

FROM MUSAYLIMA TO THE KHĀRIJITE NAJDIYYA

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Abstract

This paper tries to reconstruct the following accounts: the defeat of Musaylima and the death of his prominent followers, and the rise of the Khārijite Najdiyya in Yamāma. Moreover, this study seeks the evidence which points to the possible connection between Musaylima's movement and the Khārijite Najdiyya. This paper highlights that many founders and prominent leaders of the Khārijites, and particularly the Najdiyya sect, came from the tribe of Ḥanīfa, to which Musaylima belonged. This, among other things, seems to have become the main impulse of attraction for the people of Ḥanīfa to join the sect. Additionally, the 'characteristics' and the 'image' of the Najdiyya reflect those of Musaylima. This leads us to conjecture that the people of Ḥanīfa, having failed to defend their prophet Musaylima and the land of Yamāma against the Medinan caliphate under Abū Bakr in the Battle of 'Aqraba, later joined the Khārijite Najdiyya.

[Artikel ini menjelaskan kekalahan Musaylima dan kematian pengikut-pengikut utamanya serta kemunculan aliran Khawārij Najdiyya di Yamāma. Melalui artikel ini, penulis membuktikan relasi antara gerakan Musaylima dan Khawārij Najdiyya. Ini bisa dibuktikan dengan mencermati fakta bahwa sebagian pendiri dan tokoh utama Khawārij, utamanya sekte Najdiyya, berasal dari suku Ḥanīfa --suku yang juga menjadi asal muasal Musaylima. Kesamaan suku inilah --dan beberapa faktor lainnya-- nampaknya menjadi daya tarik tersendiri bagi orang-orang suku Ḥanīfa untuk bergabung dengan sekte Najdiyya. Selain itu, 'karakteristik' dan 'imej' sekte Najdiyya yang

menyerupai gerakan Musaylima adalah hal lain yang turut menguatkan asumsi tersebut. Pandangan inilah yang kemudian mengantarkan penulis pada kesimpulan bahwa, setelah gagal mempertabahkan nabi mereka, Musaylima, dan wilayah mereka, Yamāma, melawan khalifah Islam di Madinah yang dipimpin Abū Bakr, suku Ḥanīfa memilih memberontak dan bergabung dengan sekte Khawārij Najdiyya.]

Keywords: Musaylima, Khārijite, Najdiyya

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A. Introduction: the Defeat of a ‘Prophet’

In the last two years of the Prophet Muḥammad’s life, the Muslim community in Medina developed rapidly. At the same time, another prophet in Yamāma, named Musaylima, consolidated his political power.¹ The conquest of Mecca was a turning point for the early Muslim community. After this event, many Arab tribes, as reported by *ṣīra* (biography) and *tārīkh* (historiography) literature, sent deputations to Medina to pay allegiance to the Prophet.² In Yamāma, Hawdhā b. ‘Alī, an influential political leader whose sway expanded from Central to North

¹ Although Musaylima was a prophet contemporary to Muḥammad, only a few have seriously paid sufficient attention to this figure. Besides entries in the *EI1* (Encyclopaedia of Islam, Brill, first edition), *EI2* (Encyclopaedia of Islam, Brill, second edition), and *EQ* (Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān, Brill), the following articles have dealt with Musaylima: Dale F. Eickelman, “Musaylima, An Approach to the Social Anthropology of Seventh Century Arabia” *JESHO* (Journal of Economy and Social History of the Orient) 10 (1967); M. J. Kister, “The Struggle against Musaylima and the conquest of Yamāma” *JSAI* (Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam) 27 (2002). See also a review on Kister’s work by Sellheim, “Zu M. J. Kister’s Struggle against Musaylima” in *Die Welt des Orients* 35 (2005): pp. 158-68.

² Some Muslim scholars have taken these classical reports at face value, see, for instance, Ḥamīdullah, *Le Prophète de l’Islam* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1959) vol. 1, pp. 433-434. Western scholars, however, have cast doubt on the accounts of deputations of some Arab tribes and their conversion to Islam; see Elias Shoufani, *Al-Riddah and the Muslim Conquest of Arabia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 12. n. 4; W. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956) 80; W. Arafat, “An Interpretation of the Different Accounts of the Visit Tamīm Delegation to the Prophet in A. H. 9” *BSOAS* (Bulletin of School for African and Asian Studies) 17 (1955), p. 424.

Arabia,³ died and Musaylima then appeared to control the politics of Yamāma. Thumāma b. ‘Uthāl,⁴ on the other hand, stood as an opposition, with the support of Medina from both the Prophet Muḥammad himself during his lifetime and Abū Bakr, the first caliph. However, Musaylima, who was supported by numerous followers consisting of settled and nomad tribes, was stronger than Thumāma, whose followers constituted only a splinter group of the settled people.⁵

Although Musaylima’s political power came later after Hawdhā’s death, his claim of prophethood, according to some early Muslim sources, occurred no later than the Prophet Muḥammad’s.⁶ Musaylima’s religious

³ For more on Hawdhā, see, for instance, al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-Nasab li Ibn al-Kalbī*, Maḥmūd Firdaws al-‘Azīm and Maḥmūd Fakhūrī (ed.) (Damascus: Dār al-Yaqda al-‘Arabiyya) vol. 2, p. 262; ‘Abdallah b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Bakrī, *Muḥam ma Istaḥam min Asmā’ al-Bilād wa al-Mawādi’*, Mustafā al-Saqā (ed.) (Cairo: Matba‘a Lajna al-Ta’lif wa al-Tarjama wa al-Nashr, 1368/1949) vol. 3, p. 1063; al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-Uyūn fi Sirāt al-Amīn al-Ma’mūn/Sirā al-Ḥalabīyya* (Cairo: Mustafā al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī wa Awladu, n.d.) vol. 3, p. 303; Ibn Ḥadīdah al-Anṣārī, *al-Miṣbāḥ al-Mūdi*, Sharāf al-Dīn Aḥmad Muḍīr (ed.) (Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1396/1977) vol. 2, p. 355; Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Zād al-Ma‘ūd fi Hady Khayr al-‘Ibād*, Muḥammad al-Mas‘ūdi (ed.) (Cairo: al-Matba‘a al-Misriyya, 1347/1928) vol. 3, p. 63.

⁴ On Thumāma, see, for instance, Donner F. McGraw. “Mecca’s Food Supplies and Muḥammad’s Boycott,” *JESHO* 20 (1977): pp. 249-266. See also Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (Beirut: Dār Sadir, 1960) vol 5, pp. 550-551; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghāba fi Ma‘rifat al-Ṣaḥāba* (n.p.; n.d.) vol.1, pp. 246-9; Ibn Hajar al-Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fi Tamyiz al-Ṣaḥāba*, ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Bajawi (ed.) (Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1992) vol. 1, p. 203.

⁵ Shoufani, al-Riddah 84; Kister, “The Struggle” 11; al-Maqriẓī, *Imtā’ al-Asmā’ bi mā li Nabī min al-Aḥwāl wa al-Awwāl wa al-Hafada wa al-Matā’*, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Numaysi (ed.) (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1999) vol. 14, pp. 536-7.

