

**Political Division after Prophet Muhammad in Yemen: the Conflict between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya\***

Hız. Peygamber’den Sonra Yemen’de Siyasi Bölünme: Ali-Muâviye Çatışması

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## Öz

Hız. Peygamber, vefat etmeden önce Arabistan'ın tamamında siyasî hakimiyeti tesis etmişti. Ridde hadiseleri hariç tutulursa Müslümanlar arasındaki siyasî-dinî birliktelik Hız. Osman'ın (ö. 35/656) hilafetinin ikinci yarısına kadar devam etti. Bu zaman diliminde siyasî istikrarsızlık ortaya çıktı. Zira Hız. Peygamber'in vefatından yaklaşık yirmi sene geçmiş ve yeni bir nesil ortaya çıkmıştı. İslâm tarihinde bu zamandaki politik atmosferi saran sise fitne adı verilir. Her ne kadar kaynaklarda söz konusu dönemle ilgili çok sayıda rivayet olsa da yaşanan siyasî belirsizlik hakkında kesin yargıda bulunmak güçtür. Ancak Hız. Osman'ın öldürülmesinin İslâm dünyasının ayrışmasına zemin hazırladığı kesindir. Siyasî doğruları ve yanlışları ayırt etmenin güç olduğu bu politik atmosferde Hız. Ali (ö. 40/661), hilafet vazifesini üstlendi. Ancak asilerin linç girişimiyle vefat eden Hız. Osman'ı katledenlerin cezalandırılması onun karşısına çıkan ilk ve en büyük sorun oldu. Çözüme kavuşturulması mümkün olmayan bu mesele nedeniyle Hız. Osman'ın Şam valisi Hız. Muâviye (ö. 60/680), Hız. Ali'ye biat etmedi. Hız. Ali'nin hilafeti için yaratılan meşruiyet krizi, toplumun kutuplaşmasıyla sonuçlandı. Bu ayrışmanın derinden hissedildiği bölgelerden biri de Yemen'dir. Yemenlilerin, bu politik iklimde tarafsızlıklarını sürdürmeleri mümkün değildi. Bundan dolayı bölge, Hız. Ali ve Hız. Muâviye'nin çatışma sahalarından biri olmuştur. Hız. Ali, amcasının oğlu Ubeydullah b. Abbas'ı Yemen'e vali olarak görevlendirse de Hız. Muâviye, Büsr b. Ebî Ertât isimli komutanını göndererek bölgeyi kontrol altına almıştır. Bu çalışma, Hız. Ali ve Hız. Muâviye ihtilafının Yemen'deki sonuçlarını ortaya koymak için hazırlanmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İslâm Tarihi, Yemen, Ali, Muâviye, Ubeydullah b. Abbas.

## Abstract

The Prophet secured political dominance throughout Arabia, before his death. Except for the Ridda events, Muslims remained united politically and religiously until the second era of Uthman's (d. 35/656) reign. Political instability occurred during this time, as a new generation emerged about two decades following the Prophet's death. These events that separated Muslims into political groups, ended with Uthman's death. In the History of Islam, at this time, political atmosphere was called "fitnah". Despite the fact that there are numerous speculations about that time in the sources, it is difficult to form a definitive judgment about the political obscurity. However, it is certain that Uthman's murder laid the background for division of the Muslims into political parties. In this political situation, where it is difficult to distinguish between political right and wrong, 'Alî (d. 40/661) became caliph. However, the first and most serious difficulty he faced was the punishment of those who murdered Uthman, who lost his life due to the lynching of the rebels. Utman's governor in Damascus, Mu'âwiya (d. 60/680), refused to pledge loyalty to 'Alî because of this unsolved issue. The legitimacy crisis resulted in division of society into two groups. Yemen is one of the districts where the political separation is most evident. It was not possible for the Yemenis to maintain their neutrality in this political situation. As a result, the territory became one of the secondary areas of contention between 'Alî and Mu'âwiya. 'Alî inducted his uncle's son, Ubaydullah b. Abbas, as governor of Yemen. However, Mu'âwiya sent his commander, Busr b. Abî Artât, to take control of the area. This study is intended for discussing the ultimate consequences of 'Alî and Mu'âwiya conflict in Yemen.

