

Institute for humanities and cultural studies



Ashura uprising and shifting of the power from the Rashidun to Umayyads

Hosseini reform in front of the Umayyad Machiavellianism

Policy letter: Ashura event has been seen as the most important turning point in Shia history from diverse cultural, religious, social and political perspectives. Perhaps the main reason for the survival and sustainability of this incident is the various aspects of it. One of the most important approaches is the analysis of the political and social origins and causes of these events. In Today's policy letter we will read an analysis of the causes of this phenomenon, according to a leading professor of Islamic history.

Ashura event which happened in 61 of Islamic calendar was as a turning point in Islam history which did not remain limited to the circumstances of time and place. This uprising unlike other several movements of that time, remained as an inspiration flow in these 14 centuries.

The roots that causes this incident in one hand, and insightful analysis of the consequences, on the other hand are important. While multiple and sometimes conflicting readings of this incident among various Muslim sects has been done, the dominant, rightful and anti-oppression Look is related to the Shiite that analyses Ashura event in light of the words and deeds of Hussain ibn Ali, the third

Imam of Shiites, and extract an example and ideal model of manners and methods for the Shia followers.

Ashura event was the resultant and consequence of profound changes that occurred after the death of the Prophet in Islamic society in various aspects of economic, political, social and cultural aspects .Muslim conquests spread and become a Muslim society that had the power to defeat the Roman and Iran Empire on one hand, and influence of these empires customs in the Islamic culture from the other hand are only a series of developments that have affected the community and the Muslim Ummah.

Another profound transformation was the returning of the pre-Islamic Arab tribal customs as politically, economically and militarily Muslim community which led to the occurrence of conflicts and gaps. Among religious, political, social and cultural formed groups what was forgotten was tradition of the Prophet and his manners.

The family of the Prophet (PBUH) that the Banu Hashim were the most immediate representatives, were of the few groups that were trying to focus on the forbidding what is evil and warned the society and the government about the distortion from the tradition of the prophet. Uprising of Imam Hussein (AS) and his companions in the year 61 AD, should be seen and analyzed in the light of these facts. In The following you can read the analysis of Mr.Ayenehvand, Tarbiat Modarres University professor of Islamic history, of this event that has been read from the same perspective. The present text has been transcribed from his speech in November 2014.

Sadegh Ayenehvand:

In the present discussion we examine what causes, and led to this incident? Historical events cannot be viewed on a single dimension and causal event. Factors happens in the context of the history that leads to a change.

Historians looked Ashura event in which a change occurred in the Muslim world from different angles. Some people have highlighted economic factor, some political factor or factors and some religion and social change factors in analyzing this event.

In this incident analysis should consider the transmission mechanism and structure. Historical events usually have an overview and trends that are evident at the first sight, but what is important to us in history is analyzing perspective in which one can analyze and interpret the depth of the events.

Mghryzy consider this conflict between Bani Umayya and Banu Hashim in Alneza book and analysis these historical events of the Prophet Death aftermath in a poem and says: the war is between ABdalshms and Banu Hashim. This fire was burning out and so continued until the babies became old men.

Abu Sufyan himself was against the Prophet (PBUH) and his son, Muawiya was against Ali Ibn Abi Talib (AS) and Yazid against Imam Hussain (AS). He believes that the incident was a conflict over the transfer of power.

Sanayee (a Muslim poet) says:

Did not you heard the story of the Indian boy

That of three members of his family came three evil deed to the Prophet family?

His father's injured lips and teeth of the Prophet

His mother sucked the liver of the Prophet's Uncle

He himself unjustly took the right of the son of the Prophet (PBUH)

His son executed the son of Prophet

You do not curse these people!

Curse of Allah on Yazid and his family

He simply reveals the story of Ashura and his belief at the poem and explains that he saw these group standing in front of one another. But it is not clear why this conflict exists and does not say what the problem was. Some contemporary historians such as Khazari see the event very simply, like someone who is naive and overlook the history of the event to explain them. But when we look into the causes underlying these transitions, we see that the problem is even more complex. An ideological and religious views that it is a type of Hosni Jonah.

