



The Ahl-ul-Bayt (a.s) World Assembly

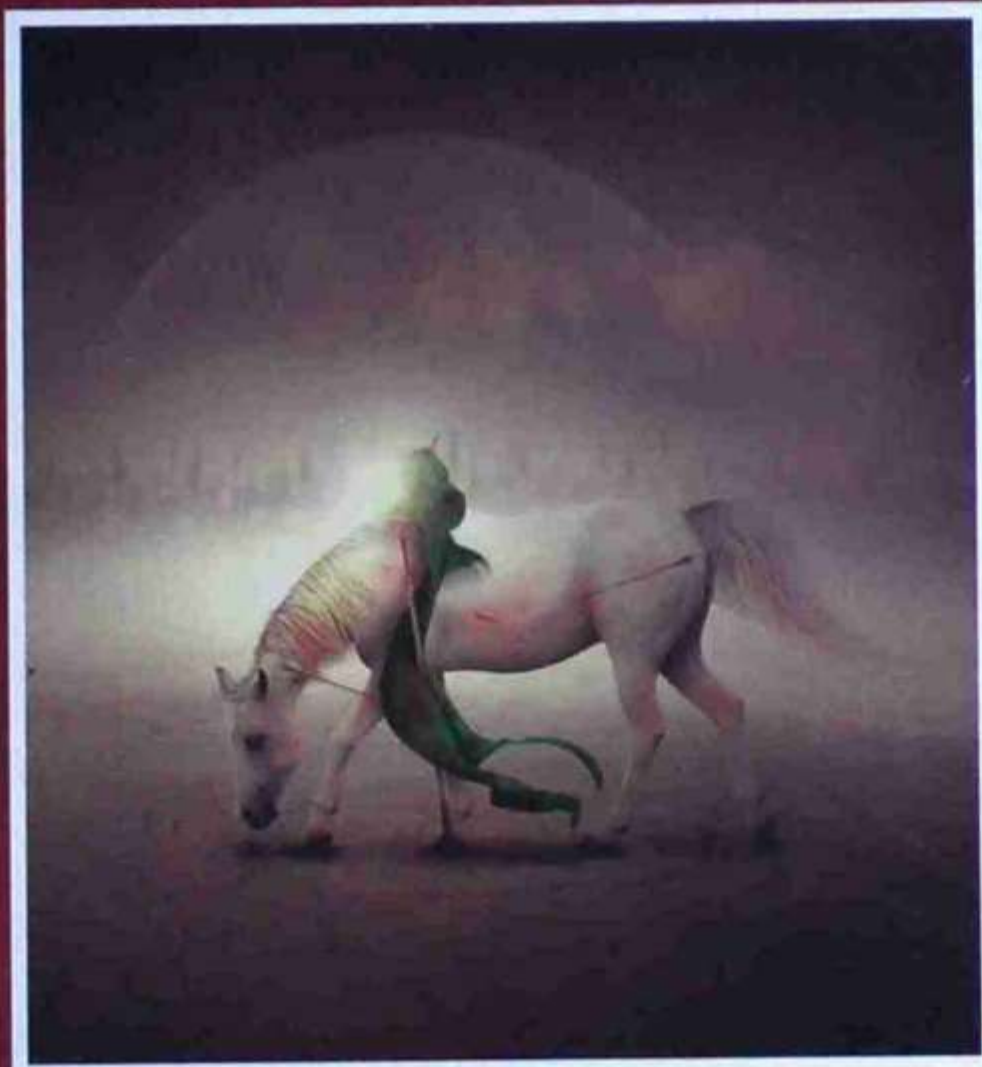
THE EVENT OF TAFF

THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE TRAGEDY OF KARBALA'

ABŪ MIKHNAF
LŪṬ BIN YAḤYĀ AL-AZDĪ AL-GHĀMIDĪ
AL-KŪFĪ

Revised by: Shaikh Muhammad Hadi al-Yusufi al-Gharawi

Translator : 'Umar Komo



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

***IN THE NAME OF ALLAH,
THE ALL-BENEFICENT, THE ALL-MERCIFUL***

قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى:

إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا

Indeed, Allah desires to repel all impurity from you, O People of the Household, and purify you with a thorough purification.

(Sūrat al-Aḥzāb 33:33)

Prophetic traditions, mentioned in both Sunni and Shiite most reliable reference books of Hadith and Tafsir (Quranic Exegesis), have confirmed that this holy verse was revealed to exclusively involve the five individuals of the Cloak; namely, Muhammad, Ali, Fatimah, al-Hasan, and al-Husayn, peace be upon them, to whom the term 'Ahl al-Bayt (People of the House)' is solely dedicated.

For instance, refer to the following reference books:

(1) Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 241 AH), *al-Musnad*, 1:331; 4:107; 6:292, 304. (2) *Sahih Muslim* (d. 261 AH), 7:130. (3) Al-Tirmidhi (d. 279 AH), *Sunan*, 5:361 et al. (4) Al-Dulabi (d. 310 AH), *al-Dhurriyyah al-Tahirah al-Nabawiyyah*, pp. 108. (5) Al-Nassa'i (d. 303 AH), *al-Sunan al-Kubra*, 5:P108, 113. (6) al-Hakim al-Naysaburi (d. 405 AH), *al-Mustadrak ala al-Sahihayn*, 2:416, 3:133, 146, 147. (7) al-Zarkashi (d. 794 AH), *al-Burhan*, pp. 197. (8) Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani (d. 852), *Fath al-Bari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari*, 7:104. (8) Al-Kulayni (d. 328 AH), *Usul al-Kafi*, 1:287. (9) Ibn Babawayh (d. 329 AH), *al-Imamah wa'l-Tabsirah*, pp. 47, H. 29. (10) Al-Maghribi (d. 363 AH), *Da'aa'im al-Islam*, pp. 35, 37. (11) Al-Saduq (d. 381 AH), *al-Khisal*, pp. 403, 550. (12) Al-Tusi (d. 460 AH), *al-Amaali*, H. 438, 482, 783.

For more details, refer to the exegesis of the holy verse involved in the following reference books of *tafsir*: (1) Al-Tabari (d. 310 AH), *Book of Tafsir*. (2) Al-Jassass (d. 370 AH), *Ahkam al-Qur'an*. (3) Al-Wahidi (d. 468 AH), *Asbaab al-Nuzoul*. (4) Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 597 AH), *Zaad al-Maseer*. (5) Al-Qurtubi (d. 671 AH), *al-Jami' li-Ahkam al-Qur'an*. (6) Ibn Katheer (d. 774 AH), *Book of Tafsir*. (7) Al-Tha'aalibi (d. 825 AH), *Book of Tafsir*. (8) Al-Suyouti (d. 911 AH), *al-Durr al-Manthour*. (9) Al-Shawkani (d. 1250 AH), *Fath al-Qadeer*. (10) Al-Ayyashi (d. 320 AH), *Book of Tafsir*. (11) Al-Qummi (d. 329 AH), *Book of Tafsir*. (12) Furt al-Kufi (d. 352 AH), *Book of Tafsir*; in the margin of the exegesis of verse 4:59. (13) Al-Tabrisi (d. 560 AH), *Majma' al-Bayan*, as well as many other reference books of Hadith and Tafsir.

THE EVENT OF TAFF
THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL
ACCOUNT
OF THE TRAGEDY OF KARBALA'

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ:

إِنِّي تَارِكٌ فِيكُمْ الثَّقَلَيْنِ: كِتَابَ اللَّهِ وَعِترَتِي أَهْلَ بَيْتِي، مَا
إِنْ تَمَسَّكْتُمْ بِهِمَا لَنْ تَضِلُّوا بَعْدِي أَبَدًا، وَإِنَّهُمَا لَنْ يَفْتَرِقَا
حَتَّى يَرِدَا عَلَيَّ الْحَوْضَ.

The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said:

“Verily, I am leaving among you two precious things [Thaqalayn]: The Book of Allah and my progeny [‘Itrah], the members of my Household [Ahl al-Bayt]. If you hold fast to them, you shall never go astray. These two will never separate from each other until they meet me at the Pond [ḥawḍ] (of Kawthar).”

Some of its references:

Al-Ḥākim an-Nayshābūrī, *Al-Mustadrak ‘alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (Beirut), vol. 3, pp. 109-110, 148, 533

Muslim, *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, (English translation), book 31, ḥadīths 5920-3

At-Tirmidhī, *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 621-2, ḥadīths 3786, 3788; vol. 2, p. 219

An-Nassā’ī, *Khaṣā’iṣ ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, ḥadīth 79

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-Musnad*, vol. 3, pp. 14, 17, 26; vol. 3, pp. 26, 59; vol. 4, p. 371; vol. 5, pp. 181-182, 189-190

Ibn al-Athīr, *Jāmi‘ al-Uṣūl*, vol. 1, p. 277

Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa ‘n-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 209

Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān al-‘Aẓīm*, vol. 6, p. 199

Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Albanī, *Silsilat al-Aḥādīth aṣ-ṣaḥīḥah* (Kuwait: Ad-Dar as-Salafiyyah), vol. 4, pp. 355-358

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**The Event of Taff: The Earliest Historical
Account of the Tragedy of Karbala'**

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PREFACE

In the Name of Allah, the All-beneficent, the All-merciful

The invaluable legacy of the Household [*Ahl al-Bayt*] of the Prophet (may peace be upon them all), as preserved by their followers, is a comprehensive school of thought that embraces all branches of Islamic knowledge. This school has produced many brilliant scholars who have drawn inspiration from this rich and pure resource. It has given many scholars to the Muslim *ummah* who, following in the footsteps of Imāms of the Prophet's Household ('*a*), have done their best to clear up the doubts raised by various creeds and currents within and without Muslim society and to answer their questions. Throughout the past centuries, they have given well-reasoned answers and clarifications concerning these questions and doubts.

To meet the responsibilities assigned to it, the Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly (ABWA) has embarked on a defense of the sanctity of the Islamic message and its verities, often obscured by the partisans of various sects and creeds as well as by currents hostile to Islam. The Assembly follows in the footsteps of the *Ahl al-Bayt* ('*a*) and the disciples of their school of thought in its readiness to confront these challenges and tries to be on the frontline in consonance with the demands of every age.

The arguments contained in the works of the scholars belonging to the School of the *Ahl al-Bayt* ('*a*) are of unique significance. That is because they are based on genuine scholarship and appeal to reason, and avoid prejudice and bias. These arguments address scholars and thinkers in a manner that appeals to healthy minds and wholesome human nature.

To assist the seekers of truth, the Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly has endeavored to present a new phase of these arguments

contained in the studies and translations of the works of contemporary Shī'ah writers and those who have embraced this sublime school of thought through divine blessing.

The Assembly is also engaged in edition and publication of the valuable works of leading Shī'ah scholars of earlier ages to assist the seekers of the truth in discovering the truths which the School of the Prophet's Household ('a) has offered to the entire world.

The Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly looks forward to benefit from the opinions of the readers and their suggestions and constructive criticism in this area.

We also invite scholars, translators and other institutions to assist us in propagating the genuine Islamic teachings as preached by the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ).

We beseech God, the Most High, to accept our humble efforts and to enable us to enhance them under the auspices of Imām al-Mahdī, His vicegerent on the earth (may Allah expedite his advent).

We express our gratitude to Professor Ayatullah Muḥammad Taqī Miṣbāḥ Yazdī, the author of the present book, and Mansoor Limba, its translator. We also thank our colleagues who have participated in producing this work, especially the staff of the Translation Office. ✍

Cultural Affairs Department

Ahl al-Bayt ('a) World Assembly

PREAMBLE

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the worlds. Blessings and peace be on the noblest of His creation, the seal of His messengers, Muḥammad, and upon his pure and distinguished household.

The narration of the lord of the martyrs, Abū ‘Abdillah, (‘a), is one of the greatest historical events and the everlasting recollections, which has served as a beacon for mankind. This event teaches that true honour and life lies only in confronting the tyrants, even though it may lead to sacrificing lives and being killed at the hands of the oppressors. Such was the slogan of Imam al-Ḥusain (‘a) when he said: “I consider death to be nothing but martyrdom, and living with the tyrants as disgusting.”

Therefore, it is incumbent upon the seekers of eternal felicity to keep this event before their eyes and to deal with the despotic rulers of their time in the manner Imam al-Ḥusain (‘a) dealt with them.

Because of the importance of this great event, [different] researchers have written numerous books on the martyrdom (maqtal) of the lord of the martyrs (‘a). The first of these researchers is Lūṭ bin Yaḥyā bin Sa’id, [famously known as] Abū Mikhnaf. He compiled a book in this regard, recounting the events that occurred to al-Ḥusain, his children, brothers and companions (‘a). Shaikh al-Najjāshī describes him in his Rijāl as “The

master of the narrators in Kūfah and a leading figure among them.”¹

The eminent scholar, Shaikh Muhammad Hadi al-Yusufi al-Gharawi has undertaken the research and editing of [Abū Mikhnaf’s] work. This institute has endeavoured to publish this work for the benefit of the seekers of knowledge and virtue. We are grateful to Allah, the Glorious, for granting us success in this regard. We would also like to extend our thanks to the honourable researcher of this work for his great efforts. We pray to Allah to grant this institute and him the tawfīq in spreading the teachings of Islam, as He is, indeed, the Hearing, the Responsive.

*The Institute of Islamic Publications Under
The Association of the Instructors
(jāmi’ah al-mudarrisīn)
The Holy City of Qum*

¹ See Introduction for his biography.

INTRODUCTION

Man learnt the art of writing, thus he recorded his actions and those of others. Accordingly, history took shape.

At the rise of Islam, history was limited among the Arabs to those who knew the Arab lineage and the events of the days of ignorance (*jāhiliyyah*) by heart. These people were known as the 'most learned' ones.¹

Al-Naḍr bin al-Ḥārith bin Kaldah was among those considered as the learned ones. He used to travel to cities in Persia where he would purchase books on Persian tales such as those of Rustam and others. He would then use these tales to distract people from listening to the Holy Qur'an. The following verse was revealed about him:

“Among the people is he who buys diversionary talk that he may lead [people] astray from Allah's way, without any knowledge, and he takes it in derision. For such there is a

¹ Al-Kulainī reports in *al-Kāfi* (vol.1, pg.32) through his chain of transmission from Imam Mūsā bin Ja'far ('a) who said: “[one day] the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) entered the mosque and saw a group of people gathered around someone, upon which he asked: ‘Who is this?’ ‘A learned one’ he was told. He further enquired: ‘And who is a learned person?’ They replied: ‘The most knowledgeable of people about the Arab lineage and their affairs, the events of the pre-Islamic period and Arab poetry.’ Imam Mūsā bin Ja'far ('a) says that here the Prophet (ṣ) remarked: ‘This is a kind of knowledge which neither harms one who is ignorant of it, nor does it benefit one who knows it.’ The Prophet (ṣ) then went on to say: ‘True knowledge is of three kinds: a concrete verse (*āyatun muḥkamah*), a righteous precept (*farīdatun 'ādilah*) and an established tradition (*sunnatun qāimah*). All else is superfluous.”

humiliating punishment. And when Our signs are recited to him he turns away disdainfully as if he had not heard them [at all], as if there were a deafness in his hears. So inform him of a painful punishment.”¹

Another one among those considered as learned was a man from Madīnah called Suwaid bin al-Ṣāmit who used to take stories of the past prophets from the Jews. After the advent of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) he had gone to Makkah either for *ḥajj* or *‘umrah*. There he heard of the Prophet’s mission and went to see him. The Holy Prophet (ṣ) invited him to Allah upon which Suwaid said: “I have with me the code of Luqmān.” The Prophet (ṣ) asked him to show it to him and he did that. The Prophet (ṣ) then said: “Indeed this is a fine speech, but that which I have is better than this; the Qur’an revealed onto me by Allah; a guidance and a light.”²

Among such narrations are the pre-Islamic reports about the prophets and the past nations related by *al-Ṭabarī* and Muḥammad bin Ishāq, whose chains of transmission end up with the phrase: ‘some of the learned among the Jews’.

Islam rose and brought with it the Qur’an; a book and a reading recited during hours of the night and parts of the day. So the need arose for people to record it and for others to memorize it. Thus the Holy Qur’an was put on paper during the time of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) as others committed it to memory.

After the demise of the Prophet (ṣ) a group of those who

¹ Qur’an, 31:6-7; *Tafsīr al-Qumī* (2:161; Najaf edition) and *Tafsīr Ibn ‘Abbās* (pg.344; Egypt edition).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (2:353; Dār al-Ma’ārif publications) and *Tārīkh al-Ya’qūbī* (2:30; Najaf edition).

had submitted to him during his lifetime turned back from Islam. This prompted his companions to fight the apostates. As a result, more than three hundred companions¹ were killed in the battle of Yamāmah alone. Following this, they felt the need for recording the traditions (*ḥadīth*).

However, there was a difference of opinion in this regard. Some of the companions held that it was allowed to record the *ḥadīth*, while others advocated its prohibition. The idea of prohibition gained more ground because of the ban on the recording of the *ḥadīth* by the first², the second³ and the third⁴ caliphs. The effect of such a prohibition and dislike continued up until the second century H when the Muslims unanimously agreed on the legitimacy of recording the *ḥadīth*.

The Commander of the Faithful, ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib (‘a), always considered the recording of *ḥadīth* as legal. The first thing he recorded was the Book of Allah, the Almighty. Immediately after the Prophet’s burial, he had vowed not to put on his cloak, except for prayers, until after he has collected the Holy Qur’an. He consequently collected it according to its chronological order, also pointing out the general (*‘āmm*) and the restricted (*khāṣṣ*) verses of it; the absolute (*muṭlaq*) and the qualified (*muqayyad*); the clear (*mubayyan*) and the unclear (*mujmal*); the concrete (*muḥkam*) and the ambiguous (*mutashābih*); and the abrogating (*nāsikh*)

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (3:269).

² *Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāz* (1:3&5).

³ *Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāz* (1:3,4&7); *al-Bukhārī* (vol.6, bāb al-istidhān) and *Ṭabaqāt of Ibn Sa’d* (2:206).

⁴ *Musnad Aḥmad* (1:363). Regarding this see also *al-Sunnah qabl al-Tadwīn*.

and the abrogated (*mansūkh*). He also made distinct the verses after whose recital prostration becomes obligatory from those which are otherwise. There was also a mention of the manners and norms that have appeared in it, together with the cases of revelation (*sha'n al-nuzūl*). He had also clarified in this collection all that which might have seemed difficult in some respect.

He also composed a work on blood money after the collection of the Holy Qur'an which was then known as 'Ṣaḥīfah'. Ibn Sa'd has brought this work at the end of his book famously known as *al-Jāmi'*. Al-Bukhārī also narrates from this particular work in a number of places in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, for instance in the beginning of the first volume of *Kitāb al-'Ilm* (Book of Knowledge).

A group of his adherents at that time followed him in collecting the ḥadīth. Among them was Abū Rāfi' Ibrāhīm al-Qibtī and his two sons: 'Alī and 'Ubaidullah. 'Ubaidullah has a book in which he lists those who participated in the battles of Jamal, Ṣiffīn and Nahrawān.¹ Hence, this is the first book in history to be written by a follower of Imam 'Alī ('a).

Similarly, the Shī'ah have preceded the rest of the Muslims in historiography. The works of Muḥammad bin al-Sāib al-Kalbī (d.146 H), Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ (d.158 H), Hishām al-Kalbī (d.206 H) and others are all among the sources of Islamic history.²

¹ *Rijāl al-Najjāshī* (pg.1-5; India edition) and *al-Fihrist* (pg.122; Najaf edition).

² See *Mu'allifī al-Shī'ah fī al-Islam, al-Shī'ah wa Funūn al-Islam, Ta'sīs al-Shī'ah li 'Ulūm al-Islam* (pg.91-287), *A'yān al-*

Karbalā'

It was in Karbalā' that the event made perpetual by history took place; the event which terminated the life of the great Imam, the grandson of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) and the lord of the martyrs, Abū 'Abdillah al-Ḥusain ('a).

