaduhu fi ahl al-Basrah	A2:9	
111	Hassan ibn Shaddad	A							
112	Hudhaym ibn 'Amr	A-D-H	nazala al-Basrah	D1:125	sakana al-Basrah	HI:317; A1:470			
113	Hudhaym ibn Hanifah	S-B-A-D	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)			kana a'rabi min nahiyat al-Basrah	D1:125; A1:470	kana a'rabi min nahiyat al-Basrah
114	al-Hirasis ibn Ziyad	B	sakana al-Basrah	B4:1548					
115	Hisham ibn 'Amir	S-B-A-D- H	sakana al-Basrah	B4:1541; A5:403	nazala al-Basrah	S7:26; D2:120; B3:573			
116	Hibayb ibn Mughaffil	A	Yasakunu al-Basrah	A5:386					
117	Hurayth ibn Hissan	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
118	Husayn ibn Aws	B-A			yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	B1:353; A2:24			
119	'Ikrah ibn Dhuyab	S-B	sakana al-Basrah	B3:1244	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)			

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
104	S7:33	Hudhafi	S7:33; B1:376; D1:140; H1:354; A2:58									min ahli al-Madīnah (A2:58)	lived until the time of 'Umar (H1:354)
105		Sahmī	S7:64; B1:294; H1:285	Bāhili	B1:294; H1:285								
106	S7:14; B1:291; H1:292; A1:419	Hashimī	S7:14; B1:291; H1:292; A1:419	Qurashi	A1:419							ista'nahe Abū Bakr al-Jārith Ibn Nawfal 'alā Makkah (A1:419)	in the time of 'Umar (A1:419), in the time of 'Uthmān (S7:14; B1:291; D1:110; H1:292; A1:419)
107		'Ukbi	B1:282 S7:50; B1:338; H1:319; A1:475	'Awfi	B1:282								
108	H1:320	Anbarī	B1:338; H1:319; A1:475	Tamīmi	B1:338; A1:475								
109	H1:320; A1:476	Ka'bi	S7:58										
110		Tamīmi	H1:320										
111		Zuhri	A2:9 D1:125; A1:470	Tamīmi	A2:9								
112		Sa'di	D1:125; A1:470	Sa'di	H1:317	Tamīmi	H1:317; A2:470 A1:470; D1:125						
113	B1:496	Tamīmi	S7:71	Sa'di	S7:71								
114		Bāhili	B4:1548 B4:1541; D2:120; H3:573; A5:403 A5:386 S7:58		S7:26; D2:120; A5:403								
115		Ansarī	A5:403	Najjarī									
116		Chifa'i	A5:386										
117		Shaybani	S7:58										
118		Nahshali	B1:353; A2:24	Tamīmi	B1:353; A2:24								
119		Murri	B3:1244; S7:74	Tamīmi	S7:74								

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
120	'Imrān ibn Hushayn	S-B-A-II	sakana al-Basrah	B3:1208 H1:55; A1:96	mazala al-Basrah	S7:9; B3:1208; H3:27	taḥawwala ilā al-Basrah	S7:9; H1:27	ba'athahu 'Umar ilā al-Basrah li-yu'faqqilha al-Ishā
121	Ismā'il	A-II	nazala al-Basrah	B3:1232; H3:48; A4:323 S7:88; D1:72; H1:215; A1:306		S7:36			
122	'Iyād ibn Ḥimār (Ḥammād 122 or Muḥammad)	S-B-A-II	sakana al-Basrah	D1:73 (S7:5)	mazala al-Basrah	A1:308			
123	Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh Jābir Abū 'Abd al-	S-A-D-II	mazala al-Basrah		sakana al-Basrah				
124	Rahman	A-D	mazala al-Basrah						
125	Jāhamah ibn al-'Abbas	S	mazala al-Basrah						
126	Jarād ibn 'Abs	A-D-II			'Idāduhu fī arāb al-Basrah	H1:231 H1:219; A1:312			min arāb al-Basrah
127	Jariyah ibn Asram (d)	A-II			yu'addu fī al-Basriyyin				
128	Jariyah ibn Qudāmah (d)	S-B-A-II	mazala al-Basrah	H1:219; (S7:5)	yu'addu fī al-Basriyyin	B1:226; A1:314			
129	al-Jarād ibn al-Mu'allil	S-B-A-ID	sakana al-Basrah	S7:87; B1:263; A1:312	mazala al-Basrah	D1:74; (S7:5)			
130	Jawn ibn Qafārah (d)	A-D			yu'addu fī al-Basriyyin	A1:370	Basri	D1:95	
131	Jumādah al-'Azdi	B					Basri	B1:249	
132	Jumādah ibn Jarād	B-A-ID	sakana al-Basrah	B1:251; A1:354	mazala al-Basrah	D1:90			
133	Jumādah ibn 'Abd Allāh	B-A-D-II	mazala al-Basrah	D1:90	ḥumma (sakana) al-Basrah	H1:250	ḥumma intaqala ilā al-Basrah	A1:360	kāna bi-al-Kufah ḥumma šara ilā al-Basrah
134	Jurhud ibn Khunwaylid	II			'Idāduhu fī ahl al-Basrah	H1:233			

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
120	A4:281; H3:27; S7:10	Khuzā'ī	B3:1208; H3:27; A4:281	Ka'bi	B3:1208; A4:281								52 (S7:12; A4:282; H3:27), 53 (H3:27)
121													
122		Mujāshī'	B3:1232; H3:48; S7:36; A4:322	Tamīmi	B3:1232; H3:48; S7:36; A4:322								
123		'Abdī	S7:88	Rāsibī	D1:72; H1:215; A1:306	Anṣārī	H1:215; A1:306	Salāmī	A1:306			sakana al-Madīnah (A1:306)	
124		'Abdī	D1:73; A1:308									sakana al-Baḥrayn (A1:308)	
125		Sulamī	S7:34										
126	D1:81; A1:326												
127		Ka'bi	H1:219; A1:312	Ajdārī	H1:219; A1:312								
128		Tamīmi	S7:56; B1:226; A1:314; H1:219	Sa'dī	S7:56; B1:226; A1:314; H1:219								
129		'Abdī	S7:86; B1:262; D1:74; A1:311									qad kāna sakana al-Baḥrayn wa- lākinnahu yu'addu fi al-Baṣrayn (B1:263)	21 (B1:263; D1:74), at Nihawand (A1:312)
130		Tamīmi	D1:94; A1:370										
131		Azdī	B1:249										
132		Asadī	B1:251; D1:90; A1:354	Ghaylāmi	D1:90	'Aylāni	B1:251; A1:354						
133	B1:256	Bajafī	B1:256; D1:91; H1:250; A1:360	'Alaqī	B1:256; D1:91; H1:250; A1:360							nazala al-Kūfah (D1:91), sakana al-Kūfah (A1:360)	still alive in the time of Ibn al-Zubayr (H1:250) in the end of the caliphate of Yazīd (H1:233)
134		Aslamī	H1:233									'idādulu fi ahl al-Madīnah (H1:233)	



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
135	Jum'uz	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:79)					
136	Katmas al-Hilali	S-B-A-D	nazala al-Basrah	D1:36; (S7:5)	ma'diid fi al-Basriyin 'Idaduhu fi al-Basriyin	B1:1334 A4:472	sakana al-Basrah	A4:503	
137	Kacim ibn al-Harith	A		B1:1309; H3:301; A4:458					
138	Kathir (d)	B-A-D-II	sakana al-Basrah	D1:153; H1:410 H1:405	nazala al-Basrah	D2:27			
139	Khalid ibn Ghaleb	A-D-H	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:47)	sakana al-Basrah	A2:106			
140	Khalid ibn Zayd al-Khashkhash ibn al-	H	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
141	Harith	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:47)					
142	Khidash	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
143	Khuzaymah ibn Jazl	S-B-A-D-	nazala al-Basrah	D1:159; (S7:5)		B2:449; H1:426; A2:135	sakana al-Basrah	A2:134	
144	Khab ibn Umayyah Karayz ibn Usamah	H	nazala al-Basrah	H3:287	yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah				
145	(Samah)	A-D			'Idaduhu fi Banī 'Amir fi al-Basriyin	A4:472	Basri	D2:30	
146	Lurnays ibn Salma	A-D-II			'Idaduhu fi ar'ab al-Basrah	A4:525			min ar'ab al-Basrah
147	Ma'bad ibn Sabit	B-A-D					Basri	B3:1426; D1:85; A5:219	
148	Mā'iz	A-D-II	nazala al-Basrah	D2:40	sakana al-Basrah	H3:318; A5:7			
149	Mā'iz al-Bakkā'ī	S-A-D	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	A5:8	Basri	D2:40	
150	Malik ibn 'Ahd Allāh (d)	B			yu'addu fi al-Basriyin	B3:1354			
151	Malik ibn 'Amr	S-B	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:41)	yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	B3:1355			
152	Malik ibn Jāyidah	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
135		Hujaymī	S7:79										
136		Hilālī	S7:46; B1:1334; D1:36; A4:503										
137													
138		Anṣārī	B3:1309; D2:27; A4:458	Sahmī	H3:301	Hāshimī	H3:301						
139		Ghalābī	H1:410									wallyn Asfihān li-'Uthmān (A2:106)	
140		Muzanī	H1:405									Madanī (H1:405)	
141		'Anbarī	S7:47										
142													
143		'Abdī	H1:426; B2:449; D1:159; A2:135	Sulamī	D1:189; H1:425; A2:134	Asadī	S7:49						
144		Jundāl	H3:287										
145		'Āmirī	D2:30; A4:472										
146	D2:39; H3:312												
147													
148		Tamīmī	D2:40; H3:318; A5:7										
149		Bakkā'ī	S7:47; D2:40										
150		Khath'amī	B3:1353										still alive in the time of Mu'āwiyah (B3:1353)
151		'Uqaylī	S7:41; B3:1355	Khuzā'ī	B3:1355	Qushayrī	S7:41; B3:1355	Anṣārī	B3:1355	Kilābī	B3:1355		
152		Qushayrī	S7:35										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
152	Mālik ibn al-Juwayrith	S-B-A-II	sakana al-Basrah	B3:1349; H3:322	nazala al-Basrah 'idāduhu fihim (al-Basriyyin)	(S7:5)	min ahl al-Basrah	A5:20	
154	Mālik ibn al-Khashkhāsh	B		B3:1357; A5:44		B3:1349			
155	Mālik ibn Qithm	B-A	nazala al-Basrah			D2:44; A5:26			
156	Mālik ibn Sa'd	A-D			'idāduhu fī arāb al-Basrah				al-jad al-'asīrah al-Indīn ba'athahum 'Umar fī al-Basrah
157	Māmar ibn Ḥazm	A-D-II							
158	Muqil ibn Yasar	S-B-A-D-II	sakana al-Basrah	B3:1433; A5:233	nazala al-Basrah	D2:88; S7:14; H3:427			tajawwala fī al-Basrah
159	Marthad ibn al-Sulal	B-A	sakana al-Basrah	B3:1383; A5:136					
160	Muayn ibn Sunbad	S-B	nazala al-Basrah	B4:1488; (S7:5)					
161	Maysarah al-Fajr (Abu Budey)	S-B-A-D	nazala al-Basrah	B4:1488; (S7:5)	yu'addu fī arāb al-Basrah	A5:285			min arāb al-Basrah
162	Mu'ayyah ibn Mu'hariz	H	min ahl al-Basrah	H4:402					
163	Muzānah ibn Jābir	A-D	nazala al-Basrah	D2:71	'idāduhu fī arāb al-Basrah	A5:150	yu'addu fī al-Basriyyin	A7:264	
164	Muḥjib ibn al-Adra'	S-B-A-D-II	sakana al-Basrah	B3:1363; H3:346; A5:69	nazala al-Basrah	D2:53; (S7:5)			
165	Mukhtaf	A-D			yu'addu fī al-Basriyyin	A5:128	Basri	D2:65	
166	Muḥsin ibn Sulaym	B-A-II			'addahu ba'duhum fī al-Basriyyin	B4:1467	Basri	A5:128	min al-Azd bi-al-Kufah wa-al-Basrah

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
153		Laythi	S7:44; B3:1349; A5:20; H3:322										74 (H3:323; A5:21), 94 (B3:1349; H3:323)
154		'Anbari	B3:1349										
155		Dārimi	B3:1357; A5:44										
156													
157	D2:89; H3:427; A5:235	Najjari	D2:89; A5:235	Khazraji	D2:89; A5:235	Ansari	H3:427; A5:235						
158	S7:14	Muzani	S7:14; B3:1432; D2:88; A5:232; H3:427										60 (H3:427), 70 (H3:427), in the time of Mu'awiyah (S7:14; B3:1433; A5:233; H3:427), in the time of Yazid (B3:1433; A5:233; H3:427)
159		Ju'fi	B3:1383; A5:136										
160		'Uqayfi	B4:1488									raja' min ahl al-Yaman (B4:1488)	
161	D2:99	'Uqayfi	S7:60										
162		Harithi	H4:403										
163		'Abdi	D2:71; A5:150; A7:264 S7:12;	'Asari	D2:71; A5:150; A7:264								
164		Aslami	B3:1363; D2:52; H3:346; A5:69	Sulami	H3:346							raja'a min al-Basrah ila al- Madinah (S7:12; A5:70), Madinah (H3:346)	in the end of the time of Mu'awiyah (S7:12; B3:1363; H3:347; A5:70)
165		Bakri	D2:65; A5:128										
166	H3:373	Ghamidi	B4:1467; H3:373; A5:128	'Abdi	B2:1467	Azdi	H3:373; A5:128					yu'addu fi al-Kufiyin (A5:128), Ista'malahu 'Ali 'ala Aqshān (H5:128)	

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
167	Mu'awiyah	A-D-II	sakana al-Basrah	D2:83; A5:214	'idā'uhū fi ahl al-Basrah	H3:417			
168	Mu'awiyah ibn Haydah	S-B-A-II	naẓala al-Basrah	H3:412; (S7:5)	ma'qūd fi ahl al-Basrah	B3:1415	min ahl al-Basrah	A5:208	
169	Mudarris ibn Asmar	S	naẓala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
170	al-Mughirah ibn Shu'bah	A-H							walīyahū 'Umar al-Basrah
171	Muhājir ibn Qunfudh	B-A-II	sakana al-Basrah	B4:1454; H3:445; A5:280					
172	Mujā'id ibn Mas'ūd	S-A-D	naẓala al-Basrah	D2:51; (S7:5)	sakana al-Basrah	A5:63			
173	Mujāshī' ibn Mas'ūd	S-A-D	naẓala al-Basrah	A5:60					
174	al-Munfa' (al-Munqa') ibn al-Husayn	S-B-A-II	naẓala al-Basrah	H3:443; (S7:5)	ahl al-Basrah	A5:274	ikhtisā'a bilhā (al-Basrah)	B4:1484; S7:63; A5:261, 274	
175	al-Muqanna' ibn al-Husayn	D-H	naẓala al-Basrah	D2:92	naẓil al-Basrah	H3:435			
176	Murrah ibn Ka'b	B-A-II	naẓala al-Basrah	B3:1382; A5:149; H3:304	sakana al-Basrah	H3:286			
177	Mūsā ibn Talhah	H							talhawwala min al-Kūfah ilā al-Basrah
178	Muslim ibn 'Amr (or ibn 'Aqrah)	H	sakana al-Basrah	H3:396			katāba ('Umar) ilā Abī Mūsā an yaqta'ahu (bi-al-Basrah)	H3:514; S7:70;	
179	Nāfi' ibn al-Harith (al-Harith)	S-A-II	naẓala al-Basrah	S7:70	sakana al-Basrah	A5:301		awwal man iqtanā al-kunay bi-al-Basrah	

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
167		Laylī	D2:83; H3:417; A5:214 S7:35; B3:1415; H3:412; A5:208										
168		Qushayrī		'Amīrī	S7:35								
169													
170	H3:432; A5:248	Thaqafī	H3:432; A5:247 B4:1454; H3:445; A5:279		B4:1454; H3:445; A5:279							wallāhu ('Umar) al-Kūfah (A5:248)	49 (H3:432), 50 (H3:432; A5:249), 51 (H3:432)
171		Taymī	S7:30; D2:51; A5:63	Qurashī									
172		Sulamī	S7:30; D2:51; A5:60										killed at the Battle of Janaḥ (A5:63)
173		Sulamī	S7:63; B4:1484; H3:443; A5:261		S7:63; B4:1484; H3:443; A5:261								killed at the Battle of Janaḥ (A5:60)
174		Tamīmī	275	Sa'dī									
175		Tamīmī	D2:92; H3:435	Sa'dī									
176		Balẓī	H3:1382; A5:149; H3:286,304	Sulamī	A5:149; H3:286							mezala al-Urdunn (H3:286), thumma mezala bi-al-Sham (B3:1382; A5:149; H3:304)	57 (B3:1382; A5:149) 103 (H3:459), 104 (H3:459), 106 (H3:459)
177	H3:459	Taymī	H3:458									mezala al-Kūfah (H3:458)	
178		'Urayfī	H3:396	Ta'ī	H3:396	Kinānī	H3:396						
179	H3:514; S7:70; A5:301	Thaqafī	S7:70; H3:514; A5:301										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
180	al-Namir ibn Tawlab	S-II	nazala al-Basrah	S7:39; H3:543					
181	Nubayshah al-Khayr	S-A-D-II	nazala al-Basrah	D2:104; (S7:5)	sakana al-Basrah	H3:521; A5:310			
182	al-Nu'mān ibn 'Adī	R-A	nazala al-Basrah	B4:1503; A5:336					
183	al-Nu'mān ibn Muqarrin	B-A-II	sakana al-Basrah	B4:1506; H3:536; A5:342					
184	Nu'mayr ibn Abi Nu'mayr	S-B-A-D-II	sakana al-Basrah	B4:1511; H3:544; A5:361	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	Basrī	D2:113	
185	Nuqādah	A-II	nazala al-Basrah	H3:542					
186	Qabīshah ibn al-Mukhāriq	S-B-A-II	nazala al-Basrah	S7:35; B3:1273	sakana al-Basrah	H3:215	Basrī	H3:215	'idāduhu fī ahli al-Basrah
187	Qabīshah ibn Waqqās	S-B-A-D-II	sakana al-Basrah	B3:1273; A5:384					
188	Qasāmah ibn Zuhayr (d)	II	sakana al-Basrah						
189	Qatādah ibn al-A'war	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
190	Qatādah ibn Awfā	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
191	Qatādah ibn Mihrān	S-B-II	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:43)	yu'addu fī al-Basrayn	B3:1273; H3:217			
192	Qays Abū Chunaym (d)	B-A-D-II	sakana al-Basrah	B3:1302; A4:439	nazala al-Basrah	D2:23	'idāduhu fī ahli al-Basrah	H3:246	mu'dūd fī al-Basrayn
193	Qays ibn 'Āshim	S-A-II	nazala al-Basrah	H3:243; (S7:5)	sakana al-Basrah	A6:225			
194	Qays ibn al-Asla'	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
195	Qays ibn al-Harith	S-D	nazala al-Basrah	D2:18; (S7:5)	sakana al-Basrah	S7:62			

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
180		'Ukfi	H3:542; S7:39										
181		Hudhali	S7:50; D2:104; H3:521; A5:310										
182		Qurashi	B4:1502; A5:335	'Adawi	B4:1502; A5:335							ista'malahu 'Umar 'alā Maysān (A5:335)	
183		Muzani	B4:1505; H3:535; A5:342									thumma tajawwala ilā al-Kūfah (B4:1506; H3:536; A5:342)	21 (B4:1506; H3:536; A5:343), in the time of 'Umar (H3:536)
184		Khuzā'i	B4:1511; D2:113; H3:544; S7:85; A5:361	Azdi	B4:1511; D2:113; H3:544; A5:361								
185		Asadi	A5:355; H3:542	Aslami	H3:542							ma'dūd fi ahl al-Hijāz, sakana al-bādīyah (A5:355; H3:542)	
186	A4:383	Hilali	B3:1273; H3:215; S7:35; A4:383	Bajili	A4:384	'Amiri	S7:35; A4:383						
187		Sulami	H3:1273; D2:11; H3:215; A5:384	Laythi	H3:215							sakana al-Madinah (H3:215)	
188	H3:257	Mazini	H3:257										after 80 (H3:257)
189		Sa'di	S7:62	Tamimi	S7:62								
190		Sa'di	S7:62	Tamimi	S7:62								
191		Qaysi	S7:43; B3:1274; H3:217										
192	H3:246	Asadi	B3:1302; H3:246									Kūfi (B3:1302; H3:246)	
193		Minqari	H3:242; S7:36; A6:225	Tamimi	S7:36; H3:242								
194		Ansari	S7:82										
195		Tamimi	S7:62; D2:18										



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
196	Qays ibn al-Haytham (d)	B-H					Basri	B3:1302	min ahl al-Basrah
197	Qays ibn al-Nu'man	H	sakana al-Basrah	H3:251					
198	Qurrah ibn Du'mus	S-B-A-D-H	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	yu'addu fi al-Basriyin	H3:224	Basri	B3:1281; D2:14; A4:401	
199	Qurrah ibn Iyas	S-B-A	sakana al-Basrah	B3:1280; A4:400	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)			
200	Qurrah ibn Qatadah	S-B-A-D-H	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					istakhlafahu Khālid ibn al-Walid 'alā al-Basrah
201	Rabāh ibn al-Rabi'	A	nazala al-Basrah	A2:202					
202	Rabi'ah ibn Abi al-Salat	H	nazala al-Basrah	H1:496					
203	Rāfi' ibn 'Amr	S-B-A-D-H	nazala al-Basrah	B2:482; B1:356; D1:174; H1:486; (S7:5)	yu'addu fi al-Basriyin	B2:482	wa-sakanahā (al-Basrah)	B2:482; B1:356; A2:194	
204	Rāfi' ibn 'Amr ibn Hifal	B-A-D-H	sakana al-Basrah	B2:482; H1:486; A2:194	nazala al-Basrah	D2:174	yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	A2:195	
205	Rāfi' ibn Yazid	A-D			nazala al-Basrah	D1:175	'idādūhu fi al-Basriyin	A2:201	
206	Rajā' ibn al-Ghanawi (d)	B-A-D	nazala al-Basrah	D1:182	yu'addu fi al-Basriyin	B2:495	sakana al-Basrah	A2:219	
207	Razīn ibn Anas	A-D			'idādūhu fi a'rāb al-Basrah	A2:221			min a'rāb al-Basrah
208	Ribāh (Riyāh) ibn al-Rabi'	B-D	nazala al-Basrah	B2:486; D1:176, 187					
209	Sa'd	B-A-D	nazala al-Basrah	D1:212	yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	B2:612	sakana al-Basrah	A2:340	
210	Sa'd ibn 'Amr	H	nazala al-Basrah	H2:29					
211	Sa'd ibn al-Atwal	S-A-D	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5); D1:211	sakana al-Basrah	A2:337			

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
196	H3:251	Sulami	H3:251									Shami (B3:1302; H3:251)	
197		'Ahdī	H3:251 S7:46; B3:1281; D2:14; H3:224; A4:401	'Amdī	H3:224; A4:401								
198		Nuwayrī	S7:23; B3:1280; A4:400										in the time of Mu'awiyah (B3:1280; A4:401)
199		Muzanī	S7:75; B3:1283; D2:16; H3:228; A4:407; A4:406										
200	405	Sadiqī	A4:406										
201		Asyudī	A2:202									min ahl al-Madīnah (A2:202)	
202		Thaqafī	H1:496										
203		Chifārī	S7:29; B2:482; H1:486; A2:194	Kinānī	D1:174; H1:486; A2:194	Damī	D1:174; H1:486; A2:194						
204		Muzanī	B2:482; D2:174; H1:486; A2:194										in the caliphate of Mu'awiyah (H1:486)
205		Thaqafī	D1:175; A2:201										
206		Ghanawī	B2:495; D1:182; A2:219										
207	D1:182	Sulami	D1:182; A2:221										
208		Asadī	B2:486	Usayyidī	D1:175, 187							yu'addu li ahl al-Madīnah (B2:486; Madani (D1:187)	
209													
210		Thaqafī	H2:29										
			S7:57; D1:211; A2:337										
211		Juhānī											

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
212	Ṣalḥār ibn al-'Abbas (al-'Ayyāsh)	D-II	mazala al-Basrah	D1:263	sakana al-Basrah	II2:180			
213	Ṣaḥl ibn Hunayf	H							istakhlafahu 'Alī 'ain al-Basrah
214	Ṣaḥl (Suḥayf) ibn Ṣakhr	S-A-D	mazala al-Basrah	D1:244; (S7:5)	sakana al-Basrah	A2:473	Basrī	D1:230	
215	Salemah al-Anṣārī	D							
216	Salemah ibn al-Muḥabbib	S-B-A-D	mazl al-Basrah	D1:233; (S7:81)	yu'addu fi al-Basrīyin	B2:643; A2:431			
217	Salemah ibn Yazīd	A-D			yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	D1:234; A2:437			
218	Salemah ibn Qays	S-B-A	mazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	sakana al-Basrah	A2:437 B2:747;	Basrī	B2:642	
219	Ṣaḥl al-Tamīmī	B-A-D-II			yu'addu fi al-Basrīyin	D1:234; II2:70; A2:438			
220	Ṣaḥn ibn Nuḏhayr	B-A					Basrī	B2:687; A2:414	
221	Ṣalmān ibn 'Amīr	B-A-D-II	mazala al-Basrah	D1:230; A2:416	sakana al-Basrah	B2:633; II2:60			
222	Ṣamurah ibn Jundab	S-B-A-D-II		B2:653; A2:454	mazala al-Basrah	S7:50; D1:239; II2:77	Ikhtāḥa bilāh (al-Basrah)		kāna ziyād yastafimlūhū 'alā al-Basrah idhā khazala līh al-Kūfah yu'addu fi al-Basrīyin
223	Ṣarī' ibn al-Jakān	II	sakana al-Basrah						
224	Ṣaṣ'ah ibn Mu'awiyah	S	mazala al-Basrah	(S7:39)					
225	Ṣaṣ'ah ibn Nājjyah	S-H	sakana al-Basrah	II2:179	mazala al-Basrah	S7:38			
226	Sawādah ibn al-Rubay' (al-Rabī')	S-B-II	mazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	yu'addu fi al-Basrīyin	II2:96	Basrī	B2:676	

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED still alive in the time of Mu'awiyah (112:170)
212		'Abdi	D1:263; H2:170	Du'ali	D1:263								
213	112:86	Awsī	112:86	Anṣārī	112:86								38 (112:86)
214		Laythī	S7:65; A2:473									yu'addu fī ahlī al-Madīnah (A2:473)	
215		Anṣārī	D1:230										
216		Hudhāfī	B2:642; D1:233; A2:431										
217		Damrī	A2:437	Anṣārī	A2:437								
218		Jarmī	S7:89; B2:642; A2:437										
219		Tamīmī	B2:646; D1:234; H2:70; A2:437										
220													
221		Dabbī	B2:633; D1:230; H2:60; A2:416										
222	S7:50; A2:454	Fazārī	S7:49; B2:653, 655; D1:239; H2:77; A2:454	Anṣārī	S7:49; B2:653, 655; D1:239; A2:454							thumma aḥā al-Kūfah ... fī-mazalāhā (S7:50), wa-yastakhḥ il-huḥu (Ziyād) 'alā al-Kūfah idhā sara fī al-Baṣrah (A2:454)	58 (112:654; 112:78; A2:455), 59 (112:78; A2:455), 60 (112:78; A2:455)
223	112:20	Sadī	112:20	Tamīmī	112:20								
224													
225		Dārīmī	S7:38; H2:179	Tamīmī	S7:38; H2:179								
226		Jarmī	S7:48; B2:676; H2:96										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
227	Sawādah ibn 'Amr Shurayhīl ibn 'Abd al- Raḥmān	B-A-II	sakana al-Basrah	A2:483	yu'addu fi al-Basriyyin	B2:676	Basrī	H12:132	
228	Shurayh ibn 'Amir (Dhū al- Iḥyah)	A-II	sakana al-Basrah	H12:143	yu'addu fi a'rāb al-Basrah	A2:514	waliḥu 'Umar al- Basrah	D1:265; B2:702; H12:144; A2:519	Istakhlafahu Khalīd ibn al-Walīd 'alā al- Jazīyah bi-al-Basrah ḥin sāra ilā al-Sīam (A2:518)
229	Shurayh ibn Hārith (d)	B-A-D-II	yu'addu fi al-Basriyyin	B2:475					
230	Shurayh ibn Hārith (d)	II	mezala al-Basrah	H12:144					
231	Simān ibn Salamah (d)	B-II	mezala al-Basrah	H12:106	ahl al-Basrah	H12:106	Basrī	B2:657	waliḥu Muṣ'ah al-Basrah
232	Surāb	A-D	sakana al-Basrah	A3:40	mezala al-Basrah	D1:268			
233	Surāb ibn Naqīah	II	mezala al-Basrah	H12:189					
234	Sufyān ibn 'Abd Allāh	B	yu'addu fi al-Basriyyin	B2:630					
235	Sufiār ibn Sakīn ('Abbās)	S-B	mezala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	B2:735- 736			
236	Sulaym	B-A-D	yu'addu fi al-Basriyyin	D1:236; A2:446	yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	B2:649			
237	Sulaymān ibn 'Amir	S	mezala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
238	Suwayd ibn Hubayrah (d)	S-A-D-II	mezala al-Basrah	D1:250; (S7:5)	sakana al-Basrah	H12:100; A2:494			
239	Talḥah ibn 'Abd Allāh	S	mezala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
240	Talḥah ibn 'Amr	II					Basrī	H12:222	
241	Talḥah ibn Mālik	A-D-II	mezala al-Basrah	D1:278; A3:91	sakana al-Basrah	H12:223			
242	al-Falīb ibn Zayd	S	mezala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
243	Talq ibn Khushshāf	S	mezala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
244	Thābit ibn al-Daḥḥāk	B-A-D	thumma (mezala) al- Basrah	D1:63					Intaqala ilā al-Basrah

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
227		Anṣārī	B2:676; A2:483	Najjārī	A2:483								
228		Ju'fī	H2:142; A2:514										
229	A2:519	Sa'dī	B2:702; D1:265; H2:144	'Āmirī	B2:475; H2:144	Kilābī	B2:475						
230		Kindī	H2:144										78 (H2:144), 80 (H2:144), 82 (H2:144), 99 (H2:144)
231	H2:106	Aslamī	B2:657	Hudhaif	H2:106								in the time of al- Hajjāj (H2:106)
232													
233													
234		Thaqafī	B2:630									ma'dūd fī ahl al-Ṭā'if ... kāna 'āmil li-'Umar 'alā al-Ṭā'if (B2:630)	
235		'Abdī	S7:87; B2:735	Dīfī	S7:87								
236		Sulamī	B2:649; D1:236; A2:446										
237		Dabbī	S7:80										
238		'Abdī	H2:100; A2:494	Dayfī	D1:250; A2:494	Du'afī	H2:100						
239		Nadri	S7:51	Laythī	S7:521								
240													
241		Laythī	H2:223	Khuzā'ī	D1:278; H2:223; A3:91	Sulamī	D1:278						
242		'Anbarī	S7:42	Tamīmī	S7:42								
243		Qaysī	S7:60										
244	B1:205; A1:271	Khazrafi	D1:63; A1:271	Anṣārī	A1:271							sakana al-Shām (B1:205; A1:271), nazala al-Shām (D1:63)	45 or in the time of the fitnah of Ibn al- Zubayr (B1:205)

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
245	Thābit ibn Rufay' (Ruwayfī)	B-A-D	sakana al-Basrah	B1:206; A1:269					nazala al-Basrah
246	Thābit ibn Zayd	S	nazala al-Basrah	S7:27	ikhtafja bihā (al-Basrah)	S7:27			
247	Tha'labah ibn al-Jakam	B-A-D	nazala al-Basrah	B1:212; A1:285; D1:66					
248	al-Tha'lib ibn Tha'labah	B	sakana al-Basrah	B1:197					
249	'Ubadah ibn Qurṣ (Qurī)	S-A-II	nazala al-Basrah	I2:261; (S7:5)	'idāduhu fī ahl al-Basrah	A3:162			
250	Ubay ibn Mālik	S-A-II	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	'idāduhu fī ahl al-Basrah	II1:32	Basrī	A1:63	
251	'Ubayd ibn Duḥayy (Ruḥayy) (d)	B-A-D-H	sakana al-Basrah	B3:1016			Basrī	B3:1016; D1:365; A3:538	
252	'Ubayd ibn al-Khashkhāsh	A-D-H			'idāduhu fī arāb al-Basrah	II2:435; A3:537; D1:365	Basrī	II2:435	
253	Udhaynah ibn al-Jārith (d)	A-II			waliya qaḍā' al-Basrah il- al-Ḥajjā	A1:72	Basrī	III:41	ra's 'Abd al-Qays bi-al-Basrah
254	Ubbān (Wubbān) ibn Sayfī	S-B-A-D	nazala al-Basrah	B4:1567; D1:33; (S7:5); A1:162; A5:463	sakana al-Basrah	A1:162, I61			
255	'Uthaynah ibn Shajjār	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
256	'Umārah	A			yu'addu fī ahl al-Basrah	A4:143			
257	'Umārah ibn al-Jamr	S-II	nazala al-Basrah	III:506; (S7:5)					
258	'Umāyir ibn 'Amr	B-D					Basrī	B3:1218; D1:424	

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
245	DI:62	Anṣārī	B1:206; D1:62; A1:268									thumma sakana Miṣr (B1:206), thumma (nazala) Miṣr (D1:62), thumma intaqala ilā Miṣr (A1:268), min ahl Miṣr (A1:269)	
246		Khazrajī	S7:27									thumma qadima al-Madīnah (S7:27)	in the caliphate of 'Umar (S7:27)
247		Kinānī	A1:285	Laythī	B1:212; A1:285; D1:66							taljawnala ilā al-Kūfah (B1:212), wa(-nazala) al-Kūfah (D1:66), thumma intaqala ilā al- Kūfah (A1:285)	
248		'Anbarī	B1:197	Tamīmī	B1:197								
249		Dabbī	H2:261	Kinānī	A3:162	Laythī	S7:82; A3:162	'Abā	S7:82				41 (I12:261)
250		'Āmirī	H2:32; A1:63	Qushayrī	H1:32; A1:63	Harathī	S7:71; H1:32; A1:63						
251		Juhānī	H2:437	Jahdamī	B1:1016; D1:365; H2:437; A3:538								
252		'Anbarī	H2:435; A3:537; D1:365										
253	H1:41; A1:72	'Abdī	H1:40; A1:71 S7:80;	Laythī	H1:40; A1:71	Kinānī	H1:40; A1:71	Shamī	A1:71				
254		Ghifārī	B4:1567; D1:33; A1:162;										
255		Sallījī	A5:463	Tamīmī	S7:48								
256			S7:73;										
257		Māzūnī	H2:506										
258		Anṣārī	B3:1218; D1:424	Azdlī	B3:1218; D1:424								



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
259	Umayyah ibn Makhshī	S-A-D-H	sakana al-Basrah	H1:80	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)	Basrī	D1:29; A1:143	
260	'Umrān ibn 'Isām (d)	D-H							waliya qadā' al-Basrah
261	Umayy ibn Qatādah	A-D-H			yu'addu fi al-Basrīyin	A1:158	Basrī	D1:32; H1:88	
262	'Uqbah ibn Mālik	S-B-A-D-H	nazala al-Basrah	D1:385; (S7:5)	yu'addu fi al-Basrīyin	A4:59	Basrī	B3:1075	sakana al-Basrah
263	'Urwah ibn Samurah	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
264	Usāmah ibn Akhdharī	B-D-H	nazala al-Basrah	B1:78; D1:13; H1:46					
265	Usāmah ibn 'Umayr	S-H	nazala al-Basrah	H1:47; (S7:44)					
266	Usayr	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
267	Usayr ibn Jābir (d)	A-D			yu'addu fi al-Basrīyin	D1:22; A1:115			
268	'Utbah ibn Ghazwān	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Basrah	S7:6; B3:1026			Ista'mala 'Umar 'Utbah ibn Ghazwān 'alā al- Basrah	S7:5	ikhtajja bi-al-Basrah
269	'Uthmān ibn Abī al-'Āṣ	S-B-A-H	nazil al-Basrah	H2:453; (S7:5)		B3:1035; H2:453; A3:580			wajjahahu ('Umar) liā al-Basrah fa-ibtanā bihā dār
270	'Uthmān ibn Hunayf	A-D-H							
271	Wa'lāh ibn Yazīd	A-D	min arāb al-Basrah	D2:128	'idādūhu fi arāb al-Basrah	A5:448			waliya al-Basrah li-'Alī

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
259		Khuzā'ī	S7:12; D1:29; H1:80; A1:143	Azdī	H1:80								
260	D1:420; H3:27	Duba'ī	D1:420; H3:27										
261		Bāhīfī	D1:32; H1:88; A1:158	Anṣārī	A1:158								
262	H2:484	Laythī	S7:48; B3:1057, D1:385; A4:59; H2:484										
263		Anbarī	S7:68										
264		Shaqī'ī	B1:78; D1:13; H1:46	Tamīmī	H1:46								
265		Hudhāfī	S7:44; H1:47										
266													
267													
268	S7:5; H2:448; A3:566	Qurashī	B3:1026	Māzinī	S7:5; B3:1026; H2:448; A3:565								15, 17 (S7:8; B3:1027; H2:448; A3:566), 14 (B3:1028), 20 (H2:448)
269	S7:40	Thaqafī	S7:40; B3:1035; H2:453; A3:579									ista'malahu Rasūl Allāh 'alā al- Ṭā'if (A3:579), ista'malahu 'Umar sanat 15 'alā 'Umān wa- al-Bahrayn (A3:580)	50 (H2:453), 51 (H2:453), in the time of Mu'āwiyah (B3:1035)
270	D1:373; also H2:452; A3:577	Anṣārī	H2:452; A3:577	Awṣī	A3:577							sakana al-Kūfah (H2:453; A3:577)	in the callphate of Mu'āwiyah (H2:452; A3:576)
271													

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
272	al-Walid ibn 'Uqbah	B	nazala al-Basrah	B4:1556					
273	Wafiqah ibn al-Asqa'	B-A	nazala al-Basrah	B4:1564	sakana al-Basrah	A5:429			
274	Yaf'a ibn Murrah	B-A	sakana al-Basrah	A5:525			Basrī	B4:1587	
275	Yasar ibn Suwayd	B-A-D-H	nazala al-Basrah	D2:142	yu'addu fi ahli al-Basrah	B4:1582	Basrī	H3:627; A5:516	sakana al-Basrah
276	Yazid ibn Abi Awfa'	A	yanzilu al-Basrah	A2:277					
277	Yazid ibn Abi Mansur (d)	H					Basrī	H3:625	
278	Yazid ibn Salamah (d)	B-A-H	sakana al-Basrah	B4:1576; A5:493	nazala al-Basrah	H3:620			
279	Yazid ibn Sayf	A			'Idaduhu fi arāb al-Basrah	A5:494			
280	ai-Zab'ib ibn Thabab	H	nazala al-Basrah	H1:525					
281	al-Zari' ibn 'Amir	S-H	nazala al-Basrah	S7:88	'Idaduhu fi arāb al-Basrah	H1:522			
282	Zayd mawla Rasūl Allāh	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
283	Zayd ibn Abi Awfa'	A	yanzilu al-Basrah	A2:277					
284	al-Zibriqān ibn Badr	S-A	nazala al-Basrah	A2:247			kāna yanzilu al-Basrah kathiran	S7:37	kāna yanzilu aqḍ Banī Tamīm bi-bādiyat al-Basrah
285	Ziyād Abū al-Agharr	A-D	yanzilu al-Basrah	D1:193; A2:274, 268					
286	Ziyād ibn Abih (d)	H					amīr al-miṣrayn -- al-Kūfah wa-al-Basrah	H1:563	istamatahu (Abū Mūsā) 'alā shay' min al-Basrah

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No.	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
272		Umayyid	B4:1552									sakana al-Walid Ibn 'Uqbah al-Madīnah thumma nazala al-Kūfah ... thumma kharaja ilā al-Raqqa fa-nazalanā (B4:1556)	
273		Laythī	B4:1564; A5:428	Kinānī	A5:428							thumma sakana al-Shām (B4:1564; A5:429), yanzilū māhīyat al-Madīnah ḥattā atā Rasūl Allāh (A5:428), tahawwala ilā Filīn wa-nazala al-Bayt al-Muqaddas, wa-qlīa Bayt Jibrayn (A5:429)	83 (A5:429), 85 (B4:1564; A5:429), 86 (B4:1564)
274		Thaqafī	B4:1587; A5:525	'Āmīnī	B4:1587; A5:525							yū'addu fī al-Kūfayn (B4:1587), sakana al-Kūfah (A5:525)	
275	A5:517	Juhānī	B4:1582; D2:142; H3:627; A5:516										
276		Aslamī	A2:277	Kindī	A2:278							yanzilū al-Madīnah (A2:277)	
277			B4:1576; H3:620; A5:493	Anṣārī	A5:493							sakana Miṣr (H3:625)	
278		Damī											
279		Yarbū'ī	A5:494										
280		'Anbarī	H1:525									sakana al-bādīyah (H1:525)	
281		'Abdī	S7:88; H1:522										
282													
283		Aslamī	A2:277	Kindī	A2:278							yanzilū al-Madīnah (A2:277)	
284	S7:37	Sa'dī	S7:37; A2:247	Tamīmī	S7:37; A2:247								
285		Nahshalī	D1:193; A2:274, 268										
286	H1:563												53 (H1:563)

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
287	Ziyād ibn al-Julās	D-A-H	yu'addu fi a'rāb al-Baṣrah	A2:268	'idāduhu fi ahl al-Baṣrah	H1:538			min a'rāb al-Baṣrah
288	Zuhayr ibn Abī Jabal	B			yu'addu fi al-Baṣriyyin	B2:519			
289	Zuhayr ibn 'Amr (d)	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Baṣrah	B2:522; also H1:536; (S7:5)	sakana al-Baṣrah	A2:266			
290	Zuhayr ibn Uthmān (d)	B-A-D-H	nazala al-Baṣrah	D1:192; H1:536	sakana al-Baṣrah	A2:264	Baṣrī	B2:522	
291	Abū Abī al-'Ushrā	S	nazala al-Baṣrah	(S7:5)					
292	Abū 'Alī (Ṭalq ibn 'Alī)	A-D	sakana al-Baṣrah	D2:189; A6:225					
293	Abū 'Aqrab	B-H	sakana al-Baṣrah	H4:136	'idāduhu fi ahl al-Baṣrah	B4:1717			
294	Abū 'Asīb mawlā Rasūl Allāh	S	nazala al-Baṣrah	(S7:5)					
295	Abū 'Azzah (Yasār ibn 'Ubayd)	S-B-A-D-H	sakana al-Baṣrah	D2:186; H3:627; A6:212	nazala al-Baṣrah	B4:1714; (S7:5)	Baṣrī	D2:142	'idāduhu fi ahlihā (al-Baṣrah)
296	Abū Bakrah (Nafi' ibn al-Hārith)	S-B-A-D	sakana al-Baṣrah	B4:1531, 1615; A6:39; H3:543	nazala al-Baṣrah	(S7:5); A6:39			min fuḍalā' al-Ṣaḥābah bi-al-Baṣrah

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
287	D1:195												
288		Shanwī	B2:519										
289		Hilālī	B2:522; H1:536; A2:266	Naṣrī	B2:522; A2:266	'Āmirī	A2:266	Bāhilī	A3:266				
290		Thaqafī	B2:522; D1:192; H1:536; A2:264										
291		Dārimī	S7:85										
292		Hanafī	D2:189; A6:225										
293		Bakrī	B4:1716; H4:135	Laythī	B4:1716; H4:135	Kinānī	B4:1716					kāna min ahl al-Makkah (H4:136; also B4:1717)	
294													
295	B4:1714; A5:517	Hudhalī	S7:80; B4:1714; D2:142, 186; H3:627; A5:517; A6:212										
296	D2:152	Thaqafī	B4:1530, 1614; D2:152; A6:38										51 (B4:1531, 1615; A6:39), 52 (A6:39), 32 (B4:1615), in the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah (S7:16)

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
297	Abū Barzāh (Naḍlah ibn 'Ubayd)	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Basrah	S7:9; B4:1610; H3:527; A6:31 (S7:5)	sakana al-Basrah	A5:322			tajawwala ilā al-Basrah
298	Abū Buhayrah	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
299	Abū Fāḍlah	D					Basrī	D2:193	
300	Abū Firas	B-A-H			'idā'uhū fī ahlī al-Basrah	H4:154			min ahlī al-Basrah
301	Abū al-Ḥādīyah	H	nazala al-Basrah	H4:151					
302	Abū Ḥasan	D					Basrī	D2:159	
303	Abū Ḥayyāh	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:66)					
304	Abū Jurayy	S-B-D-A	nazala al-Basrah	D1:71; (S7:5)	'idā'uhū fī ahlī al-Basrah	B4:1620; A6:49	sakana al-Basrah	A1:303	
305	Abū Khayrah	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
306	Abū Manfārah	A-D-H	sakana al-Basrah	H4:186; A6:304			Basrī	D2:206	
307	Abū Maryam (Iyās ibn Ṣābit)	D-H							waliya qadā' al-Basrah
308	Abū Maryam (Mālik ibn Rabī'ah)	S-B-A-D	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					B4:1755; D2:202; A6:285
309	Abū Muḥabbah al-Bāhīfiyah or her uncle	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)			Basrī		

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
297	S7:9; B4:1495	Aslamī	S7:9; B4:1495, 1610; H3:526; A5:321; A6:31									nazala Marw (Merv) (H3:526; A6:31), min sākiḥ al-Madīnah (H3:527)	In the time of Mu'āwiyah (B4:1495, 1610; H3:527; A5:322), in the time of Yazīd (B4:1495, 1610; A5:322), 60 (B4:1610; A6:32), 64 (B4:1610; H3:527; A6:32), in the time of 'Abd al-Mallk (H3:527), 65 (H3:527)
298													
299		Laythī	D2:192										
300	B4:1728; A6:345	Aslamī	B4:1727; H4:154; A6:245									Hijāzī (B4:1728), nazala 'alā barīd min al-Madīnah (A6:245)	63 (B4:1728; A6:345)
301		Muzanī	H4:151										
302													
303		Tamīmī	S7:66										
304		Hujaymī	S7:43; B4:1620; D1:71; A1:303; A6:49	Tamīmī	B4:1620; D1:71; A1:303								
305		Ṣubahī	S7:87	'Abdī	S7:87								
306		Thaqafī	D2:206; A6:304	Hanafī	H4:186								
307	D2:201; H4:189	Hanafī	D2:201; H4:189	Yamāmī	H4:189								
308		Salūfī	S7:54; B4:1755; D2:202; A6:285									Kūfī (D2:202; A6:285)	
309		Bāhīlī	S7:83										