**Keywords:** History of Islam, Yemen, 'Alî, Mu'âwiya, Ubaydullah b. Abbas.

## INTRODUCTION

Eternal rivals, Hāshimites and Umayyads, were of two major clans in the Quraysh tribe and had their origins back in the pre-Islamic times. The Umayyads opposed the Prophet's preach to Islam for his being Hāshimite. Furthermore, the hijrah ensued Umayyads' wipe-out in the battle of Badr. They were seeking revenge and achieved it by slaughtering Hamza, the Prophet's uncle, in the Battle of Uhud. The Quraysh at the helm of Umayyad Abū Sufyān (d. 31/651-52), assaulted several times on Muslims in Medina though, they failed. The Pact of al-Hudaybiya (6/628) laid the foundation of Mecca conquest and final obscure for Umayyads's conversion disappeared. Islam commenced peacetime for foes, which would dramatically end with Uthman's (d. 35/656) murder and 'Alī's (d. 40/661) accession to the Caliphate. Umayyad-originated governor of Damascus, Mu'āwiya, revolted against Caliph on the pretext of former one's slayers still remaining unpunished. Vendetta against shadows gave him a unique chance to maintain a campaign. Therefore, Damascus turned out to be a hive of opposition. The Battle of Camel broke out between 'Alī and the Prophet's wife, Aisha, all of a sudden in Basra. Mesopotamian region had been the cradle of civilizations and now became the battle-ground where one Muslim was destroying another. 'Alī chose Kūfa as his operational center so as to crush the rebels. The North ignited power struggle, yet the South was suffered and Yemen had no way-out. Based on this background, this article is intended for discussing the ultimate consequences of 'Alī and Mu'āwiya conflict<sup>1</sup> in Yemen.

## THE CONFLICT BETWEEN CALIPH ALI AND MU'ĀWIYA IN YEMEN

Yemen, the southernmost of the Arabian Peninsula, fell under Islamic rule during the Prophecy of Muhammad and the then-Sasanid governor Bādhān received an immediate appointment as head of the province;<sup>2</sup> however, the Muslim authority would have been short-lived. Late in the Prophet era and earlier in the first caliph's reign, there broke out and remained unsettled ridda wars<sup>3</sup> new conquests to the north allowed Abū Bakr to establish Arab-Islamic unity in their homeland.<sup>4</sup> Political stability continued till Uthman's notorious murder, which paved the way for 'Alī b. Abī Tālib being the fourth in the Caliphate. Mu'āwiya, Uthman's kin and governor of Damascus, abstained from pledging allegiance to new superior. The political and military tension between two parties instantly became visible particularly in Yemen and all along the peninsula. These circumstances ended up

<sup>1</sup> see. Adnan Demircan, *Ali-Muaviye Kavgası* (İstanbul: Beyan Yay., 2014); Mehmet Azimli, *Hasan ve Muaviye* (Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, 2016); Hasan Yaşaroğlu, "Sıffin Savaşı ve Tarihin Gizlediği Bir Gerçek; Ali-Muaviye Mütarekesi", *Turkish Studies* 9/1 (2014).

<sup>2</sup> Abū Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Ahmad b. Said al-Zāhiri İbn Hazm, *Javāmi' al-sīra* (Beirut: Dāru'l-Kutubi'l-İlmiyye), 20.

<sup>3</sup> For the rebellion led by Kays b. Makshūh in Yemen during the reign of Caliph Abū Bakr see. Abū Cafar İbn Carīr Muhammad b. Carīr b. Yazīd al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk* (Beirut: Dār al-Turāth, 1967), 2/223; for false prophets see. Hüseyin Sarıkaya, "Mütenebbiler Meselesi Bağlamında Cāhiliye Araplarının Nübüvvet Telakkileri", *İhya Uluslararası İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4/2 (2018), 173-214.