⁶ Marsden Jones (ed.), *Kitāb al-Maghāzī al-Waqīdī* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 82; al-Tha‘alibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb fi al-Muḍāf wa al-Manṣūb*, Muḥammad Abū al-Fadl Ibrāhīm (ed.) (Cairo: Dār Nahda, 1384/1965), p. 146; Abū al-Fida’ Isma‘īl b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar fi Akhbār al-Bashār*, Ibrāhīm Kāmil al-Zayn and Adīb ‘Arif al-Zayn (ed.) (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1375/1956) vol. 2, p. 65; Ibn Shiḥnah, *Rawḍ al-Manāẓir fi ‘Im al-Awā’il wa al-Awākhir*, Muḥammad Muḥannā (ed.) (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1417/1998), p. 101. However, Ibn Ishāq, supported by Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabārī, dates the prophethood of Musaylimah at the late life of the Prophet Muḥammad. See *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk*, Muḥammad Abū al-Fadl Ibrāhīm (ed.) (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1962) vol. 3, p. 147; trans. Poonawala, *History*, pp. 107-8. See also Diyarbakrī, *Tārīkh al-Khāmis fi Aḥwāl Anṣās Nāfis* (Beirut: Mu‘assasa Sha‘bān, n.d.) vol. 2, p. 158; al-Balansī, *Tārīkh al-Ridda, Iqtābasa min al-Iktifā’ li al-Kalā’i al-Balansī*, Khurshid Aḥmad Farīq (ed.) (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1970), p. 58; al-Zurqāni, *Sharḥ ‘ala al-Mawāhib al-Ladūniyya*

activities, as *kahin* (soothsayer) and *Nabī* (prophet) or *rasul* (messenger), began when he was in Haddār,⁷ the village where he was born. However, he gained no significant number of followers.⁸ When he moved to Hajar, the capital of Yamāma, the number of his followers increased considerably. After Hawdhā's death, Musaylima, perhaps inspired by the success of the Prophet Muḥammad in Medina, seized the opportunity to combine both politics and prophetic mission as a means to achieve his goal of founding an independent Yamāma. He achieved considerable success, but only for two years. It was Khālīd b. Walīd's force --dispatched by Abū Bakr after the failure of 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl's force in facing Musaylima's troops⁹-- which finally defeated Musaylima. Wahshi, a black slave who had killed Ḥamza, the Prophet Muḥammad's uncle, claimed to have killed Musaylima in the fierce Battle of 'Aqraba.¹⁰

li al-'Allama al-Qastallānī (Cairo: al-Azhar, 1327H) vol. 4, p. 20; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī* (Najaf: al-Haydariyya, 1384/1964) vol. 2, p. 120. See also some discussions on this, e.g. Margoliouth, "On the Origin and Import of the name Muslim and Hanif," *JRAS (Journal of Royal Asiatic Society)* 35 (1903), p. 485; C. J. Lyall, "The words hanif and Muslim," *JRAS* 35 (1903), pp. 771-84; F. Buhl, "Musaylima," *EI1*; Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 135; Eickelman, "Musaylima", p. 33; Kister "The Struggle against Musaylima," pp. 4-6.

⁷ Kister, "The Struggle"; Ibn Manzur, "Haddār" in *Lisān al-'Arab*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya fi Gharīb al-Ḥadīth wa al-Athar*; Abū 'Abd al-Raḥman Ṣalāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Uwayda (ed.) (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1418/1998) vol. 5, p. 217. Haddār was a valley in the district of al-Falaj. See Abdullah al-Askar, *al-Yamāma in the Early Islamic Era* (Reading: Ithaca, 2002), p. 15. It is also reported that Musaylimah owned a farm in this valley. Cf. Yaqūt, *Mu'jam Irshād al-Arīb ila Ma'rifat al-Adīb/Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, D.S. Margoliouth (ed.) (Cairo: Matba'ah Hindiyya, 1913) vol. 4, 258 and vol. 5, p. 258.

⁸ Al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb*, p. 146; al-Waqīdī, *Kitāb al-Ridda*, Riwaya Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. A'tham al-Kufī (d. 314), Yahya al-Juburi (ed.) (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1990/1410), p. 109.

⁹ Al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, 292; trans. Donner, *History*, p. 122.

¹⁰ *Kitāb al-Maghāzī al-Waqīdī* vol. 1, 286; al-Waqīdī, *Kitāb al-Ridda*, p. 137; *Tārīkh Kbalīfa b. Kbayyād*, Akram Diyā' al-'Umārī (ed.) (Najaf: Matba'ah al-Adab fi al-Najf al-Ashraf, 1386/1967), pp. 75-76; Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh* vol. 2, p. 109; Al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, p. 289. Al-Balādhūrī, on the other hand, mentions six killers: Khidash b. Bashir b. al-'Asim, 'Abdalla b. Zayd b. Tha'laba, Abū Dujana Simak b. Kharasha, 'Abdalla b. Zayd b. 'Asim, Wahshi, and Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyan. See al-Balādhūrī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Munajjid (ed.) (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahda al-Misriyya, n.d.) v. 1, pp. 106-7; Ibn Ḥubaysh, *Ghazwat Ibn Ḥubaysh/Kitāb al-Ghazawāt al-Damīna al-Kamīla wa al-Futūḥ al-Jamī'a al-Ḥafila al-Kā'ina fi Ayyām al-Khulafā' al-Anwāl al-Thalātha: Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq wa Abī Ḥafṣ 'Umar wa Abī 'Amr dbi al-Nurayn 'Uthmān*, Suhayl Zakkar (ed.) (Beirut: Dār

B. The Followers

This section presents the story of Musaylima's followers briefly, which Muslim sources still preserve. Ibn Sa'd, for instance, reports only the members of the deputation of the tribe of Ḥanīfa who came to Medina and who are said to have converted to Islam.¹¹ Yet Ibn Sa'd fails to mention the identities of Musaylima's supporters. So do later authors of many genres of Muslim literature, ranging from *ṭabaqāt* (biographies), *Sirā* (biography of the Prophet), *tārīkh* (historiography), *Ḥadīth* (prophetic tradition), *i'jāz* (miracle of the Qur'ān), *tafsīr* (exegesis of the Qur'ān), to *rijāl al-Ḥadīth* (transmitters of the tradition).

Most of al-Ṭabārī's stories of the Battle of Yamāma, for instance, focus on the accounts of Muslim troops under the command of Khālīd b. al-Walīd. Various reports mention a number of names of Muslim commanders and warriors, whereas only a few names of those who fought on the side of Musaylima are mentioned. Al-Ṭabārī reports that the number of the Ḥanīfa who fought on the side of Musaylima was forty thousand,¹² although it is difficult to accept the reliability of this estimation. However, it would appear that Musaylima was supported by a huge number of followers from various tribes in Yamāma in the Battle of 'Aqraba and that the people of Ḥanīfa were his main supporters. Most of the people of Tamīm, a neighbour and competitor to the Ḥanīfa, seemed to support their own prophetess, Sajah.¹³

According to the reports on the battle between the Ḥanīfa and the Medinans, not only were the followers of Musaylima numerous, but they were also well organized, a fact which explains why to the extent that the Ḥanīfa defeated Muslim troops under 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl.¹⁴ In the

al-Fikr, 1412/1992) vol. 1, pp. 87-8.