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
310	Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī	B-A-H					qadima Abū Mūsā Ilā al-Basrah wāliyan	A3:368	ista'malahu 'Umar 'alā al-Basrah
311	Abū al-Qayn	H	sakana al-Basrah	H4:162					
312	Abū Rifā'ah (Tamīm ibn Usayd)	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Basrah	S7:68	yu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	B4:1658; A6:111	sakana al-Basrah	A1:255	min fudala' al-Ṣaḥābah bi-al-Basrah
313	Abū Rīmāh	A-D			'idāduhu fi ahl al-Basrah	A6:120	Basrī	D2:167	
314	Abū Ṣafīyah	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:60)					
315	Abū Ṣakhr	A	min sākinī al-Basrah	A6:171					
316	Abū Salamah	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:81)					
317	Abu Sūd	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
318	Abū Ṣufrah (d)	B-H	nazala al-Basrah	H4:109			Basrī	B4:1692	
319	Abū Tamīmāh (d)	B					Basrī	B4:1616	
320	Abū 'Ubayd	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
321	Abū al-'Uryān	B-A							min al-Basriyyīn
322	Abū Zuhayr ibn Asīd	A-D			yu'addu fi a'rāb al-Basrah	A6:124			min a'rāb al-Basrah
323	The uncle of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Salamah	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
324	The uncle of Abū Ḥurrah	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
325	The uncle of Abū Sawwār	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
326	The uncle of Ḥasnā' bint Mu'āwiyah	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
327	The brother of Qurrah ibn Iyās	S	nazala al-Basrah	(S7:5)					
328	A man from Basrah	D							min ahl al-Basrah

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
	A3:368; A6:307; H2:351, 352; also B4:1763		B4:1762; A3:367; A6:306; H2:351										H2:352, 43 (H2:352), 44 (B4:1764; A3:369; A6:307), 49 (A3:369), 50 (B4:1764; A3:369; A6:307; H2:352), 51 (H2:352), 52 (B4:1764; A3:369; A6:307), 53 (A3:369; H2:352)
310	B4:1763	Ash'arī	H2:351									ista'malahu ('Uthmān 'alī al-Kāfah) (A6:307)	
311		Hadramī	H4:162	Aslamī	H4:162								
			S7:68; B4:1658; H4:70; A1:255; A6:110										
312	H4:71	'Adawī	A6:110										44 (B4:1658; H4:71; A6:111)
313													
314													
315		'Uqaylī	A6:171										
316													
317													
318		Azdl	B4:1692; H4:108	'Atakī	B4:1692								
319		Hujaymī	B4:1616										
320													
	B4:1713; A6:211		B4:1713; A6:211		B4:1713; A6:211								
321	A6:211	Mufjarībī	A6:211	Nakha'ī	A6:211	Sulamī	A6:211					yu'addu fī al-Kāfiyīn (B4:1713; A6:211)	
322	D2:168	Numayrī	D2:168; A6:124	'Āmīfī	A6:124								
323		Khuzā'ī	S7:81										
324		Raqāsīlī	S7:84										
325		'Adawī	S7:83										
326		Suraymī	S7:84										
327		Muzanī	S7:23										
328	D2:240												

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
329	'Amet Allāh bint Abū Bakrah	B-A-D-H			tu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	B4:1790; H4:240; A7:23	Basriyah	D2:246	
330	'Anwah (Ardah) bint al-Harith	H							kānat ma'a 'Utbah ibn Ghazwān (zawjīhā) bi-al-Basrah
331	Khawlah bint 'Abd Allāh	A-D-H			'idāduhā fi ahl al-Basrah	D2:264	'idāduhā fi al-Basriyin	H4:285; A6:95	
332	Rajā' al-Ghanawīyah	B-A-D	nazalat al-Basrah	D2:267	sekanat al-Basrah	B4:1838; A7:109			
333	Subay'ah bint Ḥabīb	B-A					Basriyah	B4:1839; A7:138	
334	Unaysah bint Khubayb	B-A-H			tu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	B4:1791; H4:238; A7:32			
335	Umm 'Afiyah	B-A-H			tu'addu fi ahl al-Basrah	B4:1947; A7:368			qedimat al-Basrah fa- nazalat qasr Banī Khalaf

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
329			B4:1790; D2:246; H4:240; A7:23										
330	H4:221, 223	Theqaifiyah	H4:221, 223										
331		Anṣārīyah	D2:264; A6:95 B4:1838;										
332		Ghannawīly-ah	D2:267; A7:109										
333		Dubāfiyah	B4:1859; A7:138										
334		Anṣārīyah	B4:1791; H4:238; A7:32										
335	H4:455	Anṣārīyah	B4:1947; H4:455; A7:367										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
1	'Abbād ('Ibād) Abū Thā'labah	B-A-D	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyīn	B2:804	yu'addu fi ahl al-Kūfah	A3:151, 157	Kūfī	D1:291		
2	'Abbād ibn 'Amr	A			yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyīn	A3:154				
3	'Abdah ibn Ḥazn (d)	B-A-H	nazala al-Kūfah	H2:426			Kūfī	B2:821; A3:518		
4	'Abd Allāh (Abū Qābūs)	H			'Idādūhu fi ahl al-Kūfah	A3:363; H2:378				
5	'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Awfā	S-B-A-D-H	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:21; H2:271			taḥawwala ilā al-Kūfah	S6:21; B3:870; A3:182		D1:299; also B3:870; A3:182;
6	'Abd Allāh ibn Abī 'Uqayl	H	nazala al-Kūfah	H2:338						ākhir al-Ṣajjābah bi-al-Kūfah; S6:21
7	'Abd Allāh ibn Jubayr (d)	B-A	sakana al-Kūfah	A3:194	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyīn	B3:877				
8	'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:14			ammarahū 'Uthmān 'alā al-Kūfah		ba'athahu 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ilā al-Kūfah (mu'alliman wa- wazīran)	B3:992; also A3:388; H2:361; S6:13
9	'Abd Allāh (ibn al-Muntafiq) Abū al-Mughīrah (d)	S-A	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)			Kūfī	A3:401		
10	'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥīl	H							arsalahu 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr ilā al-Kūfah amīran	H3:65
11	'Abd Allāh ibn Rubayyī'ah (d)	B-A-D-H					Kūfī	B3:897; A3:233; D1:310; H2:297		
12	'Abd Allāh ibn Sillān	A-D			yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyīn	A3:273	Kūfī	D1:317		
13	'Abd Allāh ibn Thābit	A-D			'Idādūhu fi al-Kūfiyyīn	A3:188	Kūfī	D1:300		kāna ya'urumu al-nās bi-al-Kūfah
14	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Utbah (d)	H								H2:332
15	'Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd	S-B-A-H	sakana al-Kūfah	H2:375	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:18	Kūfī	B3:1001; A3:416		B3:1001; H2:375; also S6:18; A3:416
16	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī 'Aqīl	S-A	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyīn	A3:476				

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No.	EXPRESSION-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
1			'Abdī	A3:151, 157; D1:291										
2			Dīlī	A3:154	Laythī	A3:154								
3			Nasrī	B2:821; A3:518; H2:426										
4														
5			Khuzā'ī	S6:21	Aslamī	B3:870; A3:182; D1:299; H2:271								80 (H2:271), 86 (S6:21; B3:871; A3:183), 87 (B3:870; A3:183)
6			Thaqafī	H2:338										
7			Khuzā'ī	B3:877; A3:192 S6:13;										
8			Hudhālī	B3:987; A3:384; H2:360									qadima al-Madīnah fī khiḷāfat 'Uṭmān (S6:14)	32 (S6:14; B3:993; A3:390; H2:361), 33 (A3:390; H2:361)
9			Yashkurī	A3:401	Sulamī	A3:401								
10			Qurashī	H3:65	'Adawī	H3:65							Madanī (H3:65), sakana Makkah (H3:65)	74 (H3:65)
11			Sulamī	B3:897; A3:233; D1:310; H2:297										
12														
13			Anṣārī	A3:188; D1:300										
14			Hudhālī	H2:332										73 (H2:332), 74 (H2:332)
15			Anṣārī	S6:18; B3:1001; A3:416; H2:375	Khajmī	S6:18; B3:1001; A3:416; H2:375	Awsī	A3:416					waliya imrat Makkah ... istamarra muqīman biḥā (H2:375)	in the time of Ibn al- Zubayr (S6:18; H2:375)
16			Thaqafī	S6:41; A3:476										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
17	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Sabrah	B-A-H			ma'dūd fi al-Kūfiyīn	B2:834; A3:452, 453	'Idāduhu fi ahl al-Kūfah	H2:392		
18	(d) 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abzā	B-A-H	sakana al-Kūfah	B2:822; A3:422; H2:381			Kūfi	H2:381		
19	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Ā'idh	H	sakana al-Kūfah	H3:151						
20	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Aqīl	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
21	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Hasanah	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
22	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muqarrin	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:19)						
23	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Sabrah	A			'Idāduhu fi al-Kūfiyīn	A3:452				
24	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Umm al-Hakam (d)	A							ista'malahu khāluhu Mu'āwiyah 'alā al-Kūfah	A3:439
25	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ya'mar	A-D-H	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:358	sakana al-Kūfah	A3:503; H2:417				
26	'Abīdah ibn Khālid	S-H	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyīn	H2:435				
27	'Ābis ibn 'Abs	A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	A3:109; D1:281						
28	'Adī ibn 'Amīrah ('Adī ibn Farwah)	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:55; H2:464	kāna 'Adī ibn 'Amīrah ibn Farwah bi-al-Kūfah	A4:15	Kūfi	A4:16	aşluhu min al-Kūfah wa-bihā kāna suknaḥu	B3:1060; also A4:16; H3:166
29	'Adī ibn Ḥātim	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:22; B3:1059	wa-sakanahā (al-Kūfah)	B3:1059; H2:461; A4:10				
30	al-Agharr ibn Yasār	S-A	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	'Idāduhu fi ahl al-Kūfah	A1:125	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyīn	A1:125		
31	Aḥmar ibn Mu'āwiyah	A			yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyīn	A1:68				

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No.	EXPRESSION- 5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMA- TION	DIED
17			Ju'fi	B2:834; A3:453; H2:392	Asadl	A3:452								
18			Khuzāfī	B2:822; A3:422; H2:381									Istā'malahu 'Alī 'alī Khurasān (A3:422)	
19			Azdl	H3:151	Thumall	H3:151	Kindl	H3:151	Yahsibī	H3:151				In the time of al- Fajjā (H3:151)
20			Muzanī	S6:18										
21			Juhanī	S6:56										
22			Muzanī	S6:18										
23			Asadl	A3:452										
24			Thaqafī	A3:439									Istā'malahu Mu'āwiyah aydan 'alī al-Jazīrah (A3:439)	In the time of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān (A3:439)
25			Dīl	A3:503; D1:358	Du'ālī	H2:417							Makkī (H2:417)	
26			Muhāribī	S6:43; H2:435										
27			Ghifārī	A3:109; D1:281										
28			Kindl	S6:55; A4:15, 16; B3:1060; H2:463; H2:166	Hadrāmī	A4:16; H3:166								40 (A4:16; B3:1060; B2:464), '64, 68 after 60 (H2:461), 67 (A4:10; B3:1059), 68 (S6:22; A4:10; B3:1059; H2:461), 69 (A4:10; B3:1059)
29			Tā'ī	S6:22; A4:8; B3:1057; H2:460										
30			Muzanī	S6:49; A1:125	Juhanī	S6:49; A1:125	Ghifārī	A1:126						
31			Tamīmī	A1:67	Sadl	A1:67								



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
32	Alḥmar Ibn Sawā'	A-H			'idāduhu fī ahl al-Kūfah	A1:67; H1:35				
33	al-Akḥram	A-D	mazala al-Kūfah	D1:10 A4:75; D1:388	'idāduhu fī ahl al-Kūfah	A1:70				
34	al-'Alī ibn Khabbāb (d)	A-D	sakana al-Kūfah							
35	'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib	S-A	mazala al-Kūfah	S6:12					atā 'Alī al-Kūfah wa- sakanahā	A1:333
36	'Alqamah ibn al-Nadr	H							kāna alā rub' ahl al-Kūfah	H2:501
37	'Amir (Abū Hūfā) ibn 'Amir	S	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
38	'Amir ibn Mas'ūd (d)	A-D-H			waliya al-Kūfah ba'd mawt Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah bi-ḥiṭṭiq min ahlihā 'alayhi	A3:143; also H2:251			aqarrahu (Ibn al-Zubayr) 'alā al-Kūfah	D1:289; also H2:251; A3:144
39	'Amir (Abū Burdah) ibn Qays	A-H	mazala Abū 'Amir al-Ash'arī al- Kūfah	A3:138	sakana al-Kūfah	H4:19				
40	'Amir ibn Shahr	S-B-A	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	yu'addu fī al-Kūfayn	B2:792		A3:126		
41	'Amir ibn 'Umayr	A			yu'addu fī ahl al-Kūfah	A3:135				
42	'Ammār ibn Yāsir	S-B-A-H	mazala al-Kūfah	S6:14					innī ba'athu liyakum (ahl al- Kūfah) 'Ammār anīran	B3:1140, 992; also A3:134
43	'Ammār ibn Aws	B								
44	'Amr ibn al-Aḥwās	S	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
45	'Amr ibn Bulay'	S-H	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	yu'addu fī al-Kūfayn	H2:519				
46	'Amr ibn al-Ḥamīq (al-Ḥamq)	S-B-A-H	mazala al-Kūfah	S6:25	yaskumu al-Kūfah	H2:526; B3:1174; A4:217			intaqala ilā al-Kūfah	B3:1174; A4:217
47	'Amr ibn al-Ḥārith	A			yu'addu fī al-Kūfayn	A4:211				

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No.	EXPRESSION- 5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMA- TION	DIED
32			Sadūsī	A1:67; H1:35										
33														
34														
35			Hāshimī	S6:12										40 (S6:12)
36														
37			Muzanī	S6:48										
38			Qurashī	A3:143	Jumahlī	A3:143; D1:289; H2:251								
39			Ash'arī	A3:137; H4:19										
40			Hamdānī	S6:28; B2:792; A3:126	Bakīlī	B2:792; A3:126	Nā'īlī	B2:792; A3:126					kāna ahjad 'ummāi Rasūl Allāh 'alā al- Yaman (A3:126)	
41			Nama'ī	A3:135										
42			'Anṣī	S6:14; B3:1135; A4:129; H2:505	Madhhijī	B3:1135; A4:129								37 (S6:14; A4:135; B3:1140; H2:506)
43			Anṣārī	B3:1141										
44														
45			Anṣārī	S6:54; H2:519										
46			Khuzā'i	S6:25; A4:217; B3:1172; H2:526	Ka'bi	S6:24; H2:526; A4:217							sakana al-Shām (B3:1174; H2:526; A4:217), intaqala ilā Miṣr (A4:217), intaqala min Miṣr (A4:217)	50 (B3:1174; A4:218; H2:526), 51 (H2:526), 63 (H2:526)
47														

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
48	'Amr ibn Hurayth	S-B-A	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:23; B3:1172	w-sakanatā (al-Kūfah)	B3:1172; also A4:213	Kana Ziyad Ibn Abi Sufyān Idhā khareja ilā al-Baṣrah istakhlafa 'alā al-Kūfah 'Amr ibn Hurayth	S6:23	waliya imārat al-Kūfah	B3:1172; also A4:213
49	'Amr ibn Kharrījah	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
50	'Amr ibn Ma'lik	B-A-D-H			ywaddu fī al-Kūfayn	H3:13	Kūf	B3:1200; A4:267; D1:417		
	Anas ibn al-Harith (al-Harith) (d)	A-D-H		B3:1079; A4:66; H2:487; (S6:5)	'idāduhu fī ahi al-Kūfah	H1:81; A1:146	Kūf	D1:30		
52	'Aqīl ibn Muqarrin	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Kūfah							
53	al-'Aqmar Abū 'Alī (d)						Kūf	A1:132		
	'Arfa'ah ibn Shurayh	S-A-H	nazala al-Kūfah	H2:467; (S6:5)	sakana al-Kūfah	A4:22				
54	(Shurayh)									
55	al-'Ash'ath ibn Qays	S-B-A-H	nazalahā (al-Kūfah)	S6:22; B1:134	sakana al-Kūfah	A1:118; H1:66				
56	al-'Aswad ibn Hiflā	A					Kūf	A1:107		
				A1:100; D1:18; H1:57; (S6:5)						
57	al-'Aswad ibn Tha'labah	S-A-D-H	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
58	'Ajā' al-Shabībī (d)	H	sakana al-Kūfah	H2:476						
59	'Ajā' ibn 'Ubayd Allāh (d)	A	sakana al-Kūfah	A4:41						
60	'Alyyah	A-D-H	sakana al-Kūfah	D1:382; H2:479	nazala al-Kūfah	A4:46				
61	'Atfāb ibn Shumayr	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:46)						

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No.	EXPRESSION-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
48			Qurashī	B3:1172; A4:213	Makhzū- mī	S6:23; B3:1172; A4:213								85 (S6:23; B3:1172; A4:213)
49			Asadī	S6:63										
50			'Āmirī	B3:1200; A4:267; D1:417; H3:13	Ru'āsī	B3:1200; A4:276; D1:417								
51														
52			Muzanī	S6:18; B3:1079; A4:66; H2:487										
53			Wadā'ī	A1:132										
54			Ashja'ī	S6:30; A4:22; H2:467	Kindī	A4:22	Aslamī	A4:22						
55			Kindī	S6:22; B1:133; A1:118; H1:66									ista'malahu (Uthmān) 'alā Adharbayjān (A1:118)	40 days after 'Alī was killed (A1:119; H1:66), 40 (B1:134, 125; A1:119), 42 (B1:134; A1:119; H1:66), when al- Ḥasan ibn 'Alī was in Kufa (S6:22)
56			Muhāribī	A1:107										80s (A1:107)
57			Yarbū'ī	S6:45; A1:100; D1:18; H1:57										
58			Shabībī	H2:476										
59			Shaybī	A4:41	Qurashī	A4:41	'Abdarī	A4:41						
60			Quraḏī	A4:46; D1:382; H2:479										
61														

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
62	Ayman ibn Khuraym	B-A	nazala al-Kūfah	B1:129; A1:188						
63	al-Barrā' ibn 'Āzib (Abū 'Ammārah)	B-A-D-H	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:17; B1:157; A1:205; D1:46; D2:189; H1:147	sakana al-Kūfah	A6:225				
64	Bashīr ibn al-Khaṣṣāsiyah	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
65	Bashīr ibn Ma'bad	H			'Idādūhu fi ahl al-Kūfah	H1:163				
66	Burmah ibn Mu'āwiyah	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
67	Bushr ibn Rabī'ah	H							ṣāhib jabānat Bushr bi-al-Kūfah	H1:175
68	al-Ḍahḥāq ibn Qays (d)	B-A-H							wallāhu (Mu'āwiyah) 'alayhā (al-Kūfah)	B2:745; also H2:199; A3:49
69	Dammān ibn Tha'labah	H	yaskunu al-Kūfah	H2:202						
70	Dhū al-Jawshan (Aws ibn al-A'war)	S-A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	A1:164; A2:171; D1:169; (S6:5)						
71	Dirār ibn al-Azwar	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
72	Dukayn ibn Sa'īd	S-H	nazala al-Kūfah	H1:465; (S6:5)						
73	al-Falatān ibn 'Āṣim	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyīn	B3:1270; A4:368; H3:203, 204				
74	Farwah ibn Musayk	B-H	sakanahā (al-Kūfah)	B3:1261; H3:200	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyīn	H3:200				
75	al-Fujay' ibn 'Abd Allāh	S-B-A-D-H	nazala al-Kūfah	D2:5; (S6:5)	sakana al-Kūfah	B3:1268; A4:350	Kūfi	H3:194		
76	Furāt ibn Hayyān	S-B-H	sakana al-Kūfah	H3:195	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyīn	B3:1258	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:40; H3:195		

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No.	5	EXPRESSION- SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
62			Asadī	B1:129; A1:188									Shamī al-aṣl (B3:129; A1:188)	
63			Anṣarī	S6:17; B1:155; A1:205; D1:46; H1:147	Awṣī	S6:17; A1:205; D1:46; H1:147	Khazrajī	B1:155	Ḥarithī	B1:155				in the time Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr (S6:17; B1:157; A1:205; H1:147), 72 (H1:147)
64			Sadusī	S6:50										
65			Aslamī	H1:163										
66			Asadī	S6:38										
67			Juhmī	H1:175										
68			Filrī	B2:744; A3:49; H2:199	Qurashī	B2:744; A3:49								64 (B2:745; A3:50; H1:199), 50 (H2:199)
69			Sa'dī	H2:202										
70			Dībābī	S6:46; A1:163; A2:171; D1:168	'Āmirī	S6:46; A1:163; A2:171; D1:168	Kilābī	S6:46; A1:163; A2:171 D1:168						
71			Asadī	S6:39										
72			Khath'amī	S6:38; H1:465	Muzamī	H1:465								
73			Jarmī	S6:60; B3:1270; A4:368; H3:203	Minqarī	B3:1270; A4:368							sekana al-Madīnah (H3:204)	
74			Murādī	B3:1261; H3:200	Ḥulayfī	B3:1261							eqtuhu min al-Yaman (B3:1261; H3:200)	
75			'Āmirī	S6:46; B3:1268; A4:350; D2:5; H3:194	Bakkāfī	S6:46; A4:350; D2:5; H3:194							yu'addu fi arāb al- Basrah (A4:350)	
76			'Ujfi	S6:40; B3:1258; H3:195	Rabāfī	H3:195	Yashkurī	H3:195						

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
77	Ghālib ibn Abjar	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyīn	B3:1252; A4:335 A4:337; H3:182	Kūfī	H3:181		
78	Gharafah	A-H			ma'dūd fi al-Kūfiyyīn					
79	Habbah ibn Khālid	S-B-A-D-H	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:116; H1:303; (S6:5)	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyīn	B1:319; A1:440				
80	Hajjāj ibn 'Abd Allāh	H	thumma (nazala) al-Kūfah	H1:311						
81	Halb	A					Kūfī	A5:414		
82	Hāmid (d)	A-D					Kūfī	A1:434; D1:114		
83	Hānī ibn Aws	S-D	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:25; D2:116						
84	Hānī ibn Firās	A-D-H	nazala al-Kūfah	A5:381; D2:116	min ahl al-Kūfah	H3:564				
85	Hānī ibn Yazīd (Abū Shurayh)	S-B-A	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyīn	B4:1688	yu'addu fi ahl al-Kūfah	A6:166		
86	Hanzalah ibn al-Rabi'	S-H	nazala al-Kūfah	H1:359; (S6:5)						
87	al-Hārith ibn 'Abd Allāh	A-D			yu'addu fi ahl al-Kūfah	A1:401	Kūfī	D1:103		
88	al-Hārith ibn al-Azma' (d)	H	ahl al-Kūfah	H1:368						
89	al-Hārith ibn Hassān	S-A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:98; (S6:5)	sakana al-Kūfah	A1:386				
90	al-Hārith ibn Mālik	A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	A1:413; D1:108						

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No.	EXPRESSION- 5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
77	Muzani	H3:181	Muzani	H3:181										
78	Azdi	A4:337; H3:182	Azdi	A4:337; H3:182										
79	Suyāfi	B1:318	Khuzāfi	B1:318; A1:440; D1:116; H1:303	Khuzāfi	'Amīfi	H1:303	Asadi	S6:33				nazala al-Basrah (H1:311)	
80	Thaqafi	H1:311	Thaqafi	H1:311										
81	Tāfi	A5:413	Tāfi	A5:413										
82	Sāidi	A1:434;D1: 114	Azdi	A1:434	Azdi									
83	Aslami	S6:26; D2:116	Aslami	S6:26; D2:116										in the time of Mu'awiyah (S6:26; D2:116)
84	Ashjafi	A5:381; D2:116	Aslami	A5:381; D2:116	Aslami									
85	Hārithi	S6:49; B4:1688; A6:165	Hārithi	S6:49; B4:1688; A6:165										
86	Tamimi	S6:55; H1:359	Tamimi	S6:55; H1:359										in the time of Mu'awiyah (H1:358)
87	Bajafi	A1:401; D1:103	Juhani	A1:401	Juhani									
88	Hamdani	H1:396	Hamdani	H1:396										at the end of the caliphate of Mu'awiyah (H1:368)
89	Bakri	S6:35; A1:386; 387; D1:98	Raba'i	S6:35; A1:386; 387; D1:98	Raba'i	Dhuhli	A1:386, 387						min ahl al-Hijaz (A1:413), aqama bi- Makkah (A1:413), qila (nazala) Makkah (D1:108)	
90	Kinani	A1:413; D1:108	Laythi	A1:413; D1:108	Laythi									



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
91	al-Hārith ibn Suwayd (d)	A-D-H	uazala al-Kūfah	H1:369 S6:18; A1:393	'idādūhu min ahli al-Kūfah	A3:396	Kūf	D1:101		
92	al-Hārith ibn Ziyād	S-A	uazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5) (S6:5)	yū'addu fi al-Kūfiyyin	B1:308				
93	Hārithah ibn Wahb	S-B	uazala al-Kūfah	H3:569						
94	Hārīz (Abū Hārīz)	S	uazala al-Kūfah	A5:377						
95	Harmās (Harm) ibn Ḥayyān (d)	H	ahī al-Kūfah	D1:116; (S6:5)						
96	Hāshim ibn 'Utbah	A	uazala al-Kūfah		yū'addu fi al-Kūfiyyin	B1:317				
97	Ḥayyān ibn al-Abjar	B			yū'addu fi al-Kūfiyyin	B1:336				
98	Ḥidhyan ibn 'Amr	B								
99	Ḥubāī ibn Jumādah	S-D-A	uazala al-Kūfah		yū'addu fi al-Kūfiyyin	A1:439				
100	Ḥudhayfah ibn Asīd	S-B-A-H	uazala al-Kūfah	S6:24; A4:466; H1:316		B1:336; B4:1669; A6:136				
101	Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān	S	uazala al-Kūfah	S6:15						
102	Ḥujr ibn 'Adī (d)	B-H	ahī al-Kūfah	H1:313			Kūf	B1:329		
103	al-Ḥulb ibn Yazīd	S	uazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
104	Ḥumaydah ibn Khālid (d)	A-H	uazala al-Kūfah	A5:420	'idādūhu fi Ṣajābat al-Kūfah	H3:579				
105	Ḥurr al-Qays ibn 'Abīs	A-D-H	uazala al-Kūfah	A1:137; D1:28	sakana al-Kūfah	H1:77				
106	'Isā ibn 'Uqayl (Murqūl) (d)	H			ma'dūd fi al-Kūfiyyin	H3:52				
107	'Iyāb ibn Shamir (Nāmīr)	H	sakana al-Kūfah	H2:445						
108	'Iyād ibn 'Amr	B-A-D	uazala al-Kūfah	D1:431	sakana al-Kūfah	A4:326	Kūf	B3:1233		
109	'Iyās ibn 'Abd	D-A-H	uazala al-Kūfah	H1:101			Kūf	A1:184; D1:40		

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No.	EXPRESSION- 5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
91			Taymīl	A1:396 S6:18;	Tamīmīl	H1:369; D1:101								72 (H1:369)
92			Anṣārī	A1:392 S6:26;	Sa'dī	S6:18	Sa'dī	A1:392					yu'addu fī ahl al- Madinah (A1:392)	
93			Khuzā'ī	B1:308										
94														
95			'Abdī	H3:569										
96			Qurashī	A5:377	Zuhrī	A5:377								37 (A5:377)
97														
98			Sa'dī	B1:336 D1:116; S6:37	Tamīmīl	B1:336								
99			Sa'īfī	S6:24; B1:335; B4:1667; A1:466; A6:136; H1:316										
100			Ghifārī											42 (H1:316)
101			'Abṣī	S6:15									wa-(nazala) al- Mada'in (S6:15)	36 (S6:15) 51 (B1:332; H1:314), 53 (H1:314)
102			Kindī	B1:329; H1:313										
103			Tā'ī	S6:32 A5:420;										
104			Khuzā'ī	H3:579 D1:28; A1:137; H1:77	Nakha'ī	A5:420								
105			Kindī	H1:77										
106			'Ithaqafī	H3:52	Asadī	H3:52								
107			Dībī	H2:445 B3:1233; A4:326;										
108			As'hārī	D1:431 D1:40; A1:184;										
109			Muzanīl	H1:101										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
110	Jābir	S-B-II	sakana al-Kūfah	III:213; (S6:5)	nazala al-Kūfah	A1:305	Kūf	BI:225 BI:224; A1:303		
111	Jābir ibn Abī Sabrah	B-A					Kūf			
112	Jābir ibn Samurah	S-A-II	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:24; III:213	sakana al-Kūfah	A1:304		BI:241; A1:339; D1:84; III:238		
113	Jā'adah ibn Hubayrah (d)	B-A-D-II	sakana al-Kūfah	A1:340			Kūf			
114	Jarjyah ibn Zafar	B-A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:75	sakana al-Kūfah	BI:227	y'u'addu fī al- Kūfīyin	A1:313	aqāma Jarīr bi-al-Kūfah	A1:333
115	Jarīr ibn 'Abd Allāh	S-B-A-D-II	sakana al-Kūfah	BI:238; D1:83; III:234	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:22; BI:238	aqāma Jarīr bi-al- Kūfah	A1:333		
116	Jawdān	A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:94	sakana al-Kūfah	A1:361		BI:246; A1:344; D1:86		
117	Ju'ayl (Ja'āl) ibn Ziyād	B-A-D					Kūf			
118	al-Juhdumāl	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
119	Junānah ibn Mālik	B					Kūf	BI:249		

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No.	EXPRESSION- 5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMATION	DHRD	
110			Almasl	S6:36; B1:225; A1:305; H1:213	Bejla	S6:36; A1:305; H1:213									
111			Asadl	B1:224; A1:302										66 (A1:304), 74 (H1:213), in the time of Bushr Ibn Marwan in Kufa (A1:304), at the beginning of the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan (S6:24)	
112			'Annaf	S6:24; A1:304; H1:213	Suwāf	S6:24; A1:304; H1:213									
113			Ashja'f	B1:241; A1:339; D1:84; H1:238	Makbuzūmī	A1:339, 3340; H1:238									
114			Yamānī	B1:227; A1:313; D1:75	Hana'f	A1:313; D1:75								after 50 (D1:83), 51 (B1:238; A1:334; H1:234), 54 (B1:238; A1:334; H1:234), in the governorship of al-Dahhak Ibn Qays in Kufa (S6:22)	
115			Bejla	S6:22; B1:236; A1:333; D1:83; H1:233									thumma (nazala) Qirqlsiya (D1:83; also B1:238)		
116				B1:246; A1:344; D1:86											
117			Ashja'f												
118															
119			Azadl	B1:249											

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
120	Jundab ibn 'Abd Allah	S-A-D-II	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:91; (S6:5)	sakana al-Kūfah	A1:360; H1:250				
121	Ka'b ibn 'Amr (d)	B-A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	D2:32	sakana al-Kūfah	B3:1322; A4:485				
122	Ka'b ibn 'Ujrah	B-A-II	nazala al-Kūfah	B3:1321	sakana al-Kūfah	A4:482; H3:281				
123	Ka'bir ibn Shihab (d)	A-D-II	naẓil al-Kūfah	H3:271	'idādūhu fī al-Kūfayn	A4:459	Kūfī	H3:271	sayyid Madhijj bi-al-Kūfah	D2:27; H3:271
124	Khabāb ibn al-A'ra'it	S-B-A-II	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:14; B2:438; A2:116; H1:417						
125	Khalid ibn Abī Jabal	A	nazala al-Kūfah	A2:91						
126	Khalid ibn 'Urfujah	S-B-A-II	sakana al-Kūfah	B2:435	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:21; also A2:103	ma'dūd fī ahlihā (al Kūfah)	A2:103	Istakhlafahu Sa'd (ibn Abī Waqās) 'alā al-Kūfah	A2:103; H1:409
127	Khidāsh ibn Salāmah	B-A-II			yu'addu fī al-Kūfayn	B2:443; H1:419	yu'addu fī ahl al- Kūfah	A2:123		
128	Khuraym ibn Fātik (or ibn al-Akhrām)	S-B-A-II	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	yu'addu fī al-Kūfayn	B2:447; also A2:130			tahawwala ilā al-Kūfah	H1:423
129	Khuzaymah ibn Thābit	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)					qadima al-Kūfah ma'a 'Alī	S6:51
130	Kudayr ibn Qatadah (d)	A-D	sakana al-Kūfah	A2:462	Kūfī	D2:28				

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No.	5	EXPRESSION-	SOURCES-	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-	TRIBE-5	5	OTHER INFORMA-	DIED	
			1		2		3		4		5			TION		
120			S6:35; A1:360; D1:91; H1:250 B3:1322; A4:485; D2:32	Bajafī	'Alaq Yānīl	S6:35; A1:360; D1:91; H1:250 B3:1322; A4:485; D2:32								Intaqala ilā al-Baṣrah (A1:360), wa-(mazala) al-Baṣrah (D1:91), (sakana) al-Baṣrah (H1:250)	still alive in the time of al-Muṣ'ab (A1:361; H1:250)	
121				Handānī												
122			B3:1321; A4:481; H3:281 A4:459; D2:27	Balawī	Sawādī	B3:1321	Anṣārī	Qudāfī	H3:281							51 (B3:1321; A4:482; H3:282), 52, (B3:1321; A4:482 H3:282), 53 (A4:482; H3:282)
123			S6:14; B2:437; A2:114; H1:416	Hārithī	Māzinī	H3:281										37 (S6:14; B2:438; A2:116; H1:416), 39 (B2:438), 19 (B2:438; A2:116; H1:416)
124				Tamīmī	Khuzāfī	H1:416	Sadī	Zuhūrī	A2:114							
125			A2:91	'Adwānī												
126			B2:434; A2:102 B2:443; A2:123; H1:419	Bakrī	Laythī	B2:434; H1:409	'Udhūrī	Khuzāfī	A2:103; H1:409		Qudāfī	A2:102				60 (B2:435; A2:103; H1:409), 61(B2:61; A2:103; H1:409)
127				Sulāmī	Salamī	A2:123; H1:419										
128			S6:38; B2:446; A2:130	Asadī	Azdī	H1:423										still alive when Marj Raḥl happened in the time of Mu'āwiyah (H1:423)
129			S6:51 A2:462;	Khafīmī	Anṣārī	S6:51										37 (S6:51)
130			D2:28	Dabbī												

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
131	Kuiffūm (d)	A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	D2:34	'Idā'ituhū fī ahl al-Kūfah	A4:494				
132	ʿAbīd ibn Rabīʿah	S-A-II	nazala al-Kūfah	A4:515; H3:307; S6:33	hājara ilā al-Kūfah	S6:33			min wujūh ahl al-Kūfah	H3:309
133	ʿAbīd ibn ʿUẓayid	II								
134	Malik ibn ʿAbd Allāh	S-B-A-II	sakana al-Kūfah	H3:427	maʿtūd fī al-Kūfayn	B3:1354; A5:33	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)		
135	Malik ibn ʿAwf	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:28)						
136	Malik ibn Darrāh	A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	A5:29; D2:45						
137	Malik ibn Naḍlah	II	sakana al-Kūfah	H3:335						
138	Malik ibn Rabīʿah (Abū Maryam)	S-B-A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	yuʿaddu fī al-Kūfayn	B3:1352; A5:24	Kūf	A6:285; D2:202		
139	Malik ibn ʿUmeyr	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)			Kūf	D2:47		
140	Malik ibn ʿUmeyr (d)	D								
141	Mān ibn Yazīd	S-II	yanzilu al-Kūfah	H3:430; S6:37	sakana al-Kūfah	H3:430				
142	Maqīl ibn Muqarrin	S-II	sakana al-Kūfah	H3:426	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:19)				
143	Maqīl ibn Sinān	S-B-II	nazala al-Kūfah	B3:1431; H3:425; (S6:5)						
144	Marhab (Abū Marhab)	S-A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	yuʿaddu fī al-Kūfayn	A5:139	Kūf	D2:68		
145	Maʿar ibn ʿUkāmīs (d)	A-D-II			yuʿaddu fī al-Kūfayn	A5:185; H3:403	Kūf	D2:79		

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No.	EXPRESSION	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
131			Khuzā'ī	A4:494; D2:34	Musīlīq-ī	A2:493								still alive in the time of Mu'awiyah (A4:516), in the caliphate of 'Uthmān (A4:516), in the year of al-Jamā'ah (S6:33), 41 (A4:517; H3:307)
132			'Āmirī	S6:33; A4:515; H3:307	Jafarī	A4:514; H3:307	Kilābī	A4:514; H3:307						
133			Tamīmī	H3:309 S6:62; B3:1354; A5:33;										
134			Khuzā'ī	H3:327	Khaṭ'amī	H3:327								
135			Qaysī	S6:28										
136			Damī	A5:29; D2:45										
137			Jushamī	H3:335 S6:37; B3:1352; A5:24; A6:285; D2:202										in the time of Mu'awiyah (A5:29; D2:45)
138			Salīfī	D2:202										
139			Asadī	S6:63										
140			Hanaṭī	D2:47										
141			Sulamī	S6:36; H3:429										took part in battle of Marj Raḥī (S4) (S6:36; H3:430)
142			Muzanī	S6:18; H3:426										
143			Asūj'ā'	S6:55; B3:1431; H3:425										in the day of al-Ḥarraḥ (S6:55; B3:1431; H3:425), 63 (H3:425)
144														
145			Sulamī	A5:185; D2:79; H3:403										



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
146	Maytham al-Taunār	II	nazala al-Kūfah	II:479						
147	Miknaf ibn Sulaym	S-A	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:35	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyin	AS:128	kāna naqīb al-Azd bi-al-Kūfah	AS:128		
148	Mirdās ibn Mālik	S-B-A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	'idāduhu fi ahl al-Kūfah	AS:142; D2:753; B3:1386	sakana al-Kūfah	B3:1386		
149	Mirdās ibn 'Urwah	II			ma'būd fi al-Kūfiyyin	II:379				
150	al-Miswar ibn Yazīd	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
151	al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah	S-B-A-II	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)					wallāhu 'Umar (also 'Uthman and Mu'awiyah) al-Kūfah	II:432; S6:20; B4:1446; A5:248
152	Muḥammad ibn 'Adī (d)	II			'idāduhu fi ahl al-Kūfah	II:359				
153	Muḥammad ibn Ḥātib	B			'idāduhu fi al-Kūfiyyin	B3:1368				
154	Muḥammad ibn Ṣafwān (or Ibn Ṣayfī)	S-A-D-II	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5); II:356; A5:97	yu'addu fi ahl al-Kūfah	A5:96	Kūfi min ashraf al-Kūfah	D2:59	yu'addu fi ahl al-Kūfah kāna sayyid ahl al-Kūfah fi zamanihi	A5:97
155	Muḥammad ibn 'Umayr (d)	A-II						II:491		A5:108
156	Mujāhid ibn Thawr	A-D					yu'addu fi arab al-Kūfah	A5:62	min arab al-Kūfah ba'athahu ('Umar) ilā ahl al-Kūfah li-yu'allimahum al-Qur'an	D2:51
157	Mujāmmil ibn Jāriyah	S-II	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						II:346
158	Mukḥarrīq ibn 'Abd Allāh	A-D-II			yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyin	A5:121; A6:280; D2:200; II:368				
159	Muḥjāb ibn Rāshid	A-D-II	nazala al-Kūfah	A5:265; D2:94; II:438					kāna min ashraf ahl al-Kūfah	II:438
160	al-Muntafiq (Abū Razīn, Ibn al-Muntafiq)	D								
161	al-Muntashir (d)	A	sakana al-Kūfah	A5:264					kāna bi-al-Kūfah	D2:94
162	Murrah	B					Kūfi	B3:1382		

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No.	EXPRESSION	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIJID
146			Asadī	H3:479										in the time of Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan (H3:479)
147			Azdi	S6:35; A5:128 S6:55; B3:1386; A5:142; D2:753	Chamidi	S6:35; A5:128							istamalahu 'Ali Ibn Abi 'A'ib 'ala Madinat Khurasan (A5:128)	
148			Aslamī	H3:379	Thaqafi	H3:379								
149			'Amirī	S6:50										
150			Asadī	S6:20; B4:1445; A5:247; H3:432										49 (H3:432), 50 (S6:20; B4:1446; A5:248; H3:432), 51 (H3:432)
151			Thaqafi											
152			Mihqari	H3:359	Tamimi	H3:360								
153			Qurashi	B3:1368 A5:96, 97; D2:59;	Jumahi	B3:1368								64 (B3:1368)
154			Anṣari	H3:356	Khalimi	H3:356	Makhzū- mi	A5:97					Madani (A5:97)	
155			Tamimi	H3:490 A5:62; D2:51										
156			'Amirī											
157			Anṣari	H3:346	Awsi	H3:346								in the caliphate of Mu'awiyah (S6:52)
158			Shaybani	A5:121; H3:368 A5:265; D2:94;										
159			Dabbi	H3:438										
160			'Uqayli	D2:94										
161			Hamdani	A5:264										
162			'Amirī	B3:1382										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
163	Mūsā ibn Talhah	II	nazala al-Kūfah	II3:458						
164	al-Musawwar ibn Yazid	B-A	nazala al-Kūfah	B3:1400	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyin	AS:176			kāna bi-al-Kūfah	II3:397
165	Muslim	II								
166	Muslim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh	III	sakana al-Kūfah	II3:396						
167	Mustawrid ibn Shaddād	S-A-D-H	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:61; D2:72; II3:495	sakana al-Kūfah	AS:154				
168	al-Mujallib ibn Abi Wed'ah	B-A	nazala al-Kūfah	B3:1402; AS:190						
169	Nasī' ibn 'Ubah	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)					hajra li al-Kūfah ya'ni fi 'ald 'Umar	II3:543
170	al-Nasir ibn Tawwab	II								
171	Nawfal ibn Farwah (Abū Farwah)	S-A-D	sakana al-Kūfah	AS:370; D2:115	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	'idāduhu fi al-Kūfiyin	A6:246 II3:553	Kūf	D2:193
172	al-Nazzāl ibn Sabrah (d)	II								
173	Nubayr ibn Shurayf	S-II	nazala al-Kūfah	II3:522; (S6:5)						
174	al-Nur'mān ibn 'Anir	S	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:18						
175	al-Nur'mān ibn Basīr	S-A-H			aqama bihā (al-Kūfah)	(S6:53)			istā'inalahu Murāwiyah 'alā al-Kūfah	II3:529; AS:328; S6:53; 54

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No.	EXPRESSION-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
163			Taymī	H3:458									tahawwala ilā al-Basrah (H3:459)	103 (H3:459), 104 (H3:459), 104 (H3:459)
164			Asadī	B3:1400; A5:176	Mālikī	B3:1400; A5:176								
165														
166			Qurashi	H3:395										
167			Qurashi	A5:154; D2:72; H3:495	Fihri	S6:61; A5:154; D2:77; H3:494							thumma (nazala) Mişr (D2:72; H3:495), sakana Mişr (A5:154), shahida fati Mişr wa-ikhtatfa bihā (H3:494)	45 (H3:494)
168			Qurashi	B3:1402; A5:190	Sahmī	B3:1402; A5:190							nazala ba'd dhalik al-Madinah (B3:1402), thumma tahawwala ilā al-Madinah (A5:190)	
169			Qurashi	S6:32										
170			'Ukbi	H3:542 S6:44;									nazala al-Basrah (H3:543)	
171			Ashja'i	A5:370; A6:246; D2:115, 193										
172			Hilali	H3:553 S6:29;										
173			Ashja'i	H3:522	Qaysi	S6:29								
174			Muzani	S6:18										21 (S6:19)
175			Anṣārī	A5:326; H3:529	Khazrajī	S6:53; A5:326; H3:529							naqalahu Mu'awiyah min Imrat al-Kūfah ilā Imrat Hilim (H3:529; S6:53), ista'malahu Mu'awiyah 'alā Hilim (thumma 'alā al-Kūfah) (A5:328)	after 64 (A5:328), 65 (H3:530)

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
176	al-Nu'mān ibn Muqarrin	A-II	tajawwala ilā al-Kūfah	H3:526; A5:324						
177	al-Nu'mān ibn Qawqal	H	mazala al-Kūfah	H3:535 (S6:5)						
178	Nu'mayr Abū Mālik	S	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
179	Nuqūdah ibn 'Abd Allāh	S	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
180	Qabīlah ibn Burma (d)	H			yu'addu fī al-Kūfiyyin	H3:214				
181	Qarazah ibn Ka'b	S-B-A-D-II	sakana al-Kūfah	H3:223	mazalahā (al-Kūfah)	S6:17	waliya al-Kūfah il-'All	D2:14; also B3:1306; A4:400	min man wajjahahu 'Umar ilā al-Kūfah yufaqqihu al-nās	H3:223; also B3:1306; S6:17; A4:400
182	Qays Abū Ghanīm (Qays ibn Ghanīm)	B-II					Kūf	B3:1302; H3:253, 246		
183	Qays ibn 'Ā'idh (Abū Kāhil)	S-B-A-II	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	'Idāduhu fī ahl al-Kūfah	H3:244	'Idāduhu fī al-Kūfiyyin	B4:1738; A6:260		
184	Qays ibn Abī Gharazah	S-B-A-D-II	sakana al-Kūfah	B3:1297; A4:439; H3:246 (S6:5)	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	Kūf	D2:23; H3:246		
185	Qays ibn al-Hārith	S	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
186	Qays ibn al-Nu'mān	B					Kūf	B3:1301		
187	Qays ibn Raif' (d)	H					Kūf	H3:239		
188	Qays ibn Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah	S	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)					lahiqa bi-'All bi-al-Kūfah fa-lam yazal ma'ahu	S6:52
189	Qays ibn al-Sakun (d)	H			yu'addu fī al-Kūfiyyin	A4:423	Kūf	H3:240		
190	Qays ibn Zayd	A								
191	Qudāmah ibn 'Abd Allāh (d)	H			'Idāduhu fī ahl al-Kūfah	H3:219	Kūf	H3:219		

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No.	EXPRESSION- SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
176		Muzanī	A5:342; H3:535									sakana al-Basrah (H3:537; A5:342)	21 (A5:343; H3:536)
177													
178		Khuzā'i	S6:51										
179		Asadī	S6:61										
180		Asadī	H3:214										
													in the caliphate of 'Alī (S6:17; B3:1306; A4:400), in the amirate of al-Mughfirah in Kufa (A4:400), at the beginning of the caliphate of Mu'awiyah (B3:1306; A4:400; H3:223)
181		Anṣārī	S6:17; B3:1306; A4:399; D2:14; H3:223	Khazraǧī	S6:17; B3:1306; A4:399; D2:14; H3:223								
182		Asadī	B3:1302; H3:253, 246 S6:62; B4:1738; A6:260; H3:244	Mazīnī	H3:253							sakana al-Basrah (B3:1302), ma'dūd fi al-Basrah (H3:246)	
183		Aljmasī		Beǧalī	S6:62; B4:1738; A6:260; H3:244								in the time of al-Hajjāj (B4:1738; A6:260)
184		Anṣārī	S6:55	Chifārī	B3:1297; A4:439; D2:23; H3:246	Juhani	B3:1297; A4:439; H3:246	Beǧalī	H3:246				
185		Asadī	S6:60										
186		Sakūnī	B3:1301										
187		Qaysī	H3:259	Asṭijālī	H3:259							maẓlī Miṣr (H3:259)	
188		Khazraǧī	S6:52	Sā'idī								wallāhu ('Alī) Miṣr (S6:52)	at the end of the caliphate of Mu'awiyah (S6:53)
189		Anṣārī	H3:240										7 (H3:241)
190		Juhani	A4:422										
191		Bakrī	H3:219	'Āmidī	H3:219								