<sup>4</sup> Elias Shoufany, "Hz. Ebū Bekir Döneminde Elde Edilen Başarılar", tr. Ahmet Turan Yüksel - Murat Ak, *İSTEM* 3/6 (2005), 282.

with a bloodshed and - far worse Yemenis – social and political factionalism between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya followers.<sup>5</sup>

The murder of Caliph Uthman fuelled the political polarization and deepened frictions.<sup>6</sup> Ubaydullah b. Abbas, ‘Alī’s governor in Yemen,<sup>7</sup> ignored partisans of Uthman living in San’a. Furthermore, Said b. Namrān al-Hamdānī, the governor of ‘Alī, adopted the same policy against Uthman’s followers in al-Janād. This attitude gave rise to opposition’s solidarity and claim that the rightful caliph was Mu‘āwiya. Following the development, Ubaydullah and Said wrote a letter to ‘Alī to explain what was happening. ‘Alī replied through Jabr b. Nawf Abū’l-Waddāk<sup>8</sup> stating that he was unable to help. They asked him (Jabr b. Nawf Abū’l-Waddāk) to spread fabricated news that ‘Alī had sent a large army commanded by Qays al-Arhabī. Abū’l-Waddāk contributed to spreading the narrations swiftly. Upon receiving the news, the supporters of Uthman delivered a message to the Mu‘āwiya and demanded military assistance, otherwise they would defect to ‘Alī.<sup>9</sup> Mu‘āwiya -

<sup>5</sup> al-Hamdānī says al-Zibirqān b. Azlam and his uncle Harith b. Abdu Kulāl had a prominent role in spreading Islam in Yemen. Abū Muhammad al-Hasan al-Hamdānī, *al-Iklīl* (Beirut-San’a: Dār al-‘Avda-Dār al-Kalima), 8/8/202; Said b. Qays, from the Hamdan tribe, was ‘Alī’s supporter. It is even reported that Hāritha b. Badr was on ‘Alī’s side in the battle of Siffin. According to the legend, Hāritha b. Badr plotted mischief, shed blood and robbed wealth. He was from Basra Tribesmen demanded that Quraysh aristocrats protect him from ‘Alī. Nevertheless, the request was not accepted. So the people came to Said b. Qays al-Hamdānī. He talked to ‘Alī and got protection for Haritha. ‘Alī ibn al-Hasan ibn Hibat Allah ibn Abd Allah Thiqaṭ al-Din Abū al-Qasim Ibn Asākir, *Tārīkh al-Dimashq* (Dār al-Fikr, 1995), 38/388-389; Abū al-Fadl Muhammad b. Mukarram b. ‘Alī al-Ansārī Ibn Manzūr, *Mukhtasar tārīkh Dimashq* (Dimashq: Dār al-Fikr, 1982), 6/145 This story suggests that Said was an important figure in ‘Alī’s life. However, there is not much information in the sources about Said b. Qays’ biography apart from his belonging to the Hamdān tribe, his political status and the incident of Haritha. Hamdānī also says that al-Zibirqān b. Azlam and Abū Ma’bed joined Mu‘āwiya’s army. al-Hamdānī, *al-Iklīl*, 8/102. We couldn’t locate anything in the sources on al-Zibirqān and Abū Ma’bed. Immediately after mentioning Said, ‘Alī’s supporter, Hamdānī refers to them as Mu‘āwiya supporters. Furthermore, Hamdānī’s assertion about contributions al-Zibirqān’s to the expansion of Islam in Yemen implies that they are important figures in Yemeni society. These narrations also suggest that ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya had allies in Yemen. As a result, Yemen was divided into two political camps throughout this time. The deportation of Uthman and Mu‘āwiya supporters from San’a by Ubaydullah, as well as people’s reluctance to fight against Busr, highlight the political division.

<sup>6</sup> According to Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī, Ubaydullah b. Abbas was in San’a when Uthman b. Affān’s supporters in Yemen opposed ‘Alī and declared that they were not his supporters. Ubaydullah told this group, which opposes ‘Alī: “What is your efforts for the sake of mischief? Do you want to avenge Uthman’s death? You’re just herds of sheep. You wouldn’t have left your homes before today. You heard the news of the raids, and you opposed to us” Ubaydullah imprisoned several of the opponents when they claimed that they would not give up the struggle in Uthman’s favor. In the end, the Yemenis rebelled and refused to hand up the zakats. Abū Muhammad Ahmad ibn A’tham al-Kūfī Ibn A’tham, *Kitāb al-futūh* (Beirut: Dār al-Azvā’, 1411), 4/229.