¹¹ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* vol. 1, p. 316. Wilhelm Hoenerbach also provides a list of those who stood against Musaylima during the Yamāma war; see his *Walīma's Kitāb ar-Ridda aus Ibn Hagar's Iṣāba, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Abfalls der Araberstämme nach Muhammads Tod* (Wiesbaden: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1951), pp. 53-65.

¹² Al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, p. 281. Al-Balansī and Ibn Ḥubaysh preserved a testament by Khālīd b. al-Walīd on the huge number of the tribe Ḥanīfa; see Ibn Ḥubaysh, *Ghazwat Ibn Ḥubaysh* vol. 1 79; al-Balansī, *Tārīkh al-Ridda*, p. 91.

¹³ V. Vacca, "Sajah" in EI2; al-'Asqalānī, *Iṣāba* vol. 7, 723; Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, pp. 272-4; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985) 12-15.

¹⁴ Al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, p. 281.

later battle under Khālīd's command, a significant number of Muslims, ranging from the Medinans (*Anṣar*), the Meccans (*Muhajirūn*) to the Bedouins, fell as martyrs (*shuhadā*).¹⁵ From the story of the battle, we can only draw three names of Musaylima's prominent supporters, while the rest of them remain unidentified.

First, al-Rajjāl/al-Raḥḥāl/al-Naḥḥār b. 'Unfuwa¹⁶ played a critical role in both propagating Musaylima's prophethood among the Ḥanīfa and acting as a commander of his troops in the Battle of 'Aqraba. According to some *akhbār* (reports) found in various genres of Muslim literature, al-Rajjāl came to Medina as a deputation member of the tribe of Ḥanīfa, joining the Companions' circle where he learned the *Qur'ān* and the Sunna¹⁷ under the instruction of a known *Qur'ānic* reader, Ubayy b. Ka'b. Al-Rajjāl also made acquaintance with a prominent Ḥadīth narrator, Abū Hurayra.

According to Muslim literature, al-Rajjāl called upon the people of Ḥanīfa to testify to Musaylima's prophethood.¹⁸ Having stayed in Medina for a considerable period of time, he was familiar with the Muslim community and Islamic teachings. Upon his return to Yamāma, he informed Musaylima about the successful development of both Islam and the Muslim community. Al-Ṭabārī preserves a long report narrating how Musaylima consulted al-Rajjāl about many vital issues, including how to perform miracles and to imitate the way Muḥammad had done so.¹⁹ From the Muslim perspective, however, Musaylima always failed to imitate

¹⁵ As many as 600 Muhajirun and Anṣar were killed, whereas 7,000 of Ḥanīfa were killed in 'Aqraba and another 7,000 in the garden of death (*baḍiqaṭ al-mawī*). See al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, 296. Muslim writers also mention some names of the martyrs; see, for instance, *Tārīkh Khalīfah b. Khayyāt*, pp. 77-9; al-Balādhūrī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* vol. 1, pp. 109-11; Ibn Ḥubaysh, *Ghaṣṣat Ibn Ḥubaysh* vol. 1, pp. 100-103; al-Dhahabī, *al-Ṭbār fī Khabar man Ghabar*, Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Munajjid (ed.) (Kuwait: Muḍīr Ma'had al-Makhtūtāt bi Jamī'a al-Duwal al-'Arabiyya, 1960) vol. 1, pp. 14-5; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* (Beirut: Dār Sadir, 1965) vol. 2, pp. 366-7; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya* (Beirut: Maktaba al-Ma'ārif, 1966) vol. 6, pp. 334-41.

¹⁶ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* vol. 1, p. 316; J. Wellhausen, *Medina vor dem Islam* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985), pp. 156-8; al-Tha'ālībī, *Thimār al-Qulūb*, p. 147; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya* vol. 6, p. 323.

¹⁷ Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya* vol. 6, 323; al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, pp. 284-285; trans. Donner, *History*, p. 117; al-Balānsī, *Tārīkh*, p. 58; al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asma* vol. 14, p. 230.

¹⁸ Al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, p. 282; *History* trans. Donner, p. 107.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Muḥammad. In the end, al-Rajjāl was killed in the Battle of ‘Aqraba.

Second, Muḥkam b. Ṭufayl or Muḥkam al-Yamāma²⁰ was also an important supporter of Musaylima, and worked as his *wazīr* (adviser).²¹ In spite of the fact that Muslim reports say little about him, al-Waqīdī cites a poem denouncing his support of Musaylima’s prophethood.²²

Third, Mujjā‘ah b. Murāra adopted a rather ambiguous position between Musaylima’s faction and the Medinans. On the one hand, it is said that after witnessing one of Musaylima’s miracles, he testified to his prophethood.²³ On the other hand, during the Battle, Mujjā‘ah and his followers were not on the battlefield with their prophet Musaylima. While seeking for the blood revenge from the tribe of ‘Āmir, they were captured by Khālīd b. Walīd’s troop on the way to ‘Aqraba. The troop kept Mujjā‘ah as a hostage and executed his followers.²⁴ After the Battle of Yamāma, he mediated between the two warring factions and made them sign a treaty.²⁵ Moreover, his daughter married Khālīd and he himself led a deputation to Medina to acknowledge Abū Bakr’s sovereignty over Yamāma.²⁶

Apart from this information, the identity of most of Musaylima’s followers remains enigmatic. The Muslim sources report that, having been defeated, some of the Ḥanīfa were executed. Others are said to have converted to Islam. A number of them were also driven out of Yamāma.²⁷

Tārīkh literature portrays the Muslim troops as achieving total victory in the Battle of ‘Aqraba and states that the followers of Musaylima who survived after the Battle surrendered to the Medinan authority. However, this story seems to contain a certain degree of simplification.

²⁰ Al-Waqīdī, *Kitāb al-Ridda*, pp. 108-9; see also Aḥmad b. A‘tham al-Kufī, *al-Futūḥ* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Ilmiyya, 1406/1989) vol. 1, pp. 26-7.

²¹ Al-Waqīdī, *Kitāb al-Ridda*, p. 113.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

²³ Al-Jāhiz, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, ‘Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (ed.) (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1408/1988) vol. 4, p. 372.

²⁴ Al-Waqīdī, *Kitāb al-Ridda*, pp. 120-121; *Tārīkh Khalīfa b. Khayyāt*, pp. 72-3; al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, p. 287.

²⁵ Al-Waqīdī, *Kitāb al-Ridda*, pp. 138; *Tārīkh Khalīfa b. Khayyāt*, pp. 76; al-Balādhūrī, *Futūḥ* vol. 1, pp. 108-109; al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, pp. 297-8; Al-Balansī, *Tārīkh al-Ridda*, pp. 107-108; Ḥubaysh, *Ghazwat Ibn Ḥubaysh* vol. 1, pp. 91-2.

²⁶ Al-Waqīdī, *Kitāb al-Ridda*, p. 146; al-Balansī, *Tārīkh al-Ridda*, pp. 115-20.

²⁷ Abdullah al-Askar, *al-Yamāma*, p. 35.

There is no compelling evidence suggesting that all people of Yamāma surrendered to the Medinan authority upon their defeat. Nor is the story convincing when it states that the survivors among Musaylima's followers all converted to Islam.