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
192	Qur'bah ibn Mālik	S-B-A-H	sakana al-Kūfah	H3:229	ma'addu fi al-Kūfiyyin	H3:229	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	min ahl al-Kūfah	A4:408
193	Rabī'ah ibn 'Uthmān	A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:180	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyin	A2:214				
194	Rāfi' ibn 'Umayr	H	sakana al-Kūfah	H1:486						
195	al-Rasīm	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
196	Riyāh ibn al-Rabī'	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
197	Rushayd ibn Mālik	S-B-A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyin	B2:496; A2:222	Kūfi	D1:183		
198	Sabrah ibn al-Fākih	B-A-D-H	nazala al-Kūfah	H2:14	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyin	A2:324; D1:208	Kūfi	B2:578		
199	Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:12	khajjahā (al-Kūfah)	S6:12	huwa alladhī	H2:31; also A2:367		B2:608; also H2:30, 31; S6:12; A2:367
200	Sa'd ibn al-Akhrīmī (d)	A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:211	sakana al-Kūfah	A2:335	kawwafa al-Kūfah			
201	Sa'd ibn Bujayr	S	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:52						
202	Sa'd ibn Mas'ūd (d)	B-D					Kūfi	B2:602; D1:218		
203	Sa'd ibn 'Ubayd	B-A			yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyin	B2:600; A2:359	min ahl al-Kūfah	A2:360		
204	Ṣaḥān ibn 'Assāl	S-B-A-D-H	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:266; (S6:27)	sakana al-Kūfah	B2:724; A3:27; H2:182			fa-lam yazaḥ bihā (al-Kūfah)	S6:15
205	Sah ibn Hunayf	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)					hattā mā'a	

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No.	EXPRESSION- 5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMA- TION	DIED
192	Kufī	B3:1283	Tha'labī	S6:36; B3:1283; A4:408; H3:229	Tamīmī	H3:229	Dhībānī	B3:1283; A4:408; H3:229	Tha'labī	B3:1283; A4:408; H3:229				
193			Taymī	A2:214; D1:180										
194			Tamīmī	H1:248										
195														
196			Tamīmī	S6:55										
197			Tamīmī	B2:496; A2:222	Sa'dī	D1:183	Muzanī	A2:223	Asadī	A2:223				
198			Asadī	A2:324; D1:208; H2:14	Makhzū- nī	A2:324; H2:14								
199			Qurashī	B2:607; A2:366; H2:30	Zuhūrī	B2:607; H2:30; S6:12; A2:366								50 (S6:13), 51 (H2:31), 54 (B2:610; A2:369; H2:31), 55 (S6:13; B2:610; A2:369; H2:31), 56 (H2:31), 57 (H2:31), 58 (B2:610; A2:369; H2:31), in the time of Mu'awiyah (B2:610)
200														
201			Bajālī	S6:52										
202			Kindī	B2:602; D1:218										
203			Ausarī	B2:600; A2:359	Awsl	A2:359	Qarī	A2:359						15 (B2:600; A2:359)
204			Murādī	S6:27; B2:724; A3:28; D1:266; H2:182										
205			Awsl	S6:15										38 (S6:15)



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
206	al-Sā'ib ibn al-Aqrā'	B					Kūfī	B2:569		D1:223; also B2:622; H2:45; A2:392
207	Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ	B-A-D-II		S6:23; A2:384; D1:221						
208	Sa'īd (Sa'd) ibn Hurayth	S-A-D	mazala al-Kūfah							
209	Sa'īd ibn Zayd	S-B	mazalātā (al-Kūfah)	S6:13; B2:618	wa-sekanahā (al-Kūfah)	B2:618	kāna bi-al-Kūfah	S6:13		
210	Šakir ibn al-'Aylah	S-B-A-D-II	mazala al-Kūfah	D1:263; (S6:5)						
211	Salamah ibn al-Aswad	D	mazala al-Kūfah	D1:230	'idāduhu fī al-Kūfayn	B2:715	sakana al-Kūfah	H2:173	'idāduhu fī ahlī al-Kūfah	A3:12
212	Salamah ibn Nu'aym	S-B-A-D	mazala al-Kūfah	S6:44; A2:434	yū'addu fī al-Kūfayn	B2:642	Kūfī	B2:624; D1:233		
213	Salamah ibn Qays	S-B-A-D-II	mazala al-Kūfah	S6:33; H2:65						
214	Salamah ibn Salamah	II					Kūfī	B2:642; A2:432; D1:233		
215	Salamah ibn Umayyah	B-II	mazala al-Kūfah	H2:62; H2:67; H3:620; (S6:5)					min ahlī al-Kūfah	H2:64
216	Salamah ibn Yazid	S-B-II	mazala al-Kūfah	S6:44; D1:204; H2:5			Kūfī	B2:640		
217	Sālim ibn 'Ubayd	S-B-A-D-II	mazala al-Kūfah		sakana al-Kūfah	A2:310	Kūfī	B2:644		

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No.	EXPRESSION- 5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMA- TION	DIFD
206			Thaqafi	B2:569										
207			Qurashi	A2:391; H2:45	Umawi	A2:391; D1:223; H2:45								53 (H2:46), 59 (A2:393; B2:624)
208			Makhzūmī	S6:23; A2:384; D1:221	Qurashi	A2:384								killed at al-Jarrah (A2:384)
209			Qurashi	B2:614	'Adawi	S6:13; D2:614								50 (S6:13), 51 (B2:620), 52 (B2:620), in the time of Mu'āwiyah (S6:13)
210			Bajafi	S6:31; A3:12; D1:263; H2:173	Ahmasi	S6:31; B2:715; A3:12; D1:263; H2:173								
211			Kindi	D1:230										
212			Ashja'i	S6:44; B2:642; A2:434; D1:233										
213			Ashja'i	S6:33; B2:642; A2:432; D1:233; H2:65	Ghazafā-ni	H2:65								
214			Tha'labi	H2:64										
215			Tamimi	B2:640; H2:61										
216			Ju'fi	S6:30; H2:74; H3:620										
217			Ashja'i	S6:44; B2:566; A2:310; D1:204; H2:5										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
219	Sahnān ibn Rabī'ah (d)	B-A-D-H					Kūfī	B2:632	awwal qudāt al-Kūfah	D1:229; also B2:632; A2:415; H2:59
220	Sahnān al-Fārisī	S-B	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:17	yu'addu fī al-Kūfīyīn	B2:638			fī wufūd ahli al-Kūfah ('ajā 'Umar)	H2:75
221	Samāk ibn Kharshah	II		H2:77; (S6:5)						
222	Samurah ibn Jundab	S-A	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)					yastakhilifuhu (Ziyād ibn Abih) 'alā al-Kūfah idhā sāra ilā al-Basrah	A2:454
223	Sawā' ibn Khālid	S-D	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:116; (S6:5)						
224	Shaddād ibn al-Hādī	B-A-H		H2:150; (S6:5)					tajawwala minhā (al- Madīnah) ilā al-Kūfah	B2:696; A2:510; H2:140
225	Shakal b. Humayd	S-II	nazala al-Kūfah				Kūfī	B2:697		
226	Sharāfil ibn Murrāh	B		B2:704, 705; A2:523; H2:148						
227	Sharīk ibn Tāriq (d)	B-A-II	nazala al-Kūfah							

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No.	EXPRESSION-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
218			Bāhilī	B2:632; A2:415; D1:229; H2:59									thumma qadā bi-al-Madā'in (A2:415)	78 (B2:633); A2:416, 29 (B2:633; A2:416), 30 (B2:633; A2:416; D1:229), around 30 (H2:59; also A2:416), 31 (A2:416)
219			Farīṣī	B2:634										35 (B2:638), 36 (B2:638), at the end of the caliphate of 'Umar (B2:638), in the caliphate of 'Umar (S6:17)
220			Anṣārī	H2:75 S6:24; H2:77										In the time of 'Abd al-Mālik (H2:77)
221			Suwā'ī		Āmirī	S6:24								
222			Fazārī	S6:34; A2:454										58 (A2:455), 59 (A2:455)
223			Asadī	S6:33	Khuzā'ī	D1:116								
224			Kinānī	A2:509 S6:45; H2:150	Laythī	B2:695; A2:509; H2:140	Urwānī	B2:694						
225			'Absī											
226			Kindī	B2:697										
227			Harzālī	B2:704; A2:523; H2:148	Ashjā'ī	B2:704; A2:523; H2:148	Tamīmī	B2:704; A2:523	Muhārībī	A2:523; H2:148				

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
228	Shaybān ibn Mālik	S-A-II	sakana al-Kūfah	H2:156	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyin	H2:156	Kūfī	H2:156	imlīn ahlī al-Kūfah	A2:533
229	Shihāb ibn al-Majnūn	A			'idāduhu fī ahlī al-Kūfah	A2:532				
230	Shurayh ibn Hārith (d)	II					Kūfī	H2:144	qaḍā bi-al-Kūfah	H2:144; II4:14
231	Shurayf ibn Anas	A-II	sakana al-Kūfah	A2:521	ma'dūd fī al-Kūfiyyin	H2:146				
232	Simāk ibn Makrūmah	B-A-D-II			ahlī al-Kūfah	B2:652	kāna bi-al-Kūfah	A2:453	wa-ḥayhī yunsabu masjid	B2:652; A2:452; D1:238; II2:76
233	Sinān ibn al-Muqarrin	S	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:19)						
234	Siyan	II					Kūfī	H2:102		
235	al-Ṣunābiḥ ibn al-'A'sar	S-B-D-II	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	ma'dūd fī ahlī al-Kūfah	B2:740	Kūfī	D1:286; II2:187	ahlī al-Kūfah	II2:129
236	Sulaymān ibn Mashar (d)	II								
237	Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad	S-B-A-D	mazala al-Kūfah	S6:25; D1:237; A2:449	sakana al-Kūfah	B2:650; A2:449				
238	Suwayd ibn Muqarrin	S-B-A-II	mazala al-Kūfah	H2:99; (S6:19)	yu'addu fī al-Kūfiyyin	B2:680	sakana al-Kūfah	A2:494		
239	Suwayd ibn Qays	B			yu'addu fī al-Kūfiyyin	B2:680				
240	Talhah ibn Nuḍaylah (d)	II			'idāduhu fī ahlī al-Kūfah	H2:223				
241	Tāriq ibn 'Abd Allāh	S-B-II	mazala al-Kūfah	H2:212; (S6:5)	yu'addu fī al-Kūfiyyin	B2:756				
242	Tāriq ibn 'Alqamah	II	sakana al-Kūfah	II2:212						

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No.	EXPRESSION	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
228	nazala al-Kufah (S6:5)		Anṣārī	S6:54; A2:533; H2:156	Sahmī	A2:533; H2:156								
229			Jarmī	A2:532										78 (H2:144), 80 (H2:144), 82 (H2:144), 99 (H2:144), after 90 (H2:144)
230			Kindī	H2:144; H4:14										
231			Ashjaʿī	A2:521; H2:146 B2:652; A2:452; D1:238;										
232			Asadi	H2:76	Hāshimī	A2:452; D1:238	Tamīmī	H2:76					nazala al-Jazirah (D1:238)	In the time of Muʿawiyah (H2:76)
233			Muzanī	S6:18										still alive in the caliphate of ʿUthmān (H2:102)
234						S6:63; H2:740; D1:268;								
235			Bajalī	S6:63	Ahmasī	H2:187	ʿUjfi	H2:187						
236														
237			Khuzaʿī	S6:25; H2:649; A2:449; D1:237 B2:680; A2:493; H2:99; (S6:19)										65 (S6:26; B2:650; A2:449)
238			Muzanī											
239														
240														
241			Muharibī	S6:42; B2:756; H2:212										
242														

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
243	Tāriq Ibn al-Ashyam (d)	S-B-A-D-H	sakana al-Kūfah	H2:210	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyln	B2:753; A3:69; D1:274			nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)
244	Tāriq Ibn Sharik	B-A-D			yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyln	B2:755; A3:70	Kūfi	D1:274		
245	Tāriq Ibn Shihāb	B-A-H	nazala al-Kūfah	H2:211	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyln	A2:70	Kūfi	B2:755		
246	Tāriq Ibn Ziyād	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
247	Thābit Ibn Wadī'ah (Thābit Ibn Yazīd Ibn Wadī'ah)	S-B-A	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:52; A1:281	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyln	B1:206	Kūfi	A1:279		
248	Tha'labah Ibn al-Hakam	S-B-A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:66; (S6:5)					thumma tahawwala ilā al-Kūfah	B1:212; also A1:285
249	Tha'labah Ibn Zaidam	A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:67	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyln	A1:286				
250	Thumamah Ibn Bijād	B-A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:70	'idāduhu fi ahl al-Kūfah	A1:295	Kūfi	B1:216		
251	'Ubayd Ibn 'Azīb	S-A-D-H	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyln	A3:542			ahad al-'asharah al-ladhin wajjahatun 'Umar Ibn al-Khattāb ma'a 'Ammār Ibn Yāsir ilā al-Kūfah	S6:17; also H2:437; D1:366
252	'Ubayd Ibn Khālid	S-B-A-D	min sākinī al-Kūfah	D1:365; also B3:1016	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	sakana al-Kūfah	A3:536		
253	'Ubayd Ibn Khālid	A			yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyln	A3:537				
254	'Ubayd Ibn Naḍlah (Nuḍaylah) (d)	A-D-H	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:368	sakana al-Kūfah	A3:548	Kūfi	H3:102	kāna yaqra'u alī al-Kūfah	H3:102
255	'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Aslam	A			yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyln	A3:520				
256	Udhaynah Ibn Salamah (d)	H							ahl al-Kūfah	H1:41

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No.	5	EXPRESSION-	SOURCES-	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-	TRIBE-5	OTHER INFORMA-	DIED
		5	SOURCES-	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-	TRIBE-5	TION	
243				Ashja'at										
244					B2:755; A3:70; H2:211		B2:755; A3:70; H2:211							82 (H2:212), 83 (H2:212), 84 (H2:212)
245				Bajla'at		Ahmasi								
246				Ju'fi	S6:64									
247				Ansa'at	B1:206; A1:279	Aws	A1:279						'Ida'quhu fi ahli al- Madinah (A1:279)	
248				Laythi	S6:33; B1:212; A1:285; D1:66	Kinani	A1:285						mazala al-Basrah (B1:212; A1:285; D1:66)	
249				Tamimi	A1:286	Hanzali	D1:67	Thalabi	A1:286					
250				'Abdi	B1:216; A1:295; D1:70									
251				Ansa'at	S6:17; A3:542; D1:366; H2:437									
252				Sulami	S6:42; B3:1016; A3:536; D1:365	Bahzi	B3:1016; A3:536; D1:365							
253				Muharibi	D1:365 A3:537									
254				Khuza'at	A3:548; D1:368; H3:102									
255														
256				'Abdi	H1:40	Laythi	H1:40						Basri (H1:41), ra's 'Abd al-Qays bi-al- Basrah (H1:41)	



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
257	Ujbān ibn Aws	B-A-D-II	nazala al-Kūfah	H1:91	yu'addu fi ahl al-Kūfah	H1:91	Kūf	B1:115; D1:33	sakana al-Kūfah	A1:161
258	'Umārah ibn Aws	A					Kūf	A4:136		
259	'Umārah ibn Ru'bah (Rabay'ah/Ruwaybah)	S-A-II	sakana al-Kūfah	H2:508	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	Kūf	A4:138		
260	'Umārah ibn Shihāb	II							istamalahu 'Alī 'alī al-Kūfah	H2:508
261	'Umārah ibn 'Uqbah	II			'idāduhu fi ahl al-Kūfah	H2:510			aqāma bi-al-Kūfah	H2:510
262	'Umayr (ibn Niyār)	B-A	yu'addu fi ahl al-Kūfah	A4:299	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyīn	B3:1217				
263	'Umayr Dhū Murrān	S	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:63						
264	'Umayr ibn Nuwaym (Uwaym, Tuwaym)	B-A-II			yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyīn	B3:1220; A4:298; H3:179				
265	'Uqbah ibn 'Amr (Abū Mas'ūd)	S-B-A-II	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:16; B3:1075; H2:484	wa-sakanahā (al-Kūfah)	B3:1075; B4:1757; A4:57; A6:286	istakhilafahu 'Alī 'alī al-Kūfah	S6:16	ustukhlifa marratan 'alī al-Kūfah	H2:383
266	'Urwah	A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:379	sakana al-Kūfah	A4:31				
267	'Urwah ibn 'Iyād (or 'Urwah ibn Abī al-Ja'd)	S-B-A-D-II	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyīn	B3:1065	min jihat man suyyira liā al-Sham min ahl al-Kūfah fi khalāfat 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān	A4:27, 30; also H2:469	waliya qadiā' al-Kūfah	D1:379, also B3:1065; A4:30; H3:105; S6:34
268	'Urwah ibn Muḍarris	S-B	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:31					yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyyīn	B3:1067

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No.	EXPRESSION:	SOURCE: 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
257			Aslam]	B1:115; A1:161; D1:33; H1:91										in the time of al-Mughfirah in Kufa (I1:91), at the beginning of Mu'awiyah (B1:115)
258			Anṣārī	A4:136 S6:40; A4:138; H2:508										
259			Thaqafī	H2:508										
260			Thawrī	H2:508										
261			Qurashī	H2:509 B3:1217; A4:299	Umayyā	H2:509								
262			Anṣārī	S6:63										
263			Hamdānī											
264														
265			Anṣārī	S6:16; B3:1074; B4:1757; A6:286; H2:483	Khazrajī	S6:16; B4:1757; A4:57; H2:483								around 40 (H2:484), in the time of Mu'awiyah (S6:16; B3:1075), 41 (B3:1075; B4:1757; A6:287), 42 (B3:1075; B4:1757; A6:287), after 60 (B4:1757; A6:287)
266			Murādī	A4:31; D1:379 S6:34; B3:1065; A4:26, 29; D1:379; H2:468;										
267	sakana al-Kūfah	A4:26	Bāriqī	H3:105 S6:31; B3:1067	Azdl	S6:34; B3:1065; A4:26, 29; D1:379								
268			Ta'ī											

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
269	Usamah ibn Sharik	S-A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:27)	'idāduhū fi ahl al-Kūfah	A1:81	Kūfī	D1:13		
270	Usamah ibn 'Umayr	D					Kūfī	D1:13		
271	Utbah ibn Farqad	S-A-I	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:41; H2:448	sakana al-Kūfah	A3:468				
272	Utbah ibn 'Yarbu'									
273	Uthman ibn Hunayf	B-A-H	sakana al-Kūfah	B3:1033; A3:577; H2:452						
274	Wabisah ibn Ma'bad	A	sakana al-Kūfah	A5:427						
275	Wahb ibn 'Abd Allah (Abū Juhayfah)	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Kūfah yu'addu fi ahl al-Kūfah	B4:1619; A6:48; (S6:5)	min ahl al-Kūfah	A5:460	Ja'ialahu 'Allī ibn 'Abī Tālib 'alā bayt al-māl bi-al-Kūfah	A6:48	wallāhu ('Allī) shurjal al-Kūfah	H3:606
276	Wahb ibn Hamzah	A-D	Kūfah	A5:457			Kūfī	D1:130		
277	Wahb ibn Khambash	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
278	Wā'il ibn Hujr	S-A-H	nazala al-Kūfah	A5:435; H2:592; (S6:5)						
279	al-Walid ibn 'Uqbah	S-A-H	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						S6:24; A5:452; H3:601
280	Yahyā ibn Hānī (d)	H							wallāhu ('Uthmān) al-Kūfah min sadāt ahl al-Kūfah	H3:639
281	Yā'la ibn Murrah	S-A	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	sakana al-Kūfah	A5:525				
282	Yazīd Abū Mā'n (or Yazid ibn al-Akhnas)	A	sakana al-Kūfah	A5:474	yu'addu fi ahl al-Kūfah	A5:509				
283	Yazīd ibn Nu'mān	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						

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No.	EXPRESSION- 5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE- 5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMA- TION	DEED
269			Tha'labi	S6:27; A1:81; D1:13	Qaysi	S6:27	Dhibyani	A1:81	Ghajafani	A1:81				
270			Hudhali	D1:13										
271			Sulami	S6:41; A3:567; H2:448										
272														
273			Anṣārī	B3:1033; A3:577; H2:452	'awsī	B3:1033; A3:577							wallāhu 'Alī al- Baṣrah (B3:1033; A3:577; H2:452)	in the time of Mu'āwiyah (B3:1033; A3:577; H2:452)
274			Asadī	A5:427									thumma tahawala ilā al-Raqqah fa-aqama bihā (A5:427)	
275			Suwā'ī	S6:63; B4:1619; A5:460; A6:48; H3:606	'Amirī	S6:63; B4:1619; A5:460; A6:48; H3:606								64 (H3:606), in the amirate of Baṣir ibn Marwān in Basra (S6:64; A6:49), in the amirate of Baṣir ibn Marwān in Kufa (A5:461)
276														
277			Ta'ī	S6:62										
278			Hadramī	S6:26; A5:435; H3:592									ista'malahu al-Nabī 'alā al-aqyāl min Hadramawi (A5:435)	in the time of Mu'āwiyah (A5:435; H3:592)
279			Amawī	A5:451; H3:601	Qurashī	A5:451								in the time of Mu'āwiyah (H3:602)
280			Murādī	H3:639										
281			Thaqafi	S6:40; A5:525	'Amirī	A5:526							sakana al-Baṣrah (A5:525)	
282			Jami	A5:509	Sulami	A5:474, 509							Shāmi (A5:475)	
283			Dabbi	S6:65										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
284	Yazid Ibn Sharik	D-II	sakana al-Kūfah	H3:634			Kūfi	D1:139; H3:634		
285	Yazid Ibn Yuḥannas (d)	A-II					Kūfi	A5:513; H3:626		
286	Yūnus Abū Muhammad	A			'Idādūhu fi al-Kūfiyīn	A5:530				
287	Zābir Ibn al-Aswad	S-B-A-II	sakana al-Kūfah	B2:509; A2:245; H1:523	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyīn	B2:509	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:32		
288	Zābir Ibn Ḥarām	B							Intaqala ilā al-Kūfah	B2:509
289	Zayd Ibn Arqam	S-B-A	nazala al-Kūfah	S6:18; B2:535	yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyīn	B2:535	wa-sakanahā (al-Kūfah)	B2:535; A2:276		
290	Zayd Ibn Ḥuṣn	H							amīl 'Umar ibn al-Khaḥḥāb 'alā ḥudūd al-Kūfah	H1:546
291	Zayd Ibn Sūḥān (d)	H							fi man suyyira (by 'Uthmān) min ahl al-Kūfah ilā al-Shām	H1:566
292	Ziyād Ibn 'Abd Allāh	A-D			yu'addu fi ahl al-Kūfah	A2:272			bi-al-Kūfah	D1:195
293	Ziyād Ibn Abīh (d)	H							amīr al-Kūfah	H1:563
294	Zuhayr Ibn Abī 'Alqamah	A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	A2:265; D1:193						
295	Zuhayr Ibn 'Alqamah (d)	A-D	nazala al-Kūfah	D1:192	sakana al-Kūfah	A2:264				
296	Zuhayr Ibn Ṭuhfah	H					Kūfi	H1:535		
297	Abū Ahmad Ibn Qays	H							alḥad al-'asharah al-ladhīn ba'athahum 'Umar na'a 'Anmār ibn Yāsir ilā al-Kūfah	H4:4
298	Abū Ananah	A			yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyīn	A6:5				
299	Abū 'Amīr	A-D			'Idādūhu fi al-Kūfiyīn	A6:190; D2:182				
300	Abū 'Aswajah	A							min Dabbat al-Kūfah	A6:235
301	Abū Burdah	A-D					Kūfi	A6:29; D2:151		
302	Abū Burdah	A-II			yu'addu fi al-Kūfiyīn	A2:29; H4:20				
303	Abū al-Fīl (d)	B					Kūfi	B4:1730		

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No.	EXPRESSION- 5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
284			Taymī	D1:138; H3:634										
285														
286			Anṣārī	A5:530 B2:509; A2:245; H1:523; S6:32	Awsī	A5:530	Zafarī	A5:530					yu'addu fi ahl al-Madinah (A5:530)	
287			Aslamī	S6:32										in the time of 'Uthmān (H1:523)
288			Ashja'fī	B2:509 S6:18; B2:535; A2:276		S6:18; B2:535; A2:276							Hijazī (B2:509)	
289			Anṣārī	A2:276	Khazraḥī	A2:276								68 (S6:18; B2:535; A2:276)
290			Tāṭ	H1:547	Shabībī	H1:547								
291			'Abdī	H1:565 A2:272; D1:195										
292			Anṣārī	D1:195										
293			Thaqafī	H1:563 A2:265; D1:193	Dubābī	D1:193							anṣar al-Basrah (H1:563)	S3 (H1:563)
294			Dubafī	A2:264; D1:192		D1:193 A2:264; D1:192								
295			Bayḥafī	D1:192	Nakha'fī	D1:192								
296			Kindī	H1:535										
297			Anṣārī	H4:4										
298			Fazārī	A6:5										
299														
300			Dabbī	A6:235										
301														
302			Anṣārī	A6:29; H4:20	Awsī	A6:29; H4:20	Zafarī	A6:29; H4:20					nazala Miṣr (H4:20)	
303														

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
304	Abū Jazīm ('Awd ibn 'Abd al-Jāriṭh)	S-B	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)			Kūf	B4:1262		
305	Abū Hind (d)	B-A-H	mazala al-Kūfah	H3:529	yu'addu fi al-Kūfyīn	B4:1772; A6:322; H3:529	Kūf	A5:325		
306	Abū Jabirah ibn al-Dahjāk (d)	B-A-D					Kūf	B4:1619; A6:47		
307	Abū Khalīd	S	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
308	Abū al-Khaṭṭāb	S-B-A-H	sakana al-Kūfah	H4:53	yu'addu fi al-Kūfyīn	B3:1640; A6:91	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)		
309	Abū Laylā (Bilāl ibn Balayl)	S-B-H	sakana al-Kūfah	H4:169			mazala al-Kūfah	H1:170; (S6:5)		B4:1744; A6:269
310	Abū al-Ma'ālī	H	sakana al-Kūfah	H4:182						
311	Abū al-Mundhir	A			yu'addu fi ahl al-Kūfah	A6:302				
312	Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī	S-B-A-H	mazala ... bi-al-Kūfah	B3:980; also S6:16	sakanah (al-Kūfah)	B3:980; H2:352				B3:980; also B4:1764; A3:368; A6:307; H2:351; S6:16
313	Abū Nukhaylah (d)	B			'idāduhu fi al-Kūfyīn	B4:1765			aqarrahū 'Uthmān 'alā al-Kūfah (wāliyan)	
314	Abū al-Qamrā	A-D			'idāduhu fi al-Kūfyīn	A6:255				
315	Abū Qatadah ibn Rab'at	S	mazala al-Kūfah	S6:15			Kūf	D2:195		
316	Abū Rimthah (Ḥabīb ibn Ḥayyān/Rifā'ah ibn Yaṭhrīb)	S-B-A	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	'idāduhu fi al-Kūfyīn	B4:1658	'idāduhu fi ahl al-Kūfah	A2:234		

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No.	EXPRESSION- 5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMATION	DEED
304			Beja'fi	S6:36 B4:1772; A5:325; A6:322; H3:529	Almasi	S6:36; B4:1626								
305			Ashja'fi			B4:1619; A6:47								
306			Anṣari	B4:1619; A6:47	Ashhafi	D2:154	Salami	A6:47						
307														
308														
309			Anṣari	B4:1744; H1:170; A6:269; H4:169	Awsi	A6:269								killed at the Battle of Siffin (H4:169)
310			Anṣari	H4:182										
311			Juhani	A6:302										
312			Ash'ari	S6:16; B3:979; B4:1762; A3:367; H2:351										42 (S6:16; B4:1764; A3:369; A6:307; H2:352), 44 (B3:980; B4:1764; A3:369; A6:307; H2:352), 49 (A3:369), 50 (B3:981; B4:1764; A3:369; A6:307; H2:352), 51 (H2:352), 52 (S6:16; B3:981; B4:1764; A3:369; A6:307), 53 (A3:369; H2:352)
313			Beja'fi	B4:1765										
314														
315			Anṣari	S6:15 S6:51; B4:1658; A2:234	Tamimi	B4:1658; A2:234								54 (S6:15)
316			Taymi											



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
317	Abū Razīn (Mas'ūd ibn Mālik) (d)	II	mazala al-Kūfah	II4:75						
318	Abū Sabrah (Yazīd ibn Mālik)	S-A-D	mazala al-Kūfah	D2:170; (S6:5)	'Idādūhu fī ahl al-Kūfah	A6:133, 135	sakana al-Kūfah	A6:133		
319	Abū Sa'īd ibn Zayd	A		A6:156;					awradahu 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal fī mustaḥād al-Kūfiyyin	A6:141
320	Abū al-Sanābil ibn Ba'kak	A-II	sakana al-Kūfah	II4:96						
321	Abū Shālim (d)	S-B-II	sakana al-Kūfah	II4:104	ma'dūd fī al-Kūfiyyin	B4:1690	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)		
322	Abū Subhā	S-B-A	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	ya'uddūhu (ba'dūhum) fī al-Kūfiyyin	B4:1683	Kūfi	A6:153		
323	Abū Tāybah	S	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
324	Abū al-'Uḥayr ('Aṭir ibn Wāḥilah)	S-B-A	mazala al-Kūfah	B4:1696; A6:180; (S6:5)	yaskunū al-Kūfah	A3:145				
325	Abū al-'Umays (Ḥajar ibn al-'Umays)	II					Kūfi	II4:146		
326	Abū 'Umayyah	S-B	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	yu'addū fī al-Kūfiyyin	B4:1603				
327	Abū al-'Uryān	B-A			yu'addū fī al-Kūfiyyin	B4:1713; A6:211				
328	Abū Yahyā	A			yu'addū fī al-Kūfiyyin	A6:330				
329	Abū Zuhayr	B			yu'addū fī al-Kūfiyyin	B4:1662				
330	Ibn Abī Shaykh	S-A-D	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	'Idādūhu fī ahl al-Kūfah	A6:341	Kūfi	D2:214		
331	Ibn Jamrah	D			'Idādūhu fī ahl al-Kūfiyyin		Kūfi	D2:213		
332	Ibn Saylān (Sillān)	S-A-D	mazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)	'Idādūhu fī al-Kūfiyyin	D2:214	Kūfah	A6:340		

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No.	EXPRESSION- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED after 60 (H4:75), after 80 (H4:75), 95 (H4:75)
317		Asadī	H4:75 S6:49; A6:133; D2:170										
318		Ju'fī		Nakha'ī	A6:133, 135							awradahu 'Abd Allāh ibn Ahmād ibn Hānbalī n Musnad al- Shāmiyyīn (A6:141) eqāna bi-Makkah (H4:96)	
319					A6:156; H4:96								
320		Qurashī	H4:96	'Abdā'ī									
321													
322												yu'addu fi al- Shāmiyyīn (B4:1683), Shāmi' (A6:153)	
323												Makkī (B4:1696), Iḥunima Intaqala ilā Makkah (A3:145; A6:180)	100 (A3:145; B4:1696), 110 (A3:145)
324		Kinānī	S6:64; A3:145; A6:179; B4:1696	Laythī	A3:145; A6:179								
325													
326		Fazārī	S6:31; B4:1603										
327		Muhāribī	B4:1713; A6:211	Nakha'ī	B4:1712; A6:211							yu'addu fi al-Basriyyīn (B4:1713; A6:211)	
328													
329		Thaqafī	B4:1662 S6:43; A6:341; D2:214	Tā'ifī	B4:1662							yu'addu fi al- Hijāziyyīn (B4:1662)	
330		Muhāribī											
331		Asadī											
332													

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
333	The grandfather of 'Faljah ibn Musarrif	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
334	Someone from Banī Taghlib	S	nazala al-Kūfah	(S6:5)						
335	Fāṭimah bint Qays	A-II							qadimat al-Kūfah	A7:230; H4:373
336	Jamrah bint 'Abd Allāh	D-A-II			'idāduhā fi al-Kūfyln	H4:252	'idāduhā fi ahl al-Kūfah	A7:50	kānat bi-al-Kūfah	D2:255
337	Jamrah bint Quljāfah	D-A-II			'idāduhā fi al-Kūfyln	H4:252	tu'addu fi ahl al-Kūfah	A7:50	kānat bi-al-Kūfah	D2:255

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No.	EXPRESSION- 5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
333			Jayani	S6:59										
334			Taghlibi	S6:59										
335			Fihriyah	A7:230, H4:373	Qureshiyah	A7:230								
336			Tamimiyah	A7:50; D2:255; H4:252	Yarbuliyah	A7:50; D2:255; H4:252	Hanzaliyah	A7:50; D2:255						
337			Kindiyah	A7:50; D2:255; H4:252										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
1	'Abbād ibn Murrāh (Murrāh ibn 'Abbad)	A-D-II	nazala al-Shām	D1:293	'Idādhuhu fī al-Shāmīyūn	A3:155; H2:258					
2	'Abd al-Muḥḥallib ibn Rabi'ah	B-A							Intaqala ilā al-Shām	B3:1007; A3:508	
3	'Abd Allāh	B-A	min sākinī al-Shām	A3:225			Shāmī	B3:1002			
4	'Abd Allāh	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
5	'Abd Allāh Abū Khalīd	A							min ahl al-Shām	A3:222	
6	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd (A:adh)	S-B-A	nazala al-Shām	S7:415	yu'addu fī al-Shāmīyūn	B3:943; A3:303					
7	'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Mufarrif	A-D			'Idādhuhu fī al-Shāmīyūn	A3:392	Shāmī	D1:335			
8	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Awf (d)	II							ahl al-Shām	H3:138	
9	'Abd Allāh ibn Busr	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	yu'addu fī al-Shāmīyūn	B3:959			ākhīr man māta bt-al-Shām bi-Himḥ min Ashāb Rasūl Allāh	B3:874; B2:736; also H2:273; A3:186, I6; S7:413	
10	'Abd Allāh ibn Busr	A					Shāmī	A3:187	ahl al-Shām	H3:139	
11	'Abd Allāh ibn Fayrūz (d)	II									
12	'Abd Allāh ibn Hawālah	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384); B3:894					nazala al-Urdunn min ard al-Shām	A3:220, also H2:292	
13	'Abd Allāh ibn Hukl (d)	B-A-D-II					Shāmī	B3:891; A3:215; D1:305; H3:131			
14	'Abd Allāh ibn Huzābah (d)	II							ahl al-Shām	H3:130	
15	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Isām	A-D-II			'Idādhuhu fī ahl al-Shām	A3:338	Shāmī	D1:325; H2:338			

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	4	4	5	5	6	6	OTHER INFORMATION	DEED
1		Ansārī	A:155; DI:293; H2:258												
2		Qurashi	A3:508; B3:1006 B3:1002; A3:225 S7:426 A3:222 S7:415; B3:943; A3:303 DI:335; A3:392	Hashimī	B3:1006; A3:508									nazala Dimashiq (B3:1007; A3:509), saksana al-Madīnah (A3:509)	in the time of Yazid (B3:1007), 61 (A3:509)
3		Khawlanī													
4		Ṣunābīlī													
5		Sulamī													
6		Thumalī												saksana Hims (A3:303)	
7		Azdl													
8		Kinānī	H3:138	Qārī	H3:138									min ahl Dimashiq (H3:138)	
9		Mazimī	S7:413; B3:874; A3:186; H2:273 A3:187 H3:138	Sulamī	H2:273; A3:186									Himsī (H2:273)	88 (S7:413; A3:186; H2:273), 96 (A3:186; H2:273)
10		Nasrī													
11		Daylamī													
12		Azdl	S7:414; B3:894; A3:219; H2:292 B3:891; A3:215; DI:305; H3:131	'Āmirī	S7:414; B3:894; B3:894; H2:292									yaskuni al-Urdunī (S7:414)	58 (S7:414), 80 (B3:894; A3:220, H2:292), 85 (H2:292)
13		Azdl													
14															
15		Ash'arī	A3:336; DI:325; H2:338												

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
16	'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b	A-D-H			'Idāduhu fī ahl al-Shām	I2:355			min ahl al-Shām	A3:372; D1:331	
17	'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'adah	B			yu'addu fī al-Shāmīyīn	B3:987					
18	'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwiyah	S-B-A	mazala al-Shām	(S7:421)	'Idāduhu fī al-Shāmīyīn	A3:395	Shāmī	B3:995			
19	'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥayriz (d)	B-A-H	sakana al-Shām	B3:984					min ahl al-Shām	A3:379; H3:140	
20	Muḥammad (Mikmar, Muḥammad) (d)	A-D-H			'Idāduhu fī al-Shāmīyīn	A3:381	Shāmī	D1:334; H3:140, 141			
21	'Abd Allāh ibn Qurī	S	mazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
22	'Abd Allāh ibn Sabrah	H	sakana al-Shām	H2:307				B3:917; A3:257; D1:314			
23	'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd	B-A-D			yu'addu fī al-Shāmīyīn	A3:258	Shāmī				
24	'Abd Allāh ibn al-Sa'dī	S	mazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
25	'Abd Allāh ibn Sīdān	S	mazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
26	'Abd Allāh ibn Sufyān	S-B-A-D	mazala al-Shām	(S7:384)			Shāmī	B3:921; A3:263; D1:315			

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No.	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES- 6	TRIBE-OTHER INFORMATION	DIED	
16		Himyari	A3:372; D1:331; H2:355	Azdi	A3:372; H2:355										58 (A3:372; D1:331; H2:355)	
17		Fazari	B3:986 S7:421; B3:995; A3:395													
18		Ghadiri												na'ala Hims (A3:395)		
19		Qurashi	B3:984; A3:379; H3:140	Jumahi	B3:984; A3:379; H3:140										between 86-90 (B3:984), in the time of al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik (A3:379), in the caliphate of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (A3:379)	
20		Sharhi	H3:141													
21		Azdi	H3:141 S7:415	Thumali	S7:415									min abl al-Yaman (A3:381; H3:140), Hims (H3:140)		
22		Hamdani	H2:307 B3:917; A3:257; D1:214	'Abdi Anqari	H2:307 A3:258; D1:314			'Abba- ri	A3:258					sakane Misr (H2:307)		
23		Azdi	D1:214	Anqari	A3:258; D1:314	Tamali	A3:258									
24		'Amiri	S7:407											na'ala Dimashq (S7:407)		
25		Sulami	S7:438 S7:436; B3:921; A3:262; D1:315													
26		Azdi												sakane Hims (A3:262; D1:315)		



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
27	'Abd Allāh ibn Unays	A							qāla (Jābir): balaghānī ḥadīth 'an rajul min Aḥḥāb al-Nabī ... fa- sirtu shahran ilayhi ḥattā qadimtu al- Shām, fa- idhā huwa 'Abd Allāh ibn Unays, fa-arsaltu ilayhi anna Jābir 'alā al-bāb ... fa- kharajā ilayya	A3:178	
28	'Abd al-Rajmān ibn Abī 'Awf (d)	H					Shāmī	H3:98	ahl al-Shām	H3:98	
29	'Abd al-Rajmān ibn Abī 'Umayrah (or 'Amirah) (d)	S-B-A-D-II	sakana al-Shām	H2:406	'idā'atuhu fī al- Shāmīyā	A3:479	Shāmī	B3:843; D1:353	nazala al-Shām	S7:417	
30	'Abd al-Rajmān ibn 'Ā'ish (d)	S-B-A-D	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	yu'addu fī ahl al- Shām	B3:838; A3:465	Shāmī	D1:350	kāna 'azīm al-qadr 'inda ahl al-Shām	H3:69	
31	'Abd al-Rajmān ibn Khālid (d)	H					ahl al-Shām	H3:68			
32	'Abd al-Rajmān ibn Mas'ūd	A-D	sakana al-Shām	A3:493			Shāmī	D1:355			
33	'Abd al-Rajmān ibn Qatadah	S-A-D	nazala al-Shām	S7:417			Shāmī	A3:489; D1:354			
34	'Abd al-Rajmān ibn Qurṭ (d)	A-H	sakana al-Shām	A3:490; H2:411							
35	'Abd al-Rajmān ibn Salamah	H					Shāmī	H3:98			
36	'Abd al-Rajmān ibn Shihāb	S-A-II	nazala al-Shām	S7:402; A3:459; H2:395							

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES-6	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
27		Aslanī	A3:178												
28		Jurashī	H3:98											Himsī (H3:98)	
29		Muzanī	S7:417; B3:843; A3:479; D1:353; H2:406	Qurashī	B3:843; H2:406									nazala Hims (H2:306)	
30		Hadramī	S7:437; D1:350; B3:838; A3:465												
31		Qurashī	H3:68	Makhzūmī	H3:68									ahl al-Madīnah (H3:68)	
32		Khuzā'ī	A3:493; D1:355												
33		Sulanī	S7:417; A3:488; D1:354											yu'addu fi al-Himsīyīn (A3:489) Himsī (H2:411), wāliyan 'alā Hims (H2:411), 'idāduhu fi ahl Fīlasīn (A3:490; H2:411)	
34		Thunālī	A3:490; H2:411												
35															
36		Ansarī	S7:402; A3:459; H2:395	Awsī	A3:459; H2:395									nazala Hims (H2:395), 'idāduhu fi ahl al-Madīnah (H2:395)	

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
37	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Ubayd	A-D			'iḍāḥu fi al-Shāmīyīn	A3:471	Shāmī	D1:351 B3:1022; A3:550; H3:1022			
38	'Abīdah	B-A-H					Shāmī		kāna bi-al-Shām	D1:3	
39	Abrahah ibn Shurahbil	D						B3:1008; A3:520; D1:362	tajawwalū ilā al-Shām fa-askanahum Mu'awiyah al-Ruhā	H2:464	
40	'Abs (or 'Ābis)	B-A-D					Shāmī				
41	'Adī ibn 'Umayrah	H									
42	Alīas	A	sakana al-Shām	A1:126				B2:800; A3:148; D1:290			
43	'Ā'idh ibn Qurī	B-A-D-H	sakana al-Shām	H2:254			Shāmī				
44	'Ā'idh al-Hān ibn 'Abd Allīh (Abū Idrīs)	B-H					kāna 'ālim ahl al-Shām	H3:57	min fuqatīh' ahl al-Shām	B2:801	
45	'Alkaf ibn Wadā'ah	B-H			yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	B3:1244	Shāmīyīn	H2:488			
46	'Amīr	H					Shāmī	H2:252			
47	'Amīr ibn Abī 'Amīr (d)	H	naẓala al-Shām	H2:243	sakana al-Shām ma'dīd fi ahl al-Shām	H2:243			min ahl al-Shām	H2:243	
48	'Amīr ibn Luda'ayn (d)	A-H				A3:138	Shāmī	H3:126	ahl al-Shām	H3:126	
49	'Amīnārāh	H							min ahl al-Shām	H3:170	
50	'Amīnārāh ('Amīnār) ibn 'Ubayd (d)	A-H			yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	A4:128			min ahl al-Shām	H3:170	
51	'Amīnārāh ibn Za'karah	B-D					Shāmī	B3:1142; D1:395			
52	'Amr (d)	S-B-A-D-H	sakana al-Shām	H3:25	qad 'addahu qawm min ahl al-Shām	B3:1206	Shāmī	D1:401	yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	A4:169	naẓala al-Shām
53	'Amr ibn 'Abasah (Abū Najīb)	S-B-A-H	sakana al-Shām	H3:7	yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	B3:1193	naẓala al-Shām	A4:252; also S7:403			

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES-6	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
37		Numayri	A3:471; D1:351												
38		Amluki	B3:1022; A3:550	Mulayki	B3:1022; A3:550										
39		Hamidi	D1:3												
40		Ghifari	B3:1008; A3:520; D1:362												
41		Kindi	H2:463											nazala al-Kufah (H2:464)	40 (H2:464)
42															
43		Sakuni	B2:800; A3:148; H2:254	Thumali	A3:148; H2:254										
44		Khawlani	B2:800; H3:57												80 (H3:56)
45		Hilali	B3:1244	Tamimi	H2:488										
46															
47		Ash'ari	H2:243												In the time of 'Abd al-Malik (H2:243)
48		Ash'ari	A3:138; H3:126												
49															
50		Khath'ami	A4:128; H3:170												
51		Kindi	B3:1142; D1:395												
52 (S7:384)		Bikafi	B3:1206; A4:169; D1:401; H3:24											yu'addu fi ahli al-Basrah (B3:1206)	
53		Sulami	S7:403; B3:1192; A4:351; H3:5											nazala Hims (H3:6), qadima al-Sham fasakanaha (A4:252)	at the end of the caliphate of 'Uthman (H3:7)

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
54	'Amr ibn Ghaylān (d)	II			'Idādūhu fī al-Shāmīyūn	A4:212			ahl al-Shām	II3:10	
55	'Amr ibn Ḥabīb (Samurah)	A									
56	'Amr ibn al-Ḥarith	B-A-II	sakana al-Shām	B3:1174; A4:217; II2:526							
57	'Amr ibn Khārijah	B-A-II	sakana al-Shām	B3:1174; II2:527	yu'addu fī al-Shāmīyūn	A4:220					
58	'Amr ibn Ma'lik	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
59	'Amr ibn Murrāh (Abū Maryam)	S-A-D	sakana al-Shām	A4:270; DI:417	nazala al-Shām yu'addu fī al-Shāmīyūn	(S7:384) A2:233; II2:532					
60	'Amr ibn Sufyān	A-H									
61	Anas	H	nazala al-Shām	II1:87							
62	al-Aqrā' ibn Shufayy	A							nazil al-Ramlah	A1:130	
63	'Arīb (Abū 'Abd Allāh)	A-H			'Idādūhu fī ahl al-Shām	A4:34; II2:472					
64	'Arīs ibn 'Amīr	II	nazala al-Shām	II2:467	'Idādūhu fī ahl al-Shām	II2:466; A4:20					
65	'Arzah	A-H									
66	'As'ad al-Khayr	H	sakana al-Shām	II1:49	'Idādūhu fī ahl al-Shām	A1:85					
67	'Asad ibn Kurz	A			'Idādūhu fī ahl al-Shām	II1:57					
68	al-'Aswad ibn 'Asram	II	nazala al-Shām	II1:57	'Idādūhu fī ahl al-Shām						
69	'Awsajah ibn Ḥarmalah	H									
	'A'iyah ('Uqbah) ibn 'Amīr	A-D	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	'Idādūhu fī ahl al-Shām	A4:44			Shāmī	DI:383	
71	'A'iyah ibn 'Amīr	S	sakana al-Shām	A4:44							
72	'A'iyah ibn 'Azīb	A-D							Shāmī	DI:383	
73	'A'iyah ibn Busr	B-A-D	sakana al-Shām	A4:43					Shāmī	B3:1070; DI:382	