<sup>7</sup> Khalifah Ibn Khayyat, *Tārīkh* (Dimashq: Dār al-Qalam, 1397), 198; Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Jabir al-Balādhurī, *Ansab al-ashraf* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1417), 4/58; al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 11/536. Ubaydullah, the son of ‘Alī’s uncle, was assigned governor of Yemen during the Battle of Siffin. ; Yusuf ibn Abdallah ibn Mohammed Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti’āb fī ma’rifat al-ashāb* (Beirut: Dār al-Cil, 1412); Abū Abdillah Bahaaddin Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Yakub al-Janādī, *al-Sulūk fī tabaqāt al-ulamā wa al-mulūk* (San’a: Maktabah al-Irṣād, 1414), 1/172 He held the governorship of Yemen for four months.

<sup>8</sup> He belongs to the Hamdān tribe. Abū Abdallah Muhammad ibn Sa’d ibn Manī’ al-Basrī al-Hāshimī Ibn Sa’d, *Kitāb al-tabaqāt al-kabīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ilmīyah, 1410), 6/301.

<sup>9</sup> al-Balādhurī, *Ansab al-ashraf*, 2/453.

after Tahkīm<sup>10</sup> in 40<sup>11</sup> years of Hijrī-<sup>12</sup> urged Busr ibn Abī Artāt to Medina, Mecca and Yemen to wage war on 'Alī's supporters.<sup>13</sup> As might be expected, Busr ibn Abī Artāt was inducted into governorship of Yemen. He bequeathed only destruction and sorrow. Moreover, he was the first figure to establish Umayyad hegemony in Yemen and led to some debates as to whether he was a Companion or not.<sup>14</sup>

Busr ibn Abī Artāt actively participated in the Battle of Siffin against 'Alī.<sup>15</sup> Busr first arrived in Medina and Mecca<sup>16</sup>, killed the murderers of Uthman<sup>17</sup>, then reached Yemen and attacked the governor's mansion. The governor was nowhere. Because when Ubaydullah learned Busr's was on the way, he assigned his father-in-law Abdullah b. Abdulmadān as governor and escaped to Kūfa.<sup>18</sup> al-Janadī accounts for Ubaydullah's departure from Yemen. He governed San'a for four months. Upon news of Busr's arrival reached the city, he assembled the people and asked them to pioneer in

<sup>10</sup> al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 5/139; Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti'āb fī ma'rīfat al-ashāb*, 1/162.

<sup>11</sup> Bukhārī reports that Busr went to Yemen in 37/657. Muhammad ibn Ismā'il al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-awsat* (Aleppo: Dār al-Wa'y, 1397), 1/86; It is narrated that 'Alī was aware of Busr's massacre of his followers in Yemen in the year 40/660. Abū Hātim Muhammea b. Hibbān b. Ahmad al-Tamīmī Ibn Hibbān, *al-Sīratu al-nabawiyyah ve akhbār al-Khulefā* (Beirut: al-Kutub al-Saqāfiyyah, 1417), 2/550 Considering this narration, it is understood that the date of Busr's departure to Yemen was in 39/659 or 40/660 years.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Hibbān, *al-Sīratu al-nabawiyyah ve akhbār al-Khulefā*, 2/550.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn Khayyat, *Tārīkh*, 200; al-Balādhurī, *Ansab al-ashraf*, 2/453; İbn Asākir, *Tārīkh al-Dimashq*, 10/152.