On the contrary, I would like to argue that a certain number of Ḥanīfa continued practicing Musaylima's cult. According to *Ḥadīth* reports preserved in the collections of Ḥakim, Abū Dāwūd, and Ibn Kathir, the followers of Musaylima still practiced the rites of his cult during the time of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, the third caliph. The way in which they did so is portrayed differently in the sources. One Ḥadīth says that they only testified to Musaylima's prophethood in a mosque.²⁸ Another states that they recited Musaylima's *'Qur'ān'* (scripture), which, according to another report, was called *'mushaf'* (codex).²⁹ Ibn Kathir even cites the verses which they recited.³⁰ 'Abdalla b. Mas'ud, according to these sources, ordered the execution of the leader of the cult, 'Abdalla b. Nawwāha, and drove the rest of the followers of Musaylima out of Yamāma.

The story of Musaylima's followers practicing the ritual cult in a mosque of Yamāma implies that after the Battle of 'Aqraba, Musaylima's followers continued to practice his cult, especially reciting their own *qur'ān* or performing certain rites. Moreover, more than a century later, Ibn Ishāq consulted a Sheikh of Ḥanīfa on the story of the deputation of the Ḥanīfa to Medina.³¹ Two centuries later, al-Jāhiz met the people of Ḥanīfa in Baṣra, whom he consulted about Musaylima's revelations.³² Surprisingly, later Muslim sources preserve a number of stanzas attributed to Musaylima.³³

²⁸ Al-Dārimī, *Sunan al-Dārimī* (Damascus: Bāb al-Ba'īd, 1349 H) vol. 2, p. 235.

²⁹ Ḥakim Nisaburi, *al-Mustadrak 'ala al-Sahihayn fi al-Aḥādīth* (Riyad: Maktaba wa Matābi' al-Nasr li al-Ḥadīth, n.d.) vol. 4, pp. 53-4.

³⁰ Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidāya* 5, pp. 51-2.

³¹ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirā al-Nabawīyya*, Muṣṭafā al-Saqā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī and 'Abd al-Ḥafīz Shalbī (ed.) (Cairo: Shirka wa Matba'a al-Bābi Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī wa Awladu, 1375/1955) vol. 2, p. 576.

³² Al-Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān* vol. 4, p. 89.

³³ See, for instance, one of stanzas attributed to Musaylima which bears similarities to surah al-A'la (Q. 87). Jawad Alī, *al-Mufaṣṣal fi Tārīkh al-'Arab qabl al-Islām* (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm al-Malāyīn, 1970) vol. 8, p. 756; al-Tha'ālībī, *Tbimār al-Qulūb* 147; Muṭṭahar b. Ṭāhīr al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-Bad' wa al-Tārīkh* (Baghdād: al-Muthanna, 1916) vol. 5, pp. 161-162.

The fact that Musaylima's cult was still practiced at the time of 'Uthmān leads us to speculate that this was also the case during the reigns of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. However, this only describes the loyal followers of Musaylima. This paper also seeks to explain that those who later converted to Islam joined the faction of 'Alī. In the later period, as Abdullah al-Askar argues, the people of Musaylima—who failed to obtain the independence of Yamāma from the Medinan authority—later supported the Khārijite Najdiyya movement in their hometown. According to al-Askar, the sentiment of regionalism played a vital role in triggering both religious movements of Musaylima and the Najdiyya.³⁴ In this regard, I try to present more clues to the connection between the two.

C. The First Clue to the Link between Musaylima and the Najdiyya: Tribal Origin

The following discussion presents the first clue conveying a possible link between the Khārijite movement and Musaylima's movement. That is, I draw attention to the tribal origins of the early Khārijite's leaders, particularly those of the Najdiyya sect.

According to modern scholars, the origin of the Khārijite movement remains puzzling³⁵ regarding when and how it emerged. Traditional Muslim sources tell us that this political movement can be traced back to the arbitration (*muhakkama*) that took place in attempt to cease the conflict between the warring factions of 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. However, the Khārijites (or the *Khawārij*, those who seceded from the faction of 'Alī due to their disappointment with the arbitration) called upon the early Muslims to return to the law of God (*lā hukma illā lillāh*).³⁶ In the theological realm, the Khārijites went further, condemning many early Muslim leaders, including 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Mu'āwiya and the rest of the Umayyad caliphs. This sect, however, did acknowledge the leadership

³⁴ See Abdullah al-Askar, *al-Yamāma*, pp. 68-74.

³⁵ See, for instance, Patricia Crone, *God's Rule, Government and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), p. 54. See also n. 58 below.

³⁶ The above formula, according to Hawting, was "a summary of the scripturalist position and a protest against the Oral Law rather than a reaction to the arbitration agreement made at Şiffin." See his "The Significance of the Slogan "*lā hukma illā lillāh*" and the References to the "hudūd" in the Traditions about the Fitna and the Murder of 'Uthmān" *BJSOAS* 41 (1978), p. 461.

of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.

In terms of tribal origins, Watt points out that most of the Khārijites came from northern tribes.³⁷ Madelung also remarks the same pattern that some northern tribes, under the umbrella of the Rabi‘a, including the tribes Ḥanīfa and the Tamīm, supported ‘Alī’s faction during the War of Ṣiffīn.³⁸ However, in the aftermath of the arbitration, these tribes joined the Khārijites. This tribal affiliation is a point of departure for the way in which the Khārijite movement relate to Musaylima’s movement.

From traditional Muslim accounts, one can conclude that tribal sentiment played a vital role in the leadership of the early Muslim community. During the election of Abū Bakr, for example, the Quraysh, a section of the Mudar, enjoyed the privilege in both politics and theology. Their nobility was justified by numerous traditions attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad,³⁹ who was himself a Qurayshite. The four rightly guided caliphs, many prominent Companions, the Umayyads, and the early Abbasid rulers also belonged to the Quraysh. This tribal sentiment also contributed to the politics and tribal alliance of later Muslim community. It is therefore unsurprising that the Tamīm and the Ḥanīfa, sections of Rabi‘ah, joined the Khārijites in order to protest against the Mudar who dominated both factions of ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya.

Nonetheless, via their tribal affiliation to the Ḥanīfa and the Tamīm, we uncover the likely link between Musaylima’s people and the Khārijites. This can be seen in the origins of some Khārijite leaders. It is true that the early leaders of the Khārijites in terms of their tribal origins, as Wellhausen remarks, were heterogeneous.⁴⁰ However, the Tamīm and

³⁷ Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology, An Extended Survey* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985), p. 5. See Watt, *Islam and the Integration of Society* (London: Routledge, 1961) eg. pp. 94-103; and Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973) eg. pp. 10-11.

³⁸ W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad, A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 229 and 232; Madelung, “Rabi‘a in the Jahiliyya and in Early Islam” *JS.AI* 28 (2003), pp. 155-157, 162, 164, and 232.

³⁹ See, for instance, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (Beirut: Dār Sadir, n.d.) vol. 3, pp. 129, 193 and vol. 4, p. 421.

⁴⁰ The following figures were Tamīmites: Mis‘ar b. Fadaki (Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 5, p. 76), Hurqus b. Zuhayr (Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 5, p. 75; Dinawārī, *Akhhbār*, p. 204), ‘Urwa b. Udayya, and Abū Bilal (Mirdas b. Udayya, d. 61/680-1) (Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 5, p. 55; Mubarrad, *Kāmil* vol. 3, pp. 1098, 1185-86; Levi Della Vida, *EI2*; S. Sears,

the Ḥanīfa later dominated the leadership of this sect.