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No.	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES-6	TRIBE-6	SOURCES-OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
54		Thaqafi	II3:10												mazale al-Basrah (II3:10)	
55																
56		Khuzā'i	II2:526; III:1173; A4:217; II2:526	Ka'bi	II2:526										Ihurma intaqala Ila al-Kufah wa-sakanaha (B3:1174; also II2:526; A4:217), intaqala min Misr Ila al-Kufah (A4:218)	50 (B3:1174; A4:218), 51 (II2:526), 63 (II2:526)
57		Asadi	II2:527	Ash'ari	A4:220; II2:527	Asadi	A4:221; II2:527	Junabi								
58		'Akki	S7:434													
			S7:412; A4:269;													
59		Juhani	DI:417	Asdi	A4:269	Asdi	A4:269									
			A4:232;													
60		Thaqafi	II2:532													
61		Juhani	III:87													
62		'Akki	A1:130													
			A4:34;													
63		Mulayki	II2:472													
64		Kindi	II2:467													
			A4:20;													
65		Kindi	II2:466													
66																
67		Bajali	A1:85	Qasri	A1:85											
68		Muharibi	III:57													
69		Juhani	II3:42													
70																
71		Sadi	S7:430													
72		Nadri	A4:44													
			B3:1070;													
			A4:43;													
73		Mazini	DI:382	Mihali	B3:1070											

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
74	'Alyah ibn 'Urwah	H	nazala al-Shām	H2:478							
75	'Awf ibn Mālik	S-A-B	sakana al-Shām	B3:1226; A4:312	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)			tahawwala ilā al-Shām	S7:400	
76	Aws ibn Abī Aws (Hudhayfah)	A-D	nazala al-Shām	D1:34; A1:169	'Idāduhu fī ahl al-Shām	A1:164	'Idāduhu fihim (al-Shāmīyīn)	A1:168		A1:171; D1:36; H1:96	
77	Aws ibn Sa'īd (Abū Zayd) Aws ibn Shurahbīl (or Shurahbīl ibn Aws)	A-D-H B-A-H	sakana al-Shām	H2:141	ma'dūd fī al-Shāmīyīn	B1:119; A1:172	sakana Hims min al-Shām Shāmī	A2:511 A1:187	kāna wālī H-'Umar 'alā al-Shām		
79	'Ayyaf ibn 'Abd al-Kulāf	A									
80	Aymān ibn Khuraym	B-A					Shāmī	B1:129; A1:188	nazala Bayt Jibrīn bi-al-Shām	A1:208	
81	Bardha' ibn Zayd	A			yu'addu fī ahl al-Shām	H4:209			kāna bi-al-Shām	B1:187	
82	Barī (Buryr) ibn 'Abd Allāh (Abū Hind)	B-H									
83	Bashīr ibn 'Aqrabah	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
84	Bilāl ibn Rabāh	S-B-A	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	kāna bilāh (al-Shām) 'Idāduhu fī ahl al-Shām	B1:181	dihaba ilā al-Shām fa-kāna bi-hā hattā māta	A1:244; also S7:386	sa'alahu ('Umar) Bilāli an yuqirahu bi-al-Shām, fa-fāla	A1:244	
85	Bishr	H			yu'addu fī ahl al-Shām	H1:161					
86	Busr	B				B1:167					
87	Busr ibn Abī Arafāh (D)	S-B-A	nazala al-Shām	S7:409	yu'addu fī al-Shāmīyīn	B1:166	'Idāduhu fī ahl al-Shām	A1:213			

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No.	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES- 6	OTHER INFORMATION	DEED
74		Sa'di	H2:478 S7:400; B3:1226; A4:312												73 (S7:400; B3:1226; A4:312)
75		Ashja'i												inazala Himā (S7:400)	
76		Thaqafi	AI:165, 167; DI:34, 35											'Idāduhu fi ahl al- Ta'if (DI:35), nazala al-Ta'if (AI:167)	59 (AI:169; DI:35)
77		Anṣārī	II:96 BI:119; AI:172											lahu khijjah bi-al- Ruhā (A2:511)	16 (AI:171; DI:36)
78		Mujamma'i	AI:172	Kindī	II:141										
79		Kulā'i	AI:187												106 (AI:187)
80		Asadi	BI:129; AI:188											inazala al-Kūfah (BI:129; AI:188)	still alive in the time of Marwān ibn al-Hakam (AI:188)
81		Judhāmi	AI:208 BI:187;												
82		Dārī	II:209												
83		Juhāmi	S7:429												17 (AI:245), 18 (AI:745), 20 (S7:386; BI:179; AI:745), 21 (BI:179)
84															
85		Chana'wī	III:161	Khattā'ami	III:161									Misrī (II:161)	
86		Sulami	BI:166	Māzini	BI:166										
87		Qurasi	BI:157	'Amiri	S7:409									waliya al-Yaman (BI:166)	In the time of Mu'awiyah (AI:214; BI:166), in the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (S7:409; AI:214)



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
88	Bu'ar ibn Jahhāsh	S-B-A-D-II	nazala al-Shām	B1:171; D1:48; (S7:384)	'Idā'ihū fi al-Shāmly'n	A1:215; H1:153	sakana al-Shām	A1:218			
89	al-Dahjāk ibn Qays	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
90	Danrah ibn Thālabah	B-II	sakana al-Shām	H2:203	yu'addu fi al-Shāmly'n	B2:749					
91	Dhū Mikhbar (Mikhmar)	S-B-A-II	nazala al-Shām	H1:476	mā'ūdīd fihim (ahī al-Shām)	B2:475; A2:178			min ahī al-Yaman wa-nazala al-Shām	S7:425	
92	Dirār ibn al-Khatjāb	S-II	nazala al-Shām	(S7:3894); H2:201							
93	Fadālah (mawla of the Prophet)	A-II	nazala al-Shām	A4:363; H3:202							
94	Fadālah ibn Ubayd	S-B-A-II	sakana al-Shām	A4:363; H3:201	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	Intaqala ilā al-Shām	A4:363	qādīyan il-Mu'awiyah (fi al-Shām)	B3:1262; A4:363	
95	al-Fadl ibn al-'Abbās	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
96	al-Fadl ibn Yaljya (d)	A					Shāmī	A4:367			
97	Farwah	B-A-D					Shāmī	B3:1262; A4:356; D2:6			
98	Farwah ibn 'Amir ('Amir)	S-A	sakana 'Anman al-Shām	A4:357	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)					
99	Fuwāt ibn Thālabah (d)	B-D-II					Shāmī	B3:1257; D2:5; H3:206			

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No.	SOURCES- TRIBE-1	SOURCES- TRIBE-2	SOURCES- TRIBE-3	SOURCES- TRIBE-4	SOURCES- TRIBE-5	SOURCES- TRIBE-6	SOURCES- TRIBE-6	OTHER INFORMA- TION	DIED
88	Qurashī S7:427; B1:171; A1:218, 215; D1:48; III:152	Qurashī Amīrī III:152						mazala Hims (II:152) karaba 'alayhi 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr bi wilāyatihī 'ala al- Shām (S7:410)	64 (S7:411)
89	Fihri S7:410	Fihri B2:749							
90	Balzi II2:203	Nasri B2:749	Sulamī II1:203						
91	Habshi III:476								
92	Qurashī II1:201	Fihri S7:407; III:201							in Yamāmah (II:201), after Madā'in (II:201)
93								min ahl al-Yaman (A4:363; II3:202) saka'a Dimashq (B2:1262), wallāhu Mu'āwiyah qaḍā' Dimashq (II3:201; also S7:401), nazala Dimashq (S7:401), kāna Mu'āwiyah Istakhlafahu 'ala Dimashq fī safrāhī saīfarahā (II3:201)	in the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah (S7:401; B3:1263; II3:201), 53 (B3:1263; II3:201), 69 (B3:1263; II3:201) 18 (S7:399)
94	Ansarī II3:201	Awsī II3:201	'Amrī A4:363						
95	Hāshimī S7:399							saka'a Filisīn (A4:367)	
96	Azdi B3:1262; A4:356;								
97	Juhani D2:6 S7:436;								
98	Judhamī A4:356 B3:1257;								
99	Baharī D2:5; II3:206	Naharī II3:206						Himsī (D2:5)	

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
100	Ghazafah ibn al-Harith	S	nozala al-Shām	(S7:384)						4	
101	Ghaziyah ibn al-Harith	H	sakana al-Shām	II3:183							
102	Ghulayf (Ghulayf or Ulayf) ibn al-Harith (d)	S-B-A-II	sakana al-Shām	II3:184	yu'addu fi ahl al-Shām	B3:1254	Shām	B3:1253; A4:341; H3:184	yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyin	A1:410	nozala al-Shām
103	Habbār ibn al-Aswad	D	nozala al-Shām	II2:117							
104	Habīb ibn Maslamah (d)	S-II	nozala al-Shām	S7:410; II1:308					walīhu Umar ... inābiyah min nawāli al-Shām	B1:279	
105	Hābis ibn Sa'd (d)	S-B-II	nozala al-Shām	II1:271; (S7:384)							
106	al-Hajjāj ibn 'Amir	B-A-II	sakana al-Shām	B1:327; A1:455	nozala al-Shām	II1:311					
107	al-Hajjāj ibn 'Ijāf	H							ahl al-Shām	II1:312	
108	al-Hakam ibn Sa'd	H	nozala al-Shām	II1:342							

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	SOURCES-TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES-6	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
100		Kindi	S7:431												
101		Anṣari	H3:183	Mazini	H3:183 B3:1253, 1254; A1:410; A4:340, 341; H3:183, 184 D2:117	Aslami	H3:183	Khuzā- ṭ	H3:183					yu'addu fi ahl al-Ḥijāz (H3:183), sakana al-Maghrib (H3:183), 'Idāduhu fi ahl Madīnah (H3:183)	
102 (S7:384)		Kindi	H3:183	Sakini	H3:183, 184	Thumali	B3:1253; A4:340; H3:183, 184	Yama- ni	H3:183	Azdi	B3:1253; A4:340; H3:183			nazala Ḥims (A1:410), 'Idāduhu fi al-Ḥimsiyīn (A4:340)	
103		Qurashi	D2:117	Asadi	D2:117									Ḥijāzi (H1:308), waḥjahu (Nu'awiyah) ilā Armāniyah wāliyan (S7:410; H1:308)	42 (S7:410; H1:308)
104		Fihri	S7:409; H1:308												
105		Ṭa'i	S7:431; B1:279											Yamāni (H1:272),	
106		Thumali	B1:327; A1:455; H1:311	Nasri	B1:327; A1:455									'Idāduhu fi ahl Ḥims (H1:311), 'Idāduhu fi al-Ḥimsiyīn (A1:455)	
107		Sulami	H1:312	Fihri	H1:312									sakana al-Madīnah (H1:312)	at the beginning of 'Umar (H1:312), in the time of 'Alī (H1:312) at the Battle of Yamānah (H1:342), at the battle of Mu'tah (H1:342), later than the Battle of Mu'tah (H1:342)
108		Umayri	H1:342											min al-Ṣajābah al-Madāniyin (H1:342)	

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
109	al-Ḥakam ibn 'Umayr	S-A	mazala al-Shām	S7:415	yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyūn	A2:41					
110	Ḥanī Abū Maīlik (Ḥanī ibn Maīlik)(d)	S-A-D>H	mazāl al-Shām	H3:564; (S7:384)	yu'addu fi ahl al-Shām	A5:381	Shāmī	A5:382; D2:116			
111	al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd Shams	A-D-H	mazala al-Shām	D1:104	'idādūhu fi ahl al-Shām	A1:403; H1:282					
112	al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd Allāh	A			'idādūhu fi ahl al-Shām	A1:403					
113	al-Ḥārith ibn 'Amr	H			'idādūhu fi ahl al-Shām	H1:285					
114	al-Ḥārith ibn Būdī (d)	D					Shāmī	D1:96			
115	al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ḥārith	A-D			'idādūhu fi ahl al-Shām	A1:382	Shāmī	D1:97			
116	al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥishām	S-B-A-D-H	mazala al-Shām	(S7:384)					kharaḥa lla al-Shām fi zaman 'Umayr .. fa-lam yazal bi-al-Shām ḥatta māla	B1:303; H1:293; also D1:111; A1:421	
117	al-Ḥārith ibn Ziyād (d)	A-D			yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyūn	A1:393	Shāmī	D1:100			
118	Ḥārithah ibn 'Adī	A			'idādūhu fi ahl al-Shām	A1:427					
119	Ḥārithah ibn Khidhām	A			'idādūhu fi al-Shāmīyūn	A1:424					
120	Ḥashirah	S	mazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
121	Ḥawshab Dhū Zafīm	A-H	mazala al-Shām	H1:382			Shāmī	A2:72			
122	Ḥazīm ibn Ḥarām	H									
123	Ḥilāl ibn al-Ḥārith (Abū al-Jamal or al-Jamrā')	A					Shāmī	A5:407	min ahl al-bādīyah bi-al-Shām	H1:299	
124	Ḥulays	B			yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyūn	B1:414					

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No.	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES- 6	OTHER INFORMA- TION	DIED
109		Thumālī	S7:415; A2:41	Azdl	S7:415 S7:437; D2:116; H3:564									sakana Ĥims (A2:41; also S7:415;)	
110		Kindī	A5:381; D2:116	Hamdānī											68 (H3:564)
111		Khath'amī	A1:403; D1:104; H1:282												
112		Azdl	A1:403											imin ahl al-Ramlah (A1:403)	
113		Tā'ī	H1:285												
114		Sa'dī	D1:96												
115		Ash'arī	A1:382; D1:97												
116		Makizūmī	H1:293	Qurashī	B1:301; A1:420; H1:293									fa-lam yazal muqlin bi-Makkah ba'd an aslama ĥattā tuwaffiya Rasūl Allāh (S7:404)	fā'ūn 'Imwas year 12 (H1:293), Yarmūk year 15 (B1:303; A1:421; H1:293), fā'ūn 'Imwas year 17 (A1:421), fā'ūn 'Imwas year 18 (S7:404; H1:303)
117															
118															
119															
120															
121		Ĥimyarī	A2:70	Alĥamī	A2:70										at Siffin (H1:382)
122		Judĥamī	H1:299	Khuzā'ī	H1:299										
123															
124															

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
125	Jumayd ibn 'Amr	H							kāna lahu sharaf bi-al-Shām ayyām Mu'āwiyah	III:368	
126	Juyay	A-D	nazala al-Shām	DI:146	sekana al-Shām	A2:80	Shāmī	DI:11			
127	Idnīs	D									
128	'Ikrimah ibn Abi Jahī	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
129	'Irbād ibn Sāriyah	S-B-A	sekana al-Shām	B3:1239; A4:19	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)					
130	'Israh	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
131	'Iyād ibn Ghanam	S-B-A-II	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384); II3:50					āmīl 'Umar 'alā al-Shām	B3:1235; also A4:328	
132	Jabalāh ibn al-Azraq	S-B	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	yu'addu fī ahl al-Shām	B1:236					
133	Jandaral ibn Khayshanaḥ (Abū Qirṣāfah)	B-A	nazala al-Shām	A6:253	ma'dūd fī al-Shāmīyīn	B1:274					
134	Jarwal ibn al-Aḥnaf	A-D			'alādūhu fī ahl al-Shām		Shāmī	AI:331; DI:81			
135	Jaz'	H				II1:236 (S7:384)					
136	al-Juḥāh (al-Lijlā)	S-II	sekana al-Shām	II3:310	nazala al-Shām						
137	Jumādah ibn Abi Umayyah	B-A					Shāmī	B1:249; A1:353			
138	Jumayd ibn Siba'	A			yu'addu fī al-Shāmīyīn	A1:365					
139	Jundab ibn al-Nu'mān	H							hājara ilā al-Shām	II1:252	
140	Juways ibn al-Nābighah	H							kāna muḥajiratuḥu ilā al-Shām	II1:258	
141	Kab ibn 'Asim	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:414)							

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES-6	OTHER INFORMATION	DEED
125		Qurashi	III:368 AZ:80; DI:46	'Amirī	III:368										
126		Laythi													
127															
128		Makizūmī	S7:404												at the Battle of Ajnadīn (S7:404)
129		Sulamī	S7:412; B3:1238; A4:19												75 (S7:412; B3:1238; A4:20), in the ṣimah of Ibn al-Zubayr (B3:1238; A4:20)
130															
131		Qurashi	B3:1234; A4:327	Filrī	S7:398; B3:1234; A4:328; H3:50									Istakhlafahu (Abū 'Ubaydah) 'alā Ḥunṣ Jamīna mata (H3:50; also S7:398; A4:329)	20 (S7:398; B3:1234; A4:328, 329; H3:50)
132		Kindī	B1:236												
133		Kinānī	A6:253 A1:331; D1:81											sakana 'Asqalān (A6:253)	
134		Kindī													
135															
136		'Amirī	H3:310 B1:249; A1:353	Zahrāmī	B1:249; A1:353										80 (B1:251; A1:353)
137		Azdl													
138		Juhaylī	A1:365												
139		Azdl	H1:252											sakana Dīnashiq (H1:252)	
140		Gharawī	H1:258												
141		Asht'arī	S7:414												



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
142	Ka'ab ibn 'Uyayd	S-B-A-D-II	'Idāduhu fi ahl al-Shām	II:284	mā'dīd fi al-Shāmīyīn	B3:1323; A4:480	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	fi al-Shāmīyīn	D2:32	
143	Ka'ab ibn Ju'ayf	II							kāna shā'ir ahl al-Shām	II:297	
144	Khālid ibn al-Lijāj (d)	II							fi al-Shāmīyīn	II:461	
145	Khālid ibn al-Jawābir	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)					(aqrar) bi al-Shām	II:404	
146	Khālid ibn al-Rabāh	II									
147	Khālid ibn al-Walid	S-II	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	B2:446; A2:128; D1:158	fa-kāna Khālid aḥad al-umarā' bi al-Shām fi kullāfat Abī Bakr	S7:397	istakhlafahu Abū Bakr 'alā al-Shām	II:413	
148	Khārijah ibn Jaz'	B				B2:420					
149	Kharashah	B-A-D					Shāmī				
150	Khuryayn ibn Fātik	B-A			'Idāduhu fi al-Shāmīyīn	B2:446; A2:130					
151	Kurayb ibn Abrahah (d)	II							kāna sayyid Ḥimyar bi al-Shām	II:296	
152	Laqī ibn Arfāh	A-D-II	yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	A4:521	'Idāduhu fi ahl al-Shām	II:310	Shāmī	D2:39			
153	Laqī ibn 'Ibād	D					Shāmī	D2:39			
154	Madhūk	S-II	nazala al-Shām	II:375; (S7:384)							
155	Mālik ibn al-Jumār	II	sakana al-Shām	II:318							
156	Mālik ibn Ḥubayrah	S-B	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	mā'dīd fi al-Shāmīyīn	II:1361					
157	Mālik ibn Mitrārah	II	sakana al-Shām	II:334							
158	Mālik ibn 'Ubadah	B-A			yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	B3:1352; A5:30	Shāmī				
159	Mālik ibn Yasār	B-A				A5:56	Shāmī	B3:1362			

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No.	SOURCES- TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	SOURCES- TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	SOURCES- TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	SOURCES- TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	SOURCES- TRIBE-6	SOURCES- 6	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
142	Asl'ari	B3:1323; A4:480; D2:32; H3:284												came to al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik (H3:297)
143	'Tha'labi	H3:296												
144														
145	Habsih	S7:438												
146	Habsih	H1:404												
147	Qureshi	H1:412	Makhzum	H1:412										21 (S7:397; H1:415)
148	'Udhri	B2:420												
149														
150	Asadi	B2:446, 447; A2:130												
151	Ashabi	H3:296 A4:521; D2:39; H3:310												
152	Sakuni													
153														
154	Fazari	H3:375												
155														
156	Kindi	B3:1361	Sulami	S7:420										
157	Ruhawi	H3:334	Sahmi	H3:334										
158	Ghaffiqi	B3:1352; A5:30												
159	Sakuni	B3:1362; A5:56	'Awfi	B3:1362; A5:56										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
160	Mān ibn Yazīd	II	sakana al-Shām	II:430							
161	Marzūq al-Sayqal	A-D					Shāmī	A5:144; D2:69	(min) wujūh ahl al-Shām		
162	Masrūq	II								II:388	
163	Maymūn	A-D	sakana al-Shām	A5:286; D2:100							
164	Mazīn ibn Khaythamah	S	mazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
165	al-Miqdāmī ibn Ma'dikarib	S-A-II	mazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	yu'addu fī ahl al-Shām	A5:254			min ahl al-Shām	II:434	
166	Mihran	II	sakana al-Shām	II:446							
167	Mu'ādh ibn Anas	II							wa-(kāna) bi-al-Shām	II:406	
168	Mu'adh ibn Jabal	S-B	mazala al-Shām	(S7:384)			kharaja Mu'adh ilā al-Shām mujāhidan	S7:388	istamelaḥu ('Umar) 'alā al-Shām	B3:1405	
169	Mu'ādh ibn Yazīd	B							kāna lahu sha'n bi-al-Shām	B3:1412	
170	Mu'āwiyah	S-B-A-D	mazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	yu'addu fī al-Shāmīn	B3:1425; A5:216	Shāmī	D2:84			
171	Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān	S-B-A-II	mazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	wa-lam yazal wāliyan 'alā mā kāna akūhu yatawālāhu bi-al-Shām khilāfat 'Umar, fa lam mā ustukhifā 'Uthmān jāma'a lahu al-Shāmī lam'ah	A5:211; also S7:406	Dīmashq	A5:209	kāna ... amīr bi-al-Shām nahy 'ishrīn sanah wa-khalīfatān mīlht dhālik	B3:1418; A5:211; II:412-413	

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No. 5	SOURCES- TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	SOURCES- TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES- 6	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
160	Sulami	II3:429 AS:144; D2:69											yanzilu al-Kufah wa-dakhalu Misr thumma sakara Dimeshq (II3:430)	54 (II3:430)
161	Anṣari	II3:288												
162	'Akkī													
163														
164														
165	Kindī Jazari	S7:415; AS:254 II3:446											mazala Himṣ (II3:434)	87 (S7:415; AS:254; II3:434), 83 (II3:434), 86 (II3:434)
166														
167	Juhami	II3:406											kāna bi-Miṣr (II4:406) ba'ahabu Rasūl Allah ilā al-Yaman 'āliman wa- mu'alliman (S7:388)	still alive in the time of 'Abd al- Malik (II3:406)
168	Anṣari	II3:1403; S7:387	Khazrafi	II3:1403; S7:387	Jushami	B3:1403; S7:387								18 (S7:389; B3:1405), 19 (B3:1405)
169	Banī 'Amir	B3:1412 S7:422; B3:1425; AS:216; D2:84												
170	Hudhafi												fi man nazala Himṣ (B3:1425; AS:216)	
171	Umaywi	S7:406; B3:1416; AS:209; II3:412	Qurashi	AS:209; II3:412									wallāhu 'Umar ibn al- Khayṣab Dimeshq (S7:406)	59 (AS:211), 60 (S7:407; B3:1418; AS:211; II3:414)

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
172	Mudrik ibn al-Harith	A-D-II	nazala al-Shām	H3:374	'Idāduhu fi al-Shāmīyīn	A5:130; H3:374	Shāmī	D2:65			
173	Muhammad ibn Abi 'Amirah	B-A-II	sakana al-Shām	B3:1376	yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	A5:108; H3:361					
174	Munib Abū Ayyūb	H			'Idāduhu fi ahī al-Shām	H3:444					
175	Murrah ibn Kab (Kab ibn Murrah)	S-B-A-D-II	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384); B3:1382; A5:149; D2:70	sakana al-Urdunn min al-Shām	B3:1326	sakana al-Shām	H3:286	inna khujabā' qamū bi-al-Shām ... ākhiratum Murrah ibn Kab	H3:383; A4:489	
176	Muslim ibn al-Harith (al-Harith) (al-Harith ibn Muslim)	S-B-II	sakana al-Shām	H3:394	'Idāduhu fihim (al-Shāmīyīn)	B3:1395	nazala al-Shām	S7:419			
177	Nāfi' ibn 'Alqamah	A-D-II	sakana al-Shām	A5:305; D2:102; H3:516							
178	Nāfi' ibn Kaysān	D					Shāmī	D2:103			
179	Nahik ibn Şuraym	A-D-II	nazala al-Shām	H3:545	ma'dhid fi ahī al-Shām	A5:366	Shāmī	D2:114			
180	Nawās (al-Nu'ās) ibn Sim'ān	S-A-D	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	ma'dhid fi al-Shāmīyīn	A5:367	Shāmī	D2:114			
181	Nu'aym ibn Hanunār (Hinnār or Khinnār, or Habbār)	S-A-D	nazala al-Shām	D2:111; (S7:384)	ma'dhid fi ahī al-Shām	A5:350			kharaja ilā al-Shām mulājīran	H3:528	
182	al-Nuḍayr ibn al-Harith	H									
183	Nuḥayr ibn Muḥib	A-D					Shāmī	A5:353; D1:112			
184	Qabīṣah ibn Dhū'ayb (Abū Ishāq, Abū Sā'id)	H	nazala al-Shām	H3:254							

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No.	SOURCES- TRIBE-1	SOURCES- TRIBE-2	SOURCES- TRIBE-3	SOURCES- TRIBE-4	SOURCES- TRIBE-5	SOURCES- TRIBE-6	OTHER INFORMA- TION	DIED
172	Azdi AS:130; D2:65 B3:1376; AS:108; H3:361	Ghāmidī AS:130; D2:65; H3:374						
173	Muzani H3:444	Ghāmidī H3:444						
174	Azdi S7:414; B3:1326; A4:489; AS:149; D2:70; H3:286	Ghāmidī S7:414; B3:1326, 1382; A4:489; AS:149; D2:70; H3:286, 382					yasūnu al-Urdunn (S7:414), nazala al- Baṣrah (B3:1382; AS:149), sakana al- Baṣrah thurūma al- Urdunn (H3:286)	S7 (S7:414; B3:1326, 1382; AS:149), 59 (B3:1326; A4:490)
175	Sulami B3:1395; H3:394	Bahzī B3:1395; H3:394						in the time of 'Uthman (H3:394)
176	Tamimi H3:516							
177	Kināni AS:366; H3:545	Sakūnī AS:366; H3:545						
178	Yashkuri AS:367; D2:114 S7:417; AS:350; D2:111	Sakūnī AS:367; D2:114 S7:417; AS:350; D2:111						
179	'Āmirī H3:528 AS:353; D2:112	Kilābī H3:528 AS:353; D2:112						
180	Ghajarifani H3:254							
181	'Abdarī H3:254							
182	Thumādī H3:254							
183	Khuẓā'ī H3:254							
184								86 or before (H3:255), 88 (H3:255)

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
185	al-Qāsim Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān (d)	H					Shāmī	H3:262			
186	Qays (d)	S-B-A-D-H	sakana al-Shām	B3:1302; A4:415, 423; H3:237	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	Shāmī	D2:18			
187	Qays ibn 'Ubādah (d)	D					Shāmī	D2:22			
188	Qays ibn al-Haytham	B-D					Shāmī	B3:1302; D2:26			
189	Qubāth ibn Ashyam	S	nazala al-Shām	S7:411							
190	Rabī'ah ibn 'Amr (al-Ghār) (d)	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Shām	H3:497; (S7:384)	yu'addu fi ahl al-Shām	B2:493; A2:215					
191	Rāfi' ibn 'Umayr	A-D-H	sakana al-Shām	H1:486	'Idādūhu fi al-Shām	A2:195	Shāmī	D2:174			
192	Rāshid ibn Hubaysh (d)	A			'Idādūhu fi al-Shāmiyīn	A2:187	Shāmī	A2:187			
193	Rawḥ ibn Sayyār	B-H			yu'addu fi al-Shāmiyīn	B2:503	Shāmī	H1:506			
194	Ribāh (mawlā Umm Salamah)	H							akhrajahu al-Ṭabrānī fi musnad al-Shāmiyīn	H1:490	
195	Rifa'ah ibn Zayd	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
196	Rūmān ibn Na'jah	H	sakana al-Shām	H1:507							
197	Sabrah ibn Fātik	B			yu'addu fi al-Shāmiyīn	B2:578					
198	Sa'd ibn al-Miḥjās	H							min ahl al-Shām	H2:34	
199	Sa'd ibn Tamīm	B					Shāmī	B2:583			
200	Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah	S-B-A-H	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)			kharaja muhājiran ilā al-Shām	S7:390	sāra ilā al-Shām fa-aqāna bili bi-l-fawrān ilā an māta	A2:357; also B2:599; H2:28	
201	Sahl ibn 'Amr	D	nazala al-Shām	D1:264							

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES-6	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
185															
186		Judhāmi	S7:426; B3:1302; A4:415, 423; D2:18; II3:237												
187															
188		Sulamī	D2:26												
189		Laythī	(S7:411) S7:438; B2:493; A2:215; II1:497	Kināni	S7:411									Baṣrī (B3:1302)	at Marj Raḥī year 64 (S7:438; B2:493; A2:215; II1:498)
190		Jurashi													
191		Tāʾī	II1:486												
192															
193		Kalbi	B2:503												
194															
195		Judhāmi	S7:435												
196		Judhāmi	II1:509												
197		Asadi	B2:578												
198															
199		Sakīni	B2:583	Asīʿarī	B2:583									yWaddu fī ahlī Hims (II2:34) Dimashqī (B2:583)	II (B2:599; A2:358), 14 (B2:599; A2:357), 15 (S7:390; B2:599; A2:357; II2:28), 16 (II2:28)
200		Aṣṣarī	S7:389; B2:594; A2:356; II2:27	Saʿīdi	S7:389; B2:594; A2:356										
201		Asīʿarī	DI:246		A2:356	Khazrajī	II2:27								



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
202	Sahl ibn al-Janzaliyah	S-B-II	sakana al-Shām	B2:662 H2:90; S7:434	nazala al-Shām	S7:401			tahawwala ilā al-Shām	H2:85; S7:401	
203	Sahn ibn 'Aunr	S-II	nazala al-Shām				Shāmī	H2:51			
204	Sa'īd	H					tuwaffiya bi-Qaysariyah min al-Shām wa-shuwa amiruhā	A2:394	wallāhu 'Umar ba'd ajnād al-Shām	B2:625	
205	Sa'īd ibn 'Amīr	S-B-A	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)			nazala al-Shām bi-nāhiyat Filasṭīn		nazala bi-al-Bayt al-Muqaddas min al-Shām	A2:507	
206	Salammah ibn Nu'ayl	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
207	Shaddād ibn Aws	S-B-A	nazala al-Shām	S7:401; B2:694			Shāmī	B2:694			
208	Shaddād ibn Shurahbīl	B-II	sakana al-Shām	H2:139			Shāmī	B2:695			
209	Shurāhīl	B-II			yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	B2:697	Shāmī	H2:141	ahjad al-'umarā' bi-al-Shām	H2:147	
210	Sharīk ibn Saljmā'	H			wa-sakana bihā (al-Shām)						
211	Shayb al-Mumūdīd	B-A	nazala al-Shām	B2:708; A2:524		B2:708					
212	Sinān ibn Gharaḥab	S	sakana al-Shām	S7:421	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)					
213	Shurahbīl ibn Aws	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)			wa-lam yazal wāliyan 'alā ba'd nawābij al-Shām				
214	Shurahbīl ibn Hāsaneh	S-A-D	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)			il-'Umar ilā an halaka	A2:513	ahjad 'umarā' ajnād al-Shām	D1:255; also S7:393	

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No.	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-6	TRIBE-6	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED at the beginning of the caliphate of Mu'awiyah (B2:662; II2:86)
202	B2:662; II2:85; S7:434; II2:90	Anṣārī	B2:662; II2:85; S7:434; II2:90	Hāshimī	B2:662; II2:85	Awsl							mezala Dimashq (S7:401), kana bi-Dimashq (II2:85)	
203		Ashtarī												
204														
205	B2:624; A2:393; S7:427	Qurashī	B2:624; A2:393; S7:398; S7:427	Jumahlī									wallā 'Umar Sa'īd ibn 'Āmir Ḥimṣī (B2:625; A2:393, 294; S7:398)	19 (B2:625; A2:394), 20 (S7:399; B2:625; A2:394), 21 (B2:625; A2:394)
206		Hudramī		Sakūnī										
207	B2:694; A2:507	Anṣārī	B2:694; A2:507	Khazrajī	A2:507	Najjarī							talḥawwala lā Filasṭīn (B2:694; A2:507), 64 (B2:694; A2:507)	41 (B2:694; A2:507), 58 (S7:401; B2:694; A2:507), 64 (B2:694; A2:507)
208	B2:695; II2:139; B2:697; II2:141	Juhaynī	B2:695; II2:139; B2:697; II2:141	Anṣārī	II2:139								mezala Ḥimṣī (II2:139), Ḥimṣī (II2:139)	
209		Minqarī											fi ṭabaqat al-Ḥimṣīyīn (II2:141)	
210	II2:147; B2:708; A2:524	Balawī	II2:147; B2:708; A2:524	Anṣārī	II2:147									
211		Kindī												
212														
213														
214	S7:393; A2:512; D1:255	Kindī	S7:393; A2:512; D1:255	Tamīmī	A2:512; D1:255	Zulūrī								18 (S7:394; A2:513)

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
215	Şu'ayy ibn 'Ajjan (Abū 'Ummāmah)	S-B-A-II	sakana al-Shām	H2:175	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	sakana ḥiṣṣ min al-Shām	A3:16; A6:16	ākhir man baqya bi- al-Shām min Aṣḥāb Rasūl Allāh	B2:736; B4:1602; also A3:16; A6:17; D1:264	
216	Sufyān ibn As'ad (As'īd)	S-B-A	nazala al-Shām	(S7:423)		Shāmī	B2:628; A2:403				
217	Sufyān ibn Hammām	B-A-II			yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	B3:1179; A4:233; H2:56					
218	Sulayl ibn 'Amr	S-B-II	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384); H2:92		kharaja ḥiṣ al-Shām mujāhidan	B2:672		fa-lam yezal muqīm bi- al-Shām ḥattā māta	H2:93	
219	Talḥasā	A-D			'iḍādhū fi al-Shāmīyīn	A3:36	Shāmī	D1:269			
220	Sulaym Abū Kabshah	B-A			yu'addu fi ahl al-Shām	B2:648; A2:448					
221	Sulaymān ibn Abī Sulaymān	A-D-II	sakana al-Shām	A2:449; D1:237		Shāmī	H2:75		rawā al-Ḥabirānī fi musnad al-Shāmīyīn	H2:100	
222	Suwayd	H							adkhalahu Abū Zur'ah fi musnad al-Shāmīyīn	B2:676	
223	Suwayd ibn Jabalah (d)	B-D									
224	Talḥah	H	sakana al-Shām	H2:224		Shāmī	D1:248				
225	Tamīm ibn Aws	S-B-A	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)					int'aqala minhā (al-Madīnah) ilā al-Shām	B1:193; A1:256; also S7:409	

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No.	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES- 6	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
			S7:411; B2:376; B4:1602; A3:16; A6:16; D1:264; H2:175											yaskunu Hims (B2:736), sakana Misr (B4:1602; H2:175; thuruma intaqala minhā ilā Hims fe- sakana (B4:1602); sakana Misr (A6:16)	81 (B2:736; B4:1602; H2:175; A3:16; A6:16), 86 (S7:412; B2:736; B4:1806; H2:175; A6:16)
215		Bāhilī	S7:423; B2:628; A2:403	Sehmī	A6:16; D1:264										
216		Hadramī	B3:1179; A4:233; H2:56	'Abdī	H2:56									yu'addu fi arāb al- Baṣrah (A4:233; H2:56)	
217		Muḥaribī													at Yarmuk (B2:672; H2:93); Jā'ūn 'Inwās year 18 (S7:405; B2:672; H2:93), at Marj al-Ṣufar (H2:93)
218		Qurayshī	B2:669; H2:92	'Amīdī	S7:404; B2:669; H2:92									sakana Makkah thuruma al-Madīnah (H2:92)	
219		Hudaybī	D1:268	Hafasī	A3:36									min ahl Filasṭīn (A3:36)	
220															in the time of 'Umar (B2:648; A2:448)
221															
222		Ahlī	H2:100	'Akkī	H2:100										
223		Fazarī	B2:676; D1:248												
224		Sulamī	H2:224												
225		Dārī	S7:408; B1:193; A1:256; H1:186											yaskunu al-Madīnah (B1:193; A1:256), sakana Filasṭīn (H1:186), aqāna bi- Filasṭīn (A1:256)	

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
226	Thi'ab ibn al-Dajhāq	B-A-D	nazala al-Shām	DI:63	sakana al-Shām	B1:205; A1:271	tajawwala li' al-Shām	S7:400	Kharaja li' al-Shām fa-nazala al-Ramīyah	B1:218; A1:296	
227	Thawbān ibn Buḥdud	S-B-A	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)					rajul min ahli al-Yaman min al-mi'dād alladhīn nazalū al-Shām bi-Bayt al-Maqdis	S7:424 A1:296; D1:70; H1:205	
228	Thawbān ibn Yanrad	S							emīr Ṣan'ā' al-Shām li-'Uthmān		
229	Thurnāmah ibn 'Adī	A-D-H						I2:807; A3:158; I2:259			
230	'Ubādah ibn Awfā (d)	B-A-II			'Idāduhu fi ahli al-Shām	I2:259	Shāmī				
231	'Ubādah ibn al-Sāmī	S-A	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)			Kharaja li' al-Shām ḥina gharāhā al-Muslimūn fa-lam yazal bi-al-Shām li' au tuwaffiya	S7:387	arsalahu 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, wa-arsala ma'ahu Mu'adh ibn Jabal wa-Abā al-Dardā, li-yu'allimū al-nās al-Qur'ān bi-al-Shām wa-yufaqqihūhum fi al-dīn	A2:160	
232	'Ubayd	II			'Idāduhu fi ahli al-Shām	II2:441					
233	Umar ibn 'Awf	II			ma'dhid fi al-Shāmīyīn	II2:513					
234	'Umārāh ibn Za'karah	S-A	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	A4:136					
235	'Umayr ibn Asad	B-A									
236	'Umayr ibn Jābir	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)			Shāmī	B3:1212; A4:285			

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No.	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES-6	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
226	A1:271; D1:63	Khazrajī	A1:271; D1:63	Anṣārī	A1:271									thumma bi-al-Baṣrah (D1:63), intaqala ilā al-Baṣrah (B1:205; A1:271)	45 (B1:205), in the finish of Ibn al-Zubayr (B1:205)
227	B1:218; A1:296	Himyarī	B1:218; A1:296	Hakamī	B1:218	Madhijjī	A1:296							Intaqala ilā Hims (B1:218; also S7:400)	54 (S7:400; B1:218; A1:296)
228	A1:296; D1:70; III:205	Qurashī	A1:296; D1:70; III:205												
229	B2:807; A3:157; II2:259	Numayrī	B2:807; A3:157; II2:259	ʿĀmirī	A3:157									sakana Qinnasrīn (A3:158), sakana Dimashq (A3:158)	
231	S7:387; A3:160	Anṣārī	S7:387; A3:160	Khazrajī	S7:387; A3:160									aqāma ʿUbādah bi-Hims ... thumma fara ʿUbādah ba'd ilā Filasṭīn (A2:160), awwal man waliya qaḍā' Filasṭīn (A2:160) wa-kana fī Bayt al-Maqdis (II2:441)	34 (S7:387; A2:161), 45 (A2:161), in the caliphate of Mu'awiyah (S7:387)
232															
233	II2:513	Nakha'ī	II2:513												
234	A4:136 B3:1212; A4:285	Kindī	A4:136 B3:1212; A4:285												
235		Hudramī													
236		Kindī	S7:439												

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
237	Umayr ibn Sa'd	S-B	sakana al-Shām	B3:1217	nazala al-Shām	(S7:402)					
238	Unays	A					Shāmī	A1:156			
239	Unays ibn al-Dahjāk	A			yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	A1:157					
240	Urayb Abū 'Abd Allāh	S-D	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)			Shāmī	D1:380			
241	Urwah ibn al-Ja'd	H	nazalahā (al-Shām)	H2:469							
242	Urwah ibn al-Mu'attab	H	sakana al-Shām	H2:471							
243	Utbah ibn 'Amr	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
244	Utbah ibn al-'Uddar ( or Utbah ibn 'Abd	S-B-A-H	sakana al-Shām	A3:570	yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	B3:1031; A3:570		B3:1032; A3:571	ākhir man māta bi-al-Shām min Aṣḥāb al-Nabī	B3:1032; A3:571; H2:447	yarzūlu al-Shām
245	Uthmān ibn 'Uthmān	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:419)			Shāmī				
246	Waḥshī ibn Harb	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
247	Wāḥilāh ibn al-'Asqa'	S-A-II	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384); H3:590	sakana al-Shām	A5:429					

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No.	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES-6	TRIBE-6	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
237		Anṣārī	B3:1215												wallā ('Umar) 'Umayr ibn Sa'd ḥadhā 'alā Ḥimş (B3:1216; also Ḥimş (B3:1216; also S7:402)	
238		Anṣārī	A1:156	Bayādī	A1:156											
239		Aslamī	A1:157													
240		Mafkī	D1:380													
241															sayyarathu 'Uthmān ilā al-Kūfah (H2:469)	
242		Anṣārī	H2:471													
243		Sulamī	S7:430													
244	S7:413	Sulamī	S7:413; B3:1031; A3:570; H2:447												yauzlu Dīmaşq (S7:413)	71 (H2:447), 72 (H2:447), 87 (S7:413; B3:1031; A3:570; H2:447), 91 (S7:413), 92 (S7:413)
245		Thaqafī	S7:419													
246		Habshī	S7:418												nuzala Ḥimş (S7:418)	
247		Laythī	S7:407; A5:428; H3:589	Kinānī	S7:407; A5:428										akḥir man māta bi-Dīmaşq min al-Şajābah (H3:590), yauzlu najjīyat al-Madīnah (S7:407; A5:428), sakana al-Baṣrah (A5:429), tajawwala ilā Filasṭīn 'Abd al-Malik (H3:590), 83 wa-nuzala al-Bayt al-Muqaddas, wa-qla Bayt Jibrīn (A5:429), yauzlu Bayt al-Maqdis (S7:408)	In the time of (H3:590), 83 (S7:408; A5:429; H3:590), 85 (S7:408; A5:429; H3:590)



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
248	Yafish ibn Takhlaf	A-D-II					Shāmī	A5:577; D2:144; H3:630			
249	Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān	S	mazala al-Shām	(S7:384)			Shāmī	A5:475			
250	Yazīd ibn al-Akhnas	A									
251	Yazīd ibn Asad	S-II	mazala al-Shām	S7:428					kāna bihā (al-Shām) lahūn sharaf bi-al-Shām	H3:614	
252	Yazīd ibn al-Aswad	II								H3:634	
253	Yazīd ibn al-Aswad (d)	A-D-II	mazala al-Shām	D2:134	'Idāduhu fī al-Shāmīyīn	H3:634	sakana al-Shām	A5:476 A5:485; D2:136 H3:642			
254	Yazīd ibn Husayn (d)	A-D					Shāmī				
255	Yazīd ibn Nitrān (d)	II					Shāmī				
256	Yazīd ibn Shajarāh (d)	A-II					Shāmī	A5:495	min ahl al-Shām 'asha bi-al-Shām ba'd mawt Rasūl Allāh arba'īn sarāh	H3:621	
257	Zayd ibn Saḥl (Abū Talḥah)	B									
258	Zuhayr (Abū Zuhayr or Abū al-Azhar)	B-A-D-II					Shāmī	B2:520; A2:261; D1:191; H1:568			
259	Zuhayr ibn Šurād	A-II	sakana al-Shām	A2:263; H1:534							
260	Abū 'Abdah (Rabāḥ)	A-D-II			min ahl al-Shām	A2:202; H1:490	Shāmī	D1:176	akhiraja ḥadīthahu al-Ṭabrānī fī mustad al-Shāmīyīn		
261	Abū al-'Alīyah	II									H4:122

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No.	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES-6	TRIBE-6	SOURCES-6	TRIBE-6	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED	
248	AS:527; D2:144; H3:630	Ghifari																	
249	S7:405	'Abshami															Wallāhu 'Umar Dimashq (S7:406)	18 (S7:406)	18 (S7:406)
250	AS:474	Sulami															sakana al-Kūfah (A5:474)		
251	S7:428; H3:614	Bejali															min man ikhtafā bi- al-Kūfah fi khilāfat 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb wa-lā nazalahā (S7:428), kāna muja' fi ahl al-Yaman (H4:615)		
252	H3:634 AS:476; D2:134; H3:634	Ghassani																	
253		Jurashi																	
254																			
255																			
256	AS:495; H3:621	Ruhawi															animerahu (Mu'awiyah) 'alā Makkah (H3:621)	55 (AS:495), 58 (AS:495; H3:621)	55 (AS:495), 58 (AS:495; H3:621)
257	B2:553 B2:540; A2:261; D1:191; D2:147; H1:568 A2:262; H1:534	Anqari		Najjari	B2:553														
258		Anqari		Numayri	H1:568 A2:263; H1:534														
259		Sa'di		Jushami															
260																			
261		Muzani																	

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
262	Abū 'Āmir	A			'idāduhu fī ahl al-Shām	A6:190					
263	Abū 'Āmir ('Abd Allāh ibn Hānīl or 'Ubayd ibn Wahb)	B-A-D-H	nazala al-Shām	B4:1705; A2:549, 50; A6:188; D2:181; H2:440; H4:123	yu'addu fī ahl al-Shām	A6:188					
264	Abū 'Āmir	A-D			yu'addu fī ahl al-Shām	A6:191	Shāml	D2:182 A6:12;			
265	Abū Asmā'	A-D					Shāml	D2:147			
266	Abū 'Aṭīyah (d)	A							madhkūr fī al-Ṣaḥābah al-Shāmiyyin	A6:216	
267	Abū al-A'war	A-D			yu'addu fī al-Shāmiyyin	A6:15	Shāml	D2:148 B4:1596; A6:10			
268	Abū al-Azhar	B-A					Shāml				
269	Abū al-Bujayr	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
270	Abū al-Dardā'	S							nazala bilhā (al-Shām) ilā an māta	S7:392	
271	Abū Dharr (Jundab ibn Junādah)	B-A							hājara ilā al-Shām ba'd wafāt Abī Bakr fa-lem yazal bilhā ḥattā waliya 'Uthmān	A1:357; also B1:253	
272	Abū Fāṭimah	B-D-A-H	nazala al-Shām	B4:1726; D2:193; H4:153	sakana al-Shām	B4:1726; A6:242	Shāml	A6:242			
273	Abū Fawzah (or Abū Farwah)	B-A-D			'idāduhu fī ahl al-Shām	B4:1728; A6:248	Shāml	D2:193			
274	Abū al-Ghādiyāh	B-A-H	sakana al-Shām	B4:1725; A6:237; H4:150	yu'addu fī al-Shāmiyyin	B4:1725; A6:237					
275	Abū Ghaziyāh	A-D			yu'addu fī al-Shāmiyyin	A6:240; D2:191					
276	Abū al-Hajjāj ('Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd)	B			yu'addu fī al-Shāmiyyin	B3:943; B4:1630					