<sup>14</sup> According to narrations, Busr b. Abi Artāt is not a sahabī. Busr, according to Muhammad b. Omar, did not hear hadiths from the Prophet. According to Yahya b. Ma'in, the Medinais rejected that Busr had heard hadith from the Prophet, whilst the Damascus scholars maintained that Busr had. Bayhakī claims that he isn't sure if he is a sahabī. The narration that Busr was born two years after the emigration is used by those who claim he is not a companion. He was born two years before the Prophet's death, according to another tale. Furthermore, Busr was just eight years old when the Prophet died. As a result, he either did not see the Prophet or was too young to understand what he saw. The claim, however, is debatable. Because he narrated two hadiths from the hadith sources. Furthermore, Busr's assignment to assist Amr Ibn al- Ās in the conquest of Egypt during the Omar era proves his sahabī status. Yahya Ibn Ma'in, *Tārīkh ibn Ma'in* (Mecca: Markaz al-Bahth al-İlmī ve İhyā al-Turāth al-İslāmī, 1979), 3/152; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-tabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7/287; Muhammad ibn al-Habib ibn al-Siddiq al-Amgharī al-İdrisī al-Husaynī Ibn al-Habib, *al-Muhabbar* (Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Cadīdah), 293; Abdurrahman b. Abdullah Ibn Abdalhakam, *Futūh Mısr wa al-Maghrib* (Maktabah al-Theqāfah al-Dīniyye, 1415), 289; Abū Ahmad Abdallah b. Adī al-Jurcānī, *al-Kāmil fī zu'afā' ar-ricāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-İlmiyyah, 1997), 2/153; Abū Bakr Ahmad b. al-Husayn b. 'Alī al-Bayhakī, *al-Sunen al-Saghīr* (Karachi: Cāmiyah a'd-Dirasāt al-İslāmiyyah, 1410), 3/402; Abū al-Muzaffar Şamsuddin Yusuf b. Kızoghlu Sibte Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān fī tavārikhī al-a'yān* (Dimashq: Dār ar-Risālah al-Ālamiyyah, 1434), 6/410; Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Uthman al-Zahabī, *Siyar a'lām an-nubalā Şemsaddin* (Muassasah ar-Risālah, 1985), 3/410; Abdülkerim Özeydin, "Büsr b. Ebü Ertāt", *TDV İslām Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1992), 6/6/494.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn al-Habib, *al-Muhabbar*, 293.

<sup>16</sup> al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-awsat*, 1/86; al-Balādhurī, *Ansab al-ashraf*, 2/453-454.

<sup>17</sup> İbn Asākir, *Tārīkh al-Dimashq*, 10/152; When Busr came to Medina, the people of Medina could not get out of the "harrah" of Banī Sulaym because they were afraid. Busr, who spent a month in the city, allegedly killed a group of Benī Ka'b and threw them into a well between Medina and Mecca. al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 5/176; Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti'āb fī ma'rīfat al-ashāb*, 1/161; İbn Asākir, *Tārīkh al-Dimashq*, 10/152; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān fī tavārikhī al-a'yān*, 6/409.

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Hibbān, *al-Sīratu al-nabawiyyah ve akhbār al-Khulefā*, 2/550; These incidents took place following 'Alī's death. As a result, Ubaydullah's trip to Kūfa could be linked to 'Alī's death. This viewpoint, however, may not be correct in reality. 'Alī dispatched an army to attack Busr, who had taken control of Yemen. According to Tabarī, these events occurred 40 years after tahkīm. al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 5/139; İbn Asākir, *Tārīkh al-Dimashq*, 10/154; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān fī tavārikhī al-a'yān*, 6/409.

battle. Ubaydullah hoped to gain Abnā's<sup>19</sup> aid with his emotional speech. The Abnās were the most prominent in the region. Abnā's leader, Fīrūz al-Daylamī, who listened to the call, said they would not ally with him against Busr. People of Sana promised him no backing, either. Lack of their expected support, Ubaydullah left town and sheltered in Kūfa.<sup>20</sup>

Busr invaded Yemen and slew Ubaydullah's sons, Abdurrahman and Qutham,<sup>21</sup> with a long knife<sup>22</sup> in front of their mother.<sup>23</sup> A famous account narrates Ubaydullah's two sons came to Busr and asked him about their crimes. Nevertheless, Busr ordered his men to kill these two brothers and carry them to the door called Misra'. During this incident, Amr b. Arākah<sup>24</sup> was also killed. al-Janadī describes that Abdurrahman was ten years old, Qutham was eight, and their names were Hasan and Hussein.<sup>25</sup> This story is a reminder of ideological bias. The fact that the names of the two grandchildren of the Prophet (s) were given to the children of Ubaydullah (later, in our opinion, by the anti-Umayyad Yemenis) is a reflection of the opposition against Umayyads and 'Alī's support in Yemen.<sup>26</sup> We assume that this incident was full of exaggerated narratives<sup>27</sup> in terms of ideological implications, symbols of the resentment in Yemen.