He says when the Caliphate is created of power, politics, and wealth, the person who wins is the one who is skillful, not the religious one who wants to observe moral respect.

Change during the Umayyad era

The main change that occurred during the Ashura event can be investigated from two aspects: First, a change in the era and another shift in generations. The era change was first of geographical. Conquests from Transoxiana of one side to the other side to Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean continued. Medina as the capital of the Islamic state was located in the vast territory but between the mountains. Therefore it was not possible for the Medina to manage this vast land easily. As a result, Moslems changed the capital from Medina and companions and those who were in the city, moved out towards the areas conquered by Arabs. Another

important change was economic change. Medina was a mere consumer. A city which is merely a consumer without any production will be dangerous, since it is waiting for other cities and other cities are waiting for it.

At that time all the possessions of the conquest of Egypt, Iran and other areas came to Medina and from that place they were distributed. All eyes were on the way to the caravan and saying we've won, why the Medina should distribute trophies? People who had done a few victories, were critical about this situation.

Consequently Medina could not be the financial center. Economic center should be where they were being taken in the conquests and victories and those who were involved should be taken more interest. For instance, Amr Ibn Aas was saying that I should take a million dinars of your conquests. When Umar ibn Khattab threatened him, he spoke behind Umar and said:

My father and my grandfather lived in fine and golden garments while I saw Umar's father that had worn an old linen shirt and cords of firewood that he was dragging ran the back of his neck. Now the son of such a person tells me that I don't have the right to take my part of trophies!

The third generation of the early history of Islam

The contrast between those who have the greed on conquered things and those who lived in Medina continued. They believed that they should continue the path of the Rashidun. Therefore, a new generation emerged that was entitled third generation. In fact, three generations after the events of Ashura can be distinguished from each other:

The first generation is inherits and founder generation who creates early development. The second generation is the follower generation of the

transformations, the generation who give them continuity. The third generation is the absent generation who believed not the first nor the second generation. Companions in Medina were the first generation, followers were in the cities of Kufa, Basra, Iraq and Syria and the third generation didn't believe in none of them and wanted to make everything from the beginning. The same generation believed that they should keep all the Properties and authorities. Even the 4 article charter of Umar couldn't solve the problem.

This charter said that assets seized from different regions should be moved to Medina and other regions should use remaining parts. Immovable property should be used at the same location, selected food should not be eaten, and expensive horses shouldn't be ride. You shouldn't have servant and your houses should be open for public. This four article charter was the cause of Umar's murdering.

And Uthman became caliph. So the generation that wanted to use the facilities, indicating an underlying motion within the community that head of the society didn't know anything about that or if they knew they didn't show. Another problem was the generations that didn't understand each other. Many of the new generation of Muslim conquests did not have a prayer calling and they were completely unfamiliar with Islam. Part of them were heretics and Tolaqa companions and Khawarij that had problems with the Islamic regime. Each party had a policy and a new interpretation of Islam.

Iraq in front of Damascus, Mecca to Medina

A kind of regional geographic look also emerged, that Iraq was standing in front of Damascus and Medina to Mecca. Hijaz was itself divided and each city wanted to allocate benefits to itself. Everyone was looking to take advantage of the facilities. This discourse that was created needed someone who had administrative and operational power. In two speeches at the Madinah and Kufa after the death of Ali

Ibn Abi Talib (AS) Muawiyah make it operational. His theory was *Movakeleh hasanah and Mosharebeh jamilah*. It means that we are your lawyer and we will provide you with facilities that you need. Instead you should not interfere to our political power. You are free to use the world in every way that you want. Muawiyah confessed that I am not as faithful as Abu Bakr and Umar, it is not my business that you do prayer or not! The only duty of mine is to provide facilities for you and you should keep our power. This was a peaceful coexistence between governors and the society. He said if you do not accept this, then *Mojadilah* is waiting for you. It means that you will accept it by force and sword. This discourse was accepted by a huge number of people who was waiting for the same situation. The generation has changed and the champion had appeared which named Muawiah. According to Taha Hussein, an era emerged that didn't value the efforts of Ali ibn Abi Talib (AS) and Hassan ibn Ali (AS). Every person was seeking his or her interest and the period of that great people have passed. The new generation couldn't understand their words. The same generation needed people like Muawiah, Moghayre Ibn shabeh and Zeyad Ibn Abih.