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES-6	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
262														nazala Hims (A6:190)	
263		Ash'arī	B4:1705; A2:459; A6:188; D2:181; H2:440; H4:123												In the time of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (B4:1706; A2:450; A6:188; H2:440; H4:123)
264		Sakūnī	A6:191; D2:182												
265															
266		Wādī'ī	A6:216	Hamdānī	A6:217										
267		Jarīmī	A6:15; D2:148												
268		Arīnārī	B4:1596; A6:10												
269															
270		Khazrajī	S7:391												31 (S7:393), 32 (S7:393)
271		Ohīfārī	B1:252; A1:357												32 (B1:253; A1:358)
272		Azdi	B4:1726; A6:242; D2:193; H4:153	Laythī	B4:1726; A6:242; H4:153	Dawsī	B4:1726; A6:242; H4:153	Damrī	A6:242					sakana Miṣr (B4:1726), Miṣrī (B4:1726; A6:242; H4:153), intaqala ilā Miṣr (A6:242)	
273		Sulamī	B4:1718; A6:248; D2:193												
274		Juhani	B4:1725; A6:237; H4:150											Intaqala ilā Wasiṭ (A6:237)	
275		Anṣārī	A6:240; D2:191												
276		Thumālī	B3:943; B4:1630	Azdi	B4:1630										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
277	Abu. Hanash	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
278	Abū Ḥashim ibn 'Utbah	S-B-A-D	sakana al-Shām	B4:1767; A6:316; D2:209	nazalahā (al-Shām) yu'addu fī ahl al-Shām	S7:407 B4:1773					
279	Abū Hind	S-B	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
280	Abū 'Inābah ('Inayah) (d)	S-B-A-H	sakana al-Shām	B4:1723; A6:233; H4:142	'idācthu fī al-Shāmlyin	A3:357	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	min ahl al-Shām	H4:142	
281	Abū Jabrah	B					Shāmī	B4:1619			
282	Abū Jandal ibn Sulhayf	S-H	nazala al-Shām	(S7:405)			Shāmī	H4:37			
283	Abū Jubayr (Nufayr)	A-D-H			'idācthu fī ahl al-Shām	A5:353	Shāmī	A6:46; D2:154	yu'addu fī al-Shāmlyin	H3:541	
284	Abū Jun'ah (d)	B-A-H			yu'addu fī al-Shāmlyin	B4:1621; A1:444; A6:52	'idācthu fī ahl al-Shām	A1:449	kāna bi-al-Shām	H4:33	
285	Abū Kabshah ('Amr ibn Sa'īd or 'Umar ibn Sa'd)	S-B-A-D-H	sakana al-Shām	B4:1739	yu'addu fī ahl al-Shām	B3:1159 A6:263; D2:197	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384); H4:164	min al-Shāmlyin	A4:182; D1:397	
286	Abū Kahlir	A-D			'idācthu fī al-Shāmlyin						
287	Abū Khayrah	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
288	Abū Khidāsh (d)	B-A-D-H			'idācthu fī ahl al-Shām	A6:85	Shāmī	B4:1634; A6:84; D2:161; H4:56			

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No.	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE- 4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE- 5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE- 6	SOURCES- 6	OTHER INFORMA- TION	DIED
277		Anṣārī	S7:425												
278		Abshamī	S7:407; B4:1767; A6:316; D2:209	Qurashī	B4:1767; A6:316									nazala Dimashq (S7:407)	in the time of 'Uthmān (B4:1767; A6:316; D2:209)
279		Dāri	S7:422; B4:1773 S7:436;												
280		Khawlāni	B4:1722; A3:357; A6:233; H4:142											sakana Hims (A3:357), nazala Hims (H4:142)	118 (H4:142)
281		Kindī	B4:1619											nazala Hims (B4:1619)	
282				'Amirī	S7:405)										ī'ūn 'Imwās year 18 (S7:405)
283		Hadramī	A5:353; A6:46; D2:154; H3:541	Kindī	A6:46									nazala Hims (H3:541)	
284		Anṣārī	B4:1621; A1:444; A6:52; H4:32	Kinānī	B4:1620, 1921, A1:44; A6:52; H4:32	Qārī	B4:1621; A1:449; H4:32	Sibā'ī	A6:52						between 70-80 (H4:33)
285		Anmīrī	S7:416; B3:1159; B4:1739; A4:182; D1:397; H4:164	Madhhijī	H4:164										
286															
287		Subāhī	S7:426												
288		Shar'abī	A6:84; D2:161; H4:56, 57	Laktūmī	A6:85; D2:161; H4:51	Sulamī	B4:1634; A6:84; H4:56	Qamī	H4:57						

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
289	Abū Mūṣṣ	S-B-A-D	naẓala al-Shām	(S7:384)	yu'addu fī al-Shāmīyīn yu'addu fī al-Shāmīyīn	B4:1745; A6:272	Shāmī	D2:31	'idāḥu fī ahl al-Shām	A4:480	
290	Abū Marthad	B-H	sakana al-Shām	H4:177	Shāmīyīn	B4:1755					
291	Abū Maryam	S	naẓala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
292	Abū Maryam	S-B-A-D	naẓala al-Shām	(S7:384)	yu'addu fī al-Shāmīyīn	B4:1756; A6:286	Shāmī	A5:314			
293	Abū Maḥmūd	B-A-D-H			yu'addu fī al-Shāmīyīn	B4:1754; H4:176; A6:280	Shāmī	A6:280; D2:200	kāna bi-al-Shām	H4:176	
294	Abū Maḥyab	B-A-D			'idāḥu fī al-Shāmīyīn	B4:1760	Shāmī	D2:205	yu'addu fī ahl al-Shām	A6:300	
295	Abū Raḥīd	A							'idāḥu min ahl Filasṭīn min al-Shām	A6:106	
296	Abū Rayḥanah (Sham'un ibn Yazīd)	S-B-A-H	naẓala al-Shām	B2:712; B2:153; (S7:384)	'idāḥu fī al-Shāmīyīn	B4:1661	sakana al-Shām	A2:529 A6:109;			
297	Abū al-Ruḥaynī	A-D		A3:65; D1:9; H1:110; B4:72; (S7:384)			Shāmī	D2:165			
298	Abū Ruḥm	S-A-D-H	naẓala al-Shām naẓalaha (al-Shām)	(S7:384)			Shāmī	D1:9			
299	Abū Ruḥm	S		S7:434							
300	Abū Ruwayḥab	B-A-D-H	naẓala al-Shām	A6:114; D2:166	'idāḥu fī al-Shāmīyīn	B4:1661; A6:115			bi-al-Shām	H4:73	

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No.	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES-6	TRIBE-6	SOURCES-6	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
289		Ash'arī	S7:400; B4:1745; A4:480; A6: 272; D2:311 B4:1754; H4:177													inazala Miṣr (D2:311), sakana Miṣr (A4:480)	
290		Ghannawī														min ahl Filisīn (S7:437)	13 (B4:1755)
291		Asadī	S7:437 S7:437; B4:1756; A5:314; A6:258		A6:286; D2:202		A6:286; D2:202	Kindī									
292		Ghassānī	B4:1754; A6:280; H4:176 B4:1760; A6:300; D2:205	Azdl	A6:280	Sakīnī	A6:286; D2:202									sakana Dārayā (A6:280; H4:176)	in the time of 'Umar (H4:176)
293		Ausārī		Najjārī													
294		Dhīmārī															
295		Azdl	A6:106														
296		Qurazī	B2:711; A2:529	Ausārī	S7:425; B2:711; B4:1661; A2:529; H2:153	Khazrajī	B2:711	Azdl	B4:1661; A2:529; H2:153	Dawsī	B4:1661	Qur- ashī	A2:529; H2:153			min kibār ahl Dimashq (H2:153), sakana Bayt al- Maqdis (A2:529; H2:153), qadīma Miṣr (A2:529)	
297																	
298		Simā'ī	D1:9	Samā'ī	A1:65; H1:109; H4:72	Zahrī	A3:65; H1:109	Baymā- ī	S7:438							Kūfī (H4:72)	
299		Ash'arī	S7:434 B4:1660; A6:114, 115; D2:166; H4:73														
300		Khath'amī		Fazā'ī	A6:114, H1:109; H4:73												



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
301	Abū al-Sādān	B-II					Shāmī	B4:1669; I14:86 B4:1672; A3:123; A6:137; D2:172; I14:89 D2:173			
302	Abū Sa'īd (Sa'īd)	B-A-D-II	sakana al-Shām	I14:89	min ahl al-Shām	A6:143	Shāmī				
303	Abū Sa'īd	A-D					Shāmī				
304	Abū Sa'īd Ibn Zayd	A							awradahu 'Abd Allāh ibn Aljmad ibn Hānbal fi musnad al-Shāmīyīn A6:141		
305	Abū Sayyārāh	S-B-A-II	sakana al-Shām	I14:98	nozala al-Shām	(S7:384)	Shāmī	B4:1686; A6:161			
306	Abū Shiddād	II					Shāmī	I14:105			
307	Abū al-Shumūs	II	sakana al-Shām	I14:104							
308	Abū Sukeynah (d)	B-A-II	sakana al-Shām	I14:93			Shāmī	B4:1680; A6:150			
309	Abū Sulhān (Sulhān)	S-B-A	nozala al-Shām	(S7:384)	yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	A1:478	Shāmī	B4:1683; A6:153			
310	Abū Thā'labī	S-B-A-II	nozala al-Shām	(S7:384) B1:270; B4:1618; A1:329; A6:44;	sakana al-Shām	I14:30					

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No.	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	4	4	5	5	6	6	OTHER INFORMA- TION	DIED
301			B4:1672; A3:123; A6:137; D2:172; H4:81												
302		Aumad												fi tabeqat al-Himsiyin (II-A61 al-Ijasa'n ibn Sami') (H4:89)	
303														awradahu 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Hambal fi musnad al- Kufiyin aydan (A6:141)	
304			S7:418; B4:1686; A6:161; H4:98												
305		Murfi		Qaysi	B4:1686; A6:161										
306		'Absi	H4:105											Himsi (H4:105)	
307		Belawi	H4:103												
308														nazala Hims (A6:150; H4:93)	
309														yu'addu ba'qatum fi al-Kufiyin (B4:1683; also A6:153)	
310		Khushani	S7:416; B1:269; B4:1618; A1:329; A6:44H4:2											sakana Hims (H4:30), sakana Däraya (H4:30)	at the beginning of Mu'awiyah (B1:270; B4:1618), in the time of Mu'awiyah (A6:44); 75 (S7:416; B1:270; B4:1618; A6:44; H4:30), in the time of Yazid (B1:270), at the beginning of the amirate of Mu'awiyah (A1:329)

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	EXPRESSION-5
	Abū Ubay ibn Umur Ḥarām ('Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr or 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh)	S-B-A-D	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)	yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn	B3:959; B4:1592; A3:346; A6:6	Shāmī wallā ('Umar) Abū 'Ubaydah al-Shāmī	A4:249; D1:412	tahawwala Abū Ubay ilā al-Shām	S7:402	
311	Abū Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrah ('Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh)	S-II	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)				S7:384	kāna amīr 'alā al-Shām	II2:245	
312	Abū 'Uthmān ibn Sa'mah	II							min ahl al-Shām	II4:149	
314	Abū Ziyād (d)	II							akhirajahu al-Ṭabranī fī mustad al-Shāmīyīn	II4:78	
315	Abū Zuhayr	A-H	sakana al-Shām	II4:78	'idāduhu fī ahl al-Shām	A6:126		A6:335; D2:212	akhirajahu al-Bagħawī wa-al-Ṭabranī fī mustad al-Shāmīyīn	II4:78	
316	Ibn al-Bujayr	A-D			yu'addu fi al-Shāmīyīn		Shāmī				
317	Ibn 'Iṣm	A				A6:342					
318	Ibn Mī'sadah The grandfather of Abū al-Asad	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
319	Asad	S	nazala al-Shām	(S7:384)							
320	Fā'imah bint al-Walid	A-II					kānat bi-al-Shām	A7:232	kharaḡat mā'a zawjilhā al-Ḥārith ilā al-Shām	II4:374	
321	Kunaysah Ba'ithah	II							min ahl al-Shām	II4:384	
322	Umaymah bint Ruqayyah	A-II							naqalatā Mu'awiyah ilā al-Shām	A7:28; II4:235	
323	Umm Abān bint 'Urbal	A							kānat bi-al-Shām mā'a zawjilhā	A7:299	
324	Umm al-Dardā' al-Kubrā (Khayrah bint Abi Ḥadrad)	D	nazalat al-Shām	D2:319							

Appendix - III : The Companions Who Lived in Syria

No.	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-6	SOURCES- 6	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
311		Naǧǧān	S7:402; B3:959; B4:1592; A6:6	Anṣarī	S7:402	Khazraǧ	S7:402	Jumahl	A3:346					mezala bi-Bayt al- Maǧdīs (S7:402), Madānī (A3:346)	
312		Qurashī	H2:243	Fihri	S7:384; H2:243										17 (H2:245), 18 (S7:384; H2:245)
313		Khuzāʿī	H4:149	Kaʿbī	H4:149									min ahl Dimnašiq (H4:149)	
314		Jumahl	H4:78												
315		Numayrī	A6:126; H4:78	Annārī	H4:78										
316															
317		Ashʿarī	A6:342												
318															
319		Sulamī	S7:423 A6:232;	Makhrūmī- yah	A7:232; H4:274										
320		Qurashīyah	H4:273												
321															
322		Taymīyah	A7:28	Qurashī- yah	A7:28										
323		Qurashīyah	A7:299	'Abshamī- yah	A7:299										
324		Aslamīyah	D2:319												

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1
1	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amir	A	aqāma bihā (Dimashq)	A3:289							Qureshī
2	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Awf (d)	II			min ahl Dimashq	II3:138					Kinānī
3	'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'adah	A-II	sakana Dimashq	A3:384					kāna 'alā jund Dimashq	II2:359	Fazārī
4	'Abd Allāh ibn Sā'd	II	sakana Dimashq	II2:310							Ansarī
5	'Abd Allāh ibn Surāqah	D-II					Dimashqī	D1:213	min ahl Dimashq	II3:91	Azdi
6	'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Rabī'ah	B-A-II	naẓala Dimashq	II3:1007; A3:509	sakana Dimashq	A5:190			tabawwala ilā Dimashq fa- naẓalaha wallāhu 'Abd al-Mallik qada' Dimashq	II2:423 II3:57	Qureshī Khawfānī Ta'ī
7	Allāh ('Abd Allāh)	II	naẓala Dimashq	II3:26							
8	'Amr	II	naẓala Dimashq								
9	'Amr ibn Murrāb	II							qadima Dimashq min qawwad ahl al- Yaman bi- Dimashq	II3:16 II3:115	Qudāfī Yamānī Aslujāfī
10	'Amr ibn Salmr	II									
11	'Awf ibn Mallik	II	sakana Dimashq	II3:43							
12	Ḥilāl ibn Rabāh	B-A	naẓala Dimashq	II3:1228	naẓala Dārāyā	A1:244		sakana Dārāyā min arḍ Dimashq		A2:93	
13	al-Dahhāk ibn Qays	II	naẓala Dimashq						wallāhu (Mu'awiyah) Dimashq	II2:199	Fihri
14	Dahiyah ibn Khālifāh	II	naẓala Dimashq	II1:464							Kalbi
15	Fādālah ibn 'Ubayd	B-A-II	sakana Dimashq	II3:1262					kāna fihā (Dimashq) qādiyan li-Mu'awiyah	II3:1262; II3:201; also A4:363	Ansarī
16	Ḥarām ibn Mu'awiyah (d)	A-II	naẓil Dimashq	II1:393	Dimashqī	A1:473					Ansarī
17	Jundab ibn al-Nu'mān	II	sakana Dimashq	II1:252							
18	Kaysān ibn 'Abd	D	naẓala Dimashq	II2:36							
19	Khuraym ibn Fālik	D	naẓala Dimashq	II1:158							Asadi

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No.	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
1	A3:288	'Abshami	A3:288							ista'malahu 'Uthunān 'alā al-Basrah ... wa-wallāhu aydan bilād Fāris (A3:288), wallāhu (Mu'awiyah) al-Basrah (A3:289) ista'malahu 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz 'alā Kharrāb Filastīn (H3:138)	57 (A3:289), 58 (A3:289)
2	H3:138 A3:384; H2:359	Qāri	H3:138								still alive in the time of Marwān (A3:384)
3	H2:310 D1:213; H3:91	Qurashi	H2:310	Azdi	H3:310	Fihri	H2:310	Umayy	H2:310		
4	B3:1006; A3:508; A5:189		B3:1007; A3:508; A5:189; H2:422							sakana al-Madīnah thumma intaqala ilā al-Shām (B3:1007; A3:509; H2:423) ikāna 'alim ahli al-Shām bad Abī al-Dardā' (H3:57)	in the amirate of Yazīd (B3:1007), 61 (A3:509; H2:423), 62 (H2:423)
5	H3:57 H3:26										in the time of Mu'awiyah (H3:16), in the time of 'Abd al-Mālik (H3:16)
6	H3:16										
7	H3:115 H3:43									naẓala Filis (H3:43)	73 (H3:45)
8											18 (A1:245), 20 (A1:245)
9	H2:199									wallāhu (Mu'awiyah) al-Kūfah (H2:199)	50 (H2:199), 64 (H2:199)
10	H1:463									sakana al-Mazzah (H1:464)	in the time of Mu'awiyah (H1:464)
11	B3:1262; A4:363; H3:201	'Amri	B3:1262; A4:363		B3:1262; A4:363; H3:201					intaqala ilā al-Shām (B3:1262), sakana al-Shām (A4:363; H3:201)	in the time of Mu'awiyah (B3:1263; H3:201), 53 (B3:1263; A4:364; H3:201), 69 (B3:1263; A4:364; H3:201)
12	H1:393 H1:252									hājara ilā al-Shām (H1:252)	
13	H1:154									naẓala al-Raqah (D1:158)	

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1
20	al-Lajjāj, Abū al-'Alā'	A-D	naẓala Dīmasīq	D2:38	sakana Dīmasīq	A4:520			naẓalalā (dār Banī Naṣr bi Dīmasīq)	II3:332	'Āmirī
21	Malīk ibn 'Awf	H									Nasrī
22	Ma'n ibn Yazīd	II	sakana Dīmasīq	II3:430							Sulami
	Mu'awiyah ibn Abi				fa-lanīmā māla Yazīd istakhlafahu 'alā 'amalīhi bi-al-Shām wa-huwa	A5:209			waliya Mu'awiyah Dīmasīq	II3:1187	
23	Sufyān	B-A	naẓala Dīmasīq	II3:1228 A5:307;	Dīmasīq						
24	Nafī' ibn Kaysān	A-II	sakana Dīmasīq	II3:517							'Thaqafī
25	al-Nu'mān ibn Baṣīr	II									Anṣarī
26	Nuwayr ibn Aws (d)	II									Ash'arī
27	Qabāṭit ibn Asiyam	B-A	sakana Dīmasīq	II3:1303; A4:379							Kinānī
28	Sa'd ibn Tamīm	B-A			imām masjid Dīmasīq	A2:340	Dīmasīq	B2:582			Sakūnī
29	Sa'd ibn Ubādah	A	aqāma bi-Jawran	A2:357							
30	Sahī ibn al-Hanzaliyah	A-D-II	naẓala Dīmasīq	D1:243	sakana Dīmasīq	A2:469			kāna bi-Dīmasīq qadīma Dīmasīq wa-ibtayā bi-hā dār	II2:85 II2:19	Awsī
31	Surāqah ibn Mirdās	II									Sulami
32	Suwayd ibn Nuṭhūm	D-II									
33	Thawbān ibn Bujūd	D	naẓala Dīmasīq	D1:70					waliya Dīmasīq	II2:99	
34	Ubādah ibn (Abī) Awfa	A-D	naẓala Dīmasīq	D1:293	sakana Dīmasīq	A3:158			istakhlafahu Abū 'Ubaydah fīmā qāla 'alā Dīmasīq	D1:250	Fihri
35	Umayr ibn al-Aswad	II							sakana Dārnya min Dīmasīq	II3:120	'Āmirī
											'Anṣī

Appendix - IV : The Companions Who Lived in Damascus

No.	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
20	A4:520; D2:38	Aslamī	A4:520								
21	H3:331										
22	H3:429									yanzilū al-Kūfah wa-dakhala Miṣr (H3:430), sakana al-Kūfah (H3:430), sakana al-Shām (H3:430)	54 (H3:430)
23											59 (A5:211), 60 (A5:211)
24	H3:517									yu'addu fi al-Shāmiyyin (A5:307)	
25	H3:529	Khazrajī	H3:529							naqalahu Mu'awiyah min Imrat al-Kūfah ilā Imrat Jims (H3:529)	65 (H3:530) after 120 (H3:560), 15 (H3:560), 21 (H3:560), 22 (H3:560)
26	H3:560; B3:1303;	Ashja'ī	H3:560; B3:1303;								
27	A4:379; B2:583;	Laythī	A4:379; B3:583;	Tamīmī	B3:1303; A4:379						
28	A2:340	Ash'arī	A2:340							Shāmī (B2:583)	
29											11 (A2:358), 14 (A2:357), 15 (A2:357)
30	A2:469; D1:243; H2:85	Anṣarī	A2:469; H2:58								at the beginning of the caliphate of Mu'awiyah (A2:469), in the time of Mu'awiyah (H2:85, 86)
31	H2:19									taljwala ilā al-Shām (H2:85) mazala al-Baṣrah wa-kāna yuqīnu bi-al-hādīyah (H2:19)	
32	D1:250; H2:99										
33											
34	A3:157; D1:293	Nuṣayrī	A3:157							Shāmī sakana Qinnasrīn (A3:158) sakana Jims (H3:120), ahl al-Shām (H3:120)	in the time of Mu'awiyah (H3:120)
35	H3:120	Hamdānī	H3:120								



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1
36	Usāmah ibn Zayd	H							sakana al-Mazzah(?) min 'amaḥ Dimashiq	H1:46	Kalbi
37	Yazid ibn Abī Sufyān	H							ihunima anumarahu 'Umar 'alā Dimashiq	H3:619	Qureshi
38	Yazid ibn Nubayshah	H							amir Mu'awiyah 'alā Dimashiq	H3:625	Qureshi
39	Wāhīdah ibn al-'Asqā'	B	nazala Dimashiq	B3:1228 A5:429; D2:125							'Adawi
40	Wāhīdah ibn al-Khatīf	A-D	sakana Dimashiq								
41	Abū al-Dardā'	B-A-H	nazala Dimashiq	B3:1228					wallāhu Mu'awiyah (or 'Umar or 'Uthmān) qadā' Dimashiq	B3:1229, 1230; B4:1646, 1647, 1648; H3:46; A6:98	Ansārī
42	Abū Mālik (d)	A	Dimashiq	A6:273		saqama bi-Dimashiq	A3:160		qadima Dimashiq 'alā Mu'awiyah	H4:179	Nakhaḥī
43	Abū Maryam	H									Azdi
44	Abū Qufāfah ibn 'Asīf	A-H	sakana Dimashiq	A6:252; H4:159							Murri
45	Abū Rayḥanah	H							min kibār ahl Dimashiq	H2:153	Ansārī
46	Abū Ruwayḥah	A	nazala Darayn	A1:244; A6:114	sakana Darayn min ard Dimashiq	A2:93					Khathī'ani
47	Abū 'Uthmān ibn Sa'nah (d)	H							min ahl Dimashiq	H4:149	Khuza'i
48	Ḥind	A	min ahl Darayn min ard Dimashiq	A7:290							Khawjā-riyah

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No.	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
36	III:46									thunama raja'a fa-sakana Wādī al-Qurā thunama nazala ilā al-Madīnah (II:46) ammarahu 'Umar alā Filasṭīn (II:619), amir al-Shām (II:619)	in the time of Mu'awiyah (II:46)
37	III:619	Umayyā	III:619								18 (II:619), 19 (II:619)
38	III:625	'Amirī	III:625								
39	A5:429;										
40	II:125	Qurashī	A5:429								
41	III:1227;										before 'Uthmān was killed (III:1229; B4:1648; III:46), 31 (III:1230; B4:1646), two years before 'Uthmān was killed (A6:98), 32 (III:1230; B4:1646); III:46), 33 (B4:1646), 34 (B4:1646), after Siffin (II:46)
42	A6:273	Khazrajī	A6:97; III:46								
43	II:179									Filasṭīnī (II:179), sakana Filasṭīn (II:179)	
44	A6:252;										
44	II:159									nazala al-Shām (II:153), qadīma Miṣr (II:153), sakana Bayt al-Maqdis (II:153)	
45	II:153	Azdl	II:153	Qurashī	II:153						
46	A6:114									nazala al-Shām (A6:114)	
47	II:149	K'abi	II:149							min ahli al-Shām (II:149)	
48	A7:290										

Appendix - V : The Companions who Lived in Hims

No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
1	'Abd Khayr	D-H	nazala Hims	H2:380					huwa fi Tārikh Hims li-'Abd al-Samad ibn Sa'īd	D1:342; H2:380
2	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd ('Abid)	A-H	nazala Hims	H2:331	sakana Hims	A3:303				
3	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Aṣabah	D	nazala Hims	D1:327						
4	'Abd Allāh ibn Bishr	H					Himsī	H3:128		
5	'Abd Allāh ibn Busr	B-H					Himsī	H2:273	ākhir man māta bi-el-Shām bi-Hims min Aṣḥāb Rasūl Allāh	B3:874; B2:736; also H2:273
6	'Abd Allāh ibn Busr	H					Himsī	H2:275		
7	'Abd Allāh ibn Darrāj	D	nazala Hims	D1:309						
8	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Inayah (d)	A	sakana Hims	A3:357						
9	'Abd Allāh ibn Lahy (Abū 'Amir)	D					Himsī	D1:332		
10	'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwiyah	A-D-H	nazala Hims	A3:395; D1:335; H2:363						
11	'Abd Allāh ibn Nāsikh (Nāsij, Nāsih) (d)	A-D-H					Himsī	A3:403; D1:337; H2:366		
12	'Abd Allāh ibn Qurṭ	B-A-H	nazala Hims	H2:532			kāna 'alā Hims fi khalāfat Mu'āwiyah	H2:350; also A3:364	wallāhu Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāh marraṭayn 'alā Hims	B3:978; also H2:350; A3:364
13	'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥ	H	nazala Hims	H2:295						
14	'Abd Allāh ibn al-Shayyāb	A-D			'Idāduhu fi ahl Hims	A3:278	Himsī	D1:318		
15	'Abd Allāh ibn Shibt	B-A-D-H	nazala Hims	B3:926; A3:274; D1:317; H2:315 D1:315;						
16	'Abd Allāh ibn Sufyān	A-D-H	nazala Hims	H2:311	sakana Hims	A3:262				
17	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī 'Awf (d)	H					Himsī	H3:98	qādihā (Hims)	H3:98
18	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī 'Umayrah	H	nazala Hims	H2:406						
19	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Ā'idh (d)	H	sakana Hims	H2:397			Himsī	H3:97		
20	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khālid	A	sakana Hims	A3:440						
21	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Qatādah	A-H			yu'addu fi el-Himsiyyin	A3:489; H2:411				

Appendix - V : The Companions who Lived in Hims

No.	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
1	Himyari	H2:380	Himdanī	H2:380						
2	Thumali	A3:303; H2:331							yu'addu fi al-Shāmiyīn (A3:303)	
3	Khawlanī	D1:327								
4										
5	Mazini	B3:874; H2:273	Sulami	H2:273					yu'addu fi al-Shāmiyīn (B3:959)	88 (H2:273), 96 (H2:273)
6	Nasri	H2:274	Mazini	H2:274					Dhnaṣiqī (H2:274)	
7										
8	Khawlanī	A3:357							'idāduhu fi al-Shāmiyīn (A3:357)	
9	Hawzini	D1:332								
10	Chadiri	A3:395; D1:335; H2:363							'idāduhu fi al-Shāmiyīn (A3:395)	
11	Hadrami	A3:403; D1:337; H2:366								
12	Thumali	B3:978; A3:364; H2:350; H2:332	Azdi	B3:978; A3:364; H2:350						56 (A3:364; H2:350)
13										
14										
15	Anṣari	B3:926; A3:273; D1:317; H2:315	Anṣari	A3:273						in the time of Mu'awiyah (B3:926; A3:274)
16	Azdi	A3:262; D1:315; H2:311							Shāmi (A3:262; D1:315)	
17	Jurashi	H3:98							ehl al-Shām (H3:98), Shāmi (H3:98)	
18	Muzani	H2:406	Qurashi	H2:406					sakana al-Shām (H2:406)	
19	Thumali	H2:397								
20	Qurashi	A3:440	Makhzū- mi	A3:440						74 (A3:440)
21	Sulami	A3:489; H2:411								

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
22	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Qurṣ (d)	H					Himsī	H2:411	kāna wāliyy 'alā Hims	H2:411
23	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Saḥwān	A-H			'adāduhu fī ahl Hims	H2:395	Himsī	A3:462		
24	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Shībil	H	nazala Hims	H2:395 H3:1241; A4:47; D1:383; H2:479						
25	'Alfān ibn al-Bujayr	B-A-D-H	nazala Hims		'adāduhu fī al- Himsiyūn	H2:508				
26	'Anumārāh ibn Za'karah	H								
27	'Amr ibn 'Abasah	H	nazala Hims	H3:6						
28	'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh	H	nazala Hims	H3:4 D1:418;						
29	'Amr ibn Mu'awiyah	D-H	nazala Hims	H3:318						
30	'Aḥyah ibn Busr	H	nazala Hims	H2:477						
31	'Awf ibn Mālik	H	nazala Hims	H3:43						
32	Bakr ibn al-Ḥarith (Abū Ma'qū'ah)	A-D	nazala Hims	D1:55	sakana Hims	A1:240			wa-fī Tārīkh Hims fī-'Ibn Ṭas: Bakr ibn Ḥarithah al-Juhānī	D1:55
33	Bishr ibn Jalḥāsh (Busr ibn Jiljāsh)	H	nazala Hims	H1:152 D1:48;						
34	Busr ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān	D-H	nazala Hims	H1:154						
35	Dallāh	H	nazala Hims	H1:465						
36	Dunrah ibn Thā'labah	A-D	nazala Hims	D1:272	sakana Hims	A3:59				
37	Ghanīm ibn Uthmān	D-H	nazala Hims	D2:3; H3:185 A1:410;						
38	Ghuḍayf ibn al-Ḥarith (Ghuḍayf ibn al-Ḥarith)	A-D-H	nazala Hims	D1:106; H3:184			Himsī	D2:2; also A3:340		
39	Ḥābis ibn Sa'īd (Sa'īd)	A-D-H	nazala Hims	H1:272	yu'addu fī ahl Hims	A1:375 A5:389; D2:118; H3:568			kāna bi-al-Hims	D1:94
40	al-Ḥaddār	A			yu'addu fī al- Himsiyūn					
41	Ḥajjāj ibn 'Amir	A-D-H			'adāduhu fī ahl Hims	H1:311				D1:121; also A1:454
42	al-Ḥajjāj ibn 'Iḥā	H	nazala Hims	H1:312						

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No.	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
22	Thumāl	H2:411							sakana al-Shām 'idāduhu fī ahl Filāḥīn (H2:411)	
23										
24	Anṣār	H2:395	Awṣī	H2:395					'idāduhu fī ahl al-Madīnah (H2:395), nazala al-Shām (H2:395)	
25	Sulamī	B3:1241; A4:47; D1:383; H2:478								
26	Mazīnī	H2:508	Azdī	H2:508					sakana al-Shām (H2:508)	at the end of the caliphate of 'Uthmān (H3:7)
27	Sulamī	H3:5							sakana ... al-Shām (H3:7)	
28	Hudramī	H3:4								
29	'Amrī	D1:418	Qhādīrī	H3:18						
30	Mazīnī	H2:477								
31	Ashja'ī	H3:43							sakana Dimashq (H3:43)	73 (H3:44)
32	Anṣār	A1:240; D1:55	Juhānī	D1:55						
33	Qurashī	H1:152	'Amrī	H1:152					'idāduhu fī al-Shāmīyīn (H1:153)	
34	Hudramī	D1:48; H1:154								
35										
36	Balazī	A3:59; D1:272								
37										
38	Kindī	A1:410; A4:340; D1:106; D2:2; H3:184	Sakūmī	A1:410; A4:340; D1:106; D2:2	Azdī	A4:340	Thumāl	A4:340	yu'addu fī al-Shāmīyīn (A1:410) thumma kāna bi-Miṣr (D1:94), also H1:272	
39	Yanānī	A1:376; D1:94; H1:272	Ta'ī	A1:375						at Siffin (A1:376)
40	Kinānī	A5:389; D2:118; H3:568								
41	Thumāl	A1:455; D1:121; H1:311							nazala al-Shām (H1:311) sakana al-Madīnah (H1:312), ahl al-Shām (H1:312)	
42	Sulamī	H1:312	Fihrī	H1:312						in the time of 'Umar (H1:312), in the time of 'Alī (H1:312)

Appendix - V : The Companions who Lived in Hims

No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
43	al-Hakam ibn 'Umayr	A	sakana Hims	A2:41 D1:141; H1:358	yu'addu fi al- Himsiyyin	A2:63	Himsi	D1:128		
44	Hanzalah	A-D-H	nazala Hims	H1:393	yu'addu fi al- Himsiyyin	H1:275				
45	Harith Abū Tharwah (Faywah)	D-H	nazala Hims	D1:107; H3:288				D1:95; H3:164		
46	al-Harith ibn al-Harith (Abū al-Mukharraq)	H					Himsi			
47	al-Harith ibn Kurz	D-H	nazala Hims							
48	Halim ibn 'Adi ('Adi ibn Halim)	D-H			yu'addu fi al- Himsiyyin	A2:49; D1:137; H1:350				
49	Hulays	A-D-H								
50	'Irbād ibn Sāriyah	H	nazala Hims	H2:466			fa-lam yazal wāly fi-Umar 'ala Hims	A4:329 D1:76; H1:224	istakhlafahu (Abū 'Ubaydah) 'ala Hims	H3:50
51	'Iyād ibn Ghaum	A-H								
52	Jabalāh ibn al-Azraq	A-D-H			min ahl Hims 'idādūhu fi ahl Hims	A1:318 A1:301				
53	Jābir ibn al-Azraq	A-D-H	nazala Hims	D1:71; H1:211						
54	Kalīl ibn Murrāh (d)	H	uezil Hims	H3:294						
55	Kaysān ibn Quraysh	D	nazala Hims	D2:37 A2:89; D1:148; H1:415						
56	Khalīd al-Azraq	A-D-H	nazala Hims	B2:447; A2:127; D1:158; H1:422						
57	Kharashah ibn al-Jurr (al- Harith)	B-A-D-H	nazala Hims	D2:66; H3:375						
58	al-Madhūb	D-H	nazala Hims							
59	Mālik ibn Dhī Himyāh Mālik ibn Hubayrah (Abū Sa'īd)	A							dhakarahu Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isa fi Tārīkh al-Himsiyyin	A5:20
60	Sa'īd	D								
61	Mālik ibn Yasār	B	nazala Hims	B3:1362					wālye Hims sarah	D2:49

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No.	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
43	Thumail	A2:41 A2:63; D1:141; III:358							yu'addu fi al-Shamiyin (A2:41)	
44	Thaqafi									
45	Sulam]	D1:128; H1:393								
46	Ghāndī	H1:275								
47										
48										
49										
50	Sulamī	H2:466								in the fitnah of Ibn al-Zubayr (H2:466), 75 (H1:466)
51	Fihri	H3:50	Qurashī	A4:327					istakhlafahu (Abū 'Ubaydah) bi-al-Shām (A4:327), nazala al-Shām (A4:329)	20 (A4:328, 329; H3:50)
52	Kindī	A1:318; D1:76 A1:301; D1:71; H3:211								
53	Ghādīrī	H3:294								
54	Hadramī									
55									min muhajjirat al-Yaman (D2:37)	
56	Ghādīrī	A2:89; D1:148; H1:415								
57	Mujāribī	A2:127; D1:158; H1:422	Fazarī	B2:445; A2:127	Azdī	B2:445; A2:127	Asadī	H1:422	Shāmī (A2:128; H1:422)	
58	Tanūkhī	D2:66; H3:375								
59										
60	Kindī	D2:49	Sakūnī	D2:49					'idāduhu fi al-Misriyin (D2:49)	
61	Sakūnī	H3:1362	'Awfī	B3:1362					Shāmī (B3:1362)	



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
62	Mālik ibn Yakkāmīr (d)	A-II			minn ahlī Hims	A5:56	Himsī	H3:338 A5:139; D2:68; H3:379; H4:158		
63	Marḥad ibn Wad'ah (d)	A-D-II					Himsī	H4:158		
64	Masrūh ibn Sūdār	H					Himsī	H3:367		
65	al-Miqām ibn Maḍikarīb	H	nazala Hims	H3:434 H3:1425; A5:216	'Idāduhu fi ahlī Hims	H3:417				
66	Mu'āwiyah	B-A-II	nazala Hims	A5:77; H3:349						
67	Muḥallim ibn Jaththamah	A-II	nazala Hims	H3:541						
68	Muḥammad ibn 'Aṣiyah (d)	H	nazala Hims	H3:521						
69	Nabīhān	H	nazala Hims	H3:541						
70	Nasir ibn Mālik	H	nazala Hims	H3:545						
71	Nahlk ibn Ṣarīm	D-II	nazala Hims	H3:545			istā'malahu Mu'āwiyah 'ala Hims		kāna bi-Hims	D2:114
72	al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr	A-II		A5:326; D2:108; H3:531					nāqalahu Mu'āwiyah min Imrat al- Kūfah ilā Imrat Hims	H3:529
73	al-Nu'mān ibn Rāziyah (Bāziyah)	A-D-II	nazala Hims							
74	Qays ibn Thawr (d)	D-II	nazala Hims	D2:18						
75	Qubāth ibn Ashyam	H	sakana Hims	H3:214						
76	Qudānah	D			yu'addu fi ahlī Hims	D2:13				
77	Qudānah ibn 'Abd Allāh	H	nazala Hims	H3:219	yu'addu fi ahlī Hims	A4:393			ahlī Hims	H3:219
78	Qudānah ibn Harzalah	A		A2:199; D1:175; H3:512 D1:173						
79	Rāfi' ibn Ma'bad	A-D-II	nazala Hims							
80	Rāfi' ibn Sa'd	D	nazala Hims	D1:173						
81	Sabrāh ibn Fātik	H							fi tabaqāt ahlī Hims	H2:13

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No.	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
62	Salsaki	A5:56; H3:338	Alhiani	A5:56; H3:338					Shāmi (H3:338)	69 (A5:56), 70 (A5:56; H3:338), 72 (H3:338)
63	Kindi	A5:139; D1:68	Ju'fi	A5:139	Ta'i	A5:139			qadima Miqr (H3:387)	in the amirate of 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Marwān in Egypt (H3:387)
64									atli al-Shāmi (H3:434), Shāmi (H3:434)	83 (H3:434), 86 (H3:434), 87 (H3:434)
65		B3:1425; A5:216; H3:417							yu'addu fi al-Shāmiyīn (H3:1425; A5:216)	
66	Hudhaff									in the time of Ibn al-Zubayr (H3:349), in the time of the Prophet (H3:349)
67	Laythi	A5:76; H3:349	Kināni	A5:76						
68	Sa'di	H3:452								
69										
70	Hadrani	H3:541							yu'addu fi al-Shāmiyīn (H3:541)	
71	Sakūni	H3:545	Yashkurī	H3:545					Shāmi (D2:114), nazala al-Shāmi (H3:545)	
72	Anisari	A5:326; H3:539	Khazrajī	A5:326; H3:529					qaḍi Dīnashiq (H3:539), ista'malahu Mu'awiyah 'ala al-Kūfah (H3:529; A5:329)	64 (A5:328, 65 (H3:530)
73	Azdi	A5:326; D2:108; H3:531	Lahbi	H3:531						
74	Kindi	D2:18	Sakūfi	D2:18; H3:258						came to Yazid when Mu'awiyah died (H3:258)
75	Laythi	H3:213	Tamimi	H3:213	Kindi	H3:213	Yama'i	H3:213		
76										
77										
78	Thaqafi	A4:493								
79	Anisari	A2:199; D1:175; H3:512								
80										
81	Asdi	H2:13	Azdi	H2:13	Asadi	H2:13			fi mustad al-Shāmiyīn (H2:14)	

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
82	Sa'd ibn al-Midhās	A-D-II			yu'addu fi al- Himsiyin	A2:371; D1:218; H2:34				B2:625; B3:1187; A2:393; D1:223; H2:47
83	Safid ibn 'Amir	B-A-D-II	'idāduhu fi al- Hims	A2:382	'idāduhu fi al- Himsiyin	D1:221			waliya Hims li- 'Umar	
84	Safid ibn Bujayr	A-D								
85	Sakana ibn Nuḥayl	B-A-D-II	sakana Hims	B2:642 B2:566; A2:309	nazala Hims	H2:66	Himsī	D1:233	min ahl Hims	A2:435
86	Salim ibn Abī Salim (Abū Shaddād)	B-A	nazala Hims	A2:309	Himsī	A2:309				
87	Shabīb ibn Dhī al-Kalā' (d)	H					Himsī	H2:165		
88	Shaddād ibn Aws	H	sakana Hims	H2:138						
89	Shaddād ibn Shurahbīl	A-D-II	nazala Hims	H2:139	yu'addu fi ahl Hims	D1:254; A2:508	Himsī	H2:139		
90	Shurāḥīl	A-D-II			yu'addu fi al- Himsiyin	A2:511; D1:254			fi tabaqāt al-Himsiyūn	H2:141
91	Shihāb	A-D-II	nazala Hims	D1:260; H2:155	sakana Hims	A2:531				
92	Shurahbīl ibn Aws (Aws ibn Shurahbīl)	A-D-II	nazala Hims	H1:97	sakana Hims	A2:511				B2:698; D1:255; H2:142; A2:514
93	Shurahbīl ibn al-Ṣimī (d)	B-A-D-II	nazala Hims	H2:142 B2:657; A2:459; D1:240; H2:81					amir Hims li- Murāwiyah	
94	Shihāb (Sūyār) ibn Rawḥ	B-A-D-II	nazala Hims	H2:81						
95	Sufyān ibn Asad (Asid)	D					Himsī	D1:225		
96	Sufyān ibn Ziyād	D-II	nazala Hims	D1:226; H2:52			Himsī	H2:52		

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No.	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
82									min ahl al-Shām (H2:34), fi musnad al-Shāmīyin (H2:34)	
83	Qurashi	B2:624; A2:393; D1:223; H2:47	Jumhī	B2:624; A2:393; D1:223; H2:47					wāi'ain ba'd al-Shām (H2:47)	19 (B2:625; A2:394; H2:47), 20 (B2:625; A2:394; H2:47), 21 (B2:625; A2:394; H2:47)
84	Jushamī	A2:382; D1:220								
85	Kawī	D1:233	Turayhīmī	B2:642; A2:435; D1:233	Sakūnī	B2:642; A2:435; H2:66	Yarāghī	H2:66	esluhu min al-Yaman (B2:642)	
86	'Abī	B2:566; A2:309	Qaysī	B2:566						
87										
88	Khazrajī	H2:138								41 (H2:138), 58 (H2:138), 64 (H2:138), in the time of Mu'awiyah (H2:138)
89	Anasī	A2:508; D1:254; H2:139	Juhānī	A2:508; D1:254; H2:139					sakana al-Shām (H2:139)	
90	Minqarī	A2:511; D1:254; H2:141							Shāmī (H2:141)	
91	Qurashī	A2:531; D1:260; H2:155								
92	Mujamī	H1:97								
93	K'indī	B2:698; A2:513; D1:255; H2:142								36 (H2:142), at Siffin year 37 (H2:142), 40 (B2:698; A2:514; H2:142), 42 (A2:514; D1:255; H2:142)
94										
95	Hadrāmī	D1:225								
96										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
97	Subaym ibn Khalaf	A-D-II	mazala Hims	A2:327; D1:209; H2:15						B1:218; H1:205
98	Thawbān ibn Bujdad	B-II							Integala lā Hims	
99	ʿUbadah ibn al-Sāmit	B-A-II			istāʿmala (ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb) ʿUmayr ibn Saʿd hadha ʿala Hims			B2:808; A3:160	anna Abā ʿUbaydah wallāh imrat Hims	H2:260
100	ʿUmayr ibn Saʿd	B-A-D-II	mazala Hims	H3:34		A4:293	ʿamir ʿUmar ʿala Hims	A4:294		D1:423; also B3:1216; H3:33, 179
101	ʿUtbah ibn ʿAbd	A-D	mazala Hims	D1:371 D1:375; H2:454	sakana Hims yuʿaddu fi ahli Hims	A3:563				
102	Uthmān ibn ʿUthmān	A-D-II	mazala Hims	H2:454		A3:583				
103	Waṣṣṭh ibn Harb Yahyā ibn Nuʿayr (Abū Zuhayr)	A-II A D	sakana Hims mazala Hims	H3:594; A5:438				A5:472		
104	Zuhayr	A					Hims			
105	Yasar ibn Rawh	D	mazala Hims	D2:142						
106	Yazīd ibn Shurayh (d)	H						H3:621 D1:196		
107	Ziyād	D-II	mazala Hims	H1:541 A6:190;						
108	Abū ʿAmir (Abū Mālik)	A-D	mazala Hims	D2:182						
109	Abū Jabīrah	B	mazala Hims	B4:1619						
110	Abū al-Jamal (Abū al- Hamir)	B-A-D	sakana Hims	A5:407 D2:197;						D2:155; also B4:1621; A6:53
111	Abū Kabshah	A-D	mazala Hims	A6:261 D2:162;					kāna bi-Hims	
112	Abū Khuẓamāh (Khuẓāʿah)	D-II	mazala Hims	H4:52 A6:305;						
113	Abū Mīnqāʿah (Naṣr or Bakr ibn al-Ḥārith)	A-D-II	mazala Hims	D2:206; H1:167; H4:186						
114	Abū al-Shabbāb (Shubbāb)	D	mazala Hims	D2:177						

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No.	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
97										
98	Hakami	B1:218; H1:205							fi musnad al-Shāmiyin (H2:15) kharija ilā al-Shām nazala al-Ramlah (B1:218; also H1:205)	54 (B1:218; H1:205)
99	Anṣārī	B2:807; A3:160; H2:260	Sālimī	B2:807	Khazraji	A3:160; H2:260			wajjahahu 'Umar ilā al-Shām qadiyan wa- nu'alliman (B2:808), thumma šara 'Ubādah ba'd ilā Filastīn (A3:160), waliya qadā Filastīn (A3:160)	In the time of Mu'āwiyah (B2:808; H2:261), 34 (B2:808; A3:161; H2:260), 45 (A3:161; H2:261)
100	Anṣārī	B23:1215; A4:292; H3:33	Awsi	A4:292; H3:33					sakana ... al-Shāmī (B3:1217), nazala Filastīn (A4:292)	In the time of Mu'āwiyah (H3:33), in the time of 'Umar (H3:34), in the time of 'Uthmān (H3:34)
101	Sulami	A3:563; D1:371								
102	Thaqafi	A3:584; D1:374; H2:454							kāna arulr 'alā Ṣan'ā' al-Shām (H2:454)	
103	Habashī	A5:438; H3:594								In the time of Mu'āwiyah (A5:438), in the time of 'Uthmān (H3:594)
104	Nuwayrī	A5:473								
105										
106										
107	Alhānī	D1:196; H1:541								
108									'idāduhu fi ahl al-Shām (A6:190)	
109	Kindī	B4:1619							Shāmī (B4:1619)	
110										
111	Anṣārī	A6:261; D2:197	Madhijī	A6:261; D2:197	Ghajāfānī	A6:261	Lakhlunī	A6:261		
112										
113	Anṣārī	A6:305; D2:206; H1:167; H4:186								
114									sakana al-Shāmī (H4:92)	