It is a fact that, along with all these exaggerated narrations, Busr made some harsh policies in Yemen. Moreover, the sources say that Busr murdered Amr b. Um Arākah al-Saqafī and more than two hundred members of the Hamdān tribe living in the Jawf, who were part of 'Alī's army in Siffīn and many people from Abnā.<sup>28</sup> It is even said that he killed babies in the cradle.<sup>29</sup> al-Janadī reports that seventy-two people from Abnā, who acted as the mediators for two children, were murdered by Busr. According to him, it is tragic that these people whom Ubaydullah could not persuade to fight against Busr were executed by him.<sup>30</sup>

The narration that Busr swore Muslim women in Yemen and exposed them in the market can also be mentioned for his extremist approach.<sup>31</sup> However, the fact that there is a narrative attributed

<sup>19</sup> In the pre-Islamic era, soldiers from Iran had settled in Yemen after Sayf Zī Yazan called for aid against Abyssinia. These soldiers married Arab women in Yemen. The large generation born from this marriage is called Abnā (sons).

<sup>20</sup> al-Janadī, *al-Sulūk fī tabaqāt al-ulamā wa al-mulūk*, 1/172.

<sup>21</sup> al-Balādhurī, *Ansab al-ashraf*, 4/60.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān fī tavārikh al-a'yān*, 6/411.

<sup>23</sup> Salāhaddīn Khalīl b. Aybak b. Abdallah al-Safadī, *al-Wāfi bi al-wafayāt* (Beirut: Dār Ihyā al-Turāth, 2000), 16/435.

<sup>24</sup> Amr b. Arākah is from the Sakīf tribe and is one of the Prophet's companions. Yakub b. Sufyān al-Fasavī, *al-Ma'rifah wa al-tārikh* (Beirut: Muassasah ar-Risālah, 1981), 1/226.

<sup>25</sup> al-Janadī, *al-Sulūk fī tabaqāt al-ulamā wa al-mulūk*, 1/172.

<sup>26</sup> For the effect of the narrations on the naming of the sons of Ali in the early period, see. Yusuf Oktan, "Siyasi ve Mezhebî Olayların Ortaya Çıkardığı Süfyânî Rivâyetleri", *Cumhuriyet İlahiyat Dergisi* 24 /3 (Aralık 2020), 1135-1156.

<sup>27</sup> Over time, the myth about Ubaydullah's children being murdered became even more exaggerated. According to folklore, when 'Alī learned of Busr's murder of two children, he was devastated and cursed Busr, saying, "God, remove his faith and his mind!" According to this myth, Busr went insane as a result of 'Alī's curse. Abū al-Hasan 'Alī Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil fī al-tārikh* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Arabī, 1417), 2/734.

<sup>28</sup> İbn Asākir, *Tārikh al-Dimashq*, 10/152.

<sup>29</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān fī tavārikh al-a'yān*, 6/410.

<sup>30</sup> al-Janadī, *al-Sulūk fī tabaqāt al-ulamā wa al-mulūk*, 1/173.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti'āb fī ma'rifat al-ashāb*, 1/161; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān fī tavārikh al-a'yān*, 6/410.

to Abū Zar in the sources<sup>32</sup> related to Busr's alleged attitude towards Muslim women in Yemen raises questions in terms of the origin of the narrative. Because, as it is known, Shi'a uses the name Abū Zar as a symbol of the opposition to Uthman and Mu'âwiya.

Regarding the issue just mentioned, certain questions arise naturally: "What exactly happened?" "Why did nobody elaborate the incident?" Moreover, there is information in the sources that Busr attempted inappropriate acts towards Muslim women. Hardly available details about what Busr did in Yemen makes this incident controversial. Furthermore, the fact that Hamdānī, known as "Lisān al-Yemen",<sup>33</sup> reports nothing about it<sup>34</sup> reinforces the possibility that the story was made up for political purposes.