To begin with, ‘Urwa b. Udayya al-Ḥanzalī was the leader of the Tamīm who protested the arbitration between ‘Alī’s faction and Mu‘āwiya’s. Due to this, a clash occurred between the Tamīm and the Yemenite tribes under Ash‘ath b. Qays,⁴¹ the chief of Kinda of Kūfa, who accepted the condition proposed by Mu‘āwiya. It is said that ‘Urwa cried that ‘the arbitration belongs only to God.’⁴²

The founder and leader of the section Azāriqa of Kharijites, Nāfi‘ b. Azrāq (d. 65/685) was indentified both as Tamīmite and Hanafite.⁴³ ‘Abidah b. Hilal, an important supporter of the Azāriqa, belonged to the Yashkur tribe, many of whose members lived in Yamāma.⁴⁴ The following

“Umayyad Partisans or Kharijite Rebel?: The Issue of Abd al-Aziz b. MDWL” *Studia Iranica* 21 (2002), p. 74; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, Ḥasan Tamīm (ed.) (Beirut: Dār Maktaba al-Ḥayya, 1963, vol. 2), p. 7. For the Tamīmite members of the Kharijites who were mostly Qur‘ān readers (qurra’), see al-Ash‘arī, *al-Ibāna ‘an usul al-diyāna* (the Elucidation of Islam’s Foundation), trans. Walter C. Klein (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1967), p. 7. According to Shaban, however, the word reads *qurra*, instead of *qurra’*, see n. 58 below.

The following figures were Mudarites: Farwa b. Nawfal al-Ashja‘ī (Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 5, p. 86. Dinawārī, *al-Akbbār al-Ṭiwāl*, ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ‘Āmir and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (ed.) (Cairo: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa wa-al-Irshād al-Qawmī, al-Iqlīm al-Janūbī ; al-Idāra al-‘Āmma lil-Thaqāfa, 1960) , p. 210; Shurayḥ b. Abī Awfa al-Ibsī (Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 5, p. 75. Dinawārī, *al-Akbbār*, p. 202), ‘Abdalla b. Shajara al-Sulāmī (Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 5, p. 83), and Ḥamza b. Sinan al-Asadi (Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 5, pp. 74-5).

The following figures were Ṭayyī: Zayd b. Ḥusain (Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 5, p. 85. Dinawārī, *al-Akbbār*, p. 203), Mu‘adh b. Juwayn, and Ṭarafa b. ‘Adi b. Ḥatim (Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 5, p. 75; Dinawārī, *al-Akbbār*, p. 205).

The following figures were Yemenites: Yazid b. Qays al-Arhabi, ‘Abdalla b. Wahb al-Rasībī (Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 5, 74. Dinawārī, *al-Akbbār* 202, 215-24; HAR Gibb, *EI2*; Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad 250-52*, p. 258), and Ibn Muljam al-Murādī, *the Murder of ‘Alī (al-Mubarrad*, al-Kāmil, Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Dālī (ed.) (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risāla, 1406/1989) vol. 3, pp. 1115-1121. See also Julius Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factors in Early Islam*, trans. R.C. Ostle and S.M. Walzer (Oxford: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1975), p. 16, e.g. n. 9.

⁴¹ Dinawārī, *al-Akbbār*, p. 211.

⁴² Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, p. 5; *Islam and the Integration of Society*, pp. 94-103; *The Formative Period*, pp. 10-11.

⁴³ Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factors*, pp. 45, 50, n. 3; Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 2, p. 517.

⁴⁴ Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factors*, p. 51. n. 3. Hawdhā b. ‘Alī was also a Yashkurite. For the sources of his pedigree, see n. 4 above.

Khārijites --‘Abdalla b. Ṣaffār, ‘Abdalla b. ‘Ibād, Hazala b. Bayhas, ‘Abdalla, ‘Ubaydalla, and Zubayr-- came from the Tamīm.⁴⁵

The most successful movement of the Khārijites in terms of political endeavours was the Najdiyya faction led by Najda b. ‘Āmir al-Ḥanafī,⁴⁶ which had separated from Nāfi‘ b. Azrāq’s section,⁴⁷ and whose main supporters --Abū Ṭālūt Salīm b. Matar, Abū Fudayk ‘Abdalla b. Thawr,⁴⁸ and ‘Atiyya b. al-Aswad⁴⁹-- came from the Ḥanīfa. Another important leader of the early Khārijites, Ḥassan b. Bahdaj, was also a Hanafite.⁵⁰

Early Khārijites concentrated in Kūfa, where they survived into the Abassid era. Baṣra then also became a base of this sect, where the Najdiyya split from the Azāriqa in the second civil strife.⁵¹ From Baṣra the Azāriqa went eastward, reaching Iran.⁵² The Najdiyya, having moved to and ruled Yamāma, conquered many surrounding areas, including Bahrain, Oman, parts of Yemen, and Hadramawt in the south and south-west.⁵³

As a leader of the Khārijites, Najda, whom they called *amīr al-mu’minīn* (the commander of the faithful),⁵⁴ was of course hostile to the

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁴⁶ Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* vol. 3, pp. 1102, 1104, for his consultation to Ibn ‘Abbas on religious matters see, for instance, vol. 3, p. 1121.

⁴⁷ R. Rubinacci, *EI2*.

⁴⁸ K. Lewinstein, *EI3* (third edition). Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, Muḥammad b. Fath Allāh Badran (ed.) (Cairo: Matba‘at al-Azhar, 1328/1990), p. 215; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayn al-Firaq*, Muḥammad Muhy al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (ed.) (Cairo: Maktaba Muḥammad ‘Alī Subayḥ, n.d.), p. 88. See also M.Th. Houtsma, *EI2*; Ṭabāṭī *Tārīkh* vol. 2, p. 829.

⁴⁹ Wellhasuen, *The Religio-Political Factors*, p. 45.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁵¹ Shahrastānī, *Kitāb*, p. 217; Keith Lewinstein, “Making and Unmaking a Sect: The Heresiographers and the Ṣufriyya,” *SI* 76 (1992), p. 96; Patricia Crone, *God’s Rule* 55; Crone, “A Statemetn by Najdiyya”, p. 56.

⁵² Crone, *God’s Rule*, p. 55.

⁵³ Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj* vol. 3, p. 8. Watt estimates that Najda’s sway extended over larger areas than ‘Abdalla b. Zubayr’s. See Watt, *The Formative Period*, p. 23; Watt, *Islamic Philosophy*, p. 9. Whereas Najda conquered Bahrain, Yemen and Hadramawt, ‘Aṭiyya b. al-Aswad marched on Oman. But soon the latter quarrelled with the former and founded the ‘Aṭawiyya section. See Rubinacci, *EI2*.

⁵⁴ Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal*, p. 212.