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
115	Abū Sū'ād	B-A-D-II	inzala Hims	B4:1668; A6:137; D2:171; H4:85			Himsī	H4:85		
116	Abū Sū'aynah (d)	A-D-II	inzala Hims	A6:150; D2:174; H4:92						
117	Abū Thā'labah	II	sakana Hims	H4:30						
118	Abū Umāmah (Suday ihu 'Ajjāz)	B-A	yaskumu Hims	B2:736; A3:16					intaqala minhā (Nfist) lā Hims fa- sakanahā	B4:1602; A6:16

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No.	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
115	Juhani	A6:137								
116									Shāmī (A6:150) sakana al-Shām (114:30), yanzilu Darayā (114:30)	at the beginning of Mu'awiyah (114:30), 75 (114:30)
117	Kinshinī	114:29							ākhir man māta bi- <i>al-Shām</i> min Aşjāb al-Nabī (B2:736; B4:1602; also A3:16; A6:17), sakana Misr (A6:16)	81 (B2:736; B4:1602; A3:16; A6:17), 86 (B2:736; B4:1802; A6:17)
118	Bāhili	B2:736; B4:1602; A3:16; A6:16	Sahmī	A3:16; A6:16						



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	ESPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
1	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Awf (d)	H			'Idādūhu fī ahl Filasṭīn min al-Shām	A6:106	min Filasṭīn		istā'malahu 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz 'alā kharāj Filasṭīn
2	'Abd al-Raiḥmān ibn 'Abd (Abū Rāshid)	A-H				A3:490; H2:411		H2:402	kāna 'āmilan 'alā Jund Filasṭīn
3	'Abd al-Raiḥmān ibn Qurṭ (d)	A-H			'Idādūhu fī ahl Filasṭīn				istā'malahu 'Umar 'alā ba'd Filasṭīn
4	'Aḥqamah ibn Ḥakīm	D							
5	'Amr ibn al-'Ās	B-A-H							wallāhu 'Umar Filasṭīn wa-al-Urdunn
6	'Awsajah ibn Ḥammalah	A-D	nazala Filasṭīn	D1:427	sakana Filasṭīn	A4:308			
7	Bashīr (Bishr) ibn 'Aqrabah	A-D-H	nazala Filasṭīn	A1:233; D1:50, 53; H1:158	'Idādūhu fī ahl Filasṭīn	A1:223			ma'rūf bi-Filasṭīn
8	Burayr ibn 'Abd Allāh	A-D	nazala Filasṭīn	D1:48	sakana Filasṭīn	A1:211			
9	Dhū al-'Asabī	H	nazala Filasṭīn	H1:472					
10	al-Faḍl ibn Yalyā (d)	A-D	nazala Filasṭīn	D2:8	sakana Filasṭīn	A4:367			
11	al-Fākih ibn 'Amr	A-D-H					sakana Bayt Ḥammal bi- Filasṭīn	H3:193	sakana Bayt Jibreyn bi-Filasṭīn
12	Farwah ibn Mujāhid (d)	B-A-D-H					ma'wā al-Lakhniyyīn min ahl Filasṭīn	A4:359	min ahl Filasṭīn
13	al-Ḥarīth ibn 'Abd (/'Abdah or 'Abd Allāh) (d)	A-H	nazala Filasṭīn	A1:403					kāna 'alā rjālat ahl Filasṭīn (bi- Siffin)
14	Ḥayyān ibn Mallah	A-D	nazala Filasṭīn	D1:145	'Idādūhu fī ahl Filasṭīn	A2:78			
15	Ḥubaysh ibn Shurayḥ (d)	A-D	nazala Filasṭīn	D1:121	min ahl Filasṭīn	A1:453			
16	Ḥuzābah ibn Nu'aym	A-D	nazala Filasṭīn	D1:128	'Idādūhu fī ahl Filasṭīn	A2:3			
17	Jamrah ibn 'Awf	A-H			'Idādūhu fī ahl Filasṭīn	A1:349; H1:244			

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
1	II3:138	Kinānī	II3:138	Qāri	II3:138					ahl al-Shām (II3:138), min ahl Dimashq (II3:138)	
2	II2:401	Azdi	A6:106; II2:401							sakana al-Shām (A3:490; II2:411), Himsī (II2:411), kāna wāfil 'alā Hims (II2:411)	
3		Thumālī	A3:490; II2:411								
4	DI:390	Firāsī	DI:390								
5	IB3:1187; also II3:3; A4:246	Qurashī	IB3:1184; A4:244; II3:2	Salimī	IB3:1184; A4:244; II3:2					lam yazal 'alayhā (Mīsr) wāliyan (II3:1187, 1188; also II3:2,3; A4:246)	42 (B3:1188; II3:3), 43 (B3:1188; A4:246; II3:3), 46 (II3:3), 47 (A4:246), 48 (B3:1188; A4:246; II3:3), 51 (B3:1188; A4:246)
6		Juhānī	A4:308; DI:427								in the time of the Prophet (DI:53), still alive in the time of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (A1:233; DI:53), after 58 (II1:158)
7	II1:158	Juhānī	A1:223, 233; DI:50, 53; II1:158	Kinānī	A1:233; DI:53						
8		Dārī	A1:211; DI:48								
9		Juhānī	II1:471	Tamūmī	II1:471	Khuzāfī	II1:471				
10	II2:4; also II4:349	Azdi	A4:367; DI:8 A4:349; DI:4; II3:193							Shāmī (A4:367)	
11		Dārī									
12	D2:7; B3:1261; II3:209										in the time of Mu'awiyah (A1:403; II1:369)
13	II1:369	Azdi	II1:369	Dawsī	A1:403						
14		Yamānī	A2:78; DI:145								
15		Iḥabshī	A1:453; DI:121								
16											
17											

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
18	Janlah ibn Khayshamah	A	mazala Filasṭīn	A1:364					
19	Kadan ibn 'Abd	A-D	mazala Filasṭīn	D2:28	sakana Filasṭīn	A4:462			
20	Mallik ibn 'Abd Allāh (d)	A-D	mazala Filasṭīn	D2:45	min ahl Filasṭīn	A5:32 A2:213; D1:180; H1:496			
21	Rabī'ah ibn 'Amir	A-D-H			yū'addu fi ahl Filasṭīn				
	Rabī'ah ibn al-Sikkīn (al-	A-D-H	mazala Filasṭīn	D2:180	sakana Filasṭīn wa-māla bi-Dayt Jibrīn	H1:495	yū'addo fi ahl Filasṭīn	A2:213	kana amīr 'alā Filasṭīn
22	Sakan)	H							
23	Rawḥ ibn Zinbāgh (d)		min ahl Filasṭīn						
24	Sa'd ibn Wā'il	A	sakana al-Ramlah	A2:379					
25	Ṣahbān ibn Uthmān	A			min ahl Filasṭīn	A3:36			min ahl Filasṭīn
26	Sa'd ibn Yazīd	H							
27	Sam'ūn	H	mazala Filasṭīn	H2:80					
28	Shaddād ibn Aws	B							mazala al-Shām bi-nāḥiyat Filasṭīn
29	Suwayd ibn Zayd	A-D-H	mazala Filasṭīn	A2:488; D1:249; H2:98					
30	Tamīm ibn Aws	A-H	sakana Filasṭīn	H1:186	aqāma bi-Filasṭīn	A1:256 A3:157; D1:293; H2:259			
31	'Ubbādah ibn al-Ashyah	A-D-H			'idādūhu fi ahl Filasṭīn				
32	'Ubbādah ibn al-Sānīt	B-A-H			aqāma bi-Filasṭīn	H2:260	thumma intaqala ilā Filasṭīn	B2:808; also A3:160	awwal man waliya qadā' Filasṭīn
33	'Umayy ibn Sa'd	A	mazala Filasṭīn	A4:292					
34	Wā'ilīyah ibn al-Asqa'	A					thumma tajawwala ilā Filasṭīn	A5:489	

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
18		Kināni	A1:364	Laythi	A1:364						
19		'Utki	A4:462; D2:28	'Akkī	A4:462; D2:28						
20		Khath'a-ni	A5:32; D2:45								in the time of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (A5:32)
21		Azdi	A2:213; D1:180; H1:496	Du'afī	H1:496	Asdi	A2:213	Dīfi	A2:213		
22		Faza'i	A2:213; H1:495								
23	H1:509	Judhāmi	H1:508							nhi al-Shām (H1:509)	84 (H1:509)
24		Judhāmi	A2:379	'Aydhī	A2:379						
25		Hadasī	A3:36							'idāduhu fi al-Shāmyīn (A3:36)	
26	H2:50	Azdi	H2:50							nazala Miṣr (H2:50), kāna amīr 'alā Miṣr (H2:50)	
27											
28	B2:694	Anṣārī	B2:694							sakana Hims (H2:138)	41 (B2:649), 58 (B2:694), 64 (B3:694)
29		Judhāmi	A2:488; D1:249; H2:98								
30		Dārī	A1:256; H1:186							yaskunu al-Madīnah thumma intaqala ilā al-Shām (A1:256) intaqala ilā al-Shām (H1:186)	
31		'Anzi	A3:157; D1:293; H2:259								
32	A3:160; H2:260	Anṣārī	B2:807; A3:160; H2:260	Sāllimī	B2:807	Khazrajī	A3:160; H2:260			aqāma bi-Hims (B2:808), wallāhu (Abū 'Ubaydah) imrat Hims (H2:260)	34 (B2:808; A3:161; H2:260), 45 (A3:161; H2:261)
33		Anṣārī	A4:292	Awsī	A4:292					ista'mala ('Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb) 'Umayr ibn Sa'd hādihā 'alā Hims (A4:293)	
34		Kināni	A5:428	Laythī	A5:428					sakana al-Baṣrah ... thumma sakana al-Shām (A5:428)	83 (A5:429), 85 (A5:429)

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4
35	Yazid Ibn Abū Sufyān	H							ammarahu 'Umīr 'ajā Fīlasīn
36	Zinbāgh Ibn Salamah	A-II	yanzilū Fīlasīn	A2:260	'idāduhu fī ahlī Fīlasīn	H1:533			
37	Ziyād(ah) Ibn Zahr	D-H	nazala Fīlasīn	D1:196	'idāduhu fī ahlī Fīlasīn	H1:565			
38	Abū Maryam	A-D-II	nazala Fīlasīn	D2:202	sakana Fīlasīn	H4:179	Fīlasīni	H4:179	min ahlī Fīlasīn
39	Abū Ubay Ibn inr'at	H							ākhir man māta min al-Ṣahābah bi-Fīlasīn
40	Abū Yazid	A-D			'idāduhu fī ahlī Fīlasīn	A6:331	Fīlasīni	D2:212	

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No.	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
35	II3:619	Qurasi	II3:619	Umayy	II3:619					amir al-Shām (II3:619), thumma (ammarahu 'Umayr) 'ala Dimashq (II3:619)	18 (II3:619), 19 (II3:619)
36		Judhāmi	A2:260; II1:533								
37		Lakhmi	DI:196; II1:565								
38	II4:179; A6:285	Sakini	A6:285; D2:202	Azdi	II4:179					qadima Dimashq 'ala Mu'awiyah (II4:179)	
39	II4:3	Anṣārī	II4:3								
40		Laqitī	A6:331; D2:212								

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No	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- 1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
1	'Abd Abi Zam'ab 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn	A-D	nazala Miṣr	D1:361	sakana Miṣr	A3:516					
2	Sikhhayr (Sakhharah) 'Abd al-Jadd ibn	II	nazala Miṣr	II2:420	'idādūhu fī ahli Miṣr	II2:379					
3	Rabi'ab	II	yanzilu nabīyat al-Iskandariyah								
4	'Abd Rudā	A-D		A3:504			Miṣrī	D1:358			
5	'Abd Allāh	B-D-II	nazala Miṣr	D1:324; II2:377	yu'addu fī al- Miṣriyin	B3:1004					
6	'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Anisab (or ibn Anīs)	D-II							bi-Miṣr	D1:298; II3:128	
7	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Aṣ	S	nazala Miṣr	(S7:493)	ihumma raja'a illa Miṣr ... fa- lam yazal bi- ha ḥattā māta	S7:495	istā malabu (‘Amr ibn al- 'Aṣ) ‘alā Miṣr fa-aqarabu Mu'awiyah	S7:495	shahida fath al- Iskandariyah al- thāmi	A3:358	shahida fath Miṣr
8	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Anamab (‘Ammab)	A-D									
9	'Abd Allāh ibn Burayr	A-D			'idādūhu fī ahli Miṣr	A3:186	Miṣrī	D1:300			
10	'Abd Allāh ibn al- Hārith	S-B-A-D-II	sakana Miṣr	B3:883; A3:204; II2:282	nazala Miṣr	S7:497	'umara dabran bi- Miṣr	D1:303	ākhir man māta bi-Miṣr min al- Sahābah	II2:283	
11	'Abd Allāh ibn Hudhāfah	II							shahida fath Miṣr	II2:288	

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	SOURCES- OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
1		Balawi	A3:516; D1:361										
2		Ghāfiqī	H2:420										
3		Hakami	H2:379										
4		Khawlanī	A3:504; D1:358										
5		'Adawi	B3:1004; D1:324; H2:377	Ghifārī	H2:377							yur'addu fi al-Basfiyīn (H2:377)	
6		Jubani	H3:128										
7		Sahmī	S7:494										65 (S7:496), 77 (S7:495)
8	A3:358; D1:327	Muzanī	A3:358; D1:327										
9													
10		Zubaydi	S7:497; B3:882; A3:204; D1:303; H2:282	Madhhijī	A3:204; D1:303								at Yamamah (A3:204), 85 (B3:883; A3:204; H2:283), 86 (A3:204; H2:283), 87 (B3:883; A3:204; D1:303; H2:283), 88 in the time of 'Uthmān (H2:288)
11		Qurashi	H2:287	Sahmī	H2:287								



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION	SOURCES	EXPRESSION	SOURCES	EXPRESSION	SOURCES	EXPRESSION	SOURCES	EXPRESSION	SOURCES	EXPRESSION
		I	1	2	2	3	3	4	4	4	4	5	5
	'Abd Allāh ibn Mālik (or Mālik ibn 'Abd Allāh)												
12	'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mustawrid	B-A-D-II	sakana Miṣr	II2:356			Miṣrī		bi-Miṣr	B3:983; A3:376		DI:323	
13	'Abd Allāh ibn Qays	B-D					Miṣrī			B3:987; DI:334			shahida fath Miṣr
14	'Abd Allāh ibn Sabrah	A-D											
15	'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd	H	sakana Miṣr	II2:307									
16	'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd	S	nazala Miṣr	S7:493	sakana Miṣr	S7:501							kana 'ala maymanat 'Amr ibn al-'As lamama uftutliha Miṣr
17	'Abd Allāh ibn Shamir (Shamirān) (d)	S-A-B-II	nazala Miṣr	II2:309; S7:497					wallāhu 'Uthmān ba'd dhātūk Miṣr	A3:277; DI:318; II2:317		II2:317	
18	'Abd Allāh ibn Shufay	A-D					shahida fath Miṣr		min abi Miṣr				shahida 'Abd Allāh fath Miṣr
19	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Udays	A-D-II	nazala Miṣr	DI:324			min abi Miṣr			A3:277			
20	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd Allāh (d)	A-D-II					wa lahu bihā (Miṣr) khittah		shahida fath Miṣr	A3:336; II2:336		A3:336; II2:336	
21	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mu'awiyah (d)	H							wallāhu (Mu'awiyah) Miṣr			II3:71	
22	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Shurabīh (d)	A-D-II	nazala Miṣr	DI:356	sakana Miṣr	A3:496	Miṣrī			II2:415 II3:70; A3:460; DI:349			
23	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Shurabīh (d)	A-D-II					shahida fathahā (Miṣr)						

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No.	SOURCES-		SOURCES-		SOURCES-		SOURCES-		SOURCES-		SOURCES- OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
	5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5		
12					B3:983; A3:376; D1:332; II2:356							
13		Asadi	B3:987; D1:334									
14	A3:370; D1:330	'Utaqi	A3:370; D1:330	Ghafilqi								49 (A3:370; D1:330)
15		Hamdani	II2:307	'Abdi	II2:307						aw (sakana) al-Sham (II2:307)	
16												
17	A3:260	Qurashi	B3:918; A3:259; II2:309	'Amiri	S7:496; B3:918; A3:259; II2:309							36 (B3:920; A3:260; II2:309), 37 (B3:920; A3:260), 57 (II2:309), 59
18		Khawfani	A3:277; D1:318; II2:317									
19	A3:277; D1:318	Ruayni	A3:277; D1:318 A3:336;	'Abali	A3:277; D1:318							
20		Balawi	D1:324; II2:336									
21		Thaqafi	II3:71	Maliki	II3:71							at the beginning of wallahu (Mu'awiyah) the caliphate of al-Kufah ... wa ... al- Jazirah (II3:71) (II3:72)
22												
23												

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- 1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
24	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Udays	S-B-A-D-II	ikhtalāṭa bihā (Miṣr)	II2:403 DI:3; AI:58; III:30	nazala Miṣr	(S7:493)	Miṣrī	B2:840	amir al-jaysh al- qādimin min Miṣr II-ḥiṣār 'Uḥmān	DI:352; also A3:474; II2:403	shahida fath Miṣr
25	Abyaḍ	A-D-II	nazala Miṣr							AI:58; DI:3; III:29 AI:67;	
26	Abyaḍ ibn Ḥanīl (d)	A-D-II							shahida fath Miṣr	DI:10; III:35 A3:146;	
27	Aḥmar ibn Qaṭn	A-D-II							shahida fath Miṣr	DI:290; II2:253	
28	'A'idh ibn Tha'labah	A-D-II					lahu kbiṭṭah bi- Miṣr	II2:253 BI:144;	shahida fath Miṣr		
29	Ajmad ibn 'Ujyān	B-A-D-II					kbiṭṭatuhu ma'rufah bi- jazirat Miṣr	AI:65; DI:4; III:34	shahida fath Miṣr	BI:144; AI:65; III:34	
30	'Ajri ibn Māni'	A-D	nazala Miṣr	DI:375					shahida fath Miṣr	A3:602	
31	al-'Alā' ibn Yazid	D	nazala Miṣr	DI:389							
32	'Alqamah ibn Junāda	A-D							shahida fath Miṣr	A4:82; DI:390	
33	'Alqamah ibn Rīmṭhab	S-B-A-D	nazala Miṣr	(S7:493)	ywaddu fi ahl Miṣr	B3:1088			shahida fath Miṣr	A4:84; DI:390 A4:85; DI:391	
34	'Alqamah ibn Sumayy	A-D							shahida fath Miṣr		

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No.	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
24	II2:403	Balawi	S7:509; B2:840; A3:474; D1:352; H2:403									36 (D2:480; H2:405)
25												
26			AI:68; DI:10; HI:35									
27		Hamdani	A3:146; D1:290; H2:253									53 (D1:290; H2:253)
28		Balawi	BI:144; AI:65; DI:8; HI:34									
29		Hamdani	A3:602; D1:375									
30		Saksaki	D1:389;									
31		Fihri										
32		Azdi	A4:82; D1:390	Hajri	A4:82; D1:390						waliya al-Bahr li- Mur'awiyah (A4:82; D1:390)	59 (A4:82; D1:390)
33		Balawi	S7:499; B3:1088; A4:84; D1:390									
34		Khawfani	A4:85; D1:391									

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- 1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
35	'Alqanab ibn Yazid	A-D-II					shahida fath Misr	A4:89; H2:500	waliya al- Iskandariyah zaman Mu'awiyah	A4:89; D1:329; H2:500	
36	'Alasab ibn 'Adi	A-D	nazala Misr	D1:389			shahida fath Misr	A4:81 A3:131; D1:286			
37	'Amir ibn 'Abd Allah	A-D					shahida fath Misr	D1:286			
38	'Amir ibn 'Amr	D					shahida fath Misr	D1:286			
39	'Amir ibn al-Harith	A-D					shahida fath Misr	A3:119; D1:283			
40	'Anmar ibn Sa'd	II			yu'addu fi abl Misr				shahida al-fath bi-Misr	H3:112	
41	'Anmar ibn Shabib	B-D				B3:1143	Misn	D1:395			
42	'Amr ibn al-'As	S-B-A-II	nazalaha (Misr)	S7:493			wa-ja'ala yadhkuru Subbatu li- Rasul Allah wa- futubahu al-Sham wa- Misr	A4:247	'alayha (Misr) walyan	B3:1187, 1189; also A4:246; H3:2, 3; S7:493	
43	'Amr ibn al-Ifamiq	A					intaqala min Misr ila al- Kufah	A4:217			
44	'Amr ibn Ma'dikarib	II					shahida fath Misr			H3:21	

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No. 5	SOURCES- TRIBE-1	SOURCES- TRIBE-1	SOURCES- TRIBE-2	SOURCES- TRIBE-3	SOURCES- TRIBE-4	SOURCES- TRIBE-5	SOURCES- OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
35	Murādi	A4:89; D1:329; H2:500	'Utrāfi D1:329; H2:500					
36	Balawi	A4:81; D1:389						
37	Khawlanī	A3:131; D1:286						
38	Tujībī	D1:286						
39	Aṣḥabī	D1:283						
40	Tujībī	H3:112 B3:1143;						105 (H3:112)
41	Sabāfi	D1:395						
42	Qurashī	B3:1184; A4:244; H3:2	S7:493; B3:1184; A4:244; H3:2 Sabmī				walīḥu ('Umar) Fīlasīn (B3:1187; H3:2; S7:493; A4:246), wa-al- Urdunn (B3:1187) sakanā al-Sham thumma intaqala ilā al-Kūfah fa- sakanahā (A4:217)	42 (B3:1188; H3:3), 43 (B3:1188; A4:246; H3:3; S7:494), 46 (H3:3), 47 (A4:246) 48 (B3:1188; A4:246 H3:3), 51 (B3:1188; A4:246)
43	Khuzāfi	A4:217						50 (A4:218)
44	Sadāfi	H3:21						

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION	SOURCES	EXPRESSION	SOURCES	EXPRESSION	SOURCES	EXPRESSION	SOURCES	EXPRESSION	SOURCES	EXPRESSION
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
45	'Amr ibn Murrab	H	sakana Misr	H3:16									
46	'Amr ibn Sa'wā (Sba'wā')	A-D											
47	'Anbas ibn Tha'labah	A-D-II	sakana Misr	H3:40									
48	'Anbasab ibn 'Aql	D-II	sakana Misr	H3:40									
49	Amis Abū Fā'imah	D			'idādūhu fi al- Misriyyin	DI:32							
50	al-Arqam ibn Jufaynah	A-D-II											
51	As'ad ibn 'Aṭiyah	A-II											
52	'Awf ibn Najwah (d)	A-D-H											
53	'Asjadī ('Ajṣarī) ibn Mānī' (Qānī')	A-D-II											
54	Aws ibn 'Amr	II	nazīl Misr	H1:98			min ahl Misr	A4:36					
55	Bashir ibn Jābir	B-A-D											
56	Birh ibn 'Uskur	A-D	sakanahā (Misr)	AI:208	ikhṭāṭa biha (Misr)	AI:208	min ahl Misr	AI:208					
57	Budayl	A-D											

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	SOURCES- OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
45		Juhani	H3:16	Azdi	H3:16	Qudā'i	H3:17						in the time of 'Abd al-Mālik ibn Marwān (H3:16), in the time of Mu'āwiyah (H3:16)
46		Yāfi'i	A4:230, 242; D1:408										
47		Balawi	A4:303; D1:426; H3:40										
48		Balawī	D1:426	Bani Ju'al	H3:40	Bani Sakhr	H3:40						
49		Damri	D1:32										
50		Tujibi	A1:75; D1:12; H1:43										
51		Qudā'i	A1:88; H1:51	Balawī	A1:88; H1:51								
52													
53		Saksaki	A4:35; D1:380; H3:167										
54		Qārī	H1:98										
55		'Absī	A1:228; D1:52	'Akki	A1:228	Ghāfiqi	B1:177; A1:228	'Utaki	B1:177				
56		Qudā'i	A1:208	Mahri	D1:47								
57													



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- I	1	2	3	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	4	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	5
58	Bahur ibn Dabū'	B-A-D					ikhtaiṭa bihā (Miṣr)	B1:189; A1:199	shahida fath Miṣr	BI:189; A1:199; D1:44		
59	Busr ibn Abi Arṭāh (d)	B-A-II					ikhtaiṭa bihā (Miṣr)	III:152	shahida fath Miṣr	III:152; also A1:213; BI:158		
60	Damrah ibn al-Ḥuṣayn	D-II	nazala Miṣr	D1:272; II2:203	II2:203							
61	Daylam ibn Fayrūz	B-A-D-II	nazala Miṣr	III:466; D1:166	B2:463; II3:204				shahida fath Miṣr	III:466; A2:163		
62	Fadālah ibn 'Uhayd	A							shahida fath Miṣr	A4:363		
63	al-Firāsī	B					yu'addu fi ahl Miṣr	B3:1269				
64	Ghaṇī ibn Qutayb	A-D-II							shahida fath Miṣr	A4:342; D2:3; II3:185		
65	Gharafah ibn al-Ḥarith	B-D-II	sakana Miṣr	B3:1254; D2:2; II3:182, 190	II3:182; II4:40		ikhtaiṭa bihā (Miṣr) dār	II3:182	shahida fath Miṣr	II3:182		
66	Ḥābis ibn Sa'īd (Sa'd)	D					nazil Miṣr		kana bi-Miṣr	D1:94		

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No. 5	SOURCES- TRIBE-1	SOURCES- TRIBE-1	SOURCES- TRIBE-2	SOURCES- TRIBE-3	SOURCES- TRIBE-4	SOURCES- TRIBE-5	SOURCES- OTHER INFORMATION	DI'ED
58	Ru'aynī	BI:189; AI:199; DI:44						
59	Qurashī	BI:157; HI:152; DI:272;	'Āmirī BI:157; HI:152; AI:213				'idāduhu fī ahl al- Shām (AI:213)	in the time of Mu'āwiyah (AI:214; HI:152), in the time of 'Abd al-Malik (AI:214HI:152), 86 (HI:152)
60	Balawī	HI:203 B2:463;						
61	Himyarī	A2:163; DI:166; HI:466	Jaysbānī HI:466	Daylamī HI:466	Ru'aynī A2:163	Kinānī HI:204		in the time of 'Utbmān (HI:205), 53 (HI:205)
62	Anṣārī	A4:363	Awsī A4:363				intaqala ilā al-Shām ... wa-sakana al- Shām (A4:363), waliya al-qaḍā' Dimashq li- Mu'awiyah (A4:363)	53 (A4:364), 69 (A4:364)
63	al-Firāsī	B3:1269						
64								
65	Kindī	B3:1254; D2:2; HI:182, 193; II4:40	Yamānī HI:182	Azdī HI:182			kana bi-Ijīms (DI:94)	
66	Yamānī	DI:94						

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- I	SOURCES- I	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
67	al-Hakam ibn al-Ṣalat	B-A-D-II							istakhlafahu Muḥammad ibn Abī Hudhayfab 'alā Miṣr	BI:356; A2:36; DI:135; HI:344 A5:380; D2:116; H3:564 AI:472; DI:125	
68	Ḥanī ibn Jaz'	A-D-II							shabida fath Miṣr		
69	Ḥaram ibn 'Awf	A-D							shabida fath Miṣr		
70	al-Ḥarith ibn Ḥabīb	H	nazala Miṣr	III:276					shabida fath Miṣr	BI:283; AI:381; DI:96	
71	al-Ḥarith ibn Ṭabī'	B-A-D							shabida fath Miṣr		
72	Ḥassān ibn As'ad	D							shabida fath Miṣr	DI:128	
73	Ḥayyān (Ḥibbān) ibn Bubh	B-A-D-II	nazala Miṣr	A2:76; DI:145; III:303; BI:317					shabida fath Miṣr	AI:437; A2:77; DI:116; HI:303 A5:421;	
74	Ḥawdhah (Ḥawdhah) ibn 'Urfutab	A-D-II							shabida fath Miṣr	D2:124; HI:580	
75	Ḥizām ibn 'Awf	H	nazala Miṣr	III:323					shabida fath Miṣr		
76	Ḥubayb (Ḥunaydah) ibn Mughaffil	H	sakana Miṣr	HI:588					shabida fath Miṣr	HI:567	
77	Ḥudhayfab ibn 'Uḥayd	A			'idādūhu fī al- Miṣriyyin				shabida fath Miṣr	AI:467	
78	Ḥuyay	B-II	sakana Miṣr	BI:383		HI:366			shabida fath Miṣr		
79	Ibrāhīm Abū Rāfi'	A							shabida fath Miṣr	AI:52	

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	SOURCES- OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
67		Qurashi	B1:356; A2:36; D1:135; H1:344	Muttalibi	B1:356; A2:36								
68		Murādi	A5:380; D2:116; H3:564	Qat'i'i	H3:564								
69		Balawi	A1:472; D1:125										
70		Qurashi	H1:276	'Amiri	H1:276								
71		Ru'aynī	B1:283; A1:381; D1:96										
72		Hujri	D1:128										
73		Sudā'i	B1:317; A1:437; A2:76; D1:116, 145										
74		Himyari	A5:421; D2:124; H3:580										
75		Bani Ja'l	H1:323										
76		Ghifari	H3:567, 588										
77		Murādi	A1:467										
78		Laythi	B1:383; H1:366										
79													in the time of 'Uthmān (A1:52), in the time of 'Ali (A1:57)

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- 1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
80	'Ikrima ibn 'Ubayd	A-D							shhaida fath Miṣr	A4:73; D1:387	
81	Imru al-Qays ibn al- Fākhir	A-D-II							shahida fath Miṣr	A1:137; D1:28; H1:78	
82	'Iyād ibn Sa'īd	A-II							shahida fath Miṣr	A4:325; H3:49	
83	'Iyād ibn Sufyān	A-II							shahida fath Miṣr	A4:325; H3:123	
84	Iyās ibn 'Abd al-Asad	A-D			ikhtaṭṭa bihā dār	A1:183			shahida fath Miṣr	A1:183; D1:40	
85	Jabalab ibn 'Amr	B-A-D	sakana Miṣr	B1:236; A1:320					kāna bi-Miṣr shahida fath Miṣr	D1:77	
86	Jābir ibn Mājīd	A-D					Miṣrī	D1:72		A1:310	
87	Jābir ibn Usamah	H	nazala Miṣr	H1:212							
88	Jābir ibn Yāsir (d)	A-D							shahida fath Miṣr	A1:311; D1:74	
89	Ja'far Abū Jam'ah (or Zam'ah or 'Abd ibn Jam'ah)	A-II	sakana Miṣr	A1:341; H1:267							
90	Jāhil Abū Muslim (d)	H	nazala Miṣr	H1:217							
91	Jibārah ibn Jurārah	B-A-D							shahida fath Miṣr	B1:278; A1:316; D1:75	
92	Judhrah ibn Sabrah	A-D							shahida fath Miṣr	A1:328; D1:80	
93	Junādah ibn Abī Umayyah (or ibn Mālik)	S-B-A-D	nazala Miṣr	D1:89, 90; (S7:493)	sakana Miṣr	A1:353	Miṣrī	A1:356	shahida fath Miṣr	B1:250; A1:353	
94	Junādih ibn Maymūn	A-D							shahida fath Miṣr	A1:352; D1:89	

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No.	SOURCES		SOURCES		SOURCES		SOURCES		SOURCES		SOURCES		SOURCES- OTHER INFORMATION		DIED
	5	TRIBE-1	1	TRIBE-1	2	TRIBE-2	3	TRIBE-3	4	TRIBE-4	5	TRIBE-5			
80		Khawlāmī	A4:73; D1:387												
81		Khawlāmī	A1:137; H1:78												
82		Azdi	A4:325; H3:49	Hujrī	H3:49										
83		Azdi	H3:123	Hujrī	H3:123										
84		Zubri	A1:183 B1:235; A1:320; D1:77												
85		Anṣarī	A1:310; D1:72, 73 H1:212	Sā'idi	B1:235; A1:320									yu'addu fi abl al-Madinah (B1:235; A1:320)	still alive at the year 50 (A1:320)
86		Ṣadafī													
87		Juhāmī	A1:311; D1:74												
88		Ru'aynī		Qitbāmī	A1:311; D1:74										
89		Balawī	A1:341; H1:267												
90		Ṣadafī	H1:217 B1:278; A1:316; D1:75												
91		Balawī	A1:328; D1:80												
92		'Uṭaqī	S7:502; B1:249, 294; A1:353, 355, 356; D1:89, 90												
93		Azdi		Zabrānī	B1:249; A1:353									Shāmi (B1:249; A1:353), Kūfī (B1:249), Baṣrī (B1:249)	67 (D1:89), 80 (B1:251; A1:353; D1:89)
94															

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- 1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
95	Ju'shum al-Khayr ibn Khulaybah	A-D							shahida fath Misr	A1:340; D1:85	
96	Ka'b ibn 'Adi (d)	A-II					ikhtat̃a bihā (Misr)	II3:283	shahida fath Misr	A4:482; II3:284	
97	Ka'b ibn 'Aṣim (Abū Malīk)	A-II	sakana Misr	A4:480; II3:281							
98	Ka'b ibn 'Aṣim	II							shahida fath Misr	II3:297	
99	Ka'b ibn Yasār (d)	A-D-II			ikhtat̃a bihā (Misr)	A4:490; II3:286	waliya al-qaḍā (bi-Misr)	A4:490; D1:33; II3:286	shahida fath Misr	A4:490; D2:33; II3:286	
100	Kathir ibn Abi Kathir	B-A-D-II	nazala Misr	D2:27	sakana Misr	B3:1309	yu'addu fi ablihā (Misr)	B3:1309; A4:457	ma'dūd fi al-Misriyīn	II3:272	
101	Khalīd ibn al-'Anbas	II					fi ahl Misr	II31:410			
102	Khārijah ibn Hudhāfah	S-B-A-D-II	nazala Misr	S7:496	ma'dūd fi al-Misriyīn	B2:418	kāna 'alā shurtat 'Amr bi-Misr (also, qāḍiyan 'alayhā)	B2:418; A2:83; D1:146; S7:496	shahida fath Misr wa-ikhtat̃a bi-hā	B2:418; A2:83; D1:146; II1:399	wa-lam yazal bi- Misr ḥattā qatalahu aḥad al-Khawārij al-thālathah
103	Kharashah ibn al-Hārith	S-B-A-D	nazala Misr	(S7:493)			Misri	B2:445	shahida fath Misr	A2:127; D1:157	
104	Khulayd	A					min ahl Misr	A2:144			
105	Khuzaymah ibn al-Hārith	B-A-D-II			min ahl Misr	A2:135	Misri	B2:449; D1:159; II1:426			
106	Kurayb ibn Abrahah (d)	II			waliya .. rā'it̃at al-Iskandariyah	II3:296	ikhtat̃a bi-al-jazirah (Misr)	II3:296	shahida fath Misr	II3:296	
107	Labīd ibn 'Uqbah	A-D	nazala Misr	D2:38					shahida fathahā (Misr)	A4:518; D2:38	

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
95		Sadafi	A1:340; D1:75	Huraymī	A1:340								still alive at the year 15 (A4:482)
96		Tanūkhi	A4:482; H3:282									'idādūhu fi ahl al-Shām (A4:480)	
97		Asb'ari	A4:480; H3:280										
98		Sadafi	H3:297										
99		'Absī	A4:490; H3:286 B3:1309;	Makhzū mī	A4:490								
100		Azdi	A4:457; D2:27; H3:272	Anṣārī	H3:272								
101													accidentally killed by the Kharijite who was supposed to kill 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ (B2:418; A2:84; S7:496)
102	A2:83	Qurashī	B2:418; A2:83; D1:146	'Adawī	B2:418; A2:83; D1:146; S7:496								
103		Murādī	A2:127; D1:157	Zubaydf	A2:127; D1:157								
104		Hadrāmī	A2:144										
105													
106		Asbahi	H3:295 A4:518; D2:38									kāna sayyid Ḥimyar bi-al-Shām (H3:296)	58 (H3:296), 75 (H3:296)
107		Tujibi											



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- 1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5	SOURCES- 5
108	Lāhib ibn Mālik	A-D-II	nazala Miṣr	I13:305					shahida fath Miṣr	A4:511; D2:37; I13:306		
109	Laqīṭ ibn 'Adī	A-D-II	'idādūhu fī ahl Miṣr	A4:525; I13:312	al-ma'ūdūn bi- Miṣr	D2:39	shahida fath Miṣr	I13:312	kāna 'alā kamīn jaysh 'Amr ibn al-'Ash waqt fath Miṣr	D2:39 A4:521; D2:38; I13:310 A4:527; D2:40; I13:313		
110	Laṣīb (Laṣīṭ) ibn Jusham	A-D-II							shahida fath Miṣr	I13:368 D2:44; I13:460		
111	Liyashrah ibn Lahy (Yahya)	A-D-II							shahida fath Miṣr			
112	Mahmīyah ibn Jaz' Mālik ibn Abī Salsalah	S-II	nazalaha (Miṣr)	S7:497	taḥawwala ila Miṣr	S7:497			shahida fath Miṣr			
113	(d)	D-II							shahida fath Miṣr			
114	Mālik ibn 'Abd Allāh (or Ibn 'Abdab)	B-A-D-II	min sākinī Miṣr	A5:33	yu'addu fī ahl Miṣr	B3:1354	Miṣrī	D2:46	shahida fath Miṣr	I13:328		
115	Mālik ibn al-Agharr	II							shahida fath Miṣr	I13:459		
116	Mālik ibn 'Atābiyah	B-A-D-II	shahida fath Miṣr	I13:328	ma'dūd fī ahl Miṣr	B3:1354; A5:35	Miṣrī	D2:46	wa-ḥibā (Miṣr) kāna suknaḥ	B3:1354; also I13:328		
117	Mālik ibn Azhar (d)	B-II			yu'addu fī al- Miṣriyin	B3:1346			kān bi-Miṣr shahida fath Miṣr	I13:324		
118	Mālik ibn Ḥadīm	D-II					Miṣrī	D2:49		I13:337		

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No. 5	SOURCES-1		SOURCES-2		SOURCES-3		SOURCES-4		SOURCES-5		SOURCES- OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
	TRIBES-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBES-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBES-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBES-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBES-5	SOURCES-5		
108	Bani Ju'ayl	H3:305	Balawi	A4:511; D2:37; H3:306								
109	Lakhmi	D2:39; H3:312										
110		A4:527; D2:40; H3:313										
111	Ru'aynī	H3:368; S7:497										
112	Zubaydi	D2:44; H3:460										
113	Azdi											
114	Mughafiri	D2:46	Mu'afiri	B3:1354; A5:33; H3:328	Sardān	H3:328						
115	Tujibi	H3:459 A5:35; D2:46; H3:328										after 57 (H3:459)
116	Kindi											
117												
118	Tujibi	D2:49; H3:337										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- 1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
119	Malik ibn Hubayrab	B-A-D-II	sakana Misr	II3:337	yu'addu fi al- Misriyin	B3:1361; A5:54; D2:49			shahida fath Misr	II3:462	
120	Malik ibn Na'imab	II									
121	Malik ibn 'Ubadab	B-A-D					Misri	B3:1352; A5:30; D2:45	shahida fath Misr	II3:429	
122	Ma'n ibn Harmalah	II							shahida fath Misr	II3:465	
123	Marthad ibn Abi Yazid	II							shahida fath Misr	II3:465	
124	Marthad ibn Hayy	II							shahida fath Misr	II3:465	
125	Marthad ibn Wada'ab (d)	B	min sakini Misr	B3:1386							
126	Ma'amah ibn Mukhallad	S-B-A-II	sakanahā (Misr)	B3:1397; A5:174	nazalahā (Misr)	S7:504	tahawwala ila Misr	S7:504	wallāhu Mur'awiyah Misr	B3:1398; II3:398; A5:174	shahida fath Misr
127	Mas'ud ibn al-Aswad	B-A-D			yu'addu fi al- Misriyin	D2:72	yu'addu fi ahl Misr	B3:1391; A5:157			
128	Mas'ud ibn al-Aswad	II	sakana Misr	II3:389							

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	SOURCES- OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
119		Kindi	B3:1361; A5:54; D2:49; H3:337	Sakūnī	A5:54; D2:49; H3:337							Shāmiyyū (B3:1361), nazala Hims (H3:337), waliya Hims sanat sitti wa- khamisn wa-kāna min umarā' lha (D2:49)	in the time of Marwān ibn al- Hakam (D2:49; H3:337)
120		Sadafi	H3:462 B3:1352; A5:30; D2:45										
121		Ghāfiqī										Shāmī (B3:1352; A5:30)	58 (B3:1352; A5:30; D2:45)
122		Hudhālī	H3:429										
123		Khawīlāmī	H3:465	Buqarī	H3:465								
124		Ru'aynī	H3:465										
125		Kindi	B3:1386	Jurfi	B3:1386								
126	B3:1398; A5:174	Anasān	S7:504; B3:1397; A5:174; H3:398	Sā'idī	S7:504; B3:1397; A5:174	Zuraql	B3:1398; A5:174; H3:398	Khazrajī	A5:174; H3:398			thunna tahawwala ilā al-Madinah (B3:1398; A5:174; S7:504)	62 (B3:1398; A5:175; H3:398), in the time of Mu'awiyah (B3:1398; A5:175; S7:504)
127		Balawi	B3:1390; A5:157; D2:72									ghazā Iriqiyah (D2:72)	
128		Qurashī	H3:389	'Adawī	H3:389							sakana al-Madinah (H3:389)	

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	1	2	3	4	5
			EXPRESSION- SOURCES	EXPRESSION- SOURCES	EXPRESSION- SOURCES	EXPRESSION- SOURCES	EXPRESSION- SOURCES
129	Mas'ud ibn Aws	A-II				shabida fath Misr	A5:158; II3:389
130	Mu'adh ibn Anas	S-B-A-D-II	S7:502; A5:193; D2:80	ma'dud fi abl Misr	kana bi-Misr II3:406	nazala Misr	(S7:493)
131	Mu'awiyah ibn Hudayj (Khudayj) (d)	S-B-A-D-II	II3:411	yu'addu fi al- Misriyin	yu'addu fi abl Misr	nazala Misr kana 'ala maysarat 'Amr ibn al-'As yawm dakhala Misr	shabida fath Misr (S7:493)
132	Muharrir ibn Shihab	A-D-II	D2:50	ma'ruf fi abl Misr	khittatuh bi-al- Jazirah (Misr) ma'rufah		D2:50; A5:57
133	Muhajir mawla Umm Safwanah	A-II		yu'addu fi al- Misriyin	ikhlatu biha (Misr)	shabida fath Misr	II3:445 II3:1366, 1369, A5:102; II3:451
134	Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr	B-A-II				wallahu ('Ali) Misr	
135	Muhammad ibn Abi Hudhayfah	B-A-II				walla 'AU ibn Abi Talib Misr Muhammad ibn Abi Hudhayfah	II3:1369; A5:87; II3:354
136	Muhammad ibn 'Aliyah	D					
137	Muhammad ibn Bashir (d)	H				dhukira fi abl Misr	II3:351

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED in the caliphate of
129		Anṣārī	AS:157; IB3:389 S7:502; B3:140; AS:193; D2:80; IB3:406 B3:1413;	Khazrajī	AS:157	Najjarī	AS:157						'Umar (AS:158), participated at Siffin (AS:158)
130		Juhani	AS:206; D2:82; IB3:411 B3:1413;	Kindī	B3:1413; AS:206; D2:82	Khawlanī	B3:1413; AS:206; D2:80; IB3:411	Tujjibī	IB3:1414; AS:206			wa-(kāna bi-) al- Shām (IB3:406)	S2 (IB3:411); shortly before Ibn 'Umar (AS:207)
131	IB3:411	Sakūnī	IB3:411	Kindī	D2:82	Khawlanī	IB3:411	Tujjibī	IB3:1414; AS:206				
132		Yūfīfī	AS:57; D2:50; IB3:339	Ru'aynī	D2:50								
133		Makhzūmī	AS:279									thumma tabawwaha ilā Tabā fa-sakanaha (IB3:445)	
134		Qurashī	IB3:963	Taymī	B3:963								38 (IB3:1366; IB3:351)
135		Qurashī	B3:1369; AS:87	'Absbanī	IB3:353								
136		Qurashī	D2:60										
137		Anṣārī	IB3:351										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- I	SOURCES- I	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
138	Muhammad ibn Habib	B-A-D-II						B3:1369; A5:86; D2:56; H3:353			
139	Muhammad ibn Jabir Muhammad ibn 'Ubbah	A-D-II			'idaduhu fi al- Misriyin	A5:106			shahida fath Misr	A5:83; D2:55; H3:351	
140	(d)	A									
141	Muhammad ibn Wuhub	II							shahida fath Misr	H3:365	
142	Muqam ibn Bujrah	II							shahida fath Misr	H3:435	
143	al-Musawwar ibn Yazid	II							shahida fath Misr	H3:470-471	
144	al-Mustawrid ibn Shaddad (or ibn Salimab)	A-D-II	sakana Misr	A5:154	thumma (nazala) Misr	D2:72; H3:495	shahida fath Misr	D2:71; H3:387, 494	ikatatta biba (Misr)	D2:71; H3:387, 494	
145	Mu'imm. 'Ubaydah	A-D			'idaduhu fi abi Misr	A5:188	Misr	D2:79			
146	Nabayh ibn Su'ab (Suwab)	S-A-D-II	nazala Misr	(S7:493)					shahida fath Misr	A5:313; D2:104; H3:522	
147	Nasim ibn 'Ujayl	A						A5:299			
148	al-Nurman ibn Jaz'	A-D-II							shahida fath Misr	A5:330; D2:108; H3:530	
149	Qatadah ibn Qays	A-D-II					lahu dhikr wa- khit'ab (bi- Misr)	H3:216; A4:388	shahida fath Misr	D2:14; H3:216	

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No.	SOURCES-1		SOURCES-2		SOURCES-3		SOURCES-4		SOURCES-5		DIED
	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	
138	Nasrī	B3:1369; A5:86; H3:353	Mudārī	H3:353							
139	'Akkī	H3:351									
140	Qurashī	A5:105									
141	Anṣarī	H3:365	Awsj	H3:365							
142	Kindī	H3:434	Tujjibī	H3:434	Nakha'ī	H3:435					
143	Judhāmi	H3:470									
144	Qurashī	A5:154; D2:72; H3:387	Fihri	A5:154; D2:71, 72; H3:387, 494							45 (D2:71; H3:387, 494)
145	Balawī	A5:188; D2:79									
146	Juhānī	A5:313; H3:522	Mahrī	S7:498; D2:104							
147	Hamdānī	A5:298									
148	Murādī	H3:530 A4:388; D2:12;	'Uhayfī	H3:530	Ghuṭayfī	D2:108					
149	Sadaḥfī	H3:216									