This tragic event that took place in 61 H, similar to the narrations of the battles in the early period of Islam, was passed from mouth to mouth from those who had either witnessed the battle itself, or the events before or after it. It was not until the second century H when Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ bin Yaḥyā bin Sa'id bin Mikhnaf bin Salīm al-Azdī al-Ghāmidī al-Kūfī¹ undertook the collection of these oral accounts in a book which he named Kitāb Maqtal al-Ḥusain ('a) as it has appeared in the list of his works. This is the first book ever to be written on the history of this great event.

Hishām bin Muḥammad bin al-Sāib al-Kalbī al-Kūfī al-Nassābah² was another personality from Kūfah who studied the reports on Islamic history under the tutelage of Abū Mikhnaf. Hishām used to read the books of Abū Mikhnaf to him and then make a copy from them. He would then relate the content of his writings on the authority of his master saying: 'Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ bin Yaḥyā al-Azdī narrated to me from...'

Among the works that Hishām reproduced from his master, read onto him and related from him was a book on the Maqtal (martyrdom) of al-Ḥusain ('a) as has been recorded

Shi'ah (1:8-148) and *al-Ghadir* (6:290-297).

¹ *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* (2:140) and *al-A'lām* of al-Zarqalī (3:821)

² *Murūj al-Dhahab* (4:24; Egypt edition).

in the list of his works. However, Hishām did not limit himself in his book on the Maq̄tal of al-Ḥusain ('a) only to the narrations of his master Abū Mikhnaf, but he also included in it narrations from his other master in history named 'Awānah bin al-Ḥakam (d.158 H).

It is, however, evident for anyone who refers to the historical works of the early period of Islam that all other historians have entirely depended on their reports on these two earlier outstanding scholars, especially on Abū Mikhnaf as he was nearer in time to the events and so used to relate them in a detailed and precise manner.

Many historians have incorporated in their historical writings an abridged version of his works. This shows that his works were existent during their times. Some of these historians are: Muḥammad bin 'Umar al-Wāqidī (d.207 H); al-Ṭabarī (d.310 H); Ibn Quṭaibah (d.322 H) in his book al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-Andalusī (d.328 H) in al-'Aqd al-Farīd when he discusses the thaqīfah; 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain al-Mas'ūdī (d.345 H) when he mentions 'Urwah bin al-Zubair's apology on behalf of his brother, 'Abd al-Allah, for threatening the Banu Hāshim with fire as they refused to pay allegiance to the latter; Shaikh al-Mufīd (d.413 H) in al-Irshād when discussing the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain ('a), and in al-Nuṣrah fī Ḥarb al-Baṣrah; al-Shahristānī (d.548 H) in al-Milal wa al-Niḥal when mentioning the sect of Nazẓāmiyyah; Khaṭīb al-Khwārazmī (d.568 H) in his work on the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain ('a); Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazrī (d.630 H) in al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh; and Sibṭ al-Jawzī (d.654 H) in Tadhkirah al-Khawāṣṣ.

In our observation, the last among the historians to have cited Abū Mikhnaf, without any reference to other book or

narrator, which apparently indicates that he must have been quoting directly from his work, is Abū al-Fidā' (d.732 H) in his *Tārīkh*.

Presently, we do not know of any of the existing works of Abū Mikhnaf in general, nor of his work on *Maqtal* in particular. Apparently all these works are lost and only some scattered reports from them have remained in the works of historians previously cited.

The oldest text known to us [today] from among those who have been quoting in their works the narrations of Hishām al-Kalbī from Abū Mikhnaf, is the *Tārīkh* of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad bin Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d.310 H). He did not, however, compose an independent work on these narrations, rather he just mentions the event of Karbalā' beside the events of the year 60 and 61 H.¹

Moreover, he does not narrate them directly from Hishām, instead he relates them from his works and in order to strengthen his case he would say 'I narrate this from Hishām bin Muḥammad', but he does not specify who related to him from Hishām. What leads us to believe that Ṭabarī was not a contemporary of Hishām and therefore could not have heard him personally, is the comparison between the year Ṭabarī was born (b.224 H) and the year in which al-Kalbī passed away (d.206 H). Besides that, Ṭabarī has clearly asserted to have been narrating from the works of Hishām when mentioning the event of Ḥarrah where he says: "This is how I have found it in my book..."²

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:338-467).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:487): Among the other things that lead us to this is also the fact that Ṭabarī names some of the personalities in a

Another earliest text, after al-Ṭabarī, which directly draws reports from Hishām al-Kalbī's work, is *Kitāb al-Irshād* of Shaikh al-Mufīd (d.413 H). He says before relating the reports of Karbalā' that: "[This is] a selection of the reports...which al-Kalbī has narrated..."¹

After that comes *Tadhkirat al-Ummah bi Khaṣā'is al-A'imma* of Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (d.654 H). He clearly states to have narrated many of his reports about Imam al-Ḥusain ('a) from Hishām al-Kalbī.

Comparing the reports of al-Ṭabarī with those of al-Mufīd and Ibn al-Jawzī, we find many similarities between these reports except in case of some letters or words (such as wāw in the place of fā' or vice versa), as the reader shall see in the course of this work.

Abū Mikhnaf

The books of history do not mention his birthdate. But Shaikh al-Ṭūsī (r), quoting from al-Kashhī (r), places [Abū Mikhnaf] in his *Rijāl* in the category of those who have narrated from the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī ('a). Al-Ṭūsī then says: "In my opinion, this is not correct; for Lūṭ bin Yaḥyā did not meet Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('a), rather his father, Yaḥyā, was among his companions."² However, al-

different way. This implies that he did not hear these names [directly] from their narrators. For instance, in the case of Muslim bin al-Musayyab, he mentions him by this name in two places [of his book], and in another two places he calls him as Silm bin al-Musayyab, whereas both refer to the same person as it appears in the report about Mukhtār.

¹ *Kitāb al-Irshād* (pg.200; Najaf edition).

² *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg.57; Najaf edition).

Ṭūsī has not mentioned his father, Yaḥyā, among the companions of ‘Alī (‘a) either, instead he considers his grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Salīm al-Azdī, to be among his companions and says: “[He was the son of ‘Āishah’s aunt. He was an Arab, from Kūfah.”¹

It should be noted, however, that al-Ṭūsī quoted the above piece of information from al-Kashhī’s work, and not directly from him; as al-Kashhī lived in the 3rd century H, while al-Ṭūsī was born in 385 H. This work of al-Kashhī was titled *Ma’rifat al-Nāqilīn ‘an al-A’immah al-Ṣādiqīn*, as reported by Ibn Shahrāshūb in *Ma’ālim al-‘Ulamā’*.² This book is now lost, and, based on what Sayyid bin Ṭāwūs has stated in *Faraj al-Mahmūm*, only that part of it has remained which was selected by Shaikh al-Ṭūsī in the year 456 H.³ [But] what al-Ṭūsī has quoted from al-Kashhī that Abū Mikhnaf was among the companions of ‘Alī (‘a), is not found in this selection of al-Ṭūsī.

In his *Rijāl*, al-Ṭūsī has mentioned Abū Mikhnaf to be one of the companions of Imam al-Ḥasan (‘a)⁴, and then among the companions of Imam al-Ḥusain (‘a)⁵ and thereafter he mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Ṣādiq (‘a).⁶ [However,] he has neither mentioned him to be among the companions of Imam ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a), nor among those of Imam al-Bāqir (‘a).

Al-Ṭūsī has quoted al-Kashhī’s assertion in his [another]

¹ Ibid, pg.58.

² *Ma’ālim al-‘Ulamā’* (pg.152; Najaf edition).

³ *Faraj al-Mahmūm* (pg.130; Najaf edition).

⁴ *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg.70).

⁵ Ibid, pg.79.

⁶ Ibid, pg.279.

work called *al-Fihrist* also. There he says: "The correct view is that his father, [Yaḥyā], was among the companions of 'Alī ('a), though the former did not meet him."¹ He then goes on to mention his chain of narration from Abū Mikhnaf through Hishām bin Muḥammad bin al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī and Naṣr bin Muzāḥim al-Minqarī.

Al-Najjāshī mentions Abū Mikhnaf in his *Rijāl* and says: "Lūṭ bin Yaḥyā bin Sa'īd bin Mikhnaf bin Sulaim² al-Azdī al-Ghāmidī, [known as] Abū Mikhnaf, the master of the narrators in Kūfah and the most prominent of them. He was reliable in his narrations. He has narrated [reports] from Ja'far bin Muḥammad ('a). It is said that he has narrated from Abū Ja'far [al-Bāqir ('a)] also, which is not correct."³ Al-Najjāshī then lists his works, among them being the book on the *maqṭal* of al-Ḥusain ('a). He then mentions his [own] chain of narration from Abū Mikhnaf through Hishām bin Muḥammad bin al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī.

With the [above] citations, we have so far presented the opinion of three out of four of our primary works in *Rijāl* regarding Abū Mikhnaf, without there being any mention of the dates of his birth and death.

The Family of Abū Mikhnaf as Reported by Ṭabarī

Regarding the companions (*ṣaḥābah*) who passed away in the year 80 H, Ṭabarī writes in his book *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal*: "[Among them was] Mikhnaf bin Sulaim bin al-

¹ *Al-Fihrist* of Shaikh al-Ṭūsī (pg.155; Najaf edition).

² It is strange that he names him as such and then attributes to him the book called *Akḥbār Āl Mikhnaf bin Sulaim*! This is likely to have been the error of the copyist.

³ *Rijāl a-Najjāshī* (pg.224; India lithographic edition).

Hārith... Ibn Ghāmid bin al-Azd... Mikhnaf professed Islam and accompanied the Prophet (ﷺ). He was the chief of the house of Azd in Kūfah and he had three brothers: ‘Abd Shams -who was killed in the battle of Al-Nukhailah, Ṣaq’ab and ‘Abdullah -both of whom were killed in the battle of Jamal. Lut bin Yaḥyā bin Sa’id bin Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was among the descendents of Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, from whom people used to narrate historical events.¹

Ṭabarī mentions [Mikhnaf bin Sulaim] in the reports of the battle of Baṣrah [i.e. Jamal], but not through Abū Mikhnaf. He says: “Mikhnaf bin Sulaim al-Azdī was in command of [the tribes of] Bajīlah, Anmār, Khath’am and Azd.”²

There is no indication in the [above] two citations that Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was killed in the battle of Jamal. However, Ṭabarī has related another report about the battle of Jamal from Abū Mikhnaf, who related from his uncle, Muḥammad bin Mikhnaf, saying: “A number of elders of the tribe, all of whom were present in the battle of Jamal, have related to me that: the standard of the Azd from Kūfah was with Mikhnaf bin Sulaim. He was killed on that day, so the standard was held by two of his family members, Ṣaq’ab and his brother ‘Abdullah bin Sulaim, who were also killed by the people.”³

This report is in agreement with what Ṭabarī has mentioned in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* regarding the death of the two brothers of Mikhnaf, Ṣaq’ab and ‘Abdullah. Perhaps he

¹ *Al-Maṭbū’ ma’a al-Tārīkh* (13:36; Dār al-Qāmūs Publications and 11:547; Dār Suwaidān Publications).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (4:500; Dār al-Ma’ārif Publications).

³ *Ibid*, (4:500).

narrated it from his *Tārīkh*. However, it differs from what has appeared in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* on the death of Mikhnaf bin Sulaim; for according to the [above] report, he was killed in Jamal, and this contradicts what Ṭabarī has related [in *al-Dhayl*] -in the reports of [the battle of] Ṣiffīn- on the authority of al-Kalbī from Abū Mikhnaf himself. Abū Mikhnaf says: "My father, Yaḥyā bin Sa'id, related to me from his uncle, Muḥammad bin Mikhnaf who said: 'I was with my father, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, on that day [i.e. in Ṣiffīn] and I was only seventeen years old...'"¹

Ṭabarī also reports from al-Kalbī who said: "Ḥārith bin Ḥaṣīrah al-Azdī related to me from some elders of [the tribe of] Namir and Azd that Mikhnaf [disliked] the invitation from the [fellow tribe of] Azd in Shām..."²

He also related from al-Madāinī (d. 225) and 'Awānah bin al-Ḥakam (d. 158) -who was narrating through his chain of narration from an elder of the Banū Fazārah: "Mu'āwiyah dispatched Nu'mān bin Bashīr [al-Anṣārī] with two thousand men. They raided 'Ain al-Tamr while the governor of 'Alī, [Mālik bin Ka'b] al-Arḥabī, was in the city with three hundred soldiers. So he wrote to 'Alī ('a) asking him for help." [Mālik] also wrote to Mikhnaf bin Sulaim who was nearer, requesting him for assistance. So Mikhnaf sent to him his son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, with fifty other men and they joined Mālik and his followers... When the Syrians saw them, they thought that Mālik has a [good] support, so they felt defeated and fled."³

¹ Ibid, (4:542).

² Ibid, (5:26).

³ Ibid, (5:133).

All these narrations clearly attest to the fact that Abū Mikhnaf's [great] grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, was alive after the battle of Jamal, rather even after the battle of Şifīn; as the raids of Mu'āwiyah took place in the year 39 H, that is after the battle of Şifīn (38 H). In contrary, the narration [that states that he was killed in Jamal] is a lone report. However, [it seems that] Ṭabarī did not realize this fact and therefore did not comment on this, though he has clearly stated in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* that Mikhnaf lived till the year 80 H.¹

The Family of Abū Mikhnaf as Reported by Naşr bin Muzāḥim al-Minqarī

Apart from *al-Ṭabarī*, there are other sources as well in which we find [evidences] that show that Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was alive [even] after the battles of Jamal and Şifīn. Naşr bin Muzāḥim al-Minqarī (d.212 H) relates in his book *Waq'at Şifīn* on the authority of Yaḥyā bin Sa'īd from Muḥammad bin Mikhnaf who said: “‘Alī (‘a) looked at my father –after his return from Başrah– and said: ‘...but Mikhnaf bin Sulaim and his people did not lag behind...’”²

[Naşr] also says: “Our companions have said: “[Alī (‘a)] appointed Mikhnaf bin Sulaim as the governor of Işfahān and Hamadān and dismissed from them Jarīr bin ‘Abdullah al-Bajalī...”³

He also reports: “When [‘Alī (‘a)] wanted to advance towards Shām, he wrote [a letter] to [all] his governors. The

¹ *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (11:547; Dār Suwaidān Publications), quoting from *al-Ṭabarī*.

² *Waq'at Şifīn* (pg.8; al-Madanī Publications).

³ *Ibid*, (pg.11).

letter that he sent to Mikhnaf was written by ‘Ubaidullah bin Abī Rāfi’ [in the year 37 H]. Mikhnaf put in his position two men from his kinsmen and set out for Ṣiffīn, where he fought alongside ‘Alī [‘a].”¹

[In another report] he says: “Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was in charge of the Azd, Bajīlah, the Anṣār and Khuzā’ah”;² and also that: “[Mikhnaf] was accompanying ‘Alī (‘a) in Babylon.”³

He narrates from the elders of Azd that: “When the men of Azd in Iraq were invited by the members of Azd in Shām, Mikhnaf disliked the [invitation] and it was unbearable for him. So he addressed [his people], expressing to them his aversion and dislike.”⁴

We have much to derive from the narration of Abū Mikhnaf from his father’s uncle, Muḥammad bin Mikhnaf, in which he says: “I was with my father, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, on the day [of Ṣiffīn] while I was seventeen years old.”⁵

It is evident from this report that Sa’id was younger than his brother, Muḥammad, and for this [very] reason he could not participate in [the battle of] Ṣiffīn. Therefore, he was relating the news about Ṣiffīn from his brother, Muḥammad. The [above] report also implies that Muḥammad bin Mikhnaf was born in the year 20 H. Based on this, his

¹ Ibid, (pg.104).

² Ibid, (pg.117).

³ Ibid, (pg.135).

⁴ Ibid, (pg.262). According to *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*: “He was martyred with the followers of Tawwābīn at ‘Ain al-Wardah in 64 H!” which is [absolutely] incorrect.

⁵ *Al-Ṭabarī* (4:246).

brother Sa'id -the grandfather of Lūṭ- must have been born around this [time]. Accordingly, [it is] Sa'id, the grandfather of Lūṭ, [who] should be among the companions of 'Alī ('a) and not even his father, Yaḥyā.

Thus, we can assume, at the least, that Sa'id married and fathered a child, Yaḥyā, when he was twenty years of age, that is in the year 40 H.¹ In this case, there is, definitely, no

¹ In this case, how can Yaḥyā, the father of Abū Mikhnaf, be among the companions of 'Alī ('a) as claimed by Shaikh al-Ṭūsī in two of his books?! Al-Fāḍil al-Ḥā'irī pointed out to this fact before us in his book *Muntaha al-Maqāl*. He proves [in this book] that Abū Mikhnaf never met Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('a). He [also] regards the opinion of al-Ṭūsī that Yaḥyā -the father of Lūṭ- met 'Alī ('a), as weak; for it was his father's grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, who was among the companions of 'Alī ('a), as it has been stated by al-Ṭūsī himself and others. Al-Ḥā'irī further says: "This [i.e. Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was among the companions of 'Alī ('a)] should prove for al-Ṭūsī that Lūṭ did not see ['Alī ('a)], as it also weakens the possibility of his father, Yaḥyā, to have met ['Alī ('a)]." That Abū Mikhnaf should be among the companions of Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('a) -as mentioned by al-Kashhī- is, therefore, impossible. Likewise, there is no room for Shaikh al-Ghifārī's argument, which he has put forward in the introduction of his *Maqtal*, for there being a possibility of Abū Mikhnaf to have met even his father's grandfather, i.e. Mikhnaf bin Sulaim. This is by assuming that Lūṭ was then fifteen years old, while his father, Yaḥyā, was thirty-five and his grandfather Sa'id, fifty-five and his great grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, seventy-five. But this [assumption] cannot be correct if we take into consideration the report of Abū Mikhnaf from his father's uncle, Muḥammad bin Mikhnaf, that the latter was seventeen years old [during] the battle of Ṣiffīn, and that his brother, Sa'id, was younger than him. It was for this [very] reason that [Abū Mikhnaf] relates the report from [Sa'id's] brother, Muḥammad, [and not from Sa'id himself]. Based on this, the age of Sa'id must have, then, been about fifteen years and not fifty-five [as it has appeared in al-Ghifārī's

question of the existence of Lūṭ yet, nor of considering Yaḥyā to be among the companions of ‘Alī (‘a).

Let us take it for granted [again] that Yaḥyā also married and fathered a child, Lūṭ at the age of twenty, that is in the year 60 H. This is the least we can assume. [Now] let us presume also that [Lūṭ] began to listen to the reports [from his masters] when he was twenty, i.e. in the year 80 H, and he managed to compile his work within a period of twenty years or so, meaning that he must have finished compiling the book toward the end of the first century H.

However, it is very improbable that he could have compiled this book and read it to others during this period after taking into consideration that the recording of ḥadīth, let alone history, was still disagreeable, but rather prohibited; and that the power was still in the hands of the Banū Marwān, the Umayyads; and that the atmosphere was that of fear and dissimulation (*taqiyyah*) for the Shī‘ah and [those narrating] reports about them.

[Instead] there is an indication that Abū Mikhnaf compiled this work of his around the year 130 H. For in his report about the arrival of Muslim bin ‘Aqīl in Kūfah, [he says that Muslim] was residing in the house of Mukhtār bin Abī ‘Ubaid al-Thaqafī. He then says: "...This is the house which is known today as the house of Muslim bin Musayyab." Since Ibn Musayyab was, in the year 129 H, the governor of Ibn ‘Umar in Shiraz, as reported in *al-Ṭabarī* (7:372), [we conclude that the above book must have been compiled around this time]. [In fact,] this was the time when the power of the Umayyads had become weak and the Banū

argument].

‘Abbās were inviting people towards Imam al-Riḍā (‘a), asking [them] to rise and revenge for the blood of al-Ḥusain (‘a) and his household.