Umayyads, the original nemesis of ‘Alī’s faction. It was not surprising that he supported Zubayrid faction, which, however, he finally left. This moment was also marked by the fact that he and his men moved from Baṣra to Yamāma. This sect was known for its instability. It is not surprising that these Khārijite leaders --Najda, Abū Ṭālūt, Abū Fudayk, and ‘Atiyya-- were also involved in the serious quarrels over religious and political matters. Najda was finally killed by his own companion, Abū Fudayk.⁵⁵

Thus, the fact that the founder of the Najdiyya, Najda b. ‘Āmir, and its main leaders --e.g. Abū Fudayk, Abū Ṭālūt, and Ibn al-Aswad-- were Hanafites may have become the main impulse of attraction for the people of Ḥanīfa. Abū Ṭālūt, whom Najda appointed as a governor of Yamāma, centered his activities in Khadhārim, where four thousand slaves of Ḥanīfa were employed by the Umayyads to cultivate land.⁵⁶ Thus, in a certain way, the emergence of the Khārijites in Yamāma served as a new hope for the people of Ḥanīfa, a movement which might liberate them from the power of the Umayyads, whom they detested. In fact, Musaylima had previously failed to liberate them from the Medinan caliphate.

D. The Second Clue: ‘Characteristics’ and ‘Images’

Early ‘Kharijism’ was a movement of ‘puritanism,’ or at least a movement that emphasized religious piety.⁵⁷ Some also argue that this

⁵⁵ Najda was accused of committing sins in the eyes of the Khārijites, e.g. his unacceptable independent judgement (*ijtibāʾ*), his protection of ‘Uthmān’s family, and his compromise with the caliph ‘Abd al-Mālik b. Marwan. Additionally, Najda failed to build a stable relation with the tribe of Ḥanīfa. When he moved his center to Bahrain, some of them withdrew their support. See, for instance, Abdullah al-Askar, *al-Yamāma*, pp. 68-74. Ref. cited.

⁵⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* vol. 4, p. 201; cf. Micheal J. Morony, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, p. 163. n. 486; J. Wellhausen, *Religiös-politischen Oppositionensparteien im altern Islam* (Berlin: Weidmansche Buchhandlung, 1901), p. 30.

⁵⁷ In this regard, J. Wellhausen argues that this sect, whose main teaching consisted of returning to the Qur’ān and the Sunna, had strong roots in the teachings of Islam itself. See his *The Religio-Political Factors*, pp. 17-18. Elie Adīb Salem also underlines the religious sentiment which triggered the birth of the Khārijites, rather than the political motivation; see his *Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawārij* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956). Micheal G. Morony subscribes to the same opinion, adding the positive side of the early Khārijites in maintaining the equal status among the Arab Muslims and respecting the non-Muslims; see his *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton:

sect had a strong bond with the spirit of Arab tribalism.⁵⁸ The two characteristics can also be found in the accounts of Musaylima. From certain stanzas attributed to him, we may draw the conclusion that this prophet also endorsed his followers to practice a certain form of piety and asceticism, e.g. restricting certain sexual activities, prohibiting wine drinking, intoxicated drinks or mixed drinks.⁵⁹ However, many Muslim

Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 468, and 470-71. See also, Fred. M. Donner, “*Piety and Eschatology in Early Khārijite Poetry*” *Fī Mibrab al-Ma‘rifā* (Beirut: Dār Sader Publishers, 1997). Watt argues that, having envisioned an ideal pious community, the Khārijites represented a form of ‘charismatic society’ in the early history of Muslim community. See his “The Conception of the Charismatic Community in Islam” *Numen* 7 (January, 1960), pp. 77-90; Watt, “Conditions of Membership of the Islamic Community,” *SI (Studia Islamica)* 21 (1964), p. 7.

However, Shaban proposes that social factors and economical interests which likely triggered the emergence of this movement. That is, a particular group of Muslim community called *qurra* (lit. villagers/Bedouins), who were entrusted in the early Muslim community as an army to conquer new lands, blamed ‘Uthmān for injustices he committed, and then seceded from ‘Alī’s faction due to economical and social dissatisfaction. This group was likely the proto-Khārijites. See M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History, A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132): A New Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 50-76. See also the meaning of *qurra*’ as Qur’ān readers in n. 35 below. For more discussion on some views of modern Muslim and Western scholars on the Khārijites, see for instance, Hussam S. Timani who reviews each of these views in his *Modern Intellectual Readings of the Khārijites* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2008).

⁵⁸ R.E Brunnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden* (Leiden: n.p., 1884), e.g. 8 and elsewhere. Crone highlights the ‘libertinism’ of the Khārijite in terms of character (see her *God’s Rule* 63), whereas Watt their ‘egalitarianism’ (see his *The Formative Period*, pp. 24-25).

⁵⁹ On the restriction of sexual intercourse and the prohibition of wine drinking in one of Musaylima’s stanzas, see, al-Ṭabāri, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, p. 272; mod. trans. Donner, *History* 93-4. (*Qultu labum lā al-nisa’ ta’tun*/I said to them, You shall not come to women. *Wala al-khamr tashrabun*/Nor drink wine). On the prohibition of consuming mixed or adulterated drink, see al-Ṭabāri, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, p. 284; mod. trans. Donner, *History*, p. 109; al-Baqillānī, *Iḥās al-Qur’ān*, Sayyid Aḥmad Saqr (ed.) (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, n.d.), p. 239; al-Harūnī, *Ithbāt Nubuwat al-Nabī*, Khafīl Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Ḥajj (ed.) (Cairo: Dār al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1399/1979), p. 38. (*Waqad ḥurrīma al-madhq, jamā lakum lā tumajja ‘ūn*/Adulterating milk has been forbidden; so what you have, do not consume date mixed with milk).

The spirit of puritanism can also be seen in certain proponents of the ḥanīf, such as Abū ‘Amir who accused the Prophet Muḥammad of mixing his version with extra-ḥanīf elements. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* vol. 2, p. 321; al-‘Asqalānī, *Iṣāba* vol. 1, p. 250; Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidāya* vol. 2, p. 221.

scholars convey a 'negative' image of Musaylimah, according to which he allowed his people drink wine and commit adultery.⁶⁰ Musaylima also performed certain forms of prayers and fasting.⁶¹ However, Muslim authors accuse him of reducing the number of prayers originally ordered by the Prophet Muḥammad.⁶² He also taught his people loyalty to tribal alliance, and due to this he praised the Tamīm for their tribal loyalty.⁶³

As in the case of Musaylima, the image of the Najdiyya is also related to wine and adultery. That is, Najda is reported to have tolerated wine drinking, or at least did not order the execution of big sinners, e.g. thieves, wine drinkers and adulterers (whom he regards as *ghayr mushrikīn*/non-polytheists).⁶⁴ The main teachings of the Najdiyya, as reported by later sources, was knowing God and His Messengers.⁶⁵ Interestingly, the two main teachings can also be found in the accounts of Musaylima. In one of his stanzas, Musaylima explains the attributes of

⁶⁰ Ibn Hishām, *Sirah* v. 2, p. 576; al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* v. 3, pp. 137-8; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Durar fī Ikhtisār al-Maghāzī wa Siyār*, Shawqī Dayf (ed.) (Cairo: Dār al-Taḥrīr, 1966), p. 270; al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-Uyūn* vol. 3, p. 155; Al-Ṣaliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-Hudā wa al-Rashād fī Sirā khayr al-'Ibād*, Ibrāhīm al-Tarzī and 'Abd al-Karīm al-'Uzbawī (ed.) (Cairo: Wizāra Awkāf, Lajna Ihya' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1402/1982) vol. 6, p. 497.