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	1	EXPRESSION-	SOURCES-	2	EXPRESSION-	SOURCES-	3	EXPRESSION-	SOURCES-	4	EXPRESSION-	SOURCES-	5
150	Qays ibn Abi al-'Ās	A-D-II													
151	Qays ibn Sa'd	B-A													
152	Qaysabab ibn Kultūm	A-D-II													
153	Qudāmah ibn Mālik	A-D-II													
154	Rabi'ah ibn 'Aydān	A-D													
155	Rabi'ah ibn al-Firās	A-D-II													
156	Rabi'ah ibn Shurahbil	A-D-II													
157	Rabi'ah ibn Zar'ah	D													
158	Rakah (d)	B-D-A-II													
159	Rashid ibn Mālik	D-II													

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No.	SOURCES		SOURCES		SOURCES		SOURCES		SOURCES		SOURCES		SOURCES- OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
	TRIBE-1	SOURCES 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5				
150	A4:432 Sahmī	A4:432, D2:21; H3:243	Qurashī	H3:243									23 (H3:244)	
151	Anṣārī	B3:1289; A4:424	Khazrajī	B3:1289; A4:424	Sa'īdī	A4:424						ma'dūd fī al- Madaniyin (B3:1292)	59 (B3:1290; A4:426), 60 (B3:1290; A4:426)	
152	Kindī	D2:26; H3:253												
153	Madhijī	A4:394 A2:215;												
154	Kindī	D1:180	Hadramī	A2:215; D1:180										
155	Farīsī	H3:498												
156	Kindī	D1:255												
157	Hadramī	D1:179												
158	Kindī	B2:508; D1:186												
159	Muzamī	D1:173; H3:502												

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- I	SOURCES- I	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
160	Ruwayfi (Ra'fi) ibn Thabit	B-D-A-H	sakana Misr	B2:504	yu'addu fi al-Miṣriyyin	A2:239; D1:187	nazala Misr	D1:172; H3:507, S12	wa-ikhtatta bi-hā (Misr) Shahida fath Misr	B2:504	'idāduhu fi ahl Misr
161	Sa'd ibn Malik	D								D1:218	
162	Sa'd ibn Mas'ud (d)	II							inna 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz ba'athab:u yufaqqihuhum - ya'ni ahl Misr	H3:34	
163	al-Sa'ib	II	nazala Misr	II2:12							
164	al-Sa'ib ibn Hishām	A-H							waliya al-qada' wa al-sburṭah bi- Misr	II2:104; A2:320	shahida fath Misr
165	Sa'ad ibn Yazid (d)	B-A-D-H	nazala Misr	II2:50; (S7:493)	yu'addu fi al-Miṣriyyin	A2:401	Miṣrī	B2:627; D1:225	kāna amīran 'alā Misr	II2:50	
166	Salamah ibn Qaysar (d)	B-A-H	nazala Misr	II2:58	yu'addu fi ahl Misr	B2:687	'idāduhu fi al-Miṣriyyin	A2:414			
167	Salim ibn Nudbayr	D					Miṣrī	D1:229			
168	Sandar (Ibn Sandar) (Abū 'Abd Allāh)	S-B-A-D-H	nazalatahā (Misr)	II2:83; (S7:493); D2:72	min ahl Misr	A2:465; also A1:445; A6:340	'idāduhu fi al-Miṣriyyin	D2:214; also D2:147	ya'ishu fiha (Misr)	B2:688; also S7:506; A2:464; II3:387	

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
160	A2:189	Anṣārī	B2:504; D1:187	Najjārī	A2:239; D1:187; H3:507							waliya U-mu'awiyah ghazw Ifriqiyah (B2:504; D1:187), wallāhu Mu'awiyah Ṭarablis (A2:239; H3:507), huwa amīr 'alayhā (Burqah) (H3:507)	56 (H3:507)
161		Azdi	D1:218										
162		Kindi	H3:34										
163		Ghifārī	H2:12										
164	A2:320	Qurashī	A2:320; H2:104 S7:502;	'Āmirī	A2:320; H3:104								
165		Azdi	B2:627; A2:401; D1:225; H3:50									min ahl Filasṭīn (H2:50)	
166		Hadramī	B2:686; A2:414; H2:58									waliya Bayt al- Maqdis (A2:414)	
167													
168		Khaṣṣī	D2:72	Judhāmī	D2:147							Himsī (H3:387)	in the time of 'Abd al-Malik (H2:84), in the amirate of 'Abd al- 'Azīz ibn Marwān (H3:387, 388)

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION-	SOURCES-	EXPRESSION-	SOURCES-	EXPRESSION-	SOURCES-	EXPRESSION-	SOURCES-	EXPRESSION-
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
169	Shabath ibn Sa'd	A-D									
170	Shajrud ibn Malik	D									
	Sharik ibn Abi al-										
171	Aghfal	D									
172	Sharik ibn Sami	D-H									
173	Shayb (Shahib) ibn Sa'd	D									
174	Shihab	A-D-H	nazala Mişr								
175	Shurayh	A-D									
176	Shurayh ibn Abrahah	D									
177	Şilah ibn al-Harith	B-A-DH	sakana Mişr								
178	Sufyan ibn Hami (d)	A-D-H	nazala Mişr								
179	Sufyan ibn Wahb (d)	B-A-D-H	sakana Mişr								
180	Sukhrur ibn Malik	A-D-H	sakana Mişr								
181	Suraq ibn Asad	S-B-A-H	sakana Mişr								

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No.	SOURCES-5	SOURCES-1	SOURCES-2	SOURCES-3	SOURCES-4	SOURCES-5	SOURCES-OTHER	DIED
169		Balawi DI:252						
170		Hadrami DI:253						
171		Tujibi DI:257	Sawmi DI:257					
172		Ghayfi DI:258; H2:148	Muradi DI:258; H2:148					
173		Balawi DI:261						
174		Ansari A2:523; H2:155						
175		Yafi A2:516; DI:256						
176								
177	A3:34	Ghifari B2:739; A3:34; DI:268; H2:187						
178		Jayshani A2:409; DI:227; H2:112						in the amirate of 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Marwan (H2:112)
179		Khawliani B2:631; A2:410; DI:227; H2:56					waliya imrat Irtiqiyah (H2:56)	82 (H2:56), 91 (DI:227)
180		Hadrami A2:328; DI:209; H2:16						
181		Jubani B2:683; A2:333; H2:19	Du'fi A2:333; H2:19	Ansari H2:19				in the time of 'Uthman (H2:19)

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- 1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
182	Thābit	A-D							shahida fath Misr	A1:265; D1:60	
183	Thābit ibn al-Hārith	A-D			yu'addu fi al- Misriyān	A1:266; D1:61					
184	Thābit ibn al-Nu'mān	A-D							shahida fath Misr	A1:277; D1:65	
185	Thābit ibn Rafī' (or Rufay' or Ruwayfī) (d)	B-A-D-H	thumma (nazala) Misr	D1:62; II2:193	thumma sakana Misr	B1:206	min ahl Misr	A1:268; II2:194	intaqala ilā Misr	A1:268	
186	Thābit ibn Ṭarīf	A-D							shahida fath Misr	A1:272; D1:63	
187	Tha'labah Abū 'Abd al- Raḥmān	A-D-H	nazala Misr	D1:68; II2:203	'idādubu fi ahl Misr	A1:290					
188	Tha'labah ibn Abi Ruqayyah	A-D							shahida fath Misr	A1:285; D1:67	
189	Thawbān ibn Bujdud	A							shahida fath Misr	A1:269 B3:1018;	
190	'Ubayd ibn Mukhammar (or Mikhammar)	B-A-D							shahida fath Misr	A3:546; D1:398	
191	'Ubayd ibn Qushayr	B-A-D					Misri	B3:1018; A3:546; D1:367			
192	'Ubayd ibn 'Umar	A-D							shahida fath Misr	A3:545; D1:367	
193	'Umar ibn Mālik	A-D	nazala Misr	D1:398; A4:187							
194	Umārah ibn Shubayb	A	min ahl Misr	A4:141							
195	Unays ibn Tha'labah	H							shahida fath Misr	II3:122	

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No.	SOURCES-1		SOURCES-2		SOURCES-3		SOURCES-4		SOURCES-5		SOURCES- OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5		
182	Thaqafi	AI:265 AI:266; DI:61										
183	Ausāri											
184												
185	Ausāri	BI:206; AI:268; DI:62; II2:193 AI:272; DI:63		AI:272; DI:63							sakana al-Başrah (AI:268), nazala al- Başrah (BI:206; DI:62), Shāmi (II2:193)	
186	Murādi	AI:290; DI:68; III:203 AI:285; DI:67		'Uranī								
187	Ausāri											
188	Lakhmī											
189	Himyari	AI:296 B3:1018, A3:546; DI:368		Madhhijī AI:296							nazala al-Ramlah (AI:269)	54 (AI:269)
190	Mu'afirī											
191												
192	Ru'aynī	A3:545; DI:367 A4:187; DI:398		Dhubhānī A3:545								
193	Ausāri											
194												
195	Balawī	II3:122										



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- 1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
196	'Unmah	B							dhakarahu Abū Sa'id ibn Yūnus fi al-Miṣriyyin	B3:1247	
197	'Uqbah ibn 'Āmir	S-B-A-H	sakana Miṣr	B3:1073; A4:54	nazalahā (Miṣr)	S7:498	taḥawwala ilā Miṣr	S7:498	kāna wāliyan 'alayhā (Miṣr)	B3:1073; H2:482; A4:54	
198	'Uqbah ibn Kudaym	A-D							shahida fath Miṣr	A4:58; D1:385	
199	'Uqbah ibn Rāfi'	A-D							shahida fath Miṣr	A4:52; D1:384	
200	'Utbah ibn Abi Sufyan (d)	D-II							waliya Miṣr	D1:371; also H3:79	
201	'Utbah ('Ubayd) ibn 'Amr	A-D-II							shahida fath Miṣr	A3:546; D1:371; H3:161	
202	'Utbah ibn Nāfi' (d)	H					ikhtatta bihā (Miṣr)	H3:80	shahida fath Miṣr	H3:80	
203	Utba ibn al-Nuddar	H	nazala Miṣr	H2:449					shahida al-fath (fath Miṣr)	H2:449	
204	Uthmān ibn Qays	A-H					shahida fath Miṣr	A3:597	waliya qada' Miṣr	H2:457	
205	Wahb ibn Ma'qil	A-D	nazala Miṣr	A5:463; D2:132							
206	Wahb ibn 'Umayr	H					fa-qāla 'Amr ibn al-'Aṣ khuṭṭu li- ibn 'ammāli ilā janbi yuridu Wahb ibn 'Umayr	H3:606	shahida fath Miṣr	H3:606	

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No.	SOURCES-1		SOURCES-2		SOURCES-3		SOURCES-4		SOURCES-5		DIED
	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	
196	Muzani	B3:1247									in the caliphate of Mu'awiyah (H3:482; S7:498), 38 (B3:1073), 58 (B3:1073; A4:54; H2:482)
197	Juhani	H2:482 A4:58; D1:385									
198	Najjari	A4:52; D1:384		A4:52; D1:384							
199	Qurashi	D1:370; H3:79 A3:564;	Fihri								waliya al-Imrah 'ala al-Magrib (A4:52)
200	Umawi	D1:371; H3:161		A3:546; D1:371							
201	Ru'ayni	H3:80	Dhubhani								waliya Yazid ibn Mu'awiyah Imrat al-Ghurb (H3:80)
202	Qurashi	H2:449 A3:597; H2:457 A5:463; D2:132									63 (H3:81)
203	Sulami										84 (H2:449)
204	Sabmi										still alive at the year 42 (H2:457)
205	Ghifari										
206	Qurashi	H3:606	Jumahi	H3:606							still alive at the year 23 (H3:607)

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- 1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
207	Wāqid ibn al-Ḥārith (al-Ḥarīb)	A-D-II			'idādūhu fi ahl Miṣr	A5:431; D2:125; H3:571					
208	Ya'far (Ya'fur) ibn 'Urayb	II							shabida fath Miṣr	H3:629	
209	Yahya ibn Ya'mar	II							shabida fath Miṣr	H3:633	
210	Yanab	II					kāna fi sharf al 'aḥā' bi-Miṣr	H3:632	shabida fath Miṣr	H3:632	
211	Yāsir Abū al-Rahadā'	II	sakana Miṣr	H3:611					shabida fath Miṣr	H3:611	
212	Yazīd ibn Abi Maṣṣūr (d)	II	sakana Miṣr	H3:625							
213	Yazīd ibn Abi Ziyād	A-D	nazala Miṣr	D2:137	yu'addu fi ahl Miṣr	A5:489			shabida fath Miṣr	H3:633	
214	Yazīd ibn Ahmar	II									
215	Yazīd ibn Ḥuṣayn	II						Miṣr			
216	Yazīd ibn Ribāb	II							shabida fath Miṣr	H3:634	
217	Yazīd ibn al-Sujūb	II							shabida fath Miṣr	H3:634	
218	Yazīd ibn Suwayd	II							shabida fath Miṣr	H3:620	
219	Yazīd ibn Unays	D-II							shabida fath Miṣr	D2:134;	
220	Zayd ibn Ishaq	A	yanzilu Miṣr	A2:277					shabida fath Miṣr	H3:615	
221	Ziyād	B-A-D-II			yu'addu fi ahl Miṣr	B2:534; A2:273; H1:541					
222	Ziyād ibn Jahūr	D							shabida fath Miṣr	D1:196	

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No.	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
207		Anṣārī	A5:431; D2:125; H3:591									
208		Ru'aynī	H3:629	Qutbānī	H3:629							
209		Ru'aynī	H3:633									
210		Hamrāwī	H3:632									
211		Balawī	H3:611									
212											Baṣrī sakana Miṣr thumma Ifriqiyah thumma raja'a ilā al- Baṣrah (H3:625)	
213		Aslamī	A5:489; D2:137									
214		Murādī	H3:633	Zuraqī	H3:633							
215												
216		Aslamī	H2:634									
217		Tujībī	H3:634	'Āmirī	H3:634							
218		Sadafī	H3:620									
219		Qurashī	H3:615; D2:134	Muhārībī	A5:478; H3:615							
220		Anṣārī	A2:277; B2:534; A2:273; D1:195;									
221		Ghifārī	H1:541									
222		Lakhmī	D1:196								nazala Filasṭin (D1:196)	

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- 1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
223	Ziyād ibn al-Jarīth	S-B-A-D-II	nazala Miṣr	S7:503; A2:269; D1:195; III:539	yu'addu fi al- Miṣriyyin wa- ahl al-Maghrīb	B2:530			shahida fath Miṣr	D1:193	
224	Zuhayr ibn Qays	D									
225	Abū 'Abd Allāh	B-A	sakana Miṣr	A6:194			Miṣrī	B4:1706	shahida fath Miṣr		
226	Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān	II								II4:128	
227	Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān	B-D-II	nazil Miṣr	II4:127	yu'addu fi al- Miṣriyyin	D2:183	'iddatubu fi ahl Miṣr	B4:1707	sakana Miṣr	II4:127	
228	Abū 'Amr	II							min ru'usā' ahl Miṣr alladhīn ḥaṣarū 'Uḥmān	II4:139	
229	Abū 'Atīyah	A-D-II			'iddatubu fi al- Miṣriyyin	A6:216; D2:187	'iddatubu fi ahl Miṣr	II4:134			
230	Abū Baṣrah (Jumayl or Jumayl ibn Baṣrah, or Baṣrah ibn Abī Baṣrah)	S-B-A-D-II	nazala Miṣr	S7:500; B1:184; A1:237; D1:55, 88; III:66			sakana Miṣr	A1:350	taḥawwala ilā Miṣr	B4:1612; A6:35; II4:22	shahida fath Miṣr
231	Abu Burdab	S-II	nazala Miṣr	S7:500; II4:20							
232	Abū Dubays	D					Miṣrī	D2:179			

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No.	SOURCES- 5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	SOURCES- OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
223		Sudā'ī	S7:503; B2:530; A2:269; D1:195; H1:538										
224		Balawi	D1:193 B4:1706;										76 (D1:193)
225		Qaynī	A6:194										
226		Fihri	H4:128 B4:1707; D2:183;										
227		Juhani	H4:127										
228		Khuzā'i	H4:139 A6:216; D2:187;										
229		Muzani	H4:134										
230	H4:22	Ghifari	S7:500; B1:184; B4:1611; A1:237, 350; A6:34; A1:237; D1:55, 88; H1:66; H4:22	Anṣari	H4:20	Awsi	H4:20					sakana al-Hijāz (B4:1612; A6:35; H4:22), ma'dūd fi man nazala al- Basrah (A1:237) yu'addu fi al-Kūfyān (H4:20)	
231		Zafari	H4:20	Anṣari	H4:20	Awsi	H4:20						
232		Balawi	D2:179;										

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- 1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
233	Abū Durrāh	A-II							shahida fath Miṣr	A6:98; II4:60	
234	Abū Fāṭimah (Unays)	S-B-A-D-II	nazala Miṣr	D2:192; (S7:493)	intaqala ilā Miṣr	A6:242	Misrī	B4:1726; D2:193; II4:153	sakana Miṣr	B4:1726	shahida fath Miṣr
235	Abū Jam'ah (d)	S-II	nazalahā (Miṣr)	S7:508			thumma taḥawwala ilā Miṣr	S7:508; II4:33	shahida fath Miṣr	II4:33	
236	Abū Jundab	A-D-II	nazala Miṣr	D2:156					shahida fath Miṣr	A6:54; II4:34	
237	Abū Khirāsh	S	nazala Miṣr	(S7:493)							
238	Abū Mālik	A-D-II	nazala Miṣr	A6:273; D2:199; II4:172							
239	Abū Mansūr (d)	B-A-D-II	nazala Miṣr	D2:206	yu'addu fi abl Miṣr	B4:1762	sakana Miṣr	II4:186	yu'addu fi al- Miṣriyin	A6:304	
240	Abū Muḥammad	II							shahida fath Miṣr	II4:176	
241	Abū Muknif	A							shahida fath Miṣr	II4:184; A6:299; D2:205	
242	Abū Mulaykah	B-A-D-II	nazala Miṣr	D2:205; II4:185	yu'addu fi al- Miṣriyin	A6:301	Misrī	B4:1761; D2:205			

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No.	SOURCES-5	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
233		Balawi	A6:98; H4:60		S7:507; B4:1726; A6:242, 243; D2:192; H4:153		A1:157; A6:242, 243; D2:192		B4:1726; A4:242; D2:192; H4:153		nazala al-Shām (H4:153), Shāmī (B4:1726; A6:242; H4:153), sakana al- Shām (B2:1726; A6:242)	
234	H4:153	Dawsī	H4:153	Azdi	H4:153	Damī	D2:192	Laythī	H4:153			
235		Anṣārī	H4:32 A6:54; D2:156; H4:34	Kinānī	H4:32	Qānī	H4:32				kāna bi-al-Shām (S7:508; H4:33)	between 70-80 (H4:33)
236		'Uṭaqī	H4:34									
237		Sulamī	S7:500									
238			B4:1762; A6:304; D2:206; H4:186									
239		Fārisī	H4:176								'Idāduhu fi al- Shāmiyyin wa-sakana Dārayā (H4:176), kāna bi-al-Shām (H4:176)	in the time of 'Umar (H4:176)
240		Anṣārī	H4:176	Khawlanī	H4:176							
241			B4:1761; A6:301; D2:205; H4:184									
242		Kindī	H4:184	Balawī	A6:301; D2:205; H4:184							



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- 1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
	Abu Musa (Malik ibn 'Ubadah or Malik ibn 'Abd Allah or 'Abd Allah ibn Malik)	B-A-II	nazala Mişr	H4:188	'idā'atuhu fihim (ahl Mişr)	B4:1764	yu'addu fi al-Mişriyin	A6:308			
244	Abū Muslim	A-II	sakana Mişr	H4:180 B4:1658; A6:111; D2:166;					kāna 'alā shurūṭ Mişr	A6:289; H4:180	
245	Abū Rimbah	B-A-D-II	sakana Mişr	H4:71							
246	Abū Sa'īd al-Khayr	S	nazala Mişr	(S7:493)							
247	Abū Shamrah ibn Abrahah (d)	II	nazala Mişr	S7:509			Miṣrī	II4:103			
248	Abū al-Shamūs	S	nazala Mişr								
249	Abū Shurayḥ (d)	II					Miṣrī	II4:107			
250	Abū Su'ād	S	sakana Mişr	S7:509	nazala Mişr	(S7:493)			shahida fath Mişr	II4:108	
251	Abū Şurmah ibn Abū Qays	II	nazala Mişr	II4:108					shahida fath Mişr	II4:114	
252	Abū Talḥah Dar' (d)	II									
253	Abū Thawr	II	sakana Mişr	H4:30							
254	Abū Udhaynah	II							min ahl Mişr	II4:5	
255	Abū Umāmab (Şuday ibn 'Ajlan)	B-A-D	sakana Mişr	B4:1602; A6:16; D2:148 B4:1774- 1775; A6:328; II4:213							
256	Abū al-Ward	B-A-II	sakana Mişr								

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No. 5	SOURCES		SOURCES		SOURCES		SOURCES		SOURCES		SOURCES- OTHER		DIED
	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES-4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES-5	INFORMATION		
243	Ghāfiqī	B4:1764; A6:308; H4:187											
244	Murādī	A6:289; H4:180 B4:1658; A6:111; D2:166; H4:71											still alive when 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣ was the governor of Egypt (H4:180)
245	Balawī	H4:71	Taymī	H4:71									
246	Anṣārī	S7:502											
247	Himyarī	H4:103	Abrabī	H4:103	Aṣḥabī	H4:103							
248	Balawī	S7:509											
249													
250													
251	Anṣārī	H4:108	Mazīnī	H4:108									
252	Khawjānī	H4:114											
253	Fahmī	H4:30											
254	Ṣadafī	H4:5	Abdī	H4:5									
255	Bānīlī	B4:1602; A6:16; D2:148	Sahmī	A6:16									81 (B4:1602; A6:17), 86 (A6:17)
256	Mazīnī	B4:1774; A6:328; H4:213											

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	EXPRESSION- 1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION- 2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION- 3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION- 4	SOURCES- 4	EXPRESSION- 5
257	Abū al-Yaʿqūzān	S-B-A	sakana Miṣr	B4:1777; A6:333	mazala Miṣr	(S7:493)					
258	Abū al-Zaʿrā' (al-Zahrā')	A-D-II	'idāduhu fī ahl Miṣr	A6:122; II4:76			Miṣrī	D2:168	shahida fath Miṣr	A6:124; D2:168; II4:77	
259	Abū Zam'ab ('Ubayd ibn Arqam)	S-A-D	mazala Miṣr	(S7:493); D1:364	sakana Miṣr	A3:533; A6:122					
260	Abū Zayd	A-D-II			'idāduhu fī al-Miṣriyyīn	D2:69	'idāduhu fī ahl Miṣr	A6:129; II4:80			

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No. 5	SOURCES- TRIBE-1	SOURCES- 1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES- 2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES- 3	TRIBE-4	SOURCES- 4	TRIBE-5	SOURCES- 5	OTHER INFORMATION	DIED
257		A6:122, 124; D2:168; H4:77										
258	Balawi	S7:399; A3:533; A6:122; D1:364 A6:129; D2:169; H4:80										
259	Balawi											
260	Ghāfiqī											

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHII-LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHII-LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHII-LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
1	'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās	B-A-II	Qurashī	B3:933; A3:290; II2:322	Hashimī	B3:933; A3:290; II2:322			Basrah	A3:292; II2:325				
2	'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Tālib	B-A	Ausānī	B3:929; A3:284	Khazrajī	A3:284								
3	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amīr ibn Kurayz	S-A	Qurashī	A3:288	'Abshamī	A3:288			Basrah	A3:288	Persia	A3:288		
4	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'As	S-B-A	Qurashī	B3:957; A3:349	Sahmī	S7:494; B3:957; A3:349			Egypt	S7:495				
5	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Atīk	B-A-II	Ansārī	B3:946; A3:306; II2:332										
6	'Abd Allāh ibn Budayl (d)	S-B-A-D-II	Khuza'ī	B3:872; A3:184; D1:299; II2:272										
7	'Abd Allāh ibn 'Isān	II	Ash'arī	II2:338					Syria	II2:338				

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Geographical Location	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
No. 4		wulda qabl al-Hijrah bi-l-halāhat sinīn	B3:933; A3:291; H2:322	qila bi-khams (sinīn) qabl al-Hijrah	H2:322	wa-kāna ibn thalāthat 'ashar idh tuwuffiya Rasūl Allāh	B3:933, 934; A3:294	qala (Ibn 'Abbas): (tuwuffiya Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama wa-ana ibn khams 'ashara sanah)	4	PROPHET-5 qala (Ibn 'Abbas): tuwuffiya Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama wa-ana ibn khams 'ashara sanah
1									B3:934	
2		wulda 'alā 'alid al-Nabī	B3:929							
3		wulda 'alā 'alid al-Nabī	A3:288; S5:44-5							
4		aslanta qabt abihī	S7:494; B3:957; A3:349							
5		Badr	B3:947; H2:332	Uhud	B3:947; A3:307; H2:333					
6		Junayn	B3:872; A3:184; H2:272	Tā'if	B3:872; A3:184; H2:272	Tabūk	B3:872; A3:184; H2:272	qabl al-Fath	B3:872; A3:184	min muslimat al-Fath
7										

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No.	SOURCES-5	PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
1	B3:934; A3:294	'Alī	shahīda 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās ma'a 'Alī raḍīyo Allāh 'arḥumā al-Jamal wa-al-Šiffin wa-al-Nahrawān	B3:939	shahīda ma'a 'Alī Šiffin	A3:292	kāna 'alā al-mayyarah yawm Šiffin	H2:322		
2		'Alī	shahīda ma'a 'Alī Šiffin	B3:930; A3:285						
3		neutral	wa-lam yusina' lahu bi-dhikr fi Šiffin	A3:289; S5:49						
4		Mu'āwiyah	wa-'l'adhara min shuhūdhī Šiffin ... wa-ḥuahu ḥimamā shahīdahā fi-'azmat abīhī 'alayhī fi dh/Alīk ... fa-nadima nadāmatan shadīdatan 'alā qit/Alīhī ma'a Mu'āwiyah	B3:958	shahīda ma'ahu ('Amr ibn al-'Aṣ) ayḍan Šiffin	A3:350	kharaḗa ma'ahu ('Amr ibn Abī al-'Aṣ) fa-shahīda Šiffin	S7:495		
5		'Alī (d)	shahīda Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	B3:947; A3:307	shahīda Šiffin	H2:333				
6	B3:872; A3:184;	'Alī (d)	qutīla ... bi-Šiffin wa-kāna yawma'dhīn 'alā rajālat 'Alī	B3:872; also S4:294; A3:184	kāna 'Abd Allāh ibn Būdāy' fi Šiffin 'alayhī dir'ān wa-sayḥān	B3:872; also A3:184; H2:272	shahīda (huwa wa-akūhu) Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H2:272	qutīla huwa wa-khūh bi-Šiffin	DI:299
7		Mu'āwiyah	shahīda Šiffin ma'a Mu'āwiyah	H2:338						

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
8	'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far	II	Hāshimī	II2:280 B3:981; A3:374; DI:331; II2:355										
9	'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b	B-A-D-II	Murādī											
10	'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'adah	A	Fazārī	A3:384					Damascus	A3:384				
11	'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd	A-II	Qurashī	A3:259; II2:309	'Āmīdī	A3:259; II2:309			Egypt	A3:260; II2:309				
12	'Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd	B-A	Khaṭīmī	B3:1001; A3:416	Anṣarī	B3:1001; A3:416	Awāl	B3:1001; A3:416	Kūfah	B3:1001; A3:416				
13	'Abd al-Rajmān ibn Abzā (d)	II	Khuzā'ī	II2:381					Kūfah	II2:381				
14	'Abd al-Rajmān ibn Buda'ayl	A-D	Khuzā'ī	A3:429; DI:344										



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No.	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
4		kāna 'inda nawī al-Nabī ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama 'ashirat sibtin	II2:281							
8										
9										
10		aslama qabl al-fatih wa-hajara ila Rasul Allah, wa- kana yaktubu al-wahy il-Rasul Allah, thumma irtadda musrikun ... wa- aslama dh/Ask al-yawm (yawm al-fatih) wa-hasuna islamihi	A3:259	yaktubu li-al-Nabi ... fa-azalahu al-shaytan fa-fahiqe bi-kuffar fa-amarah bihi Rasul Allah ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama an yuqtala ya'ni yawm al-Fatih fa-istajara lahu 'Uthman	II2:309					
11			B3:1001; A3:416	shahida ma ba'daha (Hudaybiyah)	A3:416					
12		Hudaybiyah								
13				kana huwa wa-akhtuhu 'Abd Allah rasula Rasul Allah ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama ila ahli al-Yaman	A3:429					
14										

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No.	SOURCES- 5	PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
8	'Alī	ahad amarā 'Alī yawm Šiffin	I12:281							
9	'Alī	quṭilla yawm Šiffin, wa-kāna min ašjāb 'Alī	B3:981; A3:374; I12:355	quṭilla bi-Šiffin wa-kāna min a'yan ašjāb 'Alī	D1:331					
10	Murāwiyah	kāna ma'a Mu'awiyah bi-Šiffin	A3:384							
11	neutral/Mu'awiyah	lam yubāy' li-'Alī wa-lā li- Mu'awiyah	A3:260; also I12:309	shahida Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah	A3:260		shahida Šiffin	I12:309		
12	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin wa-al-Jamāl wa-al-Nalrawān	B3:1001; A3:416							
13	'Alī	Šahidnā ma'a 'Alī min-mat bāya'a Bey'at al-Riḍwān tahta al-šajarah thamān-mi'ah bi-Šiffin	I12:381							
14	'Alī	wa-shahidā (huwa wa-akḥūhu) Jamī'an Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	A3:429	lahumā (huwa wa-akḥūhu) subbah wa-shahidā Šiffin	D1:344					

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
15	'Abd al-Raġmān ibn al-Hanbal	A-II	Jumahl	H2:387 B2:829; A3:440; H3:68	Makizūmī	B2:829; A3:440; H3:68			Hims	A3:440	Syria	H3:68		
16	Khalīd (d)	B-A-II	Qurashī	B2:831; A3:442; D1:346; H2:388										
17	'Abd al-Raġmān ibn Khrasīh (Abū Laylā)	B-A-D-II	Ausārī	D1:3					Syria	D1:3				
18	Abraha ibn Shurahbīl	D	Hamiḍī											
19	'Adl ibn 'Amīrah	A	Kindī	A4:15										
20	'Adl ibn Hā'im	S-B-A-II	Tā'ī	S6:22; B3:1057; A4:8; H2:460					Kūfah	B3:1085; also A3:10; H2:461				
21	'Ā'idh ibn 'Amr	II	Ausārī	H2:253										
22	'Ā'idh ibn Sā'id	A-D-II	Jasrī	A3:146; D1:290; H2:253 B3:1087; A4:77; D1:388; H2:492	Muljarībī	H2:253								
23	al-'Alā' ibn 'Amr	B-A-D-II	Ausārī											

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No.	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
15			min muslimat al-Fath	II2:387							
16											
17											
18			lahu wafādah	D1:3							
19											
20			Muhājirī	B3:1057	qadima 'Adī 'alā al-Nabī fi Sha'bān min sanat sab'	B3:1057	aslamo fi sanat tis' wa-qīla sanat 'ashar	A4:8; II2:461			
21											
22					kāna fi-man wafada 'alā al-Nabī	A3:147; also II2:253; D1:290					
23											

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No.	SOURCES- 5	PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
15	'Alī	'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	A3:439 B2:829; A3:440; also H3:68	shahida huwa al-Jamal ma'a 'Alī thumma Šiffin	H2:388				
16	Mu'āwiyah	Mu'āwiyah	shahida Šiffin ma'a Mu'āwiyah							
17	'Alī	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin	B2:831; A3:442	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H2:388; D1:346				
18	'Alī	'Alī	qatila ma'a 'Alī bi-Šiffin	D1:3						
19	Mu'āwiyah	Mu'āwiyah	shahidū ('Adī and other Banī Arqām) Šiffin ma'a Mu'āwiyah	A3:16						
20	'Alī	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī al-Jamal ... thumma shahida aydhan ma'a 'Alī Šiffin wa-al-Nahrawān	B3:1058- 1059	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	A4:10; H2:461	shahida ma'ahu ('Alī) al- Jamal wa-Šiffin	S6:22		
21	'Alī	'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H2:253						
22	'Alī	'Alī	qatila ma'a 'Alī bi-Šiffin	A3:147; D1:290 B3:1087; A4:77; D1:388; H2:492	shahida 'A'idh al-Jamal wa- Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H2:253				
23	'Alī	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin							

Appendix - VIII : The Attitudes of the Companions at Šiffin

No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
24	'Ammār ibn Yāsir	S-B-A-II	'Ansī	B3:1135; A4:129; H2:505	Madhhijī	B3:1135; B3:1135; A4:129			Kūfah	S6:14; A4:134; H2:506				
25	'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh	II	Hudramī	H3:4, 114					Hims	H3:4				
26	'Amr ibn Anas	II	Anṣārī	H2:517	Khazrajī	H2:517								
27	'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ	S-B-A	Qurashī	B3:1184; A4:244	Sahmī	B4:1184; A4:244			Palestine	S7:493; B3:1187	al-Urdunn	B3:1187	Egypt	S7:493; B3:1187
28	'Amr ibn Bīlāl	B-A	Anṣārī	B3:1165; A4:200										
29	'Amr ibn al-Ḥamīq	B-A	Khuzāʿī	B3:1173; A4:217					Syria	B3:1174; A4:217	Kūfah	A4:217		
30	'Amr ibn Maḍkārīb (d)	II	Zubayḍī	H3:18					Hijāz	H3:18				
31	'Amr ibn Subay'	S-A-II	Rahāwī	A4:226; H2:530; S7:345 S2:66;H3:178;	Madhhijī	H2:531; S7:345								
32	'Amr ibn Sulaym (Abū al-ʿAwwār) (d)	S-B-A-D-II	Sulami	B4:1600; A4:232; D1:409; H2:533	Thaqafī	B4:1600								

Appendix - VIII : The Attitudes of the Companions at Şifin

No.	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
24			Badr wa al-mashāhid kullahā	B3:1136; also S3:250	min al-sābiqin al-awwalin fi al-Islām	A4:130; H2:505	Badr, Uḥud, al-Khandaq wa-Bay'at al-Riḍwān	A4:131	hājara ilā al-Madīnah wa-shahida al-mashāhid kullahā	H2:505	
25											
26			Badr	H2:517							
27			aslama 'ām Khaybar	A4:344	ba'atha Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama amīran 'alā sarīyah ilā Dhāt al-Salāsīl	A4:245; B3:1186; S7:493	aslama bayn al-Ḥudaybiyah wa-Khaybar	B3:1185	aslama sanat thamān qabl al-Fatḥ bi-sittat ashhur	A4:235	aslama sanat thamān qabl al-Hijrah
28			Muhājir	B3:1166; A4:200	shahida Uḥud wa-mā ba'dahā	A4:200					
29			hājara ilā al-Nabī ba'd al-Ḥudaybiyah	B3:1173; A4:217	bal aslama 'ām Hāj al-Wada'	B3:1173; A4:217					
30											
31			wafada 'alā Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama sanat 'ashar	A4:226; also S1:345	qadima ... fi wafd al-Rahāwiyin	H2:530					
32											

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No.	SOURCES-5	PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
24		'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin fi themānī mi'at man bay'a Bay'at al-Riḍwān, qutīla minhum thalāthahī wa sittūn, minhum 'Ammār ibn Yāsir	B3:1138	shahidnā ma'a 'Alī Šiffin, fa- ra'aytu 'Ammār ibn Yāsir	B3:1138; A4:134	shahida ma'ahu ('Alī) al-Jamal wa-šiffin	A3:134	qutīla ma'a 'Alī bi-Šiffin	H2:506; S6:14
25		Mu'āwiyah	qutīla bi-Šiffin ma'a Mu'āwiyah	H3:4, 114						
26		unidentified	fi al-Badarīyin alladhin shahidū Šiffin	H2:517						
27	B3:1185; also S7:493	Mu'āwiyah	shahida ma'ahu (Mu'āwiyah) Šiffin	A4:246; S7:493	shahida Šiffin ma'ahu (Mu'āwiyah)	B3:1188				
28		'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	B3:1166; A4:355						
29		'Alī	shahida ma'ahu ('Alī) mashāhidahu kullihā: al-Jamal, wa-Šiffin wa-al-Nahrāwān	B3:1174; A4:217-218						
30		unidentified (d)	shahida Šiffin ghayr wājid abnā' khamsīn wa-mi'ah minhum 'Amr ibn Mā'dikarīb	H3:21						
31		Mu'āwiyah	fa-'aḡada lahu Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama liwā' fa-shahida bihi Šiffin ma'a Mu'āwiyah	A4:227; H2:531; also S1:345	kāna min a'yān aṣḡāb Mu'āwiyah, wa-'aleyhi kāna midār al-ḡarb bi-Šiffin	A4:232	kānat lahu mawqif bi-Šiffin ma'a Mu'āwiyah	H2:533	min kibār aṣḡāb Mu'āwiyah bi-Šiffin	D1:409
32		Mu'āwiyah	kāna ma'a Mu'āwiyah bi-Šiffin	B3:1178; S2:66						



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	SOURCES-CAL. LOCATION-1	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	SOURCES-CAL. LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
33	'Antarah	B	Sulaimī	B3:1246 B3:1246	Dhikwāmī	B3:1246									
34	'Aqīl ibn Abī Tālib	III	Qurashī	II2:487	Hāshimī	II2:487									
35	al-'Asīdī, ibn Qays	A-II	Kindī	A1:118; H1:66					Kūfah		III:66				
36	al-'Aswad ibn Rabī'ah	A-II	Tamīmī	II1:60 B3:1236;											
37	'Aṣīk ibn al-'Tayyihān	B-A	Anṣārī	A3:574	Awsī	A3:573									
38	'Awf ibn 'Abd Allāh	II	Azdī	II3:122											
39	'Awf (Mistah) ibn Uthā'nah	B-A-II	Qurashī	B3:1223; B4:1472; A5:156	Mujallibī	II3:388									
40	al-'Barā' ibn 'Azīb	B-A-D-II	Anṣārī	B1:155; A1:205; D1:46; II1:147	Khaṣraḥī	B3:155; A1:305									
41	Bashīr ibn Abī Mas'ūd	B	Anṣārī	B1:177											

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Geographical Location- No. 4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
33		Badr te'akkhara islamuhi ila 'am al- Fati, qile aslama ba'd al-ihdaybiyah wa-hijara fi awwal sanat thumän	B3:1246 II2:487	Uhud	B3:1246 II2:487					
34		wafada lin al-Nabi şallä Alläh 'alayhi we-sallama sanat 'ashar	A1:118; II1:66	Mu'tah	II2:487					
35		qadima 'ala Resul Alläh	A1:102 B3:1236; A3:574	Muhajiri	A1:103; II1:60 B3:1236; A3:574	wafada 'ala al-Nabi	II1:60			
37		Badr		Uhud						
38										
39		Badr	B3:1224; B4:1472; A4:308; A5:156							
40		Badr ra'a al-Nabi şallä Alläh 'alayhi wa- sallama şaghir	B1:156 B1:177	Khandaq	B1:156; A1:205; D1:46	Uhud	A1:205; D1:46; III:147	ghazā ma'a Resul Alläh şallä Alläh 'alayhi wa- sallama arba'a 'asharat ghazwāt	A1:205; III:147	
41										

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No.	SOURCES-5	PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
33		unidentified	qatila bi-Siffin	B3:1246						
34		Mu'awiyah	wa kāra qad faraqa 'Ali wa- wafada ila Mu'awiyah	II2:487						
35		'Ali	shahida Siffin ma'a 'Ali	A1:118; also H1:66						
36		'Ali	shahida ma'a 'Ali Siffin	A1:103; H1:60						
37		unidentified	qatila bi-Siffin	B3:1236;						
38		'Ali	shahida Siffin ma'a 'Ali	A3:574 H3:122						
39		'Ali (d)	shahida Siffin ma'a 'Ali	B3:1224; also B4:1472; A4:308; A5:156; H3:388						
40		'Ali	shahida ma'a 'Ali al-Jamal wa- Siffin wa- al-Nahrawān	B1:157; A1:205; D1:46	shahida al-Barrā ma'a 'Ali al-Jamal wa- Siffin	H1:147				
41		'Ali	shahida Siffin ma'a 'Ali	B1:177						

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No.	NAME	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHII-LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHII-LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHII-LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
42	Bashir ibn Abi Zayd	B-A-II	Anṣārī	B1:174; H1:162										
43	Basfir ibn 'Amr (Abū 'Anraḥ)	S-B-A	Anṣārī	B1:175; A1:234	Najjarī	S5:83 A1:233; D1:53								
44	Basfir ibn 'Uqbah	A-D	Anṣārī	A1:233	Khazrajī				Mecca	HI:145				
45	Budayl ibn Warqā'	II	Khuzārī	III:145										
46	Burayd	II	Aslamī	III:150										
47	Busr ibn Abi Arīḥ (d)	B-A	Qurashī	B1:157; A1:213					Syria	B1:166; A1:213				
48	Dhū al-Kalā' (d)	B-A-II	Jilmyarī	B1:471; A2:176; H1:480										
49	Dhū Zulaym (d)	B-A-D	Jilmyarī	B1:410; A2:70; D1:144	Altharī	B1:410; A2:70; D1:144								
50	al-Fākih ibn Sa'd	B-A-II	Anṣārī	B3:1257; A4:349; H3:193	Awsī	B3:1257; A4:349; H3:193								

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No.	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
42						
43						
44						
45						
46						
47		(il-) anna Resûl Allah qubûda wa-huwa şeghîr	wulida qabl wafâi al-Nabî şellâ Allah 'aleyh wa-sallama bi-senatayhî Abû 'Umer: la			
48		kharaja ma'a Jarîr ilâ al-Nabî	B1:156; A1:213	A1:213		
49		aslama 'alâ 'ahd Resûl Allah	B1:471	B1:480		
50		Muhâjîrî	B1:410; A2:70; D1:144	B1:410; A2:70		
			B3:1257; A4:349			

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No.	SOURCES- 5	PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
42		'Ali (d)	shahida Basfir ibn Abi Zayd wa- akūhu Wada'sah ibn Abi Zayd Šiffin ma'a 'Ali	BI:175; AI:231; III:162						
43		'Ali	qutla bi-Šiffin	BI:175; AI:234 AI:233; DI:53	kāna ma'a 'Ali ibn Abi 'Alīb, fa-qutla yawm Šiffin S5:83					
44		'Ali	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Ali	III:145						
45		unidentified (d)	yūqālu qutla bi-Šiffin							
46		'Ali	fi-man shahida Šiffin min al-Šajāba ma'a 'Ali wa-qutla fihā	III:150						
47		Mu'awiyah	wa-kāna ma'a Mu'awiyah bi-Šiffin	BI:164	shahida Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah	AI:214				
48		Mu'awiyah	kāna Dhū al-Kalā' al-qā'im bi-anr Mu'awiyah fi ħarb Šiffin	BI:472; also A2:177	shahida Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah	III:480	kāna Dhū al-Kulā' bi-al- maymanah 'alā ahl Īlīnīš bi-Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah III:481			
49		Mu'awiyah	kānā (i.e. Dhū al-Kulā' and Dhū Zulaym) min man qutla ma'a Mu'awiyah bi-Šiffin	BI:474 B3:1257; A4:349; III:193	wa-humā (Dhū al-Kulā' wa- Dhū Zulaym) kānā wa-man 'abī'ahumā min ahl Yaman al-qā'imayn bi-ħarb Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah	BI:410; A2:70	qutla bi-Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah	wa-kāna 'alā rajālat Īlīnīš yawm Šiffin	DI:144	
50		'Ali	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Ali							

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
51	Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah (d)	S-B-A-H	Qurashī	B1:320; A1:448 B1:279; A1:375; H1:271 A1:458; H1:312	Fihrī	AS7:409; I:448; H1:308			Syria	S7:410; H1:308	Hijaz	H1:308		
52	Ḥabīb ibn Sa'd	B-A	Ta'i	H1:271 A1:458; H1:312					Syria	B1:279; H1:271	Hims	A1:375		
53	Ḥalīf ibn 'Amr (d)	A-H	Anṣārī	H1:312	Khazrajī	A1:458; H1:312								
54	Ḥammal ibn Sa'damāh	S-A-D-H	Kalbi	S1:334; A2:58; D1:140; H1:354					Dawmat al-Jandal	H1:354				
55	Ḥanzalah ibn al-Nu'mān	A-H	Anṣārī	H1:361										
56	al-Ḥarith ibn 'Abd Allāh	A-D	Dawsī	A1:403; D1:104					Palesine	A1:403				
57	al-Ḥarith ibn 'Amr	H	Anṣārī	H1:284 A1:386; D1:98; H1:275	Khazrajī	H1:284 A3:386; D1:98; H1:275								
58	al-Ḥarith ibn Ḥaḥīb	A-D-H	Anṣārī	H1:275	Awsī									
59	al-Ḥarith ibn al-Nu'mān	H	Anṣārī	H1:291	Awsī	H1:291								
60	Ḥāshim ibn 'Utbah	B-A-D-H	Qurashī	B4:1546; A5:377	Zuhrī	A5:377; D2:116; H3:561			Kūfah	B4:1546; A5:377				

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No.	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION - SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
51		ma'ra al-Nabi şallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-salāmu wa-ali-hi-Abīb ibn Maslamah ifthunā 'asharat sana	III:308 A1:49; also S7:409	alā al-Nabi						
52										
53										
54		wafada lā al-Nabi	A2:58; also II:354; S1:334; DI:140							
55		Uhud	III:361							
56		qadima ma'a Abihī 'alā al-Nabi	A1:403; DI:105							
57		Uhud	III:284							
58		Badr	A1:386; III:276							
59		Badr	III:291							
60		aslama yawm al-Failh	A5:377; B4:1546; D2:116; II:562							



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No. 5	SOURCES- PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- I	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
51	Mu'awiyah	fa-lan yazal ma'a Mu'awiyah fi ħurūbihī bi-Šiffin wa-ġayrithā	B1:321; A1:449; S7:410	lem yazal ma'a Mu'awiyah fi ħurūbihī	H1:308				
52	Mu'awiyah	fa-quitla wa-ħuwa ma'a Mu'awiyah bi-Šiffin	B1:279	shahida Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah	B1:280; A1:379	quitla bi-Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah	H1:272		
53	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin	A1:458	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H1:312				
54	Mu'awiyah	fa-aqada (Rasūl Allāh) li-Ĥammal ibn Sa'dana ġwā' fa-shahida bihi Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah	S1:335; A2:58; D1:140; H1:354						
55	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī	A2:68	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H1:361				
56	Mu'awiyah	kāna ma'a Mu'awiyah bi-Šiffin shahida (ħuwa wa-akhūhu) Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	A1:403 H1:284, also H2:29	shahida Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah	D1:104				
57	'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib	A1:386; D1:98; H1:276						
58	'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H1:291						
59	'Alī	shahida Ĥāshim ma'a 'Alī al-Jamal, wa-shahida Šiffin	B4:1547	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	A5:377	kānat rāyat 'Alī yawmi Šiffin ma'a Ĥāshim ibn 'Ubbah	H3:562	quitla bi-Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	D2:116