And who knows, may be the adherents of the Banū ‘Abbās had asked Abū Mikhnaf to compile the reports on the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (‘a) in order to back their call. But after they had achieved their motives, they deserted him and his work as they deserted the Ahl al-Bait (‘a) after that and even fought against them.

The Works of Abū Mikhnaf

Shaikh al-Najjāshī has mentioned the following books as belonging to Abū Mikhnaf:

Kitāb al-Maghāzī, Kitāb al-Riddah, Kitāb Futūḥ al-Islām, Kitāb Futūḥ al-‘Irāq, Kitāb Futūḥ Khurāsān, Kitāb al-Shūrā, Kitāb Qatl ‘Uthmān, Kitāb al-Jamal, Kitāb Ṣiffīn, Kitāb al-Ḥakamain, Kitāb al-Nahrawān, Kitāb al-Ghārāt, Kitāb Akhbār Muḥammad bin Abī Bakr, Kitāb Maqatal Muḥammad bin Abī Bakr, Kitāb Maqatal Amīr al-Mu‘minīn (‘a), Kitāb Akhbār Ziyād, Kitāb Maqatal Ḥujr bin ‘Adiyy, Kitāb Maqatal al-Ḥasan (‘a), Kitāb Maqatal al-Ḥusain (‘a), Kitāb Akhbār al-Mukhtār, Kitāb Akhbār Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah, Kitāb Akhbār al-Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, Kitāb Akhbār Yūsuf bin ‘Umair, Kitāb Akhbār Shabīb al-Khārijīyy, Kitāb Akhbār Muṭarrāf bin Mughīrah bin Shu‘bah, Kitāb Akhbār al-Ḥuraith bin al-Asadī al-Nājī and Kitāb Akhbār Āl Mikhnaf bin Sulaim.

Al-Najjāshī then mentions his link to these works and says:

“...from his student Hishām al-Kalbī.¹

Shaikh al-Ṭūsī ascribes to him some of the books mentioned above in his *al-Fihrist* and adds: “He has [also] a book called *Kitāb Khuṭbah al-Zahrā’* (‘a).” He then states his link to these works.²

Ibn al-Nadīm has listed to his credit some of these works in *al-Fihrist*, including [his work on] the *maqṭal* of al-Ḥusain (‘a).

It is noticeable from the list of his works that Abū Mikhnaf directed much of his efforts in compiling the reports about the Shī‘ah in general, and those about Kūfah in particular. There does not appear, in the above list, any book on reports about the Banū Umayyah or the Banū Marwān. Nor is there any book on the revolt of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī or the Abbasid rule. This is taking into consideration that he passed away twenty five years after all these events, in the year 158 H. Not only this, but his last book, according to the list of his works, was the one on Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf al-Ṭhaqafī whose reports ended by his death in 95 H.

However, in his *Tārīkh Ṭabarī* relates reports from [Abū Mikhnaf] up until the end of the rule of the Umayyads, and to be specific, till the events of the year 132 H.³

It is evident from his reports which are scattered in several of his books, especially in *al-Ṭabarī*, that [Abū Mikhnaf] often narrates [reports] either from his father, or uncle, or one of his cousins, or from his elders within the tribe of Azd

¹ *Rijāl al-Najjāshī* (pg.224; India lithographic edition).

² *Al-Fihrist* of al-Ṭūsī (pg.155; Najaf edition).

³ Events about the revolt of Muḥammad bin Khālid in Kūfah in 132 H. See: *al-Ṭabarī* (7:417).

in Kūfah. This leads us to the fact that it was the abundance of reports within his tribe that prompted him to gather and compile books from them. This is why we find him limiting himself to the reports of the people of Kūfah, to the extent that he was considered the most learned of them in this regard.

His Faith (madhhab) and Reliability (withāqah)

It is [quite] obvious from his reports generally that he has not directly narrated, even a single report, from Imam Zain al-‘Ābidīn (‘a) (d.95 H) nor from Imam al-Bāqir (‘a) (d.115 H). Rather, he has narrated from Imam al-Bāqir (‘a) through one person¹ and from Imam ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a) through two links.² He has a few direct reports from Imam al-Ṣādiq (‘a) (d.148 H).³

The above facts prove what al-Najjāshī said: “It is said that he related [reports] from Abū Ja’far (‘a), but it is not correct.”⁴ [Abū Mikhnaf] has not narrated from Imam Mūsā bin Ja’far al-Kāẓim (‘a), though he lived after Imam al-Ṣādiq (‘a) and was a contemporary of al-Kāẓim (‘a) for ten years. For this very reason no one has counted him to be among the companions of al-Kāẓim (‘a).

All this may lead us to the fact that [Abū Mikhnaf] was not a Shī‘ah in the technical sense of the word and whom the Ahl al-Sunnah term as the *rāfiḍī*, nor was he among the companions of the Aimmah (‘a) as such. Rather, he was a

¹ See the report on the martyrdom of the infant of al-Ḥusain (‘a) (5:448).

² See the narration about the night of ‘Āshūrā’ (5:488).

³ See the report on the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (‘a) (5:453).

⁴ *Rijāl al-Najjāshī* (pg.224; India lithographic edition).

Shī'ah in the sense that he had personal inclinations [towards them] like most of the other people in Kūfah, without having rejected the faith of the majority of the Muslims at that time.

What may back the above fact is that none among the Ahl al-Sunnah has accused him of being a *rāfiḍī* in their sense of the word; for according to them one who is simply inclined towards the Ahl al-Bait ('a) [without having even professed their school of thought], is considered a Shī'ah. But a person who is known [to them] to have been following the Ahl al-Bait ('a) in his beliefs, then they not only consider him to be a Shī'ah, but they also accuse him of *rafḍ*. This is the difference between the two terms according to their terminology.

[Regarding the reliability of Abū Mikhnaf,] al-Dhahabī says: "A corrupt and unreliable narrator. Abū Ḥātim and others have rejected him. According to Ibn Ma'in, he is not reliable. He has also said elsewhere that he is of no importance. According to Ibn 'Adiyy, he is a fanatic Shī'ah and the narrator of their reports."¹

[Notice that] none of the [above Sunnī] authorities have accused Abū Mikhnaf of *rafḍ*. This is at a time when they used to charge with *rafḍ* anyone who was proven to be a follower of the Ahl al-Bait ('a) school of thought.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd states this clearly when he says: "Abū Mikhnaf is among the narrators (*muḥaddīthīn*) and among those who hold that the legitimacy of [the divine] leadership (*imāmah*) is realized [only] through [the divine]

¹ *Mizān al-I'tidāl* (3:420; Aleppo edition).

designation. He is not a Shī'ah, nor is he counted to be among their outstanding figures."¹

The above passage has been quoted by Sayyid al-Ṣadr in his *Ta'sīs al-Shī'ah li 'Ulūm al-Islām*. He then comments on it saying: "I would say: they do not accuse him of something other than *tashayyu'*, which does not, according to their [own] scholars, contradict [his] being reliable. The great Sunnī scholars, such as Abū Jarīr al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, have relied on him. Especially Abū Jarīr who has filled his *Tārīkh al-Kabīr* with the narrations of Abū Mikhnaf."²

Imam Sharafuddīn (r) has devoted one whole chapter in *al-Murāja'āt* in which he enumerates one hundred Shiite personalities found in the Sunni chains of narration (*isnād*), but also in their *Ṣiḥāḥ*, specifying the places [where these names have appeared].³

In brief, there is no room for any doubt about his not being a Shī'ah and the follower of the Imāmiyyah school of thought as it has been rightly asserted by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd. Yes, some of the Sunnī scholars consider him to be a Shī'ah, [but] based on what they are accustomed to [in calling] one who expresses love and sympathy for the Ahl al-Bait ('a) [as a Shī'ah].

None of the past Shiite scholars have declared him to be a

¹ *Ta'sīs al-Shī'ah* (pg.235; Baghdad edition).

² Ibid, (pg.235). He says: "I have counted the number of instances where Ṭabarī has narrated [reports] from Abū Mikhnaf. I found them to be around 400 instances, as it appears in the index of names in *al-Ṭabarī* (Dār al-Ma'ārif Publications). The last of these narrations is in (7:417) which is pertaining to the revolt of Muḥammad bin Khālīd in Kūfah in 132 H."

³ *Al-Murāja'āt* (ch.16-17, pg.52-118, Dār al-Ṣādiq publications).

Shī‘ah. Al-Najjāshī (may Allah have mercy on him), who is an expert in this discipline [i.e. in *rijāl*], describes Abū Mikhnaf only by saying: “He was the master (*shaikh*) of the narrators in Kūfah”, not ‘the master of our scholars’, and not even ‘the master of the narrators of our reports’.

There is nothing surprising about the fact that [on the one hand] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd clearly states this fact, and [on the other hand] he narrates from him poems (*arjāz*) which he recited in the battle of Jamal on the succession of ‘Alī (‘a) to the Prophet (ﷺ); for narrating these verses implies only that he was a Shī‘ah, [in the sense that he was] sympathetic [towards the Ahl al-Bait (‘a)], not that he was an adherent of the Imāmiyyah sect. Many Sunni scholars have been [normally] relating the like of these verses too.

In conclusion, there is no doubt that Abū Mikhnaf was a Shī‘ah, but there is no evidence that he was, beside this, a follower of the Ahl al-Bait school of thought (*imāmi*).

The best of what our scholars have said regarding him are the words of praise from al-Najjāshī. He says: “He was the master of the narrators in Kūfah and outstanding amongst them. One could rely on what he narrated.” These words are noteworthy as they establish his probity. This is why his reports have been considered as agreeable (*ḥasan*) in [the texts of Rijāl such as] *al-Wajīzah*, *al-Bulghah*, *al-Ḥāwī* and other works.

Hishām al-Kalbī

Shaikh al-Najjāshī has mentioned him [in his book] together with his lineage. He then says: “He was well versed with the [historical] events, well-known for his righteousness and knowledge. He entirely belonged to our faith (*madhhab*). He

has related the famous narration that says: "I was afflicted with a serious illness as a result of which I forgot all I knew. So I went to Ja'far bin Muḥammad ('a) and he made me drink knowledge in a cup and I thus regained my knowledge.' Abū 'Abdillah [al-Ṣādiq ('a)] used to bring him closer to himself and encourage him. [Hishām] has many books."¹

Al-Najjāshī then lists his works and mentions his sources for obtaining them. Among the books he lists is *Maqtal al-Husain*. This is, perhaps, [the collection of] either all the reports or most of them which he narrated from his master Abū Mikhnaf.

It is, however, strange that in his selections from *Rijāl al-Kashhī*, Shaikh al-Ṭūsī quotes al-Kashhī as saying: "Al-Kalbī was a Sunnī, though he had great affection and love [for the Ahl al-Bait ('a)]. It has also been said that al-Kalbī was practicing dissimulation (*taqiyyah*) and he was not a Sunnī."²

¹ *Rijāl al-Najjāshī* (pg.305: India lithographic edition).

² *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg.390, ḥadīth no.733; Mashad edition). It is evident that, in case of difference of opinion [between scholars of *rijāl* about a personality], our scholars of *rijāl* would prefer the view of al-Najjāshī [over the others]. Shahīd al-Thānī [Zain al-Dīn al-'Āmili] writes in *al-Masālik*: "What is apparent about al-Najjāshī is that he is the most precise (*aḍbaṭ*) of the people [i.e. the experts in *rijāl*] and the most acquainted of them about the status of the narrators." His grandson says in *Sharḥ al-Istibṣār*: "Al-Najjāshī has precedence over Shaikh [al-Ṭūsī] in such cases as it is known through experience." His master, Muḥaqqiq al-Astarābādī says in *Al-Rijāl Al-Kabīr* when mentioning the biography of Sulaimān bin Ṣāliḥ: "The difference in style between Shaikh [al-Ṭūsī] and al-Najjāshī is clear, and perhaps the

Shaikh al-Ṭūsī does not mention [Hishām] in his *al-Rijāl* nor in *al-Fihrist*, except as a link to Abū Mikhnaf's works.¹ The reason behind this may be that [those of] his works which are related to the history of the Shī'ah are, [in fact], what he has narrated from his master Abū Mikhnaf [i.e. he just served as a link to what Abū Mikhnaf had said]. Otherwise, the rest of his books do not contain what is related to the history of the Shī'ah.

latter is more accurate." Sayyid Baḥr al-'Ulūm says in *al-Fawā'id al-Rijāliyyah*: "Aḥmad bin 'Alī al-Najjāshī was among the reliable masters and the just among the trustworthy. He is one of the main personalities [referred to in matters] of defamation (*jurḥ*) and authentication (*ta'dīl*). He is the most learned in this discipline. Our 'Ulamā' have unanimously relied on him and referred to him for information about [the narrators]. A group of scholars have explicitly stated his precedence [over the others] by virtue of his unique book in this field, and this view seems to be correct."

Writing on the life of Shaikh al-Kashhī, al-Najjāshī says in his book (pg.363): "He was an outstanding and reliable personality... and has a book in *rijāl*. Although he was knowledgeable, his book has many mistakes... He was an associate of al-'Ayyāshī and has studied under him. He has narrated [information] from weak [sources as well]." Regarding al-'Ayyāshī, he says on pg.247: "He is reliable and trustworthy. He was among the eminent personalities of the [Shī'ah] sect. He was a Sunnī in the beginning, who was then guided [to the Ahl al-Bait school of thought]. He frequently used to narrate from weak [narrators]."

It is, therefore, probable that al-Kashhī took this opinion [that al-Kalbī was a Sunnī in the beginning] from al-'Ayyāshī, for he said with regard [to Hishām] that 'he is a Sunnī' since he himself [i.e. al-'Ayyāshī] was a Sunnī in the beginning. Likewise, he may have [also] taken from him the view that al-Kalbī was hiding his [actual faith] and was practicing *taqiyyah*."

¹ *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg.155; Najaf edition).

Many of the Sunnī historians and experts in biographies have attested to his knowledge, [good] memory and to his being a Shī‘ah. Ibn Khalakān says: “He has profusely narrated the historical events [related] to the people and their news. He was the most learned in genealogy. He was among the renowned custodians of the ḥadīth (*ḥuffāz*). He died in the year 206 H.”¹

Abū Aḥmad bin ‘Adiyy writes in *al-Kāmil*: “Al-Kalbī has [narrated] sound traditions (*aḥādīth*). His commentary on them is acceptable and through which he is renowned. No one has a longer and more comprehensive exegesis [in this regard] than him. He is given precedence over Muqātil bin Sulaimān since the latter has got vile beliefs. Ibn Ḥibbān has mentioned him in his *al-Thuqāt*.”²

The Maqal Currently in Circulation

A book on the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (‘a) which is ascribed to Abū Mikhnaf is commonly in circulation nowadays among the people and [book] publishers. It is very obvious that this is not the work of Abū Mikhnaf, rather it has been compiled by someone other than Abū Mikhnaf. However, it is not known where and when exactly it was compiled, from whom did the compiler find this book and when was it first published?

¹ Ṭabarī narrates from al-Kalbī in [some] three hundred and thrity places of his *Tārīkh*. But [still] he did not mention his biography in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal*. Instead he mentions his father on pg.101 and says: “His grandfather Bishr bin ‘Amru al-Kalbī and his sons: al-Sāib, ‘Ubaid and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān had participated in the battles of Jamal and Ṣiffīn along side ‘Alī (‘a).

² *Lisān al-Mizān* (2:359).

Imam Sharafuddīn says: "It is evident that the current book on the martyrdom of [al-Ḥusain ('a)] which is attributed to Abū Mikhnaf contains many such narrations that were not known [even] to Abū Mikhnaf! Indeed, they have been forged in his name. The number of those who have ascribed [false reports] to him (*kaddhābah*) is large, and this [on its own] attests to his greatness."¹

Muḥaddith al-Qumī says: "Let it be known that Abū Mikhnaf has numerous works on [Islamic] history and on the lifestyle [of the Aimmah ('a)]. Among them is *Maqṭal al-Ḥusain ('a)* from which [our] great scholars in the past have narrated and have relied on it... Unfortunately it is [now] lost and there does not remain even a single copy of it. With regard to the *Maqṭal* which is in our hands and which is being ascribed to him, it is neither his nor of any [other] reliable historian. Whoever wants to get convinced about this, then let him compare what has appeared in this [present] *Maqṭal* with what Ṭabarī and others have related from him. I have explained this in [my book] *Nafas al-Mahmūm* when talking about Ṭirimmāḥ bin 'Adiyy. And Allah knows best."²

Since I wanted to edit [Abū Mikhnaf's] work, I had to go through this fabricated *Maqṭal*. There is no doubt that this book was compiled by someone other than Abū Mikhnaf [himself]. [But] it is not known who compiled it and when. It appears to me that the compiler must have been an Arab of a later period (*muta'akhhirīn*), who was neither

¹ *Mu'allifū al-Shī'ah fī Ṣadr al-Islām* (pg.42; al-Najāḥ Publications).

² *Al-Kunā wa al-Alqāb* (1:148) and *Nafas al-Mahmūm* (pg.195) and its Introduction (pg.8; Baṣīrah publications).

acquainted with history and ḥadīth, nor with the biographies [of the narrators], not even with the Arabic literature; for in this book he uses words which were used by the Arabs of the later period in their colloquial language.

This book consists of a hundred and fifty narrations, six of which have some missing links in their chains of transmission (*mursal*). The first one [no.49] from Imam ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a), the second [no.94] from ‘Abdullah bin ‘Abbās, the third one [no.82] from ‘Umārah bin Sulaimān who reported from Ḥumaid bin Muslim, the fourth one [no.96] from a person known as ‘Abdullah bin Qais, the fifth report [no.70] from a person called ‘Ammar and [the sixth] one [no.70] which has been narrated from al-Kulainī (d.329 H) without its chain of narration (*marfū’ah*) and which is not found in *al-Kāfi*.

After narration no.105¹, he starts relating many [reports] from a person known as Sahl al-Shahrāzūrī who he considers to have traveled with the Ahl al-Bait (‘a) from Kūfah to Shām [and accompanied them] until their return to Madīnah! He [also] relates from this person 31 *mursal* narrations, mentioning among them the report of Sahl bin Sa‘d al-Sā’idī in the name of Sahl bin Sa’id al-Shahrāzūrī!²

The remaining 138 reports in the book are ascribed to Abū Mikhnaf himself.

The Grave Errors of this Maqtal

This book [which is ascribed to Abū Mikhnaf] contains a number of serious mistakes. They are as follows:

¹ *Maqtal* (pg.102; Najaf edition).

² *Ibid*, (pg.123).

1. In the first line of the first page of this *Maqtal*, a discerning reader is confronted with this grave mistake: “Abū Mikhnaf said: ‘Abū al-Mundhir Hishām has narrated to us from Muḥammad bin Sāib al-Kalbī”! Here [we] find that Abū Mikhnaf, who was the teacher of Hishām, is relating from Hishām, his [own] student! Who, in turn, was reporting from his father, Muḥammad bin al-Sāib al-Kalbī!

Thus, we can obviously tell how ignorant the compiler of this work was about the biographies of the narrators that such an inconsistency remained hidden to him.¹

2. After three pages we read: “Al-Kulainī relates in a tradition...”² Would that I knew who was this person relating from al-Kulainī who died in 329 H, while Abū Mikhnaf died in 158 H! This is at a time when this tradition is not even found in *al-Kāfi*!

3. After a few more pages we find him saying: “He said: ‘[Yazīd] sent the letter to Walīd. It reached him ten days into the month of Sha’bān.”³ While the historians, including Abū Mikhnaf according to the report of Ṭabarī, unanimously agree that al-Ḥusain (‘a) entered Makkah three days after the beginning of Sha’bān! So how can we reconcile between [these two reports]?!

¹ Sayyid al-Murtadā (r) has related a similar narration in *Tanzīh al-Anbiyā*’ (pg.171; Qum edition) from someone whom he calls Ibn ‘Abbās bin Hishām, who related from his father, and who in turn was narrating from Abū Mikhnaf, who was reporting from Abū al-Kanūd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin ‘Ubaid. It is probable that the compiler of the above *Maqtal* narrated this from this work of al-Murtadā or from someone else, but with additions and distortions!