⁶¹ Musaylima also used 'the call for prayer.' See al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, pp. 283-4. See also Musaylima's stanza, which reads "Fa ahyakum 'alayna min ṣalāwat ma'shar abrār/For us some prayers of the company of the pious, ... Yaqumun al-layl wa yasūmun al-nahar/Staying up at night and fasting by day." See al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, p. 272; mod. trans. Donner, *History*, p. 93; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab* vol. 19, p. 78.

⁶² Al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, p. 274.

⁶³ See one of Musaylima's stanzas preserved by al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* v. 3, pp. 283-4; trans. Donner, *The History*, p. 109. (*Inna bani Tamīmīn qawm tabr laqāb/* 'The tribe Tamīm is a people of purity and [quite] responsible. *Lā makruha 'alayhim wa lā iṭāwā/* Nothing can force them and nothing can influence them. *Nujawirubum ma hayyina bi iḥsān/* Let us form allies with them (the Tamīm) to stand. *Numni'ubum min kulli Insān/* Let us protect every person of them).

⁶⁴ See Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal*, p. 214; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, p. 89; al-Ash'ārī, *al-Ibāna* (The Elucidation), p. 7.

⁶⁵ See also for the rest of the teachings of Najdiyya, al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, p. 89; Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal*, p. 216; Ibn Abī al-Hadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj* vol. 3, pp. 8, 10; Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal*, p. 216; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fī al-Milal wa-al-Ahwā' wa al-Nihāl*, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Naṣr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Umayra (ed.) (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1405/1985) vol. 5, 53; vol. 4, p. 149.

God and his great role in human life.⁶⁶ Thus, the seeds of monotheism were present in Yamāma before the people there converted to Islam

⁶⁶ See al-Ṭabārī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, p. 272; mod. trans. Donner, *History*, p. 93; al-Nuwayri, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, vol. 19, p. 78. (*Sami'a Allah li man sama'*/God listened to whomever He listened to. *Wa atma'uh bi al-khayri idh tama'*/And made him yearn for good when he yearned. *Wa lā zala amrub fi kull ma sarra nafsuh yajtami'*/And His cause is still arranged in everything that delights him. *Ra'akum rabbukum sabayyakum*/Your Lord saw you and gave you life. *Wa min wahshat kballakum*/And preserved you from loneliness. *Wa yawm dini anjakum*/And saved you and gave you life on the day of His religion). From this stanza, we can perhaps draw the attributes of God as follows: the Listener, the Generous one, the Arranger of detailed things, the Watcher, the life Giver, the salvation Giver, and the 'Friend' of man in loneliness.

or joined the Najdiyya movement. So far, it is beyond our knowledge whether Musaylima knew the Biblical prophets, some of whose names are preserved in the Qurʾān.⁶⁷ What is certain is that he himself claimed prophethood.⁶⁸

Musaylima and the Khārijites shared the same fate, being depicted negatively in most of the sources by their adversaries. The stories of Musaylima and his followers have been preserved by his nemesis, the Muslim community. Similarly, the accounts of the Khārijites, which come down to us, were recorded by later Muʿtazilite and Sunnite authors. It is therefore not surprising that their narration often shows a hostile attitude to the subject.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, we have no original record written by the followers of the two movements.

Musaylima's cult and the Kharijities also shared a common dislike of the Quraysh. Musaylima's proposal to Muḥammad to divide the land of Arabia into two, half for the former and the other half for the latter,

⁶⁷ In one of his stanzas, Musaylima called God as al-Rahmān (the Merciful One), whose tone sounds Biblical; see al-Ṭabāri, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, pp. 283-4. Musaylima himself was also known as *Rahmān al-Yamāma*; see al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-Unuf fī Tafṣīr al-Sirā al-Nabawīya li Ibn Hishām*, Ṭāhā ʿAbd al-Rawf Saʿd (ed.) (Cairo: Maktaba al-Kulliyat al-Azhariyya, n.d.) vol. 4, p. 225. For the discussion on the use of *al-rahmān* in the pre-Islamic period, see Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qurans*, ed. F. Schwally (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961) vol. 1, pp. 112-113, n. 3; A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabularies of the Qurʾān* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938), pp. 140-141; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammeds nach Bisher Grösstentheils Unbenutzeten Quellen* (Berlin: Nicolai'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1861) vol. 2, pp. 198-210.

⁶⁸ See his declaration, *Musaylima rasul allah* (Musaylima, the messenger of God), in his letter to Muḥammad, n. 71 below. Given this, one may also speculate that Musaylima realized the existence of some previous prophets serving as models for his claim of prophethood, as did Muḥammad.

⁶⁹ Patricia Crone, "A Statement by the Najdiyya Khārijites on the Dispensability of the Imamate," *SI* 88 (1998), p. 55; Keith Lewinstein, "The Azāriqa in Islamic Heresiography" *BSOAS* 54 (1991): p. 251. In this regard, Jeffrey T. Kenney argues that the Khārijites also served as a symbol employed by later Sunnite authors representing any form of extremism in Islam. See his "Heterodoxy and Culture: The Legacy of the Khārijites in Islamic History", *Ph.D Dissertation*, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1991, p. 78 and elsewhere. Additionally, later Sunnite authors attributed a tradition—to the Khārijites. However, Crone finds that this mere attribution has no convincing evidence. See her, "Even an Ethiopian Slave: The Transformation of a Sunnī Tradition," *BSOAS* 57 (1994) 59-67. As such, later Sunnite authors played a certain role in shaping the image of the Khārijites.

was rejected. In a letter to Muḥammad, Musaylima also protested against the political domination of the Quraysh. He described the tribe as *qawm ya'tadūn* (the people who transgressed).⁷⁰ The Khārijites continued to rebel against the Umayyads, who were part of the Quraysh. Similarly, the Umayyads also showed hatred towards the Ḥanīfa. Caliph 'Abd al-Mālik b. Marwan claimed that it was Mu'āwiya, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, who killed Musaylima.⁷¹ Likewise, the Ḥanīfa also transmitted a tradition, according to which the Prophet said '*wayl banu umayya*/woe to the faction of Umayyads.'⁷² The Umayyads, in turn, oppressed the Ḥanīfa, making them as slaves to cultivate their lands (as mentioned above).

We can further relate Musaylima's movement to Najdiyya. It is reported that, having been defeated in Yamāma and Bahrain, the remaining followers of Najda escaped to Baṣra.⁷³ It seems not to be a sheer coincidence that al-Jāḥiz once came to Baṣra to consult the people there about the revelation of Musaylima (as indicated earlier). Thus, connecting the two events leads us to speculate that the Ḥanīfa, who had joined the Khārijites, still preserved Musaylima's story when they settled in Baṣra.

We can perhaps reconstruct the chronological narrative of the people of Ḥanīfa from the defeat of Musaylima to the rise of Najdiyya as follows. Although certain leaders of the Ḥanīfa, e.g. Mujjā'ah b. Murāra, paid allegiance to the Medinans' sovereignty, not all of Musaylima's followers entirely abandoned his cult. They still practiced it down to the time of 'Uthmān, as indicated earlier. Later, the people of Ḥanīfa

⁷⁰ On the various sources of the letter, see Muḥammad Hamīdullah, *Majmū'at al-Wathā'iq al-Siyāsiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Nafā'is, 1985), p. 304; 'Alī Ahmadi, *Kitāb Makātīb al-Rasul* (n.p.: n.d.) vol. 1, p. 167; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirā al-Nabawīyya* vol. 2, p. 600. Most of Muslim scholars accepted the redaction of Ibn Hishām, e.g. al-Bayhaqi, *al-Maḥāsini wa al-Masāwi*, Muḥammad Kāmil Afandī al-Na'sāni (ed.) (Cairo: al-Sa'ādah, 1325/1906) vol. 1, pp. 22-23; Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa Wafāyat al-Mashāhir wa al-A'lam*, 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī (ed.) (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1410/1990) book *al-Maghāzī*, p. 686. Al-Balādhūrī, however, gives a different redaction; see Al-Balādhūrī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* vol. 1, p. 106.