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
61	Huwayn ibn al-Abjar	B-A-D-H	Kinānī	A2:76; H1:363; D1:145					Kūfah	B1:317				
62	Hubsāfi Ibn Junādah	H	Salūlī	H1:303 S6:217; B1:329; A1:461; H1:313 A1:463; H1:314 A1:474; D1:126					Kūfah	H1:303				
63	Hujr ibn 'Adī (d)	S-B-A-H	Kindī	H1:313 A1:463; H1:314 A1:474; D1:126					Kūfah	H1:313				
64	Hujr ibn Yazīd	A-H	Kindī	H1:313 A1:463; H1:314 A1:474; D1:126										
65	Hurqūš ibn Zuhayr	A-D	Sa'dī	H1:313 A1:463; H1:314 A1:474; D1:126										
66	al-Jusayn ibn 'Alī	H	Ḥāshimī	H1:331										
67	Jusayn ibn al-Ḥārith	A-H	Qurashī	H1:335	Muḥallabī	H1:335								
68	al-Ju'tā ibn Yazīd (Zayd)	B-H	Mujāshirī	B1:412; H1:311	Tamīmī	B1:412; H1:311	Dāhīmī	H1:311						
69	Jabalāh ibn 'Anūr	B-A-D-H	Ausād	B1:235; A1:320; D1:77; H1:225	Sa'dī	B1:235; A1:320			Medina	B1:235; A1:320	Egypt	B1:236; A1:320; D1:77		
70	Jabalāh ibn Thālabāh	A-D-H	Ausād	A1:319; H1:224	Khazrajī	A1:319; D1:77; H1:225	Bayḍī	D1:77; H1:224						

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60	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
61		shahida fujjat al-Weda'	III:303							
62			S6:217; A1:461; III:313							
63		wafada 'ala al-Nabi	A1:463; III:314							
64		wafada 'ala al-Nabi								
65		wulida sanat arba' wa-qila sanat sitt wa-qila sanat sab'	III:331							
66										
67		Badr	A2:24; III:335							
68		fi-man wafada min Barj Tamim 'ala al-Nabi	III:310; also B1:412							
69		Uhud	DI:77							
70		Badr	A1:319; III:224							

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No. 5	SOURCES- PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
61	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin	B1:317; A2:76; D1:145; H1:363						
62	'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H1:303					kāna min ašjāb 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib wa- shahida ma'ahu al- Jamal wa-Šiffin	S6:218
63	'Alī	wa-kāna 'alā Kindah yawm Šiffin wa- kāna 'alā may Sarah yawm al- Nahrawān	B1:329; A1:461	shahida ba'da dhālik al- Jamal wa-Šiffin	H1:313	dhakarahu Ya'qūb ibn Sufyān fi umarq 'Alī yawm Šiffin	H1:313		
64	'Alī	wa-kāna aḥad al-shuhūd fi al-raq'īm wa-kāna ma'a 'Alī	A1:463	kāna ljujū ibn Yazīd ḥadhā ma'a 'Alī bi-Šiffin	H1:314				
65	'Alī	wa-shahida ma'ahu ('Alī) Šiffin	A1:475	kāna ma'a 'Alī bi-Šiffin	D1:126				
66	'Alī	shahida ma'ahu ('Alī) al-Jamal thumma Šiffin	H1:332						
67	'Alī	shahida al-ḥuṣayn ma'a 'Alī ibn Abī 'Alī radīya 'Alīh 'anhu mashāhidahu	A2:25	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H1:335				
68	Mu'āwiyah	wa-kāna ḥareba min 'Alī ilā Mu'āwiyah	B1:413	kāna al-ḥuṭāt ma'a Mu'āwiyah fi ḥurūbīhi	H1:310				
69	'Alī	shahida Jabalah ibn 'Amr Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	B1:236; A1:320; H1:225	shahida Šiffin	D1:77				
70	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī radīya 'Alīh 'anhu Šiffin	A1:319	shahida ma'a 'Alī	H1:224	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	D1:77		

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
71	Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh	B-A-D	Anṣārī	BI:219; A1:307; D1:73	Salami	BI:219; D1:73								
72	Jabr ibn Anas	A-D-H	Zuraql	A1:317	Anṣārī	HI:222								
73	Jariyah ibn Zayd	B-A-D-H												
74	Jubayr ibn al-Jubbāb	A-D-H	Anṣārī	HI:226										
75	Jundab ibn 'Abd Allāh (or Ibn Zuhayr) (d)	B-A-D-H	'Abdī	BI:258	Azdl	BI:258; A1:359 HI:249	Ghāmidī	BI:258; A1:359; D1:91; HI:249						
76	Ka'b ibn 'Amir	H	Sa'dī	H3:281										
77	Ka'b ibn Ju'ayy (d)	H	'Tha'labī	HI:296 B3:1332; A4:463; D2:28;										
78	Karāmah ibn Thābit (d)	B-A-D-H	Anṣārī	HI:273										

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GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
No. 4									4	
71		Badr	B1:220; A1:307	Uhud	B1:220; A1:307; D1:73	'Aqabah II	B1:220; A1:307	ghazā Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama bi-ma'isihī ihdā wa-'l'isfīn ghazwah, shahidtu minihā ma'ahu (I)s'a 'asharah ghazwah	B1:220	shahida ba'daha (Badr) ma'a al-Nabī ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama thaman 'ashrah ghazwah
72		Badr	A1:317; H1:222							
73										
74										
75										
76		Badr	H3:281							
77										
78										

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No.	SOURCES- 5	PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
71	BI:220; 71 also A1:307 'Ali	'Ali	shahida Şifin ma'a 'Ali	BI:220; A1:307; D1:73						
72		'Ali	shahida ma'a 'Ali, ya'mi Şifin fi-men shahida Şifin min al- Şahabah	A1:317 BI:228; A1:313	shahida Şifin ma'a 'Ali fi-men shahida Şifin min al- Şahabah ma'a 'Ali	II:222 II:219	shahida Şifin ma'a 'Ali shahida Şifin ma'a 'Ali	D1:76 D1:75		
74		'Ali	shahida Şifin ma'a 'Ali	A1:322	shahida Şifin ma'a 'Ali	II:227	shahida Şifin ma'a 'Ali	D1:78		
75		'Ali	kāna ma'a 'Ali ra'diya Allāh 'anhu bi- Şifin	BI:258	kāna 'alā rajā'let Şifin ma'a 'Ali	A1:359; D1:91; II:249	qulla ma'a 'Ali bi-Şifin	A1:359	kāna ma'a 'Ali bi- Şifin	II:249
76		'Ali	shahida Şifin ma'a 'Ali	H3:281						
77		Mu'awiyah	shahida Şifin ma'a Mu'awiyah	H3:297						
78		'Ali	fi-men shahida Şifin min al- Şahabah	BI:1332	shahida Şifin ma'a 'Ali	A4:463; H3:273	shahida Şifin min al- Şahabah ma'a 'Ali	D2:28		

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
79	Khabbāb ibn al-A'raṭ	B-A-II	Khuzā'ī	B2:437; A2:114 A2:93; H1:404	Tamīmī	B2:437; A2:114			Kūfah	B2:438; A2:116				
80	Dujānah	A-II	Anṣārī											
81	Khālid ibn Abī Khālid	A-II	Anṣārī	H1:403 B2:431; A2:109; D1:154; H1:415										
82	Khālid ibn al-Walīd	B-A-ID-II	Anṣārī											
83	KhAlīfah ('Ālīfah) ibn 'Adī	H	Bayāḍī	H1:450										
84	Kharrshah ibn Ma'lik	H	Awdī	H1:422										
85	Khuwaylid ibn 'Amr	H	Anṣārī	H1:453 B2:448; S6:51; A2:133; H1:424	Salamī	H1:453 S4:378; S6:51; B2:448; A2:133; H1:424		S4:378; B2:448; A2:133; H1:424						
86	Khuzaymah ibn Thābit	S-B-A-II	Anṣārī		Khāṭimī									
87	Kurayb ibn Abrahah	H	Aṣḥabī	H1:295					Egypt	H3:296	Syria	H3:296		



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GEÖGAPHI- CAL LOCATION- SOURCES- 4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES- 1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES- 2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES- 3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES- 4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
No. 4									
79	min al-Muhājirîn al- awwalîn	B2:438	Badr wa-mâ ba'dahâ min al- mashâhid ma'a al- Nabî	B2:438; also A2:115	qadim al-İsâm min man 'udhdhibâ fi- Alîh wa-şabara 'alâ dînihi	B2:438	min al-sâbiqîn al- awwalîn, wa-min man yu'adhdhabû fi-Alîh	A2:114	
80									
81									
82									
83	Badr	III:450							
84	wafada 'alâ al-Nabî	III:422							
85	Badr	III:452							
86	Badr wa-mâ ba'dahâ min al-mashâhid	B2:448; A2:133; III:425	min al-sâbiqîn al- awwalîn	III:424	qîla awwal mashâhidhi Uhud	III:425			
87									

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No.	SOURCES-5	PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
79	'Alī (d)	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin wa-al-Nahrawān	B2:438; A2:116							
80	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī radiya Allāh 'anhu ħarbalu	A2:93	shahida Šiffin min al-Sajābah	II:404					
81	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī	A2:93	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	II:403					
82	'Alī	fi-man shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī Ibn Abī Talīb min al-Sajābah	B2:431; A2:109	shahida Šiffin min al-Sajābah	III:415	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin	DI:154			
83	'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	III:450							
84	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī mashāhidahu	III:422							
85	'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	III:453							
86	'Alī	kāna ma'a 'Alī bi-Šiffin	B2:448	shahida ma'a 'Alī radiya Allāh 'anhu al-Jamal wa-Šiffin	A2:133	qutila ma'a 'Alī bi-Šiffin	HI:425; also S6:51	shahida Khuzaymah Ibn Thābit Šiffin ma'a 'Alī Ibn Talīb	S4:381	
87	Murāwiyah	shahida Šiffin (with Murāwiyah)	III:296							

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHII-CAL-LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHII-CAL-LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHII-CAL-LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
88	Kurayb (bn al-Šabāi) (d)	D-I	Himyari	D2:30; H3:296										
89	Mālik ibn 'Āmir	A-D-II	Ashari	D2:45; H3:326										
90	Mālik ibn al-Tayyihān (Abū al-Haytham)	B-A-II	Balawi	B3:1348; A5:14	Anṣari	B3:1348; B4:1773; A5:14; A6:323; H4:209	Awsi	A5:14; A6:323; H4:209						
91	Ma'n ibn Yazid	D	Sulami	D2:90										
92	Mas'arah ibn Mukhallad	A	Anṣari	A5:174	Khazraji	A5:174			Egypt	A5:174	Medina	A5:174		
93	Mas'ud ibn Aws	B-A-D-H	Najjari	B3:1391; H3:389	Khazraji	A5:157; D2:73	Anṣari	A5:157; D2:73; H3:389						

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GEOGRAPHICAL	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
No. 88										
89		wafada 'alī al-Nabī	A5:29, also H3:326; D2:45							
90		'Aqabah I & II	B3:1348; also B4:1773; A5:14; A6:323	Badr, Uhud wa- mashāhid kullihā	B3:1348; also B4:1773; A5:15; H4:209	Badr	A6:324			
91		Badr	D2:90							
92		kāna mawluduhu fīna qadīma al-Nabī ṣallā Allāh 'alayh wa- sallama al-Madīnah	A5:174	kāna lehu jamnā qadīma al-Nabī al- Madīnah arba' sinīn	A5:174					
93		Badr wa-mā badāhā min al-mashāhid	B3:1391	Badr	A5:157; D2:73; H3:389	shahīda mā ba'd Badr min al- mashāhid	A5:158			

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SOURCES- No. 5	PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
88	Mu'awiyah	qatila ma'a Mu'awiyah yawm Šiffin	D2:30	qatila yawm Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah	H3:296				
89	'Ali	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Ali	A5:29; also H3:326	kana ma'a 'Ali bi-Šiffin	D2:45				
90	'Ali (d)	qatila bi-Šiffin ma'a 'Ali ibi Abi Talib	B3:1348; also B4:1773; A5:15	adrake Šiffin wa-shahidaha ma'a 'Ab wa-qatila biha	A6:324		H4:210		
91	Mu'awiyah	shahida Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah	D2:90						
92	Mu'awiyah (d)	shahida ma'ahu (Mu'awiyah) Šiffin	A5:174						
93	'Ali (d)	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Ali	B3:1391; A5:158; D2:73; H3:389						

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
94	Mikhnaf ibn Sulaym	B-A-D	Ghāmidī	B4:1467; A5:128	Azdl	B4:1467; A5:128; D2:65	'Amirī	D2:65	Kūfah	B4:1467; A5:128	Basrah	B4:1467; A5:128		
95	al-Mughīrah ibn Nawfal (d)	A-II	Hāshimī	A5:249; H3:433	Qurashī	A5:249			Medina	H3:433				
96	al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah	B	Thaqafī	B4:1445										
97	al-Muhājir ibn Khālid	B-A-D-II	Qurashī	B4:1453; A5:278	Maklūzūmī	B4:1453; A5:278; D2:98; H3:458								
98	Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr	B-A-II	Qurashī	A3:309					Egypt	H3:451				
99	Muhammad ibn Abī Hudhayfah	H	'Abdshami	H3:353										
100	Muhammad ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Ās	B-A-II	Qurashī	B3:1375; A5:107; H3:361	Sahmī	B3:1375; A5:107; H3:361								
101	Muhammad ibn Budayl ibn Warqā'	H	Khuzā'ī	H3:351										
102	Muhammad ibn Hājib	A	Qurashī	A5:85	Jumahlī	A5:85								
103	Muhammad ibn Ja'far ibn Abī Tālib	H	Hāshimī	H3:352										

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GEOGAPHICAL LOCATION- No. 4	SOURCES- 4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES- 1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES- 2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES- 3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES- 4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
94		wulida 'ala' a'id Rasul Allah şallâ Allah 'aleyhi wa-sallama bi-Makkah qabl al-Hijrah	AS:249; also H3:433	İam yudrik min hayât Rasul Allah şallâ Allah 'aleyhi wa-sallama illâ sitt sinîn	AS:249	wulida b'adeha (al-Hijrah) bi-arba' sinîn				
95		Hudaybiyah	B4:1445	aslama 'am al-Kinadaq	B4:1445					
96		kama ghulam 'ala 'ahd Rasul Allah	AS:278; H3:458	kama şabi huwa wa-akhihi 'Abd al-Rajman zaman al-Nabi	D2:98					
97		wulida 'am Hujjat al-Wada'	B3:1366; also AS:102; H3:451							
98		tuwufiya Rasul Allah şallâ Allah 'aleyhi wa-sallama wa-huwa hadathuma (Muhammad wa-'Abd Allah ibnay Budayf) rasulâ Rasul Allah şallâ Allah 'aleyhi wa-sallama li'ahl al-Yaman	B3:1357	şajiba al-Nabi şallâ Allah 'aleyhi wa-sallama wa-huwa şaghir	H3:361					
99		wulida bi-arq Habashah	H3:351							
100			AS:85							
101		wulida 'ala' a'id al-Nabi	H3:352							

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No. 5	SOURCES- PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- I	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
94	'Alī	wallāhu 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib Aṣḥabān, wa-kāna 'alā rayat al-'Azd yawm Šiffin	B4:1467; also A5:128	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin	D2:65				
95	'Alī	shahida al-Mughīrah ma'a 'Alī Šiffin	A5:250	kāna ma'a 'Alī fī ḥurūbīhi	H3:433				
96	neutral	i'tazala Šiffin	B4:1446; A4:425						
97	'Alī	shahida ma'ahu ('Alī) al-Jamal wa- Šiffin	B4:1453, also 1454; A3:440	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H3:458; also D2:98	kāna ma'a 'Alī	H3:458		
98	'Alī	kāna 'alā al-rajjālah yawm al-Jamal wa-shahida ma'ahu ('Alī) Šiffin	B3:1366; A5:102	shahida Muḥammad ma'a 'Alī al-Jamal wa-Šiffin	H3:451				
99	'Alī	aqarra ('Alī) Muḥammad ibn Abī Hudhayfah 'alā Imrat Misr	H3:354						
100	Mu'āwiyah	shahida Šiffin (with Mu'āwiyah) wa- qāṭala fihā	B3:1357; A5:107	shahida Šiffin ma'a abih	H3:361	shahida al-qitāl yawm Šiffin	H3:361		
101	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī shahida Muḥammad ibn Hātib ma'a 'Alī mashāhidatuh kullihā: al-Jamal, wa-Šiffin wa-al-Nabrawān	H3:351	qitlā (huwa wa-akdhū 'Abd Allāh ibn Budayf) bi- Šiffin	H3:351				
102	'Alī		A5:86						
103	'Alī (d)	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H3:352	qitla bi-Šiffin	H3:352				



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
104	Muḥammad ibn Maslamah	B-II	Anṣārī	B3:1377; H3:363	Hārithī	B3:1377; H3:363	Awsi	H3:363	Medina	H3:363				
105	Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān	H												
106	Muḥammad ibn 'Umayr (d)	H	Tamīmī	H3:490										
107	Munḡāb ibn Rashid	A	Najjī	A5:265										
108	Munḡalḡh	H	Aslamī	H3:443										
109	Nadhlāt ibn 'Ubayd (Abū Barzāl)	A-II	Aslamī	A5:321; H3:526					Medina	A5:322; H3:527	Basrah	A5:322; H3:527		

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No.	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
104			Badr wa-inshāhid kullahā	B3:1376	shahida al-mashāhid Badr wa mā ba'dahā illā ghazwat Tābūk	H3:364					
105			Uḥud	H3:355							
106											
107			Jaqiya al-Nabi wa-āmana bihi	A5:265							
108											
109			aslama qadiman, wa shahida fath Khaybar wa fath Makka wa Humayn	A5:322; also H3:527							

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No. 5	SOURCES- PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
104	neutral	wa-lam yashhad al-Jamal wa-lā Šiffin	B3:1377	l'azala al-fimah fa-lam yashhad al-Jamal wa-lā Šiffin	H3:364				
105	unidentified	qutila yawm Šiffin	H3:355						
106	'Alī	ahad umurā 'Alī bi-Šiffin wa kana (huwa wa-akhihi)	H3:490						
107	'Alī	'Uthmāniyan, fa-harabā min 'Alī ba'd al-rahīkim	AS:265						
108	unidentified	shahida Šiffin	H3:443						
109	'Alī	shahida Šiffin wa al-Nairawān ma'a 'Alī	AS:322; H3:527						

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
110	Qarazah ibn Ka'b	B-A	Anṣārī	B3:1306; A4:399	Khazraǰī	B3:1306; A4:399			Kūfah	B3:1306; A4:400				
111	Qays ibn Abī Qays	B												
112	Qays ibn al-Makshūhī	A-II	Bajalī	A4:447; H3:261	Murādī	H3:261								
113	Qays ibn Qays	A-D-II	Anṣārī	H3:247										
114	Qays ibn Sa'd	B-A	Anṣārī	B3:1289; A4:424	Khazraǰī	B3:1289; A4:434			Medina	B3:1292				
115	Rabi'ah ibn Qays	A-II	'Adwānī	A2:216; III:498	Qaysī	A2:216; III:498								
116	Ra'fī ibn Khadij	B-A	Anṣārī	B2:479; A2:190	Khazraǰī	B2:479	Awsī	A2:190						

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No.	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
110		Uljud wa mā bedāhā min al-mashāhid	B3:1306; A4:400			
111						
112		kāna min-man irfādā 'an al-İsām	İİ3:261			
113						
114		kāna Qays İbn 'Ubadah min al-Nabī şallā Allāh 'aleyhi wa-sallama makān şahīb şurrah min al-anīr	B3:1289; A4:425			B3:1289
115						
116		reddahu Rasūl Allāh şallā Allāh 'aleyhi wa-sallama yawm Badr, İl-amahu İstasğharahu	B2:479; A2:190			Uljud, Khandaq wa-İktihar al-mashāhid A2:190

Appendix - VIII : The Attitudes of the Companions at Šiffin

No. 5	SOURCES- PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
110	'Alī	shahida Qarazah Ibn Ka'b ma'a 'Alī mašāhidahu kullihā fi man shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī radiya Allāh 'anhu min al-Šajābah	B3:1306; A4:400 B3:1298						
112	'Alī	quilla bi-Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	A4:447; I13:261 A4:441; I13:247						
113	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin		shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	D2:24				
114	'Alī	shahida ma'ahu ('Alī) al-Jamal wa- Šiffin wa-al-Nahrāwān huwa wa- qawmuhu	B3:1290	shahida ma'ahu ('Alī) hurūbahu	A4:426				
115	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī	A2:216	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H1:499				
116	'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī Ibn Abī Talīb radiya Allāh 'anhu	B2:480	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	A2:190				

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
117	Riḅī ibn 'Aunr	A-II	Anṣārī	A2:205; H1:491										
118	Riḅī ibn Raīf	A-II	Balawī	A2:204	Anṣārī	A2:204; H1:503	Khazraǰ	H1:503						
119	Riḅī ibn Raīf	B-A	Anṣārī	B2:497; A2:225 B2:601; A2:362; D1:217; H2:29	Zuraǰ	B2:4797; A2:225	Khazraǰ	A2:225						
120	Sa'd ibn 'Aunr	B-A-D-II	Anṣārī	S5:82; B1:292; A2:341										
121	Sa'd ibn al-Ḥārith	S-B-A-D-II	Najjarī	A2:341	Khazraǰ	A2:341	Anṣārī	A2:341; H2:22						
122	Sa'd ibn Mas'ūd	II	Thaqafī	H2:34										
123	Saḥī ibn Ḥunayf	S-B-A-II	Awsī	S6:15; B2:662; A2:470; H2:86	Anṣārī	A2:470; H2:86			Medina	S6:15; B2:663; A2:470	Persia	B2:663; A2:470	Basrah	H2:86

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No.	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
117			Badr	A2:205; H1:491							
118			Badr	A2:204; H1:503	al-'Aqabah wa-baqiyat al-mashāhid	H1:503					
119			Badr, Uhud wa-sā'ir al-mashāhid ma'a Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama	B2:497	'Aqabah	A2:225	shahida Badr, wa-Uhud, wa-al-Khandaq, wa-Bay'at al-Ridwān, wa-al-mashāhid kullahā ma'a Rasūl Allāh	A2:225			
120											
121											
122											
123	Kūfah	S6:15	Badr wa-al-mashāhid kullahā ma'a Rasūl Allāh	B2:662; A2:470; H2:86; S3:471							



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SOURCES- No. 5	PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
117	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī	A2:205	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H1:491				
118	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī	A2:204	shahida Šiffin	H1:503				
119	'Alī	shahida Rišāh ibn Rāfi' ma'a 'Alī al-Jamal wa-Šiffin	B2:497	shahida Rišāh al-Jamal ma'a 'Alī, wa-shahida ma'ahu Šiffin aydan	A2:226				
120	'Alī	shahida huwa wa-akthūhu al-Ĥārith ibn 'Amr Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	B2:601; A2:362	shahida Šiffin	H2:29	shahida Šiffin min al-Saljābah ma'a 'Alī	D1:217		
121	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin anne 'Alī wallāhu be'd 'amelihī thumma isteshābahu ma'ahu liā Šiffin	B2:583; also A2:341	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H2:22	quṭilla Sa'd bi-Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	D1:212; S5:82		
122	'Alī		H2:35 B2:663; A2:470; H2:86; S3:472; S6:15						
123	'Alī (d)	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin							

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-I	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHII-CAL. LOCATION-1	SOURCES-I	GEOGRAPHII-CAL. LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHII-CAL. LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
124	Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ	B-A	Qureshī	B2:622; A2:391	Umayy	A2:391			Kūfah	A2:392				
125	Šāfiḥ	H	Anṣārī	H2:167										
126	Ṣayfī ibn Ribī' (d)	B-A-D-II	Anṣārī	H2:189										
127	Ṣayfī ibn Sawād	D	Anṣārī	D1:269	Salami	D1:269								
128	Shuraiḥīl ibn al-Šimī	H	Kindī	H2:142					Hims	H2:142	Syria	H2:142		
129	Šimāk ibn Kharshah (or ibn Aws)	B-A-II	Anṣārī	B2:651; A2:451; H2:75	Khazrajī	A2:451	Sā'idī	A2:451	Kūfah	H2:75				
130	Suhayl ibn 'Amr	B-D-II	Anṣārī	B2:669; D1:247 S6:25; B2:649; A2:449; H2:74						S4:292; S6:25; B2:650; A2:449				
131	Suleymān ibn Šurād	S-B-A-II	Khuzā'ī						Kūfah					
132	Thābit ibn Qays	B-A	Anṣārī	B1:206; A1:274	Zafarī	B1:206	Awsī	A1:274						
133	Thābit ibn 'Ubayd	A-D-II	Anṣārī	A1:273; D1:63; H11:195										

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No.	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
124			wulida 'ām al-Hijrah	B2:621; A2:391	wulida sanat lhdā	B2:622; A2:391					
125			Badr	H2:168							
126											
127			Badr	D1:269							
128			wafada 'alā Rasūl Allāh	H2:142							
129			Badr	B2:651	lahu maqānāt mahmūdah fi maghāzī Rasūl Allāh	B2:651-652	shahida Badr, Uḥud wa-Jarīl' al-mashāhid ma'a Rasūl Allāh	A2:451			
130			Badr	B2:669; D1:247							
131			ṣahība al-Nabl	S4:292							
132											
133			Badr	A1:273; D1:63; H1:195							

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No.	SOURCES- 5	PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
124		neutral	i'tazala ayyān al-Jamal wa-Šiffin	B2:623	i'tazala al-šimāh, fa-lam yashhad al-Jamal wa-lā Šiffin	A2:392				
125		'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	I12:168 B2:734; A3:41; D1:269; I12:189 D1:269						
126		'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī Ibn Abī T'Alīb							
127		'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī							
128		Mu'āwiyah	shahida Šiffin ma'a Mu'āwiyah	H2:142	ma'a bi-Šiffin	I12:142				
129		'Alī (d)	shahida ma'a 'Alī Ibn Abī T'Alīb rađiya Allāh 'anhu Šiffin qutila ma'a 'Alī rađiya Allāh 'anhu bi-Šiffin	B2:652 I12:92	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	A2:452	shahida Šiffin	I12:75		
130		'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin		qutila bi-Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	D1:247			shahida ma'a 'Alī Ibn Abī T'Alīb 'alayhi al-salām al-Jamal wa-Šiffin	S4:292
131		'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin	S6:25; B2:650	shahida ma'a 'Alī Ibn Abī T'Alīb rađiya Allāh 'anhu mashāhidahu kullihā	A2:449	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	I12:74		
132		'Alī	shahida Thābit Ibn Qays Ibn al-Khāshim ma'a 'Alī rađiya Allāh 'anhu Šiffin wa-al-Jamal wa-al-Nahrawān	B1:261; A1:274-275						
133		'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	A1:273; D1:63	shahida Šiffin	I11:195				

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
134	The'labah ibn Qayzī	H	Anṣārī	H1:202										
135	'Ubadah ibn Awfā (d)	A	Numayrī	A3:157	'Amirī	A3:157			Syria	A3:158				
136	'Ubayd ibn 'Azib	A	Anṣārī	A3:542					Kūfah	A3:542				
137	'Ubayd ('Abdah or 'Ubaydah) ibn Khalīd	B-A-D-H	Bahzī	B3:1016; A3:536; D1:365; H2:435	Sulami	B3:1016; A3:536; D1:365; H2:435			Kūfah	B3:1016; A3:536; D1:365				
138	'Ubayd (Abū al-Haytham) ibn al-Tayyihān	S-A	Anṣārī	A3:535	Awsī	A3:535; S3:447	Beil	A3:535; S3:447						
139	'Ubayd Allāh ibn Suhayl	H	Anṣārī	H2:429										
140	'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Umar	S-B-A-D-H	Qurashī	B3:1010; A3:527; H3:75	'Adawī	H3:75								
141	Ubbān (Wubbān) ibn Ṣayfī	B-A	Ghifārī	B4:1567; A1:162					Basrah	B4:1567; A1:162				
142	'Umayr ibn 'Uthaybah	H	Sulami	H3:31										

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No.	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
134		Badr	II:202							
135										
136										
137		Muhājirī	B3:1016; A3:536							shahīda Abū al-Haytham Badr wa-Uḥud wa-al- Khandaq wa al-mashāhid kullihā
138		'Aqabah	A3:535	Badr	A3:535	Uḥud	A3:535	min awwal man aṣlana min al-Anḡār	S3:448	
139			B3: 1010; A3:527; D1:363; H3:75							
140		wuḥida 'alā 'ahd Rasūl Allāh								
141										
142										

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No.	SOURCES-5	PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
134		unidentified	shahida Šiffin	I11:202						
135		Mur'awiyah	shahida Šiffin ma'a Mur'awiyah	A1:158						
136		'Ali	shahida 'Ubayd wa-akhihu al-Barrā ma'a 'Ali mastahidahu kullahā	A3:543 B3:1016; A3:536; D1:365; H2:435						
137		'Ali	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Ali							
138	S3:448	'Ali (d)	qatila ma'a 'Ali bi-Šiffin	A3:535	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Ali ibn Abi 'Alīb wa-qatila yamma'idhūn	S3:449				
139		'Ali	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Ali	I12:439						
140		Mur'awiyah	qatila 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Umar bi-Šiffin ma'a Mur'awiyah	B3:1011	shahida 'Ubayd Allāh Šiffin ma'a Mur'awiyah (qāla 'Alī:) mā yamma'uka an ta'khudha našibaka min hādhih al-amr wa-takhiḏfa fīh?	A3:527	fa-kāna ma'a Mur'awiyah ilā an qatila ma'ahu bi-Šiffin	I13:77	qatila bi-Šiffin	D1:363; S5:17; S3:265
141		neutral	lam yuqātil ma'a 'Ali	B4:1568						
142		'Ali	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Ali	I13:31						

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
143	'Umayr ibn Qurrah	II	Laythi	II:35										
144	'Uqbah ibn 'Abd Allāh	III	Anṣārī	II:483	Salamī	II:483								
145	'Uqbah ibn 'Amir	II	Sulamī	II:483 S4:343; S7:498; A4:54; H2:482						S4:343; S7:498; A4:54; H2:482				
146	'Uqbah ibn 'Amir	S-A-II	Juhani	H2:482					Egypt					
147	'Uqbah ibn 'Amir (Abū Mas'ūd)	B-A	Anṣārī	B3:1073	Khazraǝī	B3:1073; A4:57			Kūfah	B3:1075				
148	'Urwah ibn Miālik	II	Aslamī	II:469										
149	'Urwah ibn Zayd al-Khayl	II	Ta'ī	II:469 B1:94; A1:11; D1:21; H1:64										
150	Usayd ibn Thālabah	B-A-D-II	Anṣārī											
151	'Utbah ibn Abī Sulaymān	A	Qurashī	A5:209	Umawī	A5:209			Egypt	A3:560				



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GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHEET-1	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHEET-2	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHEET-3	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHEET-4	SOURCES-RELATION TO THE PROPHEET-5
No. 4					
143					
144					
145					
146					
147	Badr	Ujhd wa-mā be' dahā min al- mashāhid	B3:1075; A4:57		
148					
149					
150	Badr wullda 'alā 'alid Resūl Allah	B1:94; A1:111; D1:21; H1:64			
151		A3:560			

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No. 5	SOURCES- PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- I	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
143	'Alī	fi man shahida Šiffin min al-Šajbāh ... wa-kāna shadidan 'alā Mu'āwiyah wa-ahī al-Shām H3:35							
144	unidentified	shahida Šiffin fi-man shahida Šiffin min al- Šajbāh ma'a 'Alī H2:483							
145	'Alī		H2:483 A4:54; H2:482; S4:344; S7:498						
146	Mu'āwiyah	shahida Šiffin ma'a Mu'āwiyah							
147	'Alī	istakhlafahu 'Alī fi khurūjhi ilā Šiffin 'alayhā (al-Kūfa)	B3:1075	istakhlafahu 'Alī 'alā al- Kūfah lamā sara ilā Šiffin	A4:57				
148	'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H2:469						
149	'Alī	shahida ma'ahu ('Alī) Šiffin	H2:469 B1:94; A1:111; D1:21; H1:64						
150	'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī							
151	Mu'āwiyah	shahida Šiffin ma'a akhbāhi Mu'āwiyah	A3:560						

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-CAL LOCATION-1	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-CAL LOCATION-2	GEOGRAPHI-CAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-CAL LOCATION-3
152	Wadhāh ibn Abī Zayd	B-A-D-H	Anṣārī	B4:1567; A5:442; D2:127; H3:595										
153	Wā'il ibn Hujr	A	Hadramī	A5:435										
154	al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah	A	Qurashī	A5:451	Umayy	A5:451			Kūfah	A5:452				
155	Ya'la ibn Umayyah	B-A-H	Tamīmī	B4:1585; A5:523; H3:630	Hanzalī	B3:1585; A5:523; H3:630			Yemen	A5:523; H3:630	Sanā	A5:523; H3:630		
156	Yazīd ibn Asad (d)	H	Bejlī	H3:614					Syria	H3:614				
157	Yazīd ibn Hawtharah	B-A-D-H	Anṣārī	B4:1574; A5:486; D2:136; H3:617										
158	Yazīd ibn Tu'mah	B-A	Anṣārī	B4:1577; A5:497										
159	Zamīl (Zunay) ibn Rabī'ah	S-B-H	Dannī	B2:564	'Udhri	S1:332; B2:564; H1:532								

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No.	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
152		wafada 'alâ Rasûl Allâh.	A5:435							
153		aslama yawm al-Fatî	A5:451	İammâ aslama qad nâhaza al-İjtîlân	A5:451	ra'â al-Walid Rasûl Allâh şallâ Allâh 'alayhi wa-sallama wa-İuwa İİİ şğıİir	A5:451			
154		İİunayn	B4:1585; A5:523; İİ3:630	Tâ'if	B4:1585; A5:523; İİ3:630	Tabûk	B4:1585; A5:523; İİ3:630	Badr	A5:523	aslama yawm al-Fatî
155		wafada 'alâ al-Nabî	İİ3:614							
156		Uİhud	B4:1575; A5:486; İİ2:136							
157		İahna wafadah	İİ1:532; S1:332							
158										
159										

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No.	SOURCES-5	PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES-1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES-2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES-3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES-4
152		'AII	fi man shahida Šiffin min al-Šajābah ma'a 'AII	B4:1567; A5:442; H3:595	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'AII	D2:127				
153		'AII	shahida ma'a 'AII Šiffin	A5:435						
154		neutral/Mu'awiyah	Jammā qutila 'Uthmān rađiya Allah 'anhu f'azala al-fitnah	A5:453	shahida Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah	A5:453	lan yashhidhā, wa lākinnahu kāna yuharrid Mu'awiyah bi-katbihi wa-shirih	A5:453		
155	B4:1585; A5:523	'AII	qutila Ya'la' Ibn Umayyah sanat thumanu wa-thalāfin bi-Šiffin ba'd an shahida al-Jamal ma'a 'A'ishah	B4:1587	shahida al-Jamal ma'a 'A'ishah, thumma šara min ašhab 'AII, wa-qutila ma'ahu bi-Šiffin	A5:523; also H3:630				
156		Mu'awiyah	kāna ma'a Mu'awiyah bi-Šiffin	H3:614	shahida Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah	H3:614				
157		'AII	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'AII	B4:1574; A5:486; D2:136; H3:614						
158		'AII	fi-man shahida Šiffin min al-Šajābah wa-qadima 'ala Rasūl Allah šalla Allah 'alayhi wa-sallama ... wa-'a'qada lahu Rasūl Allah ... liwā'ala qawmihī ... wa-lan yazal ma'ahu al-liwā' jattā shahida bihi Šiffin ma'a Mu'awiyah	B4:1577	fi-man shahida Šiffin ma'a 'AII rađiya Allah 'anhu min al-Šajābah	A5:497				
159		Mu'awiyah		B2:564; also H1:532; S1:332						

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
160	Zayd ibn Arqam	B-A-II	Anṣārī	B2:535; A2:276	Khazrajī	B2:535; A2:276; H1:542			Kūfah	B2:535; A2:376				
161	Zayd ibn Aslam	A-II	Balawī	A2:277; H1:542	Ajlānī	A2:277; H1:542	Anṣār	A2:277						
162	Zayd ibn Jariyah	B-A-D	Anṣārī	B2:540; A2:280	Awsī	A2:280; D1:197	'Anūrī	A2:280						
163	Ziyād ibn Ḥanzalah	A-II	Tamīmī	A2:269; H1:539										
164	Abū 'Anraḥ	B-A-D-II	Anṣārī	B4:1721; A6:230; D2:190; H4:140	Najjārī	B4:1721; D2:190								
165	Abū Ayyūb (Khālīd ibn Zayd)	B-A	Anṣārī	B4:1606; A2:95; A6:25	Khazrajī	A2:95; A6:25	Najjārī	A6:25						
166	Abū Burdah (Hānī ibn Niyār)	A	Balawī	A6:30										

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No.	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
160			ghazā Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama tis'a asherat ghazwah ghazawtu minhā sab'a asherat ghazwah	B2:535; also A2:276; H1:542							
161			Badr	A2:277							
162			ustuḡhira yawm Uḡud	B2:540; A2:280; D1:197	Khaybar	D1:197					
163			qad 'amila li-Rasūl Allāh	A2:269	ba'athahu al-Nabī ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama ilā al-Zibirqān ibn Badr						
164			Badr	A6:230; D2:190	Uḡud wa al-mashāhid	A6:230	'Aqabah, Badr, Uḡud	H4:140			
165			'Aqabah	B4:1606; A2:95; A6:25	Badr, Uḡud, Khandaq wa-sā'ir al-mashāhid ma'a al-Nabī	B4:1606; A6:25	Badr, Uḡud wa-mashāhid kullahā ma'a al-Nabī	A2:95			
166			'Aqabah II	A6:30	Badr, Uḡud wa-al-mashāhid kullahā	A6:30	al-Fath	A6:31			

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No.	SOURCES- 5	PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
160		'Alī	shahida Zayd ibn al-Arqam ma'a 'Alī radīy Allāh 'anhu Šiffin	B2:536; also A2:276	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H1:542				
161		'Alī (d)	shahida ma'a 'Alī harbahu	A2:277	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H1:542				
162		'Alī	shahida Zayd ibn Jariyah hadha Šiffin ma'a 'Alī radīya Allāh 'anhu	B2:541; also A2:280	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin	D1:197				
163		'Alī	kāna munqašī ilā 'Alī radīya Allāh 'anhu wa-shahida ma'ahu mashāhidahu kullahā	A2:269	shahida ma'a 'Alī mashāhidahu	H1:534				
164		'Alī	qutiba ma'a 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib bi- Šiffin	B4:1721; also A6:230	(qāla Muḥammad ibn al- Ḥanāfiyah:) Ra'aytu Abā 'Amr al-Anṣārī yawm Šiffin	H4:140	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	D2:190		
165		'Alī	shahida Abū Ayyūb ma'a 'Alī al- Jannal wa-Šiffin wa-kāna 'alā muqaddimatihī yawm al-Nahrawān	B4:1606; A6:25	shahida al-Nahrawān (ma'a 'Alī)	B4:1606	shahida ma'a 'Alī radīya Allāh 'anhumā lḥurūbahu kullahā	A2:96		
166		'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib lḥurūbahu	A6:31						



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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
167	Abū Fuḍālah	B-A-D-II	Anṣārī	B4:1729; A6:247; D2:193; H4:155										
168	Abū al-Ghāḍīyah (Yasār ibn Sabū')	B-A-II	Juḥanī	B4:1725; A5:516; A6:237; H4:150					Syria	A6:237; H4:150	Wāsiṭ	A6:237; H4:150		
169	Abū Ḥabbāh	S-II	Anṣārī	H4:41; S3:479	Māzinī	S3:479								
170	Abū Ḥāzīm	II	Bajālī	H4:40										
171	Abū Juḥayfah (Wahb ibn 'Abd Allāh)	B-A	Suwā'ī	B4:1619; A6:48 B4:1744;	'Āmirī	A6:48			Kūfah	B4:1619; A6:48				
172	Abū Laylā (Yasār ibn Bilāl)	B-A-II	Anṣārī	A5:514; A6:269; H4:169	Awsī	A5:514; A6:269			Kūfah	B4:1744; A6:269; H4:169				
173	Abū Muḥannad	II	Anṣārī	H4:176	Khawlānī	H4:176			Syria	H4:176				

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GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION- No. 4	SOURCES- 4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES- 1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES- 2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES- 3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES- 4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
167		Badr adraka al-Nabi wa- huwa ghufām .. wa- lahu simā' min al- Nabi	B4:1729; A6:247; D2:193; I14:155							
168			B4:1725; also A6:237	bāya'a al-Nabi	A6:237					
169										
170										
171		min šighār al- Ṣaḥābah	B4:1719; A6:48	anna Rasūl Allāh ṣalī Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama tuwaffiya wa-Abū Julayfa lan yablaḡ al-ḡulum, wa-lakinnahu ṣanī'a min Rasūl Allāh	A6:48					
172		Uḡud wa-mā ba'daha min al- mashāhid	B4:1744; A6:269; I14:169							
173										

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No.	SOURCES- PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
167	'Alī	qutilla ma'a 'Alī bi-Šiffin	B4:1729, 1730; also A6:247; I14:155	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	D2:193				
168	Mu'awiyah	kāna muljibban il-'Uṭimān, wa- huwa qā'il 'Ammār ibn Yāsir	B4:1725	qā'il 'Ammār ibn Yāsir	A5:516; I14:150	kāna min šif'at 'Uṭimān rađiya Allāh 'anhu wa- huwa qā'il 'Ammār ibn Yāsir	A6:237		
169	'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	I14:41	kāna ma'a 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib bi-Šiffin	S3:479				
170	unidentified	qutilla bi-Šiffin	I14:40						
171	'Alī	kāna 'Alī qad ja'atahu 'alā Bayt al- Mā' bi-al-Kūfah, wa-shahida ma'ahu mashāhidahu kullihā shahida huwa wa-ibnuhu 'Abd al- Raḥmān ma'a 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib rađiya Allāh 'anhu mashāhidahu kullihā	B4:1620; A6:48						
172	'Alī		B4:1744; A6:269	qutilla bi-Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	A5:415	kāna ma'a 'Alī fī ḥurūbihī wa-qīla innahu qutilla bi- Šiffin	I14:169		
173	'Alī (d)	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin	I14:176						

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
174	Abū Mūsā	B-II	Asī'atī	B4:1762; H2:351					Basrah	B4:1763; H2:352	Kūfah	H2:351, 352		
175	Abū Qatadah	B-A	Anṣārī	B4:1731; A6:250; H4:157	Salamī	B4:1731; A6:250; H4:157	Khazrajī	H4:157	Kūfah	H4:158	Mecca	H4:158		
176	Abū Qudāmah	B-A-II	Banī 'Abd Manahī ibn Kinānah	B4:1733; H4:159	Anṣārī	A6:252	Banī 'Abd ibn Kinānah	H4:159						
177	Abū Razīn (Mas'ūd ibn Mālik) (d)	II	Asadī	H4:75					Kūfah	H4:75				
178	Abū Sharrī ibn Abrahah	II	Hīmīyārī	H4:103	Abrahī	H4:103			Egypt	H4:103				
179	Abū Thā'labah	II	Khushamī	H4:29					Syria	H4:30	Hims	H4:30	Dārayyā	H4:30

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No.	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
174			aslana qadīman bi-Makkah	B4:1763							
175			Badr	B4:1731, 1732; A6:250; H4:157	Uḥud wa-mā ba'dahā min al-mashāhid	B4:1731; A6:250; H4:157					
176			Uḥud	B4:1733; A6:252; H4:159							
177											
178			wafada 'alā al-Nabī	H4:103							
179			bāya'a taljta al-shajarah	H4:30	Khaybar	H4:30					

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No. 5	SOURCES- PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
174	neutral	wa-kāna munḥarif'an 'Alī il-annahu 'azalahu wa-lam yasta'milhu	B4:1764	kāna aḥad al-ḥakameyn bi- Šiffin thumma t'azala al- farīqayn	H2:351				
175	'Alī	shahīda Abū Qatādeh ma'a 'Alī mashāhidahu kullihā	B4:1732; A6:251						
176	'Alī	quṭila bi-Šiffin ma'a 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib	B4:1733; A6:252; H4:159						
177	'Alī	shahīda Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	II4:75						
178	'Alī	quṭila ma'a 'Alī bi-Šiffin	II4:103						
179	neutral	lam yuqātil bi-Šiffin ma'a aḥad al- farīqayn	II4:30						

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No.	NAME	SOURCES	TRIBE-1	SOURCES-1	TRIBE-2	SOURCES-2	TRIBE-3	SOURCES-3	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-1	SOURCES-1	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-2	SOURCES-2	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-3	SOURCES-3
180	Abū al-Tufayl	B-A	Kinānī	B4:1696; A3:145; A6:179	Laythī	A3:145; A6:179			Kūfah	B4:1696; A3:145; A6:180				
181	Abū Umāmah	S-II	Bāhīfī	S7:411; H2:175					Syria	H2:175; (S7:384)				
182	Abū 'Uthmān	B	Anṣārī	B4:1712										
183	Abū al-Ward	B-A	Māzinī	B4:1774; A6:328; A6:328	Anṣārī	B4:1775; A6:328			Egypt	B4:1774- 1775; A6:328				
184	Abū al-Yasar (Ka'b ibn 'Amr)	B-A	Anṣārī	B4:1776; A6:332	Salāmī	B4:1776; A6:332			Medina	B4:1776				
185	Abū Za'nah	H	Khazrafi	H4:76										

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No.	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-1	SOURCES-1	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-2	SOURCES-2	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-3	SOURCES-3	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-4	SOURCES-4	RELATION TO THE PROPHET-5
180			wulida 'ām Uḥud wa-adraka min ḥayāt al-Nabī thamān thiīn	B4:1696; A3:145; A6:180							
181			Uḥud	H2175							
182											
183											
184			'Aqabah	B4:1776; A6:332	Badr	B4:1776; A6:332	shahida al-mashāhid ma'a Rasūl Allāh	A6:332			
185			Badr	H4:76	Uḥud	H4:76					



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No. 5	SOURCES- PRO	EXPRESSION-1	SOURCES- 1	EXPRESSION-2	SOURCES- 2	EXPRESSION-3	SOURCES- 3	EXPRESSION-4	SOURCES- 4
180	'Alī	ṣaḥība 'Alī fī mashāhidihī kullihā	B4:1696	shahida ma'ahu mashāhidatu kullihā	A3:145; A6:180				
181	'Alī	kāna ma'a 'Alī bi-Šiffin	H2:175	shahida Šiffin	S7:411				
182	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib	B4:1712						
183	'Alī	shahida ma'a 'Alī Šiffin	B4:1775; A6:328						
184	'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	B4:1776; A6:332						
185	'Alī	shahida Šiffin ma'a 'Alī	H3:284						