² *Maqtal* (pg.7).

³ *Ibid*, (pg.11).

4. In the case of the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aqīl, he is the only writer who reports that a pit was dug into which [Muslim] fell and he was, thereafter, taken to Ibn Ziyād while his hands were tied up behind his back. He says about this: “The accursed one approached and said to them: ‘I will set them a trap! Let us dig a pit on his way and fill it with grass and earth. Then we attack him and retreat from in front of him! I hope that he will not escape the pit.’”¹

5. Also concerning the martyrdom of Muslim, he is the only one to report [saying]: “When Muslim and Hānī were killed, their news ceased to reach al-Ḥusain (‘a). So he became seriously disturbed! He gathered his household... and instructed them to return back to Madīnah! They set out moving before him until they entered the city! [Al-Ḥusain] went to the grave of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and clung to it. [There] he bitterly wept and [then] he fell asleep!”²

This report has no source and no trace of it is found at all in any other book.

6. Regarding the arrival of al-Ḥusain (‘a) in Karbalā’, this writer is alone in reporting that the Imam was riding seven horses and that he dismounted them, and that they [all] stopped and none of them could move further.³

7. He, again, is the only person to have narrated what Imam ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain said on the night of ‘Āshūrā’ and on the day of [al-Ḥusain’s] arrival in Karbalā’.⁴

8. He alone has reported that the number of Ibn Sa‘d’s army

¹ Ibid, (pg.35).

² Ibid, (pg.39).

³ Ibid, (pg.48).

⁴ Ibid, (pg.49).

in Karbalā' was eighty thousand [men]!¹

9. He relates the speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain as having been delivered on the day the army [of Ibn Sa'd] arrived in Karbalā'. He says in this regard: "He then advanced towards his followers and said: 'O Muhājirīn and Anṣār! The speech of this accursed dog and his likes should not deceive you!! Indeed, he is not going to attain the intercession (*shafā'ah*) of Muḥammad (ṣ). Verily, the people who kill his offspring and their helpers will be in hell fire forever."²

10. He is the only one to have narrated the report about the digging of the well by al-Ḥusain ('a). He says: "...But he did not find water in it."³

11. Again he is the only one to have repeated three times the report of the night and the day of 'Āshūrā'. He mentions in the first the speech of al-Ḥusain ('a) and the [martyrdom] of his brother, 'Abbās ('a)! He is alone in saying that: "... ['Abbās] then held the sword with his mouth." He then says: "[Al-Ḥusain] came to him and carried him on the back of his horse and took him to the tents. He put [his body] there and bitterly wept over him such that everyone present with him began weeping."⁴

Then he comes back to the night of 'Āshūrā' and says: "[Al-Ḥusain] then turned to his companions and said to them: 'O my companions! These people are after me only. So when the night sets in, go away under the cover of its darkness.'" He then continues: "He spent that night and in the

¹ Ibid, (pg.52).

² Ibid, (pg.56).

³ Ibid, (pg.57).

⁴ Ibid, (pg.59).

morning...”¹

He then, once again, talks about the day of ‘Āshūrā’ by narrating another speech of the Imam (‘a). He is the only person to have mentioned here that al-Ḥusain (‘a) sent a messenger to Ibn Sa‘d by the name of Anas bin Kāhil, whereas, in fact, the [name of the] messenger was Anas bin al-Ḥarth bin Kāhil al-Asadī.

He reverts for a third time [and] talks about the night of ‘Āshūrā’ and here he relates the famous speech of the Imam (‘a) to his companions and his household [on that night]. Then he comes back, again, to mention the war preparations by al-Ḥusain (‘a) and Ibn Sa‘d.²

12. He is the only one to mention Ibrāhīm bin al-Ḥusain as one of the companions of Imam al-Ḥusain.³

13. He mentions Ṭirimmāḥ [bin al-‘Adiyy] as one of those who were martyred along with al-Ḥusain (‘a), whereas Ṭabarī relates on the authority of al-Kalbī from Abū Mikhnaf that [Ṭirimmāḥ] was not present in Karbalā’ and was [thus] not killed with al-Ḥusain (‘a).⁴ Muḥaddith al-Qumī [also] has commented on this in his book *Nafas al-Mahmūm* (pg. 195).

14. He mentions some verses in the story of Ḥurr al-Riyāḥī which are, in fact, of ‘Ubaidullah bin al-Ḥurr al-Ju’fī, [whom Imam (‘a) met] at Qaṣr Banū Muqātil, not realizing that they were not in tune with the conditions Ḥurr [al-Riyāḥī] was in. The [writer] ascribes to al-Riyāḥī the

¹ Ibid, (pg.59-60).

² Ibid, (pg.61-62).

³ Ibid, (pg.70).

⁴ Ibid, (pg.72).

following: "I stood by their bodies and their graves..."!¹
How ignorant the compiler of this book was!

15. He ascribes some verses to al-Ḥusain ('a) in lamentation of Ḥurr [al-Riyāḥī] which are not worthy of [the Imam ('a)]. Some of it reads: "He is the best *ḥurr* (free man) as he supported Ḥusain, those who helped Ḥusain are indeed successful!"²

16. He ascribes to Imam al-Ḥusain ('a) three verses in lamentation of his companions, whereas they are obviously known not to be of the Imam ('a). Rather they belong to one of the poets of the later period. He says: "They helped Ḥusain, what young men were they."³

17. He is alone in specifying the day on which Imam al-Ḥusain ('a) arrived in Karbalā', saying that it was on Wednesday.⁴ He [also] says that he was martyred on Tuesday.⁵ According to this, Imam ('a) must have arrived in Karbalā' on the 5th of Muḥarram! While the historians - including Abū Mikhnaf as reported in *al-Ṭabarī* - unanimously agree that he reached Karbalā' on Thursday⁶,

¹ Ibid, (pg.77). Ṭabarī cites these verse in (5:470; Dār al-Ma'ārif Publications) on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf from 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab who said: "'Ubaidullah bin al-Ḥurr had recited these verse in Madāin: 'A treacherous governor, son of a traitor says: why did not you fight the martyr, son of Fāṭimah?'" Notice that this disloyal compiler has changed some words [in the verses] so that they might fit Ḥurr al-Riyāḥī, yet they did not!

² Ibid, (pg.79).

³ Ibid, (pg.85).

⁴ Ibid, (pg.48).

⁵ Ibid, (pg.93).

⁶ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:409). The account of *al-Ṭabarī* is backed by what al-Arbalī has related in *Kashf al-Ghummah* (2:252) through his

the second of Muḥarram, and he was [martyred] on Friday.

18. After narration no.105¹, he starts relating many [reports] from a person known as Sahl al-Shahrāzūrī, who is regarded to have journeyed with the Ahl al-Bait ('a) from Kūfah to Shām [and accompanied them] until their return to Madīnah! He then puts in his mouth verses -while he was in Kūfah- which were, in fact, said by Sulaimān bin Qattah al-Hāshimī² by the grave of Imam al-Ḥusain ('a): "I passed by the houses of the household of Muḥammad..."³ In Shām, he ascribes to him the report of Sahl bin Sa'd al-Sā'idī in the name of Sahl bin Sa'd al-Shahrāzūrī⁴, as though he considers [Shahrāzūrī] to be [al-Sā'idī]!

19. He attributes a poem (*urjūzah*) of thirty odd verses⁵ to

chain of narration from Imam al-Ṣādiq ('a): "He was martyred on the day of 'Āshūrā, [which fell] on Friday."

¹ *Maqtal*, (pg.102)

² Shaikh Muḥammad al-Samāwī comments on this saying: "He was a Hashimite by clientage (*walā'*). His mother was Umm Qattah and his father Ḥabīb. He died in Damascus in 126 H. Al-Mas'ūdī (4:74) mentions him as Ibn Qattah, quoting that from the book *Ansāb Quraish* of Zubair bin Bakār."

³ *Maqtal* (pg.102-103).

⁴ *Ibid*, (pg.123).

⁵ *Ibid*, (pg.76-77). Seventeen of these verses have been related by 'Alī bin 'Īsā al-Arbalī (d.693 H) in his book *Kashf al-Ghummah* (2:238; Tabriz edition). He related them from the book *al-Futūḥ* of Aḥmad bin A'tham al-Kūfī (d.314 H), saying that he recited them when [al-Ḥusain's] infant was martyred and he dug a grave and buried him. While according to this *Maqtal*, the Imam ('a) recited them when he made a violent attack on the [enemy], scattering them and killing one thousand five hundred of their horsemen! He returned to the tents saying..." Al-Arbalī (pg.250) clearly states that: "The *nūniyyah* verses that begin with: 'The people committed treachery...' have not been mentioned by Abū

Imam al-Ḥusain ('a) on the day of 'Āshūrā'. Similarly, he ascribes to 'Abdullah bin 'Afīf al-Azdī a *qaṣīdah* comprising about thirty verses before 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād.¹

20. There appear words in different places of this book which are used in the colloquial language of the Arabs of the later period (*muta'akhhirīn*) and which do not befit Abū Mikhnaf. For instance, in the story of digging a pit to trap Muslim, [we come across words as] "The accursed (*la'in*) one approached and said to them... and fill it with grass (*daghl*) and earth.... we should then retreat from in front of him."² Or "His helpers went away (*rāḥat*)"³, or "The one who was awake (*yaqzānahu*)..."⁴ and "He was picking a quarrel (*yataḥarrashu*)..."⁵

After all this, none would consider it correct for this book to be ascribed to Abū Mikhnaf.

The Sources of Abū Mikhnaf (isnād)

Here, we will present a detailed list of the names of the intermediaries (*wasāit*) between Abū Mikhnaf and the events [he related]. We shall [also] mention after the name of every narrator the reports he has narrated. Thus, the list itself would serve as an index for all the narrations that are

Mikhnaf though they are famous, and Allah knows best." Al-Khwārazmī (d.568 H) has mentioned in his *Maqtal* three of the [above] verses (2:33) from Ibn A'tham.

¹ *Maqtal* (pg.108-109).

² *Ibid*, (pg.35).

³ *Ibid*, (pg.135).

⁴ *Ibid*, (pg.129).

⁵ *Ibid*, (pg.132).

going to appear in this book.

We have six different list of narrators based on the manner they narrated the reports, or the manner in which Abū Mikhnaf related from them. They are:

1. This list comprises the names of those who witnessed the battle and *directly* related [its events] to Abū Mikhnaf, without any intermediary. Thus, Abū Mikhnaf is reporting the [information about the] battle from them, i.e. through one link [only]. This list comprises three narrators.
2. This list also consists of the names of those who witnessed the battle, with the difference that Abū Mikhnaf relates from these [narrators] through a link or two. That is, he narrates the [events of the] battle through two or three people. There are fifteen people in this list. Accordingly, the total number of people who witnessed the battle and from whom Abū Mikhnaf related his reports is eighteen.
3. This list contains the names of those who were in direct contact with the events before and after Karbalā'. They reported them to Abū Mikhnaf *directly*. Thus, he narrates the events from each of them through a single link. There are five people in this list.
4. It consists of those who witnessed the events before or after Karbalā' and Abū Mikhnaf narrates from each of them through one or two links. There are twenty one people in this list.
5. It comprises people who neither witnessed the battle, nor were they in direct contact with the events. Rather, they served as links for the reports of Abū Mikhnaf from [the narrators in the past four lists]. Thus, Abū Mikhnaf narrates the battle or the events surrounding it through two links.

There are a number of twenty nine people in this list.

6. It contains the names of the just narrators (*'udūl*) from among the companions of the Aimmah ('a) or the Aimmah themselves. They are not among those who witnessed the battle or were in direct contact with the events surrounding it. They are [all] considered as links, though they were not narrating through [any] intermediaries or [at least] did not mention them. There are fourteen people in this list.

Therefore, it becomes clear from the above list that the total number of those who narrated the events of Karbalā' to Abū Mikhnaf, directly or indirectly, is thirty-nine people. They have related sixty-five narrations together with their complete chains of narration (*musnad*). And this is the total number of reports mentioned in this book.

We have extracted the biographies of these transmitters either from the works of *rijāl*, or by tracing the places wherein their reports have appeared in *al-Ṭabarī*. [Of course,] there are [also] those about whom we could not find any information.

The Detailed List of the Narrators

The First List

They are those who witnessed the battle [at Karbalā'] and narrated it directly to Abū Mikhnaf. They are:

1. Thābit bin Hubairah. He related the death of 'Amru bin Qarazah bin Ka'b al-Anṣārī and the report about his brother, 'Alī bin Qarazah (See *al-Ṭabarī*: 5:434).

He has this report only. We have not found any mention of him in the books of *rijāl*. The actual text of the the *Maqatal*

regarding his report reads as follows: “Abū Mikhnaf says: [I narrate] from Thābit bin Hubairah who said: ‘Then ‘Amru bin Qarazah bin Ka’b was killed...’”

[The manner in which] the report [has been narrated] implies that [Abū Mikhnaf] related it directly from [him].

2. Yaḥyā bin Hāni’ bin ‘Urwah al-Murādī al-Madhḥijī. He related the martyrdom of Nāfi’ bin Hilāl al-Jamalī. The text reads: “Yaḥyā has narrated to me... that Nāfi’...” This is very clear in that it was a direct report. (See *al-Ṭabarī*: 5:435)

His mother was Raw’ah, daughter of Ḥajjāj al-Zubaidiyy and the sister of ‘Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaidiyy. Thus, [‘Amru] is the uncle of Yaḥyā from the mother’s side. (5:363)

Yaḥyā was present in Karbalā’ together with his uncle in the army of ‘Umar bin Sa’d. He has narrated the martyrdom of Nāfi’ bin Hilāl al-Jamalī. [Yaḥyā] heard his uncle ‘Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaidiyy stopping the army of [Ibn Sa’d] from engaging in single combat [with the companions of al-Ḥusain (‘a)] after the martyrdom of Nāfi’ bin Hilāl, suggesting to them, instead, to throw stones at al-Ḥusain (‘a) and his companions. Yet, he did not part from his uncle. (5:435)

He also related what his uncle told ‘Abdullah bin al-Muṭī’ al-‘Adawī, the governor of Ibn al-Zubair in Kūfah, that he should stand firm in fighting Mukhtār bin Abī ‘Ubaid al-Thaqafī. Yaḥyā was along side his uncle in his combat against Mukhtār. (6:28)

Ibn Ḥibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt*. Al-Dārquṭnī says that his [word] can be taken as a proof. According to

al-Nassāī, he is reliable. Abū Ḥātim adds that he was pious and among the chiefs in Kūfah. Shu'bah says that he was a leader of the people of Kūfah, as reported in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*.

3. Zuhair bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Zuhair al-Khath'amī. He narrated the martyrdom of Suwaid bin 'Amru bin Abī Muṭā' al-Khath'amī. The text says: "...has related to me saying..." (5:446).

This is his only report. We have not found any mention of him in the books of *rijāl*.

The Second List

Those who witnessed the battle and from whom Abū Mikhnaf narrates through one or two links. They are:

1. 'Uqbah bin Sim'ān¹. He related the arrival of al-Ḥusain ['a] at Karbalā' and the letter of Ibn Ziyād to Ḥurr in this regard (*al-Ṭabari*: 5:407). [Abū Mikhnaf narrates from him] through one intermediary.

2. Hāni' bin Thubait al-Ḥaḍramī al-Sakūnī. He narrated Ibn Sa'd's meeting with Imam al-Ḥusain ('a) at a point between the two camps after the arrival of the Imam ('a) at Karbalā' and before the day of 'Āshūrā'. The text says: "Abū Janāb has narrated to me from Hāni' ..."

He witnessed the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain ('a) (*al-*

¹ He was the retainer of Rabāb, daughter of Imru' al-Qais al-Kalbī and the mother of Sakīnah -daughter of al-Ḥusain ('a). He was taken to 'Umar bin Sa'd on the day of 'Āshūrā' who asked him: "Who are you?" He replied: "I am a slave." So he freed him (*al-Ṭabari*:5:454).

Ṭabari:5:413). He participated in the killing of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umair al-Kalbī -the second person to be martyred from the companions of al-Ḥusain (‘a) (5:436), and in the killing of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib (‘a), Ja’far bin ‘Alī (‘a), a lad from the household of al-Ḥusain (5:448) and ‘Abdullah bin al-Ḥusain bin ‘Alī (‘a) whose mother was Rabāb, daughter of Imru’ al-Qais al-Kalbī (5:468).

3. Ḥumaid bin Muslim al-Azdī. He reported the following:

Ibn Ziyad’s letter to Ibn Sa’d, instructing him to prevent al-Ḥusain (‘a) and his companions from getting water; the endeavour of ‘Abbas [‘a] to get water on the seventh night [of Muḥarram] (5:412); the dispatch of Shamir to Karbalā’ (5:414); the beginning of the battle (5:429); [al-Ḥusain’s] words to Shamir when he [intended to] attack the tents just before the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (‘a); the noon prayers; the martyrdom of Ḥabīb bin Muḥābir al-Asadī (5:439); the words of the Imam (‘a) at the martyrdom of his son ‘Alī (‘a); the coming out of [Lady] Zainab at the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain; the martyrdom of Qāsim bin al-Ḥusain (‘a); the martyrdom of ‘Abdullah bin al-Ḥusain (‘a) in [al-Ḥusain’s] lap (5:446-448); the state of al-Ḥusain (‘a) after the martyrdom of his companions till his own martyrdom (5:451&452); the difference [of opinion] within the [enemy’s] camp after [al-Ḥusain’s] martyrdom regarding killing his son ‘Alī (‘a); the story of ‘Uqbah bin Sim’ān and his release; the trampling of the horses on the body of al-Ḥusain (‘a); the carrying of the head of the Imam (‘a) to Ibn Ziyād by [Ḥumaid] and Khawliyy bin Yazīd al-Aṣḥabī (5:455); ‘Umar bin Sa’d’s sending of [Ḥumaid] to his family members to inform them that he was in safety; the prisoners in the court of Ibn Ziyād and his hitting al-Ḥusain’s lips with a cane; the incident of Zayd bin Arqam

narrating to him the tradition of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and the reply of Ibn Ziyād to him; the remarks of Zayd about Ibn Ziyād; Zainab's entering the court of Ibn Ziyād, his words to her and her answer; Ibn Ziyād's attempt to beat her and the comments of 'Amru bin Ḥuraith; the words of Ibn Ziyād to Imam Zain al-'Ābidīn ('a) and his reply; the attempt to kill him and his aunt's clinging to him; and [finally] Ibn Ziyād's sermon in the mosque and Ibn 'Afīf's reply to him and his murder (*al-Ṭabari*:5:456-459).

The person from whom Ḥumaid narrated these reports was Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid.

It is noticed that Abū Mikhnaf brings in incomplete reports [from Ḥumaid] and narrates [only] those parts which are relevant to the occasion in hand. It is also evident that [Ḥumaid's] reports begin with the dispatch of Shamir to Karbalā' and end with reports about [what transpired in] the court of Ibn Ziyād and the murder of Ibn 'Afīf al-Azdī.

This implies that Ḥumaid was in the army of Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan al-Kilābī, especially after taking into consideration his constant conversation with Shamir, censuring him in a number of matters; and [secondly] his presence in the tents after the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain ('a), knowing that it was Shamir who attacked the tents with the foot soldiers.

Later, we see [Ḥumaid] participating in the uprising of the Tawwabūn (5:555). He used to visit Mukhtār in prison, but [at the same time] he cautioned Sulaimān bin Ṣurad al-Khuzā'ī against him, informing him that Mukhtār was inciting people to betray him. [However,] Sulaimān ignored this action of [Mukhtār] (5:581&584). [Ḥumaid] later returned with the defeated army of the Tawwabūn (5:606).