Busr's dominance in the region, the focus of controversy in ensuing periods, lasted relatively shorter. Because 'Alī, who wanted to take Yemen back from Mu'âwiya, sent Jāriya b. Qudāma al-Sa'dī and Wahb b. Mas'ūd with 4,000 soldiers. When Jāriya b. Qudāma came to Najrān, he killed a group of Uthman's supporters who were backing Busr. Upon hearing of Jāriya's arrival, Busr and his supporters fled. Jāriya was chasing them. When Jāriya came to Mecca from Yemen, he urged the people to pledge allegiance to 'Alī. However, people informed him of the caliph's death. Thereupon, he received allegiance to Hasan from the people of Mecca and Medina. When he left Madina for Damascus, he burned a group of Busr supporters and returned to Kūfa.<sup>35</sup> Jāriya's burning of 'Alī's opponents is not limited to this. He was named Muhriq (burner) for killing and burning Busr supporters until he arrived in Yemen.<sup>36</sup> Busr, who stayed in Yemen for a short time, was an important figure for 'Alī's partisans. The narration that his dominance in Yemen began with the murder of two young children and his inappropriate attitudes towards Muslim women fed the negative perception of the Umayyads' rule in Yemen in the following periods.

## CONCLUSION

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<sup>32</sup> Abū Rabāb and his friend observed Abū Zar praying and seeking refuge in Allah, according to legend. The prayer was extended by Abū Zar. They inquired as to why he sought solace in God. He said that he had taken refuge in Allah from the day of "balā" and "avrah". They asked him what these two things were. Abū Zar said that the day of "balā" was the day when the two groups killed each other when they met, and the day of "avrah" was the day when Muslim women were cursed and exposed. Abū Zar said that "on the day of avrah, whichever of the women's calves is larger is purchased. Abū Zar, who wished that God would not show him that day, said that the two men would reach that day. Abū Rabāb said, "Uthman was murdered. Then Mu'âwiya sent Busr b. Abī Artāt to Yemen. He cursed Muslim women. Women were exposed at the market." Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti'āb fī ma'rifat al-ashāb*, 1/161.

<sup>33</sup> Abū Muhammad al-Hasan al-Hamdānī, *al-Iklīl* (al-Dār al-Yemeniyyah, 1987), 10/10/168.

<sup>34</sup> Hamdānī describes the conflict between Mu'âwiya and 'Alī supporters in Yemen. According to him, Abū Ma'bed and al-Zibirkān b. Azlam were acting with Mu'âwiya's approval. According to Hamdānī, Mu'âwiya sent Abū Ma'bed to Yemen with Busr b. Abī Artāt. Abū Ma'bed and Busr; harmed relatives of Said b. Qays, who was pro-'Alī, who belonged to the Hemdān tribe. Hamdānī says the Hamdān tribe supported 'Alī in Yemen. Therefore, when Busr b. Abī Artāt arrived in Yemen, he killed seventy-two members of said Qays' family from Hemdān. This place, where seventy-two people were murdered, was later named Bābu'l-Misra' (باب المرء murder gate). Abnā, who is a supporter of 'Alī, abandoned his pro-'Alī opinion after this incident. Abū Ma'bed kept army commander until his death. al-Hamdānī, *al-Iklīl*, 8/8/103.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān fī tavārikh al-a'yān*, 6/412.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Asākir, *Tārikh al-Dimashq*, 10/154.

Other than ridda wars, solely one political issue caused disorder in Yemen: political discord and bloodshed between partisans of 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. All started in central regions and spreaded into periphery. Victorious Mu'āwiya sent Busr to ensure his dominance in Yemen. He killed two young sons of Ubaydullah, 'Alī's governor and butchered his supporters. Brutalities overcame, 'Alī's supporters submitted and no more resistance continued. The region remained isolated from Shia politics. Busr made his vicious mark, later to be reminiscent of Umayyad administration. Yemenis recognized Zaydī rule afterwards. Although slaughtered boys were Abdurrahman and Qutham indeed, a narration about their identity - Hasan and Hussein - passed by word of mouth which indicates that Shiites identify the event with Karbala.

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