Pluralism in Islamic movements

Another issue is that, different interpretations of Islam had emerged. These different interpretations by the Quran reciters, the Khawarij, Umayyad, Banu Hashim and Rashidun (Al-Zubair as their representative) were submitted. These different discourses had caused tension in policy and people were driven to different areas. As a result there was a transformation in era and in generation. The third generation was absent in power and was looking for someone to take the lead.

In such circumstances the Ashura event occurred, because Imam Hussein (AS) wanted to initiate a corrective action. This corrective movement was not in any sense, reactionary and return to the past, since Ali ibn Abi Talib (AS) had said that we don't want to establish Rashidun Caliphate, this discourse is responsive just to

the related age and generation. We have new look and procedures. Imam Hussein (AS) wanted to create this new procedure. In other words two different perspectives formed at this time:

The First look was secular look of Muawiah. It was the same Musharabah Al jamilah and Muvakeleh Al hasanah perspective. Saying that anyone who deviate from this line has exited. This discourse was secular or atheist in present terms. But the front look was raised by Imam Hussain (AS) which was based on the development, reform, public trust, Quran and Messenger of God (Muhammed S A). This dialogue would preserve the dignity and religion of people and give back the people's right to them. The main battle was between these two discourses. The battle itself was Ashura

Umayyad Secularism

Other Umayyad technique to be able to run their own secular empire was cultural policy. He said if one hair communicate between me and all people, I will not cut the hair. This policy was based on the Makyavlystic, opportunistic framework and working based on the interests. He also said that I do not stop people from talking, they are free to decide when to drive a wedge between us and our power. It means that people are free in their personal, financial, material and social issues. This perspective was against Alavid vision that its leader was Imam Hussein (AS).

A contemporary thinker, philosopher and historian believes that the three elements (belief, plunder and the tribe) were essential in the Muslim world. Tribe is the same as party, belief is religion and ideology and plunder is the money and power in economy. He says that at the time of the Prophet (pbuh) and Rashidun, opinion was in the first place, the tribe of the second and the third stage was the trophy. But in the era of Muawieh, trophy was in the first place, tribe fell into the second and third place was the idea. It means society gradually changed to a secular society.

Muawiyah's another trick was that in his speech said, the people of knowledge and the people of Business should be separated. It means that those who have the management power and wealth should perform the rulers and scholars must go! This was the second phase of secularization. While in the period of Imam Ali we see Malek who was as a capable manager and also a real knowledgeable human being. Another problem was that in this theory the tribe power was very important.

Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) improved these tribal traditions and changed them to the Treaty of Medina (Zemallah vahedah). And said if a Muslim soldier sheltered a refugee, Islamic ruling should count that as valid treaty. It means that, He respected the personality of all people and removed the citizenship label of grade one or two. In Muawieh period this human personality separated and people changed to grade one or two in citizenship. All of the people should behave in a way that saved the governor's benefits. This issue endangered the society, even religion lost its importance. Al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf said that we do not need anyone to be Muslim, but people have to pay Jizya. As a result they took obligatory tax of people. While in a letter from AmiralMomenin to Malek it said that the ruling has no right to enter by force to people house and search there. The governor should accept whatever people say about their money and wealth. While in Muawiyah period the censustax was the criterion. In such circumstances, the enormous accumulation of power and money in the hands of the ruling aristocracy came to the conclusion that this group became the governor of all the parts of the Islamic society.

Banu Hashim as Muslims shelter

Banu Hashim was as a paradigm and example of behavior for people. Uprising of Imam Hussein (AS) was a reform movement for social change. Their procedure was returning to practice the Book of Allah, the Sunnah of Prophet (PBUH) and the practice of Ali (AS).

All of the people were staring on this Islamic movement since at this time ghorra (Quran reciters) were also defeated and Khavarij was unable to do anything. Banu Umayya also stablished Murji'ah and Qdryh parties to respond to public opinion but people were still unsatisfied.

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