He was a friend of Ibrāhīm bin al-Ashtar al-Nakha'i whom he used to frequently visit and go with him to [see] Mukhtār every evening—after the Tawwābūn uprising. They would plan their affairs till late night and then disperse (6:18). One Monday evening Ḥumaid came out with Ibrāhīm from his house with a group of about a hundred [men]. They were armed with swords and were concealing their shields under their cloak-like garments (6:19). They advanced till they came to the house of Mukhtār on the night he departed. (6:23)

However, when [Ḥumaid] came to know that Mukhtār is determined to kill the assassins of al-Ḥusain ('a), he rose together with 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Mikhnaf al-Azdī, Abū Mikhnaf's uncle, against Mukhtār. When 'Abd al-Raḥmān was wounded, Ḥumaid recited some verses in sympathy for him (6:51). When 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Mikhnaf escaped from Kūfah and sought refuge with Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair in Baṣrah, Ḥumaid also joined him there (6:58)!

His name last appears in *al-Ṭabarī* (6:213) when he recited couplets in lamentation of 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Mikhnaf who was killed by the [followers of the] Azāriqah [sect from the] Khawārij near Kāzarūn in 75 H, as he was fighting them along with Muhallab bin Ṣafrah on behalf of Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf al-Thaqafī.

Al-Dhahabī has mentioned [Ḥumaid] in *Mizān al-I'tidāl* (1:616) and so has Ibn Qudāmah in *al-Mughnī* (1:195).

4. Ḍaḥḥāk bin 'Abdillāh al-Mushriqī al-Hamdānī. He narrated the reports about the night and the day of 'Āshūrā'; al-Ḥusain's preparation for the battle; and his important speech on the day of 'Āshūrā'. (*al-Ṭabarī*:5:418, 419, 421, 423, 425 & 444)

Abū Mikhnaf relates from this person on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Āṣim al-Fāishī al-Hamdānī -who was also from the [Banū] Hamdān- that he [i.e. Ḍaḥḥāk] laid a condition before Imam al-Ḥusain (‘a) that he would be free to leave him in case [all] his companions were killed, and the Imam (‘a) accepted it! Accordingly, he fled the battlefield. (5:418&444)

Al-Ṭūsī mentions him in his *Rijāl* among the companions of Imam Zain al-‘Ābidīn (‘a)!

5. Imam ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a). [Abū Mikhnaf] narrates from him the report about the events of the night of ‘Āshūrā’ through two intermediaries. They are:

(a) Ḥārith bin Ḥaṣīrah, who was narrating from ‘Abdullah bin Sharīk al-‘Āmirī, who narrated from [al-Sajjād (‘a)] (*al-Ṭabari*:5:418).

(b) Ḥārith bin Ka’b al-Wālibī al-Azdī al-Kūfī and Abū al-Ḍaḥḥāk [al-Baṣrī], both of whom were narrating from [al-Sajjād (‘a)] (*al-Ṭabari*:5:420).

6. ‘Amru al-Ḥaḍramī. He narrated the joining of [fresh] troops to the army of ‘Umar bin Sa’d (*al-Ṭabari*:5:422) through two links. The identity of this person is not known.

7. A servant of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin ‘Abd Rabbih al-Anṣārī. Abū Mikhnaf reports his joking with Burair bin Khudair al-Hamdānī through two links, namely: ‘Amru bin Murrah al-Jamalī who narrated from Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥanafī, who in turn related from this servant. The report ended saying: “When I saw that the people had been defeated, I escaped and left them” (*al-Ṭabari*:5:421&422).

8. Masrūq bin Wāil al-Ḥaḍramī. [Abū Mikhnaf related from him] the story of Ibn Ḥawzah at the beginning of the battle

through two intermediaries, 'Aṭā' bin al-Sā'ib who narrated it from Abd al-Jabbār bin Wāil al-Ḥadramī, who in turn reported [Masrūq] as saying: "I was in the front line of the cavalry that marched against al-Ḥusain... so that I may obtain the head of al-Ḥusain which would gain me some position in the eyes 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād... Masrūq then returned... and said: 'Verily, I have seen something in the people of this house that I will never fight them [again]'.⁹" (*al-Ṭabari:5:421*)

9. Kathīr bin 'Abdullah al-Sha'bī al-Hamdānī. Abū Mikhnaf relates from him the speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain through 'Alī bin Ḥanzalah bin As'ad al-Shabāmī who was narrating from one of his kinsmen called Kathīr bin 'Abdullah al-Sha'bī who had happened to witness the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain ('a) (*al-Ṭabari:5:426*).

Ṭabarī narrates from 'Awānah on the authority of Hishām that: "[Al-Sha'bī] was a brave knight whom nothing would cause to turn his face away from the battle. When 'Umar bin Sa'd asked the leaders [who had written letters to al-Ḥusain ('a) from Kūfah] to go to al-Ḥusain ('a) and inquire from him why he has come and what does he want, "All of them refused and expressed their dislike for that. Kathīr bin 'Abdullah al-Sha'bī stood up and said: 'I will go to him. By Allah, if you wish I can [even] assassinate him!... So he went to him... [Abū Thumāmah] came forward and said to him: 'Put down your sword.' He said: 'Nay by Allah, there is no honour [for you]!'... Then they cursed each other" (5:410). "[Kathīr] and Muhājir bin Aws launched a violent attack on Zuhair bin al-Qain al-Bajalī and killed him." (5:441).

10. Al-Zubaidiyy. He reported the second attack (*al-*

Ṭabari:5:435). This man, who was from the tribe of Zubaid in Yemen, used to narrate the [so called] glorious deeds of his tribal leader, ‘Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaidiyy!

11. Ayyūb bin Mashraḥ al-Khayawānī. He reported the command of al-Kalbī. He was the one who lamed the horse of Ḥurr [al-Riyāḥī]. Later his people accused him of killing Ḥurr, so he said: “Nay by Allah, I did not kill him. Rather, someone other than me killed him. I would not like to have killed him.” His father, Abū al-Waddāk Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdānī asked him: “Why are you not pleased to be the one who killed him?” He replied: “They claimed that he was among the pious men. By Allah, if he was a sinner, then I would [still] prefer to meet Allah with the sin of wounding [him] than to meet Him with the sin of killing one of them!” Abū al-Waddāk said: “You are not going to meet Allah except with the sin of killing all of them... all of you have a share in [spilling] their blood.” (*al-Ṭabari:5:437*).

12. ‘Afif bin Zuhair bin Abī al-Akhnas. He reported the martyrdom of Burair bin Khuḍair al-Hamdānī (r). He was [also] among those who witnessed the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (‘a). He says in this report: “Burair used to teach them the Qur’an in the central mosque of Kūfah” (*al-Ṭabari:5:431*).

13. Rabī’ bin Tamīm al-Hamdānī. He reported the martyrdom of ‘Ābis bin Abī Shabīb al-Shākiri. He was one of those who witnessed that day [i.e. the day of ‘Āshūrā’] (*al-Ṭabari:5:444*).

14. ‘Abdullah bin ‘Ammār al-Bāriqī. He reported the state of al-Ḥusain (‘a) when attacking the people. He was among those who witnessed the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (‘a) and was [later] reproached for witnessing it. [But] he replied:

“Indeed the Banū Hāshim are obliged to me for a favour!! So we asked him: “What favour did you do them?” He said: “I attacked al-Ḥusain with a lance, then I drew closer to him... then I quickly distanced myself from him!” (*al-Ṭabari:5:451*).

15. Qurrah bin Qais al-Ḥanzalī al-Tamīmī. He reported the severing of the heads and about the captives (*al-Ṭabari:5:455*). He had come out under Ḥurr bin Yazīd al-Riyāḥī al-Tamīmī -a commander from his tribe, in the vanguard of Ibn Ziyād against al-Ḥusain (‘a) (5:427).

[Qurrah] is the one whom Ibn Sa‘d had sent to al-Ḥusain (‘a) to ask him the reason he came out [from Madīnah] and what he wanted. When he came to al-Ḥusain (‘a), Ḥabīb bin Muẓāhir al-Asadī invited him to help al-Ḥusain (‘a) but he declined (5:411). He is [also] the one who says that Ḥurr said to him: “Do not you want to water your horse?” and then Ḥurr moved away from him until he made his way to al-Ḥusain (‘a). [Qurrah] later used to say that had Ḥurr informed him of his intentions, he would have gone with him to al-Ḥusain (‘a)! (5:427).

These are the fifteen people who witnessed the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (‘a) and from whom Abū Mikhnaf has narrated [reports], either through one or two intermediaries.

The Third List

These are those who were in direct contact with the events [that surrounded the movement of al-Ḥusain (‘a)] and directly related them to Abū Mikhnaf. They are:

1. Abū Janāb Yaḥyā bin Abī Ḥayyah al-Wadā’ī al-Kalbī. He has reported the following: the encounter of the companions of Muslim with Ibn Ziyād (*al-Ṭabari:5:369&370*); the

dispatch of the heads of Muslim and Hāni' by Ibn Ziyād to Yazīd and his letter to him in this regard (5:380).

The editor of this work says: It seems to me that [Abū Janāb] was relating these reports from his brother, Hāni' bin Abī Ḥayyah, since he was the one whom Ibn Ziyād sent with his letter.

Al-Ṭabarī has narrated 23 reports from him. Nine of them are concerning the battles of Jamal, Ṣiffīn and Nahrawān, all through some links. [The other] nine are regarding Karbalā', five of which have been transmitted indirectly and another three through an incomplete chain of narration (*irsāl*).

He is mentioned last in *al-Ṭabarī* as relating -through an incomplete chain of narration- the letter of Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair to Ibrāhīm bin al-Ashtar in the year 67 H and after the death of Mukhtār, inviting him to support him. (6:111)

The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (11:201) mentions his biography and says: "A truthful person from Kūfah who died in 147 H."

Therefore, we conclude, from the above citation, that he was not in direct contact with the events.

2. Ja'far bin Ḥudhaifah al-Ṭāī. He reports the following: the letter of Muslim [bin 'Aqīl] to al-Ḥusain ('a) before the former's martyrdom, informing him of the allegiance of the people of Kūfah [to him]; and the letter of Muḥammad bin al-Ash'ath bin Qais al-Kindī to Imam al-Ḥusain ('a) through Ayās bin al-'Athāl al-Ṭāī, informing him of the arrest and murder of Muslim bin 'Aqīl (*al-Ṭabarī*:5:375).

Al-Dhahabī mentions [Ja'far] in *Mizān al-I'tidāl* and says: "He related [reports] from 'Alī, and Abū Mikhnaf narrated

from him. [Ja'far] was with 'Alī at Ṣiffīn. Ibn Ḥibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt* and says: "It is not known who he is."

Al-Ṭabarī has narrated five reports from him. Two reports about Ṣiffīn and other two concerning the Khawārij from Ṭay' and [the fifth one is] the report [mentioned above].

3. Dulham bint 'Amru, the wife of Zuhair bin al-Qain. She reported the joining [of Zuhair] with al-Ḥusain ('a). The text reads: "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Dulham has related to me that... She said: 'So I said to [Zuhair]...' (al-Ṭabarī:5:396).

4. 'Uqbah bin Abī al-'Aizār. He narrated: the two sermons of the Imam ('a) at al-Baiḍah and Dhū Ḥusam; the reply of Zuhair bin al-Qain to the Imam ('a); and the verses [recited] by the Imam ('a) and Ṭirimmāḥ bin 'Adiyy (*al-Ṭabarī:5:403*). It seems he was among the companions of Ḥurr and was saved. We have found no mention of him in our works of *rijāl*. The author of *Lisān al-Mizān* mentions him and says: "His narrations are reliable. Ibn Ḥibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt*."¹

These were the four [people] who were in direct contact with the happenings and they, apparently, narrated them directly to Abū Mikhnaf.

The Fourth List

They are those who were either in direct contact with the events, or they belonged to the same period and thus reported them. Abū Mikhnaf narrates [reports] from them through one or two links. They are:

¹ *Lisān al-Mizān* (4:179, 3:88 and 2:433).

1. Abū Sa'id Dīnār, or Kaisān, or 'Aqīṣā al-Maqbarī. He reported the verses [recited] by al-Ḥusain ('a) when he was leaving Madīnah through one intermediary, namely 'Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Musāḥiq bin Makhramah (*al-Ṭabari:5:342*).

Al-Dhahabī mentions him in *Mizān al-I'tidāl* and says: "He and his father were the companions of Abū Hurairah. He is reliable and an authority (*ḥujjah*). He [lived and] became very old, but was not deranged... He died in 125 H. He was a supporter of the Banū Tamīm. Ibn Ḥibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt*. According to al-Ḥākim, he is reliable and trustworthy."¹

According to *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, al-Wāqidī says: "He is reliable and a prolific narrator. He died in 100 H. Some say that [he died] during the rule of Walīd bin 'Abd al-Malik. It is said that 'Umar had put him in charge of digging graves. So he used to live in the graveyard area and thus came to be known as 'al-Maqbarī'."²

Shaikh al-Ṭūsī mentions him in his *Rijāl* among the companions of 'Alī and al-Ḥusain ('a), [but] by the name of Dīnār. His agnomen was Abū Sa'id and his title 'Aqīṣā. He was given this title because of a poem he had recited.³

Ibn Qudāmah says in *al-Mughnī*: "He is al-Maqdisī, from al-Maqdis, the city of Prophet Īliyā."

Al-Ṣadūq narrates in his *Amāli* through a chain of narration going back to Abū Sa'id 'Aqīṣā who said: "[I relate] from

¹ *Mizān al-I'tidāl* (2:139).

² *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (8:453).

³ *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg.40; Najaf edition).

al-Ḥusain who was reporting from his father, who narrated the Prophet (ṣ) saying to him: “O ‘Alī! You are my brother and I am your brother. I have been chosen for the prophethood (*nubuwwah*) while you have been selected for the divine leadership (*imāmah*). [O ‘Alī] I am the bearer of revelation (*tanzil*) and you are [responsible] for its interpretation (*ta’wīl*). You and I are the [two] fathers of this Ummah. You are my trustee, successor, vizier, inheritor and the father of my offspring. Your followers (*shī’atuka*) are my followers.”

2. ‘Uqbah bin Sim’ān. He narrated the following: the departure of the Imam (‘a) from Madīnah; his meeting with ‘Abdullah bin Muṭī’ al-‘Adawī; his arrival in Makkah (*al-Ṭabari:5:351*); the conversation of Ibn ‘Abbas and Ibn al-Zubair with the Imam (‘a) when he was leaving Makkah (5:383); the report about the messengers of ‘Amru bin Sa’īd al-‘Āṣ al-Ashdaq, the then governor of Makkah, to al-Ḥusain (‘a), asking him to return to Makkah; the report on the Yemeni dye (*waras*) at Tan’īm (5:385); the conversation of ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain [al-Akbar] with his father after they left Qaṣr Banū Muqātil; the arrival of al-Ḥusain (‘a) at Nainawā; the coming of the messenger of Ibn Ziyād with his letter to Ḥurr; al-Ḥusain’s camping at Nainawā; the arrival of ‘Umar bin Sa’d (5:407-409); and the proposal of the Imam (‘a) to Ibn Sa’d (5:413).

All these reports were related [by Abū Mikhnaf] through one intermediary, namely Ḥārith bin Ka’b al-Wālibī al-Hamdānī. This [also] backs the fact that Abū Mikhnaf used to report only those parts of a report which were relevant to the occasion he was treating (*taqṭī’*).

3. Muḥammad bin Bishr al-Hamdānī. The reports he

narrated are: the gathering of the Shī'ah in Kūfah at the house of Sulaimān bin Ṣurad al-Khuzā'ī after the death of Mu'āwiyah; the speech of Sulaimān; their letters to al-Ḥusain ('a); Imam's reply to them through Muslim bin 'Aqīl (*al-Ṭabari:5:352-353*); the letter of Muslim to al-Ḥusain ('a) on his way to Kūfah and the latter's reply to him; Muslim's arrival in Kūfah; the frequent visits of the Shī'ah to Muslim at the house of Mukhtār (5:354-355); and Ibn Ziyād's sermon after the martyrdom of Hāni' bin 'Urwah (5:368).

All these reports were transmitted through one link, namely Ḥajjāj bin 'Alī al-Bāriqī al-Hamdānī.

[Al-Bāriqī] was present in the gathering of the Shī'ah [in Kūfah] at the house of Sulaimān bin Ṣurad. He says: "We then mentioned the death of Mu'āwiyah and expressed our gratitude to Allah for that. Then Sulaimān bin Ṣurad said to us... then we sent [the two men] with the letter... and ordered them to keep the matter secret... then we sent to him... we waited for two more days and sent [more] letters... and our letters were with them." (5:354-355).

He was also present in the meeting of the Shī'ah with Muslim at Mukhtār's place, but he did not pay allegiance to him out of fear of being killed. Ḥajjāj bin 'Alī says [in this regard]: "I said to Muḥammad bin Bishr: 'Did you say anything?' He replied: 'Although I wished that may Allah honour my colleagues with victory, I did not want to be killed! I [also] did not want to lie [to Muslim by paying allegiance to him and then abandon him]!" (5:355).

The author of *Lisān al-Mizān* says that Abū Ḥātim used to say: "He is Muḥammad bin al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī al-Kūfī, when his lineage is traced back to his grandfather. Otherwise, he

is [known as] Muḥammad bin al-Sā'ib bin Bishr."¹

Al-Ṭūsī has mentioned him in his *Rijāl* among the companions of Imam al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq ('a).²

4. Abū al-Waddāk Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdānī. He reported: the speech of Nu'mān bin Bashīr al-Anṣārī -the governor of Kūfah for Mu'āwiyah and Yazīd; the letters of the people of Kūfah to Yazīd (*al-Ṭabari:5:355-356*); Ibn Ziyad's address in Kūfah (5:358-359); Muslim's transfer to the house of Hāni' bin 'Urwah; the spying of Ma'qal al-Shāmī on Muslim by the order of Ibn Ziyād; Ibn Ziyād's visit to Hāni' when he was sick; the proposal of 'Umārah bin 'Ubaid al-Salūlī to kill Ibn Ziyād; the disagreement of Hāni' about that; Ibn Ziyād's visit to Sharīk bin al-A'war al-Ḥārithī al-Hamdānī at Hāni's house and the signal given by Sharīk to Muslim to kill Ibn Ziyād; Muslim's refusal of that due to the disapproval of Hāni'; Ibn Ziyād's call on Hāni', beating and imprisoning him; the arrival of 'Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaidiyy with the distinguished men from the Madhḥij and their horsemen; and the meeting of Shuraiḥ al-Qādī with Hāni' and his informing [Hāni's] kinsmen about the latter's safety (5:361-367).

[Abū Mikhnaf narrated these reports from Abū al-Waddāk] through a person called Numair bin Wa'lah al-Hamdānī, except for the last report which was through Mua'llā bin Kulaib.

His complete name has appeared in his report about Imam

¹ *Lisān al-Mizān* (5:94).

² *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg136&289). Ṭabari mentions him in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg.651; Dār Suwaidān publications), quoting from *al-Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd (6:358), and says that he died in Kūfah in the year 146 H during the rule of Manṣūr.

‘Alī’s speech at Nukhailah after he had lost all hopes in guiding the Khawārij (5:78). It seems that he was in Kūfah after the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (‘a). He rebuked Ayyūb bin Mashraḥ al-Khayawānī for laming the horse of Ḥurr, saying: “I am sure that you will meet Allah with the sin of killing all of them. Tell me if you were to shoot at this [person], lame [the mount of] another, and then shoot at some other person, take a position in your combat, attack them and incite your companions against them and increase the number of your people [against them], [you do all this but still] when you are attacked you dislike to flee; [tell me] if the other person from among your companions was to do the same, and so did the third one... then [would not this mean that you and your] companions have killed them?! Indeed, you all have a share in [spilling] their blood!” (5:437).