⁷¹ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* vol. 1, p. 316; Wilhelm Hoenerbach *Wātīma's Kitāb*, pp. 53-65.

⁷² Ibn al-Athīr, *Usūd al-Ghāba fī Ma'rifa al-Ṣaḥāba* (n.p.: n.d.) vol. 2, pp. 342-343; Al-'Asqalānī, *Iyāba* vol. 2, p. 70.

⁷³ al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, p. 90.

who converted to Islam joined ‘Alī’s faction in the Ṣiffīn war to integrate themselves in the Muslim community. Consequently, Mu‘āwīya and most of the Umayyads became their enemies. In addition, the alliance of the Ḥanīfa with ‘Alī’s faction was also supported by the fact that ‘Alī married a woman from the tribe of Ḥanīfa, Khawla bt. Ja‘far,⁷⁴ who was captured during the Yamāma war. Khawla gave birth to Muḥammad b. Ḥanāfiyya,⁷⁵ whom the Shi‘ite faction led by Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd’s later venerated. Thus, the presence of Khawlah and his son on the side of ‘Alī may have also played a role in attracting the people of Ḥanīfa to join this faction. In the aftermath of the *muhakkima*—when the Khārijite materialized in the form of political movement led by the Tamīm and the Ḥanīfa figures—some people of Ḥanīfa joined this movement. When Yamāma became the center of the Najdiyya, more people of Ḥanīfa must have joined this sect.

E. Concluding Remarks

Having presented the above picture, we can conclude with the following remarks. There is no name belonging to Musaylimah’s movement which survived until the emergence of the Khārijites. Nor was there any name which belonged to both Musaylimah’s movement and the sect Najdiyya. The numerous followers of Musaylima, including al-Rajjāl b. ‘Unfuwwa and Muḥkam b. Ṭufayl, were killed together with their prophet in the war of Yamāma. The last followers of Musaylima who still practiced his cult were led by Ibn Nawwāha at the time of ‘Uthmān. The leader was executed, and his followers were driven out of Yamāma. The Khārijite movement emerged later at the time of ‘Alī. The sect Najdiyya materialized at the later civil strife between the Marwanids and the Zubayrids. Given these facts, it is difficult to pinpoint the direct link between Musaylima’s movement and the Khārijites.

However, in view of the fact that some leaders of the Khārijites, particularly the sect Najdiyya, came from the Ḥanīfa, we may hypothesize that this gave impetus to the people of Ḥanīfa to join the movement.

⁷⁴ Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj* vol. 1, p. 201.

⁷⁵ For more on Muḥammad b. Ḥanāfiyya, see, for instance, F. Buhl, in *EI2*; ‘Abd al-Ameer ‘Abd Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate 65-86/684-705 (A Political Study)* (London: Luzac, 1971), p. 40; S. Ḥusain M. Jafri, *Origins and Early Development of Shi‘a Islam* (London: Longman, 1979), pp. 228-29, 235-37, 239-42.

Particularly, the activities of the sect Najdiyya were centered in Yamāma, the town of Musaylima. This further strengthens al-Askar's finding that both Musaylima and the Khārijite Najdiyya shared the same regional sentiment against the political domination of the Prophet and later caliphs. It is also true that the Khārijites employed this sentiment against the Quraysh, represented by both factions of 'Alī and Mu'āwiya in the aftermath of the *muhakkima*. In the later Muslim politics, the Quraysh were represented by the Umayyads, against whom the Khārijites continued to rebel.⁷⁶ Thus, Musaylima and the Khārijites have been perceived as nothing but rebellious factions. The former was against the Prophet, whereas the latter against the caliphs. The image of the two was unsurprisingly blackened, e.g., the Najdiyya was depicted as allowing adultery and wine drinking, as was Musaylima.

It is also worth noting that Ibn Ishāq and al-Jāhiz met the people of Ḥanīfa who had preserved some accounts of Musaylima. Thus, the former followers of Musaylimah seem to have spread in many Muslim cities, including Baṣra and Baghdād in the aftermath of the execution of their last leader, Ibn Nawwāha. Interestingly, Baṣra also became one of the centers of the Khārijites.

From reading Musaylima's stanzas, the link may be extended not only to Musaylima and the Khārijite Najdiyya, but also to Musaylima and Islam itself. The similarities between Musaylimah's teachings and early Islam are not surprising, given the fact that the two were siblings, born in more or less the same place and time, i.e., the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century. Both prophets, Muḥammad and Musaylima, delivered their revelations using the same style of *saj'* (rhyme prose),⁷⁷ and they

⁷⁶ For example, Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. 'Awf (d. 130/748) continued the rebellion against the Umayyads. See his speech which depicts the sinful acts of many caliphs of Umayyad, and which is still preserved by al-Azdi, *Tārīkh al-Manṣil* (Dār al-Taḥrīr, 1967), p. 104; *GLS* 1, pp. 350, 104-105; Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, p. 132. For more on Abū Ḥamza, see T. Lewicki, "Le Ibādites dans l'Arabie du sud au moyen âge" *Folia Orientalia* 1 (1959); J. van Ess, "Das Kitāb al-Irja des Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanāfiyya," *Arabica* 21 (1974), p. 41; Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 166.

⁷⁷ A few of stanzas attributed to Musaylima feature repetitive oaths, which are also commonly found in some early Meccan revelations of the Qur'ān. See, for instance, al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* vol. 3, p. 283; trans. Donner, *History*, p. 108; al-Baqillānī, *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, pp. 238-9; al-Harūnī, *Iṭbāt Nubuwwat*, p. 38. See also the discussion on

conveyed Qurʾāns (readings),⁷⁸ whose content, diction, and style bear substantial similarities.⁷⁹ What is also clear is that the two figures served as prophets and tribal leaders who propagated monotheism.⁸⁰ However, Islam survives until today, whereas Musaylima's cult disappeared a long time ago.

this, Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans* vol. 1, pp. 75-76; D. V. Frolov, *Classical Arabic Verse: History and Theory of 'Arud* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 119 and elsewhere.

⁷⁸ It is worth recalling that the former followers of Musaylima read his Qurʾān or mushaf. According to Richard Bell, the Qurʾān refers to broader readings, which may include any readings other than the Qurʾān. References to the specific standard Qurʾān must have occurred at the later period of Islam. See Richard Bell, *A Commentary on the Qurʾān*, Edmund Bosworth and M.E.J. Richardson (ed.) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991) vol. 2, p. 329.

⁷⁹ See fn. 34 above. Maxime Rodinson has already pointed out some basic similarities between Musaylima and Islam; see his *Mohammed* (New York: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 272.

⁸⁰ See fn. 67 above.

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Al Makin

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