Al-Dhahabī mentions him in *Mizān al-I’tidāl* and says: “[He was] the colleague of Abū Sa’īd al-Khudrī and well known for his truthfulness.”¹

The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* says: “Ibn Ḥibbān has brought him in *al-Thuqāt*. Ibn Ma’īn says that he is reliable. According to al-Nassā’ī, he was pious. He has also narrated [reports] from him in his *Sunan*.”²

5. Abū ‘Uthmān al-Nahdī. He reported: the letter of Imam al-Ḥusain (‘a) to the people of Baṣrah; the appointment of ‘Uthmān, Ibn Ziyād’s brother, by Ibn Ziyād as his deputy over Baṣrah; and Ibn Ziyād’s arrival in Kūfah (*al-Ṭabari*:5:357-358). [Abū Mikhnaf narrated these reports]

¹ *Mizān al-I’tidāl* (4:584; Aleppo edition)

² *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (2:60) and in *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl* (3:27).

through one intermediary, namely Ṣaq'ab bin Zuhair.

Abū 'Uthmān was among the companions of Mukhtār and was appointed by him, upon his arrival in Kūfah to see Ibn Muṭī', [as the guardian] over the weak people at Sabkhah (5:22&29).

The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* mentions him and says that he was from [the tribe of] Quḍā'ah and lived during the times of the Prophet (ṣ), though he did not see him. He was residing in Kūfah and thereafter went to Baṣrah after the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain ('a). [Abū 'Uthmān] was in charge of the monthly stipends of his people. He performed *ḥajj* and *'umrah* sixty times. He used to spend the night in prayers and fast during the day time. [According to *al-Tahdhīb*,] he was reliable and died in 95 H at the age of one hundred and thirty.¹

6. 'Abdullah bin Khāzim al-Kathīrī al-Azdī. He narrated, through Yūsuf bin Yazīd, the uprising of Muslim ('a) and the giving of the banners by him (*al-Ṭabari*:5:367-368). He also reported the people's betrayal of Muslim (5:370-371) through Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid.

['Abdullah] was among those who paid allegiance to Muslim ('a) and was sent by him to inquire about Hāni' [bin 'Urwah] in the palace [of Ibn Ziyād]. Then he became among those who betrayed Muslim and al-Ḥusain ('a) (5:368-369). Later ['Abdullah] repented along with the Tawwābūn and joined their uprising (5:583) until he was killed (5:601).

7. 'Abbās -or 'Ayyāsh- bin Ja'dah al-Judalī. He related: the

¹ Ibid, (6:277).

uprising of Muslim ('a) and how the people abandoned him, and the stand of Ibn Ziyād (5:369), through one intermediary by the name of Yūnus bin Abī Ishāq al-Subī'i al-Hamdānī.

He paid allegiance to Muslim and joined his [attempted] uprising, but thereafter nothing is known about him. He begins his report saying: "We came out with Muslim..."

8. 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Abī 'Umair al-Thaqafī. He reported the offer made to Mukhtār to come under the safe-conduct granted by Ibn Ziyād.

9. Zāidah bin Qudāmah al-Thaqafī. He narrated: the coming out of Muḥammad bin al-Ash'ath against Muslim, the captivity of Muslim, (*al-Ṭabari:5:373*) and his request for water at the gate of the palace and [the way it was] granted (5:375).

Al-Ṭabari names him as Qudāmah bin Zāidah bin Qudāmah al-Thaqafī.

The editor of this work says: I have found that Zāidah bin Qudāmah, the grandfather of Qudāmah bin Sa'id, was the one who was in direct contact with the events in Kūfah. With regard his grandson, Qudāmah bin Sa'id, Shaikh al-Ṭūsī has mentioned him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Ṣādiq ('a).¹ Therefore, it is more appropriate to put the chain of narrators this way: "Qudāmah bin Sa'id narrates from Zāidah bin Qudāmah al-Thaqafī..."

The grandfather of Qudāmah was Zāidah bin Qudāmah al-Thaqafī, the chief of the police in Kūfah in the year 58 H, under 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Umm al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafī, the

¹ *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg. 275; Najaf edition).

governor of Mu'āwiyah bin Abī Sufyān after the Year of Unity (*'ām al-jamā'ah*) (5:310). He was together with 'Amru bin Ḥuraith when the safe-conduct from 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād was made public in Kūfah after the uprising of Muslim bin 'Aqīl ('a), thus he interceded on behalf of Mukhtār, his cousin (5:570).

[Ibn Qudāmah] was the one who took the letter of Mukhtār from the prison of Ibn Ziyād in Kūfah to 'Abdullah bin 'Umar, the husband of Mukhtār's sister, Ṣafiyyah bint Abī 'Ubaid al-Thaqafī, requesting him to intercede with Yazīd on his behalf. Accordingly, Ibn Ziyād freed him, but wanted to punish Ibn Qudāmah for this action of his, but he fled [the city] until after he was granted protection [from Ibn Ziyād] (5: 571).

[Ibn Qudāmah] was among those people of Kūfah who paid allegiance to 'Abdullah bin Muṭī' al-'Adawī, Ibn al-Zubair's governor in Kūfah. Ibn Muṭī' sent him in pursuit of Mukhtār, so he informed [Mukhtār] about this but he did not pay heed (6:11). [In fact,] the uprising of Mukhtār in Kūfah began from the garden of Zāidah at Sabkhah (6:22). Mukhtār had sent to unseat 'Umar bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī, Ibn al-Zubair's governor in Kūfah, and he managed to do so through bribery and threat (6:72).

Later, Zāidah joined 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān and fought Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair along side with him and managed to kill him at the monastery of the monks, in vengeance of the blood of Mukhtār (6:159). Thereafter, Ḥajjāj sent him with two thousand men to fight Shabīb al-Khārijī at Rūdbār. He fought him until he was killed [by Shabīb] in the year 76 H, while his companions surrounded him [helplessly] (6:246).

Thus, it becomes evident that Qudāmah bin Sa'id bin

Zāidah from whom Abū Mikhnaf narrates this report [i.e. the one about Muslim], was not in direct contact with the events of Kūfah during the uprising of Muslim bin 'Aqīl.

And, perhaps, the chain of narration should read as such: 'Qudāmah bin Sa'id narrated to me from Zāidah bin Qudāmah...'; for Zāidah was with 'Amrū bin Ḥuraith as we have seen, so he must have been narrating to his grandson, Qudāmah bin Sa'id, the report about Ibn Ziyād's sending of Muḥammad bin Ash'ath to Muslim ('a).

10. 'Umārah bin 'Uqbah bin Abī Mu'īṭ al-Umawī. He narrated Muslim's request for water and [the way] he was given the water (*al-Ṭabari:5:375*). This report has been related from him by his grandson, Sa'id bin 'Umārah bin 'Uqbah.

The author of *Taqrīb al-Taḥdhīb* says that: "[Umārah] was reliable and died in 116 H."

11. 'Umar bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin al-Ḥārith bin Hishām al-Makhzūmī. [Abū Mikhnaf] reports from him, through Ṣaq'ab bin al-Zuhair, what he said to Imam al-Ḥusain ('a) as the latter was departing from Makkah (*al-Ṭabari:5:382*).

'Abdullah bin al-Zubair had appointed [Umar] as his governor over Kūfah during the time of Mukhtār, but the latter drove him away through bribery and threats (6:71). The author of *Taḥdhīb al-Taḥdhīb* says regarding him: "Ibn Ḥibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt* and says that he has narrated reports from a group of companions."¹

12. 'Abdullah bin Sulaim and Mudhrī bin al-Mushma'il,

¹ *Taḥdhīb al-Taḥdhīb* (7:472) and *Khulāsah Taḥdhīb Taḥdhīb al-Kamāl* (pg.284).

who were both from the Banū Asad. They reported: the conversation of Ibn al-Zubair with Imam al-Ḥusain ('a) which took place between the black stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*) and the door [of the Ka'bah] (*al-Ṭabari:5:384*); the meeting of Farazdaq with the Imam ('a) (5:386); and the news of the martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Aqīl ('a) at Tha'labiyyah (5:397-398). [Abū Mikhnaf narrated these reports from them] through two links: Abū Janāb Yaḥyā bin Abī Ḥayyah al-Wada'ī al-Kalbī, who related from 'Adiyy bin Ḥarmalah al-Asadī.

Both of them had heard Imam's call for help but did not come to his aid. 'Abdullah bin Sulaim was alive until the year 77 H (6:295).

13. Imam 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain ('a). He reported: the letter of 'Abdullah bin Ja'far to Imam al-Ḥusain ('a) which he sent through his two sons, 'Aun and Muḥammad; the letter of 'Amru bin Sa'id al-Ashdaq to the Imam ('a) through his brother, Yaḥyā, and the reply of the Imam ('a). [Abū Mikhnaf narrated these reports from Ibn al-Ḥusain] through one link, Ḥārith bin Ka'b al-Wālibī (5:387-388).

14. Bakr bin Muṣ'ab al-Muznī. [Abū Mikhnaf reports from him] the martyrdom of 'Abdullah bin Yuqṭur and the report about what transpired at Zubālah [on the way to Kūfah], through Abū 'Alī al-Anṣārī (*al-Ṭabari:5:398-399*).

The identity of both Bakr and Abū 'Alī is unknown.

15. Fazāriyy. He narrated the report on [how] Zuhair bin al-Qain joined al-Ḥusain ('a), through al-Suddī. The text reads: "A man from the Banū Fazārah [said]..." (*al-Ṭabari:5:396*).

16. Ṭirimmāḥ bin 'Adiyy. [Abū Mikhnaf relates a report

concerning Ṭirimmāḥ's meeting with the Imam ('a)] through Jamīl bin Marthad al-Ghanawī (*al-Ṭabari:5:406*).

He met al-Ḥusain ('a) [on his way to Kūfah]. The Imam ('a) asked him for help, but he put forward the excuse that he was carrying provision for his family, so the Imam ('a) did not stop him. [However,] he could not come to the help of the Imam ('a).

Shaikh al-Ṭūsī counts him among the companions of 'Alī ('a) and al-Ḥusain ('a). Al-Māmqānī mentions him saying that he was reliable and that he succeeded in [coming back and] helping the Imam ('a). He sustained injuries [in Karbalā'] but was [later] cured and died after that. [However,] he has not mentioned the source for it.¹

17. 'Āmir bin Sharāḥīl bin 'Abd al-Sha'bī al-Hamdānī. [Abū Mikhnaf narrates from him] the report about Qaṣr Banī Muqātil, through Mujālid bin Sa'īd (*al-Ṭabari:5:407*).

['Āmir] was born in 21 H (4:145). His mother was among the prisoners of Jalwalā' in the year 16 H. He and his father were the first to respond to Mukhtār (6:15), and they both testified that Mukhtār was on the right (6:17). Both he and his father came out in the streets of Madāin with Mukhtār [and his followers] in the year 67 H (6:91). After the death of Mukhtār, ['Āmir] joined Ḥajjāj and used to be with him (6:327). In 82 H, he revolted against Ḥajjāj under 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin al-Ash'ath bin Qais al-Kindī (6:350). When the later was defeated, ['Āmir] joined Qutaibah bin Muslim,

¹ *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl* (2:109). As we said earlier, the source of this assertion is the current *Maqtal* which is ascribed to Abū Mikhnaf. This is the report on which Muḥaddith al-Qumī has commented in *Nafas al-Mahmūm* (pg.195).

Ḥajjaj's governor over Rayy. [Qutaibah] asked for safe-conduct for him and [accordingly] Ḥajjāj granted him protection (6:374). He continued to live until he took over the judgeship of Kūfah for Yazīd bin 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān during the time of 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Azīz, 99-101 H.

He was one of those who abandoned Muslim ('a) and al-Ḥusain ('a) and did not accompany the latter. Abū Mikhnaf narrates from him through an incomplete chain of transmission (*mursalan*). He died suddenly in 104 H in Kūfah as reported in *al-Kunā wa al-Alqāb* (2:328). Ṭabarī has related 114 narrations from him in his *Tārīkh*. The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* mentions him and narrates from al-'Ajalī that al-Sha'bī heard narrations from forty eight companions [of the Prophet (ṣ)] and lived during the time of 'Alī ('a). It has also been said that he died in the year 110 H.¹

18. Ḥassān bin Fā'id bin Bukair al-'Absī. [Abū Mikhnaf narrates from him] Ibn Sa'd's letter to Ibn Ziyād and his reply to the former, through Naḍr bin Ṣālih bin Ḥabīb bin Zuhair al-'Absī. The text reads: "I testify that the letter of 'Umar bin Sa'd reached 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād and I was with him. [Ibn Ziyād] said..." (*al-Ṭabari*:5:411).

[Ḥassān] was among those who fought Mukhtār and his followers along side Rāshid bin Ayās, the head of the bodyguards of 'Abdullah bin Muṭī' al-'Adawī, Abdullah bin Zubair's governor in Kūfah (6:26). He was with Ibn Muṭī' during the siege of the palace [in Kūfah] (6:31). He was killed in the outskirts of Kūfah in 64 H with the followers of

¹ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (5:65).

Ibn Muṭī' (6:49).

The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* writes: "Ibn Ḥibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt*. Regarding the meaning of [the word] *al-jibt* which has appeared in [verse 51 of] Sūrat al-Nisā', al-Bukhārī narrates from Shu'bah, who related from Abū Ishāq al-Subī'ī, who in turn was reporting from [Ḥassān], that 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb said: '*Al-jibt* means sorcery (*sihr*).' Al-Bukhārī [then] says: 'He is counted among the Kufans.'"¹

19. Abū 'Umārah al-'Absī. [Abū Mikhnaf narrates from him] through Abū Ja'far al-'Absī: the words of Yaḥyā bin al-Ḥakam bin al-'Āṣṣ and the report about [what transpired in] the court of Yazīd (*al-Ṭabari*:5:460-461).

20. Qāsim bin Bukhait. He related reports about the heads [of the martyrs] in Damascus; the speech of Yaḥyā bin al-Ḥakam ibn al-'Āṣṣ, the brother to Marwān; the words of Hind, the wife of Yazīd; and the poking of Yazīd at the teeth of al-Ḥusain ('a) with a cane. These reports have been narrated from [Qāsim] through two links, namely: Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī, who reported from 'Abdullah al-Thumālī (5:465).

21. Abū al-Kanūd 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Ubaid. [Abū Mikhnaf narrates from him, through Sulaimān bin Rāshid, the verses [recited by] Umm Luqmān, daughter of 'Aqīl bin Abī Ṭālib (*al-Ṭabari*:5:466).

[Abū Kanūd] was the governor of Kūfah for Ziyād bin Abīh (5:246). Later, he became among the followers of Mukhtār and claimed to have killed Shamir (6:53). Ṭabarī has

¹ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (2:251).

narrated from him nine reports [in his *Tārīkh*] through Abū Mikhnaf, as reported in *al-A'lām*.

22. Fāṭimah, daughter of 'Alī, as Ṭabarī calls her. [Abū Mikhnaf relates from her] what took place in the court of Yazīd, through Hārith bin Ka'b al-Wālibī al-Azdī (*al-Ṭabari:5:461-462*).

These are twenty one people [with the exception of Zāidah bin Qudāmah (no. 9)] who were either in direct contact with the events or were living in that period and [thus] reported them. Abū Mikhnaf narrated [the reports] from them through one or two links.

The Fifth List

These are the intermediary narrators (*wasāit*), who are twenty nine in number.

1. 'Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Masāḥiq bin 'Abdullah bin Makhramah. He related the verses of the Imam ('a) when he was leaving Madīnah, through Abū Sa'd Sa'id bin Abī Sa'id al-Maqbarī (*al-Ṭabari:5:342*).

He has [also] narrated, without stating his link, Mu'āwiyah's appointment of Yazīd at the time of his death as his heir apparent; the speech of Ḍaḥḥāk bin Qais al-Fihri, the head of Mu'āwiyah's bodyguards and the person in charge of his burial; and the verses recited by Yazīd when the messenger brought him the news of his father's death.

Ṭabarī has narrated fifteen reports from him [in his *Tārīkh*] through Abū Mikhnaf, who was relating from ['Abd al-Malik], who reported from some other person. Most of these

reports are about Ibn al-Zubair's revolt in Makkah, the revolt of 'Abdullah bin Ḥanzalah in Madīnah, and the event of Ḥarrah.

He related one of these reports from his father, Naufal (5:474), the other from 'Abdullah bin 'Urwah (5:478) and the third one from Ḥumaid bin Ḥamzah, who was among the associates of the Banū Umayyah (5:479). He narrated the other seven reports from Ḥabīb bin Karrah, also an associate of the Banū Umayyah and the standard bearer of Marwān bin al-Ḥakam (5:482&539). His last narration was from Sa'id bin 'Amru bin Sa'id bin al-'Āṣṣ al-Ashdaq (5:577).

Accordingly, it is highly probable that ['Abd al-Malik] was narrating the reports about the will of Mu'āwiyah and his burial from these associates of the Banū Umayyah, though he does not mention their names.

His father, Naufal bin Musāḥiq, was at the head of [either] two or five thousand soldiers under the governorship of Ibn Muṭī for Ibn al-Zubair. [In an encounter,] Ibn al-Ashtar al-Nakha'ī approached him raising his sword [to kill him], but then he let him go (6:30).

He has been considered as reliable in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (5:428) and [also] in *al-Kāshif* of al-Dhahabī (2:216).

2. Abū Sa'id 'Aqīṣā. He narrated from some of his companions the conversation of Imam al-Ḥusain ('a), while he was in the state of *ihrām*, with Ibn al-Zubair inside the Sacred mosque in Makkah. (*al-Ṭabari*:5:385).

In the first part of [his book] *al-Khulāṣah*, 'Allāmah al-Ḥillī

counts him among the companions of ‘Alī (‘a).¹ Al-Dhahabī mentions him in *Mizān al-I’tidāl* and says: “He has narrated [reports] from ‘Alī (‘a).” He then says: “He is reliable and his name was Dīnār. He was a Shī‘ah and he died in 125 H.”²

The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* writes: “Al-Wāqidī says that he was a reliable person and has narrated many reports, and died in 100 H. According to Ibn Sa‘d, he died during the caliphate of Walīd bin ‘Abd al-Malik.”

It is said that ‘Umar [bin al-Khaṭṭāb] had made him in charge of digging graves. According to another view, he used to reside in the cemetery area and thus came to be known as ‘al-Maqbarī’ (8:453). This view has appeared in *Lisān al-Mizān* also (2:422).

3. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab al-Azdī. He has narrated all

¹ *Al-Khulāṣah* (pg.193).

² *Mizān al-I’tidāl* (2:139 and 3:88). In a report which has appeared in *Kāmil al-Ziyārah* of Ibn Qūlawayh (pg.23) and whose chain of narration ends at [Abū Sa‘īd], the latter says: “After ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair had a lengthy talk with [al-Ḥusain] in privacy, al-Ḥusain (‘a) turned to the people and I heard him saying: ‘This man is telling me: ‘Be a pigeon among the pigeons of this Sacred sanctuary.’ Indeed, it is more preferable to me to be killed at an arms length from the holy sanctuary than at a span from it; and it is dearer to me to be killed on the banks [of the Euphrates] than to be killed in [this] Ḥaram.” Based on this chain of narration, [Abū Sa‘īd] directly heard [the words of] the Imam (‘a), contrary to the manner Abū Mikhnaf narrates [the report] from him. [Anyhow,] *al-Kāmil* is more complete (*akmal*) [and correct in case of contradiction between what has appeared in it and what Abū Mikhnaf has narrated].

his reports from 'Uqbah bin Sim'ān. Ṭabarī has related from him around thirty reports about the battles of Jamal, Ṣiffīn, Nahrawān and [reports on the event of] Karbalā', which he narrated from 'Uqbah bin Sim'ān.

[Ibn Jundab] has directly narrated reports about Ḥajjāj. He fought Shabīb, the Khārijī, with the army of Ḥajjāj alongside Zāidah bin Qudāmah al-Thaqafī at Rūdbār, in the year 76 H (*Al-Ṭabari*:6:244). He was taken as a prisoner and paid allegiance to Shabīb out of fear (6:246). [Later,] he returned to Kūfah and was present in the city when Ḥajjāj addressed [the people] with the intention of dispatching an army, for the second time, against Shabīb in 77 H (6:262).

Al-Ardabīlī, quoting from *al-Rijāl al-Wasīṭ* of Astarābādī, counts ['Abd al-Raḥmān] among the companions of 'Alī ('a).¹ Al-'Asqalānī mentions him in *Lisān al-Mizān* and says: "He has narrated [reports] from Kumail bin Ziyād, and Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī has reported from him."²

4. Ḥajjāj bin 'Alī al-Bāriqī al-Hamdānī. He has narrated all his reports from Muḥammad bin Bishr al-Hamdānī (see the fourth list, no.3). Of the reports that Ṭabarī has related from him [in his *Tārīkh*], none of his reports are from other than Ibn Bishr. The author of *Lisān al-Mizān* mentions him and says: "A great personality (*shaikh*) from whom Abū Mikhnaf has narrated."³

¹ *Jāmi' al-Ruwāt* (1:447).

² *Lisān al-Mizān* (3:408; Haiderabad edition).

³ *Ibid*, (2:178).

5. Numair bin Wa'lah al-Hamdānī al-Yanā'ī. He narrated [reports] from Abū al-Waddāk Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdānī, Ayyūb bin Mashraḥ al-Khayawānī and Rabī' bin Tamīm al-Hamdānī.

Ṭabarī has narrated ten reports from him [in his *Tārīkh*], the last of which is from al-Sha'bī about Ḥajjāj's court in the year 80 H (*al-Ṭabari*:6:328).

Al-'Asqalānī mentions him in *Lisān al-Mizān* saying: "He has narrated [reports] from al-Sha'bī and Abū Mikhnaf from him."¹ The same [assertion] has appeared in *al-Mughnī*.²

6. Ṣaq'ab bin Zuhair al-Azdī. He transmitted reports from Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī, 'Aun bin Abī Juḥaifah al-Sawāī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Shuraiḥ al-Ma'āfirī al-Iskandarānī - who died in Alexandria in 167 H as reported in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (*al-Ṭabari*:6:193), 'Umar bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin al-Ḥārith bin Hishām al-Makhzūmī and Ḥumaid bin Muslim.

Ṭabarī narrates twenty reports from him [in his *Tārīkh*], all of which are through Abū Mikhnaf who was relating them from [Ṣaq'ab]. Three of these reports are about the death of the Prophet of Allah (ṣ). [Ṣaq'ab] was present with 'Alī ('a) at Ṣiffīn and thus related the words of 'Ammār bin Yāsir (5:38). He also narrated the report about the martyrdom of Ḥujr bin 'Adiyy (5:253). Nine of these [reports] are pertaining to the event of Karbalā' and [another] three about

¹ Ibid, (6:171).

² *Al-Mughnī* (2:701; Dār al-Da'wah publications).

Mukhtār.

The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* says: "Ibn Ḥibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt*. Abū Zar'ah says that he was reliable, while according to Abū Ḥātim, he is a master (*shaikh*) who is not renowned."¹

It has appeared in the footnote of the book *Khulāṣah Tadhhīb Tahdhīb al-Kamāl* that Abū Zar'ah has attested to his reliability.²

7. Mu'allā bin Kulaib al-Hamdānī. He narrated [reports] from Abū al-Waddāk Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdānī (see the fourth list, no.4).

8. Yūsuf bin Yazīd bin Bakr al-Azdī. He related [reports] from 'Abdullah bin Khāzim al-Azdī and 'Afīf bin Zuhair bin Abī al-Akhnas.

His full name has appeared in *al-Ṭabarī* (6:284), from whom he has reported fifteen reports. He lived until after the year 77 H. Al-Dhahabī mentions him in *Mizān al-I'tidāl* and says: "He was truthful and noble. He was from Baṣrah. A group [of narrators] have related [reports] from him. He has been praised by a number of people. His narrations [are reliable and] can be recorded."³

The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* writes: "Ibn Ḥibbān has

¹ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (4:432).

² *Al-Khulāṣah* (pg.176; Dār al-Da'wah publications).

³ *Mizān al-I'tidāl* (4:475).

mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt*. Al-Maqdisī says that he was reliable. According to Abū Ḥātim, his narrations can be recorded.”¹ He has mentioned in *Khulāṣah Tadhhīb Tahdhīb al-Kamāl* also.²

9. Yūnus bin Abī Ishāq, ‘Amru bin ‘Abdullah al-Subī’ī al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī. He reported from ‘Abbās bin Ju’dah al-Jadalī about his coming out with Muslim bin ‘Aqīl (‘a) with four thousand [men].

In his valuable book *al-Murāja’āt*, our master [al-Sayyid] Sharaf al-Dīn says:

“The fact that his father, Abū Ishāq ‘Amru bin ‘Abdillah al-Subī’ī al-Hamdānī was a Shī‘ah has been asserted by Ibn Qutaibah in his *al-Ma’ārif* and al-Shahristānī in *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*. He was among the leading scholars in ḥadīth, whose stands in theological (*uṣūl*) and juridical (*furū’*) matters have not been praised [and approved] by the Nawāṣib; this is because they adhered, in these issues, to the path of the Ahl al-Bait (‘a) and were devoted in following them in everything related to the religion.

This is why al-Juzjānī says [about him] -as it appears in the biography of Zubaid in *Mizān al-I’tidāl*³: ‘There was a group from among the people of Kūfah whose religious views [and beliefs] were not applauded by the people. [This group comprised] the leading scholars of ḥadīth in Kūfah,

¹ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (11:429).

² *Al-Khulāṣah* (pg.440).

³ *Mizān al-I’tidāl* (2:66; Aleppo edition).

such as Abū Ishāq, Manṣūr, Zubaid al-Yāmī, al-A'mash and their contemporaries. They were tolerated by the people because of their truthfulness in speech. However, in cases where they did not give complete chains of transmission (*arsalū*), people hesitated to accept their narrations. Among such cases in which the Nawāṣib were reluctant to accept the *mursal* narrations of Abū Ishāq was 'Umar bin Ismā'il's report which he narrated from Abū Ishāq [himself], as reported in *Mizān al-I'tidāl* under his biography.¹ [Abū Ishāq] says that the Prophet of Allah (ṣ) said: 'The example of 'Alī is that of a tree whose root is me and its branch is 'Alī. Al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain are its fruits, and the Shī'ah are its leaves.'"

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn further adds: "Al-Mughīrah did not say what has been reported in *Mizān al-I'tidāl* that 'None other than Abū Ishāq and al-A'mash have spoiled the ḥadīth of the people of Kūfah'², or 'Abū Ishāq and your U'aimash³ have destroyed the Kufans'⁴, except for the reason that they were Shī'ah and sincere to the progeny of Muḥammad (ṣ), and that they used to preserve what has come in the Sunnah of their virtues, peace be upon them."

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn then says: "The authors of the *Ṣiḥāḥ* and others have adduced the narrations of each of these two

¹ Ibid, (3:246).

² Ibid, (3:270).

³ U'aimash is the diminitive noun of A'mash. It has been used here by al-Mughīrah for the purpose of belittling the personality of A'mash.

⁴ Ibid, (2:224).

[i.e. Abū Ishāq and A'mash] as proofs.”¹

According to *al-Wafayāt*, Abū Ishāq was born three years before the end of the caliphate of ‘Uthmān, that is in 33 H, and he died in 132 H, as reported by Ibn Ma’in and al-Madāinī.

His son, Yūnus bin Abī Ishāq, has narrated [reports] from him. [Yūnus] died in the year 159 H while he was in his ninties, if not above that, as reported by *Mizān al-Itidāl*.² He is the one who related to Abū Mikhnaf the report on the uprising of Muslim [‘a] in Kūfah from ‘Abbās bin Ja’dah. There is another report by [Yūnus] in *al-Ṭabarī*, apart from this one, regarding the dispatching of troops by Ibn Ziyād to besiege al-Ḥusain (‘a) before his arrival in Kūfah; though he does not specify from whom he was narrating it (5:394). Ṭabarī has narrated another eleven reports from him [in *al-Tārīkh*] through Abū Mikhnaf, and other thirteen reports through other than Abū Mikhnaf.

The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* says: “Ibn Ḥibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt*. Ibn Ma’in says that he is reliable. According to Abū Ḥātim, he was truthful. Al-Nassā’ī says that there is no objection about him. According to Ibn ‘Adiyy, he has agreeable (*ḥisān*) narrations and people have related from him.” He then says: “He died in the year 159 H.”³

¹ *Al-Murāja’āt* (pg.100; al-Ṣādiq publications).

² *Mizān al-Itidāl* (4:483).

³ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (1:433).

10. Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid al-Azdī. He narrated [reports] from ‘Abdullah bin Khāzim al-Bakrī al-Azdī, Ḥumaid bin Muslim al-Azdī and Abū al-Kanūd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin ‘Ubaid.

Ṭabarī has narrated twenty of his reports [in his *Tārīkh*], most of which are through [some] intermediaries. He was alive till 85 H (*al-Ṭabari:6:360*).

11. Mujālid bin Sa’id al-Hamdānī. He narrated from ‘Āmir al-Sha’bī al-Hamdānī his report about the [the events] of Qaṣr Banū Muqātil (*al-Ṭabari:5:407*).

He has another report with an incomplete chain of narration (*mursal*) in which he does not mention anyone from whom he was relating it, regarding the betrayal of Muslim bin ‘Aqīl by the people [of Kūfah] and his loneliness, his entering the house of Ṭaw’ah, the speech of Ibn Ziyād, the [disclosure of the] news by Bilāl bin Ṭaw’ah and the dispatch of Ibn al-Ash’ath by Ibn Ziyād to fight Muslim (‘a) (5:371-373).

Ṭabarī has narrated seventy reports from him [in his *Tārīkh*], most of which are from al-Sha’bī. Abū Mikhnaf describes him as *al-muḥaddith* [i.e. the narrator] (5:413).

Al-Dhahabī mentions him in *Mizān al-I’tidāl* and says: “He was well-known and was a narrator. According to al-Ashbah, he was a Shī’ah. Mujālid died in 143 H.” Al-Dhahabī then relates from al-Bukhārī that the latter, while mentioning the biography of Mujālid, narrated from him [a report] which he related from al-Sha’bī, that Ibn ‘Abbās said: “When Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet of Allah (ṣ), was born, he named her al-Manṣūrah. So Jibrāil descended

[onto the Prophet (ﷺ)] and said: 'O Muḥammad! Allah is sending greetings to you and to your [newly] born child, and He says: 'No child has been born dearer to me than her.' He has given her a name better than what you have named her, he has named her Fāṭimah; as she will save (*tufaṭṭimu*) her followers (*shī'ah*) from the hell fire.'"¹

Al-Dhahabī then falsifies the [above] tradition under the pretext that she was born before the advent (*bi'thah*) of the Holy Prophet (ﷺ). It was because of this very narration that al-Dhahabī called him a Shī'ah!

12. Qudāmah bin Sa'id bin Zāidah bin Qudāmah al-Thaqafī. He related from his grandfather, Zāidah bin Qudāmah, the coming out of Muḥammad bin al-Ash'ath to fight and capture Muslim bin 'Aqīl ('a), and [also Muslim's] request for water at the gate of the palace and [the way he] was given the water (*al-Ṭabari:5:373&375*).

Ṭabarī mentions him [in his *Tārīkh*] without ascribing his report to his father or grandfather, which apparently does not seem to be correct; as he did not witness the events of Kūfah. Rather, it was his grandfather, Zāidah, who witnessed the events and was in contact with them. He was in the company of 'Amru bin Ḥuraith -who had raised the banner of safe-conduct from Ibn Ziyād at the central mosque of Kūfah [for anyone who wished to abandon Ibn 'Aqīl]- when Ibn Ziyād ordered them to send seventy men

¹ *Mizān al-I'tidāl* (3:438). It has been said that he died in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 143 or 144 H, as reported in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*.

from [the tribe of] Qais with Muḥammad bin al-Ash'ath to fight Muslim (5:373). It was there that Zāidah interceded [with Ibn Ziyād] on behalf of his cousin Mukhtār (5:570).

With regard to Qudāmah bin Sa'id [himself], Shaikh [al-Ṭūsī] has mentioned him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Ṣādiq ('a)¹. His biography has been mentioned earlier [see the fourth list (no.9)].

13. Sa'id bin Mudrik bin 'Umārah bin 'Uqbah bin Abī Mu'it al-Umawī. He narrated from his grandfather, 'Umārah bin 'Uqbah, the report about sending his servant, Qais, to his house to bring water for Muslim bin 'Aqil at the gate of the palace, before he was taken to Ibn Ziyād (5:376).

The text reads: "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Sa'id narrated to me... that 'Umārah bin 'Uqbah...' This report implies that [Sa'id] was in direct contact with the events and was not narrating it from any other person. [However,] this is highly improbable and it seems that he was narrating it from his grandfather, 'Umārah.

Regarding this particular incident, we have given precedence to the report of Qudāmah bin Sa'id -for reasons which we have mentioned in its appropriate place in this book- according to which it was [in fact] 'Amru bin Ḥuraith, and not 'Umārah, who brought the water [for Ibn 'Aqil].

14. Abū Janāb Yaḥyā bin Abī Ḥayyah al-Wadā'i al-Kalbī.

¹ *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg.275; Najaf edition).

He narrated [reports] from 'Adiyy bin Ḥarmalah al-Asadī, on the authority of 'Abdullah bin Sulaim and Mudhrī bin al-Mushma'il, who were both from the tribe of Asad; and from Hāni' bin Thubait al-Ḥaḍramī.

At times he [also] used to relate [reports] without mentioning his links. Among such reports is the one about the conversation of the followers of Muslim ['a] with Ibn Ziyād (*al-Ṭabari*:5:369&370) and the one about the sending of the heads of Muslim and Hāni' to Yazīd by Ibn Ziyād, with a letter to him concerning the matter (5:380). [However,] it seems, as mentioned earlier, that he was narrating the above reports from his brother Hāni' bin Abī Ḥayyah al-Wadā'ī al-Kalbī, the one who was sent by Ibn Ziyād to Yazīd with the letter and the head of Muslim (5:380).

Ṭabarī has narrated twenty three reports from him [in his *Tārīkh*], nine of which are about the battles of Jamal, Ṣiffīn and Nahrawān, all of which are through intermediaries. Another nine are regarding [the event of] Karbalā', five of which are through intermediaries, while three of them have no chains of narration. It appears, however, that the [last] three [narrations] were also reported through [some] links and that he was not among those who were in direct contact with the events, though, it seems, that he lived at the time these events occurred.

He has been mentioned last [in *al-Ṭabarī*] when he narrated [a report] -through an incomplete chain of narration-regarding the letter of Muṣa'b bin al-Zubair to Ibrāhīm bin al-Ashtar after the death of Mukhtār, inviting him to [support and pay allegiance to] him in the year 67 H

(6:111).

The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* says: "Ibn Ḥibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt*. According to Ibn Numair, Ibn Kharāsh, Abū Zur'ah and al-Sājī, he was from Kūfah and was truthful. Abū Na'im says that there is no objection about him, and he died in 150 H. According to Ibn Ma'in, he died in 147 H."¹

15. Ḥārith bin Ka'b bin Fuqaim al-Wālibī al-Azdī al-Kūfī. He narrated [his reports] from 'Uqbah bin Sim'an, 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain and Fāṭimah bint 'Alī ('a).

[Ḥārith] was among the followers of Mukhtār (*al-Ṭabari*:6:23), but he changed his opinion after him and [believed] in the divine leadership (*imāmah*) of 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain ('a) and began narrating from him (5:387). It seems that he had moved from Kūfah to Madīnah after he heard [narrations from] Imam Zain al-'Ābidīn and Fāṭimah bint 'Alī ('a) (5:461).

Shaikh al-Ṭūsī counted him in his *Rijāl* among the companions of 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain ('a). However, according to the Najaf edition of his *Rijāl*, he calls him Ḥurr bin Ka'b al-Azdī al-Kūfī, whereas the editor [of that book] names him 'Ḥārith' in the footnote, quoting it from another transcript [of *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*], which is in fact the correct opinion.

16. Ismā'il bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Abī Karīmah al-Suddī al-Kūfī. He related from Fazārī the report about Zuhair bin

¹ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (11:201).

al-Qain.

Al-Dhahabī writes in *Mizān al-I'tidāl*: “He was accused of being a Shī‘ah and that he used to revile Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. Ibn ‘Adiyy says: I consider him trustworthy. Aḥmad says: he was reliable. According to Yaḥyā bin Sa’id, I have not seen anyone mentioning al-Suddī except with good, and none has abandoned [his narrations]. Shu’bah and al-Thaurī have narrated [reports] from him.”¹

Ṭabarī has related eighty four reports from him [in his *Tārīkh*], reports concerning the events of after [even] 100 H.

According to *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*² and *al-Kāshif*,³ he died in 127 H. He used to sit at the gate (*suddah*) of the central mosque in Kūfah, and thus came to be known as ‘al-Suddī’. He was an associate of the Quraish. He has [also] narrated [reports] from al-Ḥasan (‘a).

17. Abū ‘Alī al-Anṣārī. He related from Bakr bin Muṣ‘ab al-Muzniyy his report about the martyrdom of ‘Abdullah bin Yuqṭur. This is the only report mentioned in *al-Ṭabarī* from him. There is no mention of him [either] in the works of Rijāl.

18. Laudhān. He narrated from his uncle the report of his meeting with al-Ḥusain (‘a) on his way [to Kūfah]. His identity is not known.

¹ *Mizān al-I'tidāl* (1:236; Aleppo edition).

² *Tahdhīb alTahdhīb* (1:313).

³ *Ibid*, (1:236).

19. Jamīl bin Marthad al-Ghanawī. He related a report from Ṭirimmāḥ bin ‘Adiyy al-Ṭāī.

20. Abū Zuhair al-Naḍr bin Ṣālih bin Ḥabīb al-‘Absī. He reported from Ḥassān bin Fāid bin Bukair al-‘Absī his report about the letter of Ibn Sa‘d to Ibn Ziyād and the latter’s reply; and also from Qurrah bin Qais al-Tamīmī his report regarding Ḥurr [al-Riyāḥī].

[Abū Zuhair] has thirty one narrations in *al-Ṭabarī*. He lived during the time of Mukhtār (*al-Ṭabarī*:6:81). He then came out with the army of Muṣ‘ab bin al-Zubair to fight Quṭriyy, the Khārijī, in 68 H (6:127). Later he became the gatekeeper of Muṭarrāf bin al-Mughīrah bin Shu‘bah al-Thaqafī, the Khārijī, in Madāin in 77 H. He was a submissive young man and used to stand by [Muṭarrāf’s] head with his sword (6:287&289). He fought the army of Ḥajjāj along with Muṭarrāf in 77 H (6:298) and then returned to Kūfah (6:299).

Imam al-Rāzī mentions [Abū Zuhair] in his *al-Jurḥ wa al-Ta’dīl* and says: “I heard my father saying that: Abū Mikhnaf has narrated from him, while he was narrating from ‘Alī (‘a) through [some] links.”¹

21. Ḥārith bin Ḥuṣairah al-Azdī. He related [reports] from ‘Abdullah bin Sharīk al-‘Āmirī al-Nahdī and [also] from ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a) through [‘Abdullah].

Al-Dhahabī mentions him in *Mizān al-I’tidāl* and says:

¹ *Al-Jurḥ wa al-Ta’dīl* (8:477).

“Abū Aḥmad al-Zubairī says: ‘He believed in the return of the pious (*raj’ah*). According to Yaḥyā bin Ma’in, he was reliable and was a *khashabī*, attributed to the ‘wood’ (*khashabah*) on which Zayd bin ‘Alī was crucified [i.e. he was the follower of Zayd]. Ibn ‘Adiyy says that he was among the fanatic Shī‘ah in Kūfah. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī believes that he was among the early Shī‘ah; he would have been forsaken had al-Thaurī not narrated reports from him.”¹

Al-Dhahabī narrates [a report] from Ḥārith bin Ḥuṣairah - when mentioning the biography of Nufay’ bin al-Ḥārith al-Nakha’ī al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī, the blind one- and [then] says: “He is truthful, but he is a *rāfiḍī* [i.e. a Shī‘ah]. He has narrated a tradition from ‘Imrān bin Ḥuṣain, who said: ‘I was sitting with the Prophet (ṣ) and ‘Alī was by his side when the Prophet (ṣ) recited: ‘Is not he [best] who answers the distressed when he calls to him, and removes the distress and makes you the successors in the earth...’². ‘Alī [started] shivering [upon hearing the verse]. So the Prophet (ṣ) tapped him with his hand and said: ‘None other than a believer will love you, and none other than a hypocrite will hate you, till the Day of Judgement.’”³

Ṭabarī has narrated ten reports from him [in his *Tārīkh*], all of which are through Abū Mikhnaf.

Shaikh al-Ṭūsī has mentioned him in his *Rijāl* in the circle

¹ *Mizān al-I’tidāl* (1:432; Aleppo edition).

² Qur’an, 27:62.

³ *Mizān al-I’tidāl* (4:272).

of the companions of Amīr al-Mu'minīn [‘Alī] (‘a).¹

22. ‘Abdullah bin ‘Āṣim al-Fāishī al-Hamdānī. He related the reports of Ḍaḥḥāk bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqī al-Hamdānī.

Al-Ardabīlī says in *Jāmi' al-Ruwāt*: “There is a report in *al-Kāfi* by [‘Abdullah] from Imam al-Ṣādiq (‘a) concerning the time of *tayammum*. Al-‘Asqalānī has mentioned him in *al-Tahdhīb*. According to *Baṣāir al-Darajāt*, Abān bin ‘Uthmān and Ja’far bin Bashīr have narrated [reports] from him.”²

23. Abū al-Ḍaḥḥāk. He related the report about the night of ‘Āshūrā’ from ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a).

Al-Dhahabī has mentioned him *Mizān al-I’tidāl* (3:540; Haiderabad edition) and al-‘Asqalānī in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (12:136) saying that Shu’bah has reported from him.

24. ‘Amru bin Murrah al-Jamalī. He related the report of the retainer of ‘Abd Rabbih al-Anṣārī, on the authority of Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥanafī, regarding the joking of his master with Burair bin Khuḍair (*al-Ṭabari*:5:423).

Al-Dhahabī has mentioned him in his *Mizān al-I’tidāl* (3:288). So has al-‘Asqalānī in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (8:102)

¹ *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg.39; Najaf edition). He also mentions him among the companions of Imam al-Bāqir (‘a) as Ḥārith bin Ḥuṣain al-Azdī, which is incorrect.

² *Jāmi' al-Ruwāt* (1:494).

and says: "Ibn Ḥibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt* and says that he died in 116 H. Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal has commended him and says that he died in 118 H. According to al-Bukhārī, he has narrated around two hundred traditions from 'Alī ('a). Shu'bah says that he was the most learned [of the narrators]. Abū Ḥātim maintains that he was truthful and reliable. According to Ibn Ma'in, he was reliable."

25. 'Aṭā' bin al-Sāib. He narrated the report of Masrūq bin Wāil al-Ḥaḍramī, on the authority of his brother 'Abd al-Jabbār bin Wāil al-Ḥaḍramī, on the falling of Ibn Ḥawzah at the beginning of the battle (*al-Ṭabari:5:431*).

Al-'Asqalānī refers to ['Abd al-Jabbār] in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* as 'Abd al-Jabbār bin Wāil. He then says: "He has narrated from his brother. Ibn Ḥibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt* and said that he died in 112 H."

'Aṭā was from Makkah. He witnessed the demolition of the Ka'bah and its renovation by Ibn Zubair in the year 64 H (5:582). Ḥajjāj did not kill him in the year 94 H (6:488).

The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* writes that: "Ibn Ḥibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt*. So has Ibn Sa'd in his *al-Ṭabaqāt* and said that he died in 137 H."

26. 'Alī bin Ḥanzalah bin As'ad al-Shabāmī al-Hamdānī. He related the report of Kathīr bin 'Abdullah al-Sha'bī al-Hamdānī about the speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain (*al-Ṭabari:5:426*).

'Alī bin Ḥanzalah is the same Ibn Ḥanzalah bin As'ad al-Shabāmī, who [is said to have been] martyred from among

the companions of al-Ḥusain ('a). [However,] it appears that he was either not present in Karbalā', or he was considered very young [by the enemy] and thus was not killed. He has not narrated any report directly. He related this report here, rather, from Kathīr bin 'Abdullah al-Sha'bī, the assassin of Zuhair bin al-Qain.

27. Ḥusain bin 'Uqbah al-Murādī. He narrated from al-Zubaidiyy the attack launched by 'Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaidiyy [on the day of 'Āshūrā'].

28. Abū Ḥamzah Thābit bin Dīnār al-Thumālī. He related from Qāsim bin Bukhait, on the authority of 'Abdullah al-Thumālī, his report about the captives in Shām (5:465). Abū Ḥamzah is too renowned to be mentioned here.

29. Abū Ja'far al-'Absī. He related the report of Abū 'Umārah al-'Absī about the verses recited by Yaḥyā bin al-Ḥakam.

These were the twenty nine people who served as links between Abū Mikhnaf and those who had witnessed the events.

The Sixth List

It comprises the narrations from the Aimmah ('a) or from the narrators among their companions, and the [reports of the] historians. They are fifteen in number.

1. Imam 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain, Zain al-'Ābidīn ('a). He narrated the letter of 'Abdullah bin Ja'far to Imam al-Ḥusain ('a), through his two sons 'Aun and Muḥammad; the letter of 'Amru bin Saīd bin al-'Āṣ al-Ashdaq, through his

brother Yaḥyā bin Saīd al-‘Āṣ, to al-Ḥusain (‘a) -as he was departing from Makkah- and his reply to him. Abū Mikhnaf related this through Ḥārith bin Ka’b al-Wālibī al-Azdī, who was reporting it from ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a) (*al-Ṭabari:5:387-388*). [Another narration from al-Sajjād (‘a) was] Imam al-Ḥusain’s request for respite for the night of ‘Āshūrā’ and the speech he delivered to his companions. Abū Mikhnaf was narrating this from Ḥārith al-Azdī, who related it from ‘Abdullah bin Sharīk al-‘Āmirī al-Nahdī, and he from Imam Zain al-‘Ābidīn (‘a) (5:418). [Also] the verses recited by al-Ḥusain (‘a) on the night of ‘Āshūrā’ and the words of [Lady] Zainab and al-Ḥusain’s reply to her, which Abū Mikhnaf narrated from Ḥārith al-Azdī and Abū al-Ḍaḥḥāk (5:420-421).

2. Imam Muḥammad bin ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a). [Abū Mikhnaf related from him] the martyrdom of the infant [of al-Ḥusain (‘a)], through ‘Uqbah bin Bashīr al-Asadī (*al-Ṭabari:5:448*).

3. Imam Ja’far bin Muḥammad bin ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain. [Abū Mikhnaf narrated from him through an incomplete chain of narration] the number of stab wounds and [sword] strikes on the body of al-Ḥusain (‘a) (*al-Ṭabari:5:453*).

4. Zayd bin ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a) and Dāwūd bin ‘Ubaidullah bin ‘Abbās. They related the words of the sons of ‘Aqīl [on the night of ‘Āshūrā’] (*al-Ṭabari:5:397*).

It was ‘Amru bin Khālid al-Wāsiṭī, an associate of the Banū Hāshim, who narrated the report from them. He was [residing] in Kūfah and later moved to Wāsiṭ. He has related from Zayd and [from] Imam al-Ṣādiq (‘a) [as well].

Al-Najjāshī mentions [‘Amru] in his *Rijāl* (pg.205; India edition) saying: “He has a voluminous book from which

Naṣr bin Muzāḥim al-Minqārī and others have narrated.” In his *Rijāl* (pg.128; Najaf edition), Shaikh al-Ṭūsī considers him to be among the companions of Imam al-Bāqir (‘a).”

Al-Māmqānī has mentioned him in his *al-Tanqīḥ* (2:330) and so has al-‘Asqalānī in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (8:36).

5. Fāṭimah bint ‘Alī, as she has been referred to by *al-Ṭabarī*. She narrated [what transpired in] the court of Yazīd. [Abū Mikhnaf related this report from her] through Ḥārith bin Ka’b al-Wālibī al-Azdī (*al-Ṭabarī*:5:461-462). It is clear that the person who narrated [reports] from her and Imam al-Sajjād (‘a), is one and the same.

6. Abū Sa’īd ‘Aqīṣā. [Abū Mikhnaf related from him], through some of his companions, the conversation of Ibn al-Zubair with al-Ḥusain (‘a) in the Sacred mosque, while the latter was in the state of *iḥrām* (*al-Ṭabarī*:5:385).

‘Allāmah al-Ḥillī mentions him in the circle of the companions of ‘Alī (‘a) in the first part of his work, *al-Khulāṣah*.¹ Al-Dhahabī mentions him in *Mizān al-I’tidāl* saying: “He has related [reports] from ‘Alī (‘a).” He then says: “According to Shu’bah, he is reliable and his name is Dīnār. He was a Shī‘ah who died in 125 H.”² We have already mentioned him earlier [see the fourth list (no.1)].

7. Muḥammad bin Qais. He narrated: the letter of Imam al-Ḥusain (‘a) which he sent with Qais bin Musahhar al-Ṣaidāwī to the people of Kūfah and the martyrdom of [Ibn Musahhar]; Muslim bin ‘Aqīl’s letter to al-Ḥusain [‘a]; the words of ‘Abdullah bin Muṭī’ al-‘Adawī to the Imam (‘a) and his

¹ *Al-Khulāṣah* (pg.193; Najaf edition).

² *Mizān al-I’tidāl* (2:139).

reply, through an incomplete chain of narration (*al-Ṭabari:5:394-396*); and the martyrdom of Ḥabīb bin Muẓāhir, [also] through an incomplete chain of narration (5:440).

Al-Kashhī says: “[Muḥammad once] informed Imam al-Bāqir (‘a) [of his narrations], so he (‘a) stopped him from listening to such and such person.”¹ Al-Kashhī [then] describes him as a defender of the divine leadership (*imāmah*) of Imam al-Bāqir (‘a).²

Al-Najjāshī says regarding him: “He is a notable personality and reliable. He was from Kūfah. He has narrations from Abū Ja’far [al-Bāqir] and Abū ‘Abdillah [al-Ṣādiq (‘a)]”.³

Shaikh al-Ṭūsī has mentioned him in *al-Fihrist* under entries 591 and 644.⁴ In his *Rijāl*, al-Ṭūsī has mentioned four persons, with this very name, to be among the companions of Imam al-Ṣādiq (‘a).⁵ So has ‘Allāmah al-Hillī in *al-Khulāṣah*.⁶

8. ‘Abdullah bin Sharīk al-‘Āmirī al-Nahdī. He related from ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a): al-Ḥusain’s request for respite for the night of ‘Āshūrā’; the Imam’s speech to his companions; the verses recited by al-Ḥusain (‘a) on the night of ‘Āshūrā’, the words of [Lady] Zainab (‘a) and his reply to her (*al-Ṭabari:5:418&420*).

He has also narrated through an incomplete chains of narration reports about the arrival of Shamir at Karbalā’

¹ *Rijāl al-Kashhī* (pg.340; ḥadīth no.630).

² *Ibid*, (pg.237; ḥadīth no.430).

³ *Rijāl al-Najjāshī* (pg.226; India edition).

⁴ *Al-Fihrist* (pg.157&176).

⁵ *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg.298, entry no.294; Najaf edition).

⁶ *Al-Khulāṣah* (pg.150, entry no.60 onwards; Najaf edition).

with the letter of safe-conduct for the brothers of ‘Abbās (‘a), and Ibn Sa‘d’s advancing against al-Ḥusain (‘a) in the evening of the ninth of Muḥarram (5: 415&416).

Al-Kashhī says that he was a disciple of Imam al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (‘a).¹

According to a narration, [‘Abdullah] will return to this world and be at the service al-Qāim (‘a), may Allah hasten his reappearance.² [Yet] according to another tradition, he will be the standard bearer on that day.”³

It appears from *al-Ṭabarī* that he was one of the leading figures among the followers of Mukhtār (6:49,51&104). He then joined Muṣ‘ab (6:161). Later, he left him because of the safe-conduct from ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān (6: 161). [In any case,] he may have repented after this and thus became among the companions of the Aimmah (‘a).

9. Abū Khālid al-Kābulī. He related a report, through an incomplete chain of narration, about the supplication of al-Ḥusain (‘a) on the morning of [the day of] ‘Āshūrā’. (*al-Ṭabarī*:5:423).

Ṭabarī refers to him as Abū Khālid al-Kāhili. But he has not been referred to by this name in any of the existing famous works of Rijāl. [However,] the existing predominant view [about his name] is what we have mentioned [above], and which is [in fact] the correct opinion.

Al-Kashhī says that he fled from Ḥajjāj and hid himself in Makkah and was thus saved from him. He [then] served

¹ *Rijāl al-Kashhī* (pg.10, ḥadīth no.20).

² *Ibid*, (pg.217, ḥadīth no.390).

³ *Ibid*, (ḥadīth no.391).

Muḥammad bin al-Ḥanafiyyah, believing in his divine leadership (*imāmah*). Later, he turned away from him to Imam al-Sajjād ('a)¹ and became his disciple from among his companions². He served the Imam ('a) for a long time before returning to his [home] town.³

Shaikh al-Ṭūsī has counted him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Sajjād ('a).⁴

The editor of this work says: It seems to me that he was among those non-Arabs (*mawālī*) who were [supporting] Mukhtār. And this is why he believed in the *imāmah* of Muḥammad bin al-Ḥanafiyyah and fled from Ḥajjāj; as there was no [other] reason for his fleeing from Ḥajjāj except that [he was with Mukhtār].

10. 'Uqbah bin Bashīr al-Asadī. He related from Imam al-Bāqir ('a) the martyrdom of the infant [of al-Ḥusain ('a)] (*al-Ṭabari:5:453*).

Al-Kashhī mentions him [in his *Rijāl*] and says: "He sought the permission of Imam al-Bāqir ('a) to be in charge of the monthly stipends of his people for the [then] ruler, but he ('a) did not allow him." Al-Kashhī has brought the [above] report of his under the narrations of the martyrdom of the infant.⁵

Shaikh al-Ṭūsī has mentioned him in the circle of the

¹ Ibid, (pg.124, ḥadīth no.195).

² Ibid, (pg.9, ḥadīth no.20).

³ Ibid, (pg.121, ḥadīth no.193).

⁴ *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg.100, entry no.2, under the name 'Kankar').

⁵ *Rijāl alKashhī* (pg.203, ḥadīth no.358).

companions of Imam ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain¹ and al-Bāqir (‘a)².

‘Uqbah al-Asadī has an elegy in *al-Ṭabarī* in lamentation of the companions of Mukhtār (6:116).

11. Qudāmah bin Sa’īd bin Zāidah bin Qudāmah al-Thaqafī. He narrated from his grandfather: the coming out of Muḥammad bin al-Ash’ath bin Qais al-Kindī to fight and capture Muslim bin ‘Aqīl (*al-Ṭabarī*:5:373), and his request for water at the gate of the palace and [the way] it was granted (5:375).

Al-Ṭūsī mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Ṣādiq (‘a).³

12. Ḥārith bin Ka’b al-Wālibī al-Azdī. He narrated [reports] from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’ān, ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a) and Fāṭimah bint ‘Alī (‘a).

He was among the followers of Mukhtār (*al-Ṭabarī*:6:23). He later moved to Madīnah and heard [narrations] from Imam [al-Sajjād (‘a)].

Al-Ṭūsī has mentioned him in his *Rijāl* among the companions of ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a).⁴

13. Ḥārith bin Ḥaṣīrah al-Azdī. He related from ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a) on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin Sharīk al-‘Āmirī al-Nahdī. He has been mentioned earlier [see the fifth list (no.21)].

Al-Ṭūsī mentions him among the companions of ‘Alī [bin

¹ *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg.99, entry no.32; Najaf edition).

² *Ibid*, (pg.129, entry no.29).

³ *Ibid*, (pg.129, entry no.29).

⁴ *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg.87; Najaf edition).

al-Ḥusain ('a)] and al-Bāqir ('a).¹

14. Abū Ḥamzah Thābit bin Dīnār al-Thumālī al-Azdī. He was an Azdī through a treaty of friendship (*walā'*). He related [reports] from Qāsim bin Bukhait, on the authority of 'Abdullah al-Thumālī al-Azdī, regarding the captives in Shām (*al-Ṭabari:5:465*).

Al-Kashhī mentions him and then relates a tradition from Imam al-Riḍā ('a) in which he said: "Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī was in his time what Luqmān was in his; this is because he served four of us: 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain, Muḥammad bin 'Alī, Ja'far bin Muḥammad and Mūsā bin Ja'far for sometime."²

'Āmir bin 'Abdullah bin Judhā'ah al-Azdī [once] asked Abū 'Abdillah [al-Ṣādiq] ('a) about intoxicants (*muskir*). He replied: "Any kind of intoxicant is forbidden (*ḥarām*)." ['Āmir] then said: "But Abū Ḥamzah does drink." When the news reached Abū Ḥamzah, he repented and said: "Now I seek Allah's forgiveness from it and repent to Him."³

[One day] Abū Baṣīr visited Imam al-Ṣādiq ('a), so he ('a) asked him about Abū Ḥamzah. He replied: "He was sick when I left him." The Imam ['a] said: "When you return to him, convey my greetings to him and inform him that he is going to die on a certain day of a certain month."⁴

'Alī bin al-Ḥasan bin Faḍḍāl says: "Abū Ḥamzah, Zurārah and Muḥammad bin Muslim [all of them] died in the same

¹ Ibid, (pg.39&118).

² *Rijāl al-Kashhī* (pg.203, ḥadīth no.357 and pg.485, ḥadīth no.919).

³ Ibid, (pg.201, ḥadīth no.354; Mashad edition).

⁴ Ibid, (pg.202, ḥadīth no.356).

year; a year or so after the demise of Abū ‘Abdillah [al-Ṣādiq] (‘a).¹

Al-Najjāshī mentions him and says: “He was a non Arab (*maulan*) from Kūfah and he was reliable. According to Muḥammad bin ‘Umar al-Ja’ābī al-Tamīmī, he was a retainer of Muḥallab bin Abī Ṣufrah and his sons: Ḥamzah, Maṣṣūr and Nūḥ, all of whom were killed along with Zayd bin ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a). He lived during the times of ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain, Abū Ja’far, Abū ‘Abdillah and Abū al-Ḥasan (‘a), and has reported from them. He was among our outstanding personalities, trustworthy and reliable in [his] narrations.”²

Shaikh [al-Ṭūsī] brings him in *al-Fihrist*³ and mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Sajjād⁴, Imam al-Bāqir⁵, Imam al-Ṣādiq⁶ and Imam al-Kāzīm (‘a).⁷

Al-Dhahabī has mentioned him in *al-Mizān*⁸ and so has al-‘Asqalānī in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*.⁹

These were the fourteen people from among the Aimmah (‘a) and their companions, who are part of the chains of narration (*isnād*) in this book.

[However,] there are [some] other people from whom Abū

¹ Ibid, (pg.201, ḥadīth no.353).

² Ibid, (pg.83; India edition).

³ *Al-Fihrist* (pg.66; Najaf edition).

⁴ *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg.84; Najaf edition).

⁵ Ibid, (pg.110).

⁶ Ibid, (pg.160).

⁷ Ibid, (pg.345).

⁸ *Mizān al-I’tidāl* (1:363).

⁹ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (2:7).

Mikhnaf has related some historical events, who were not eye-witnesses [of the event], rather they were historians, like ‘Aun bin Abī Juḥaifah al-Sawāī al-Kūfī (d.116 H), as reported in *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*. [Abū Mikhnaf narrated from him,] among other reports, the date al-Ḥusain (‘a) left Madīnah for Makkah, the duration of his stay in the city and his departure from Makkah, [all] through Ṣaq’ab bin Zuhair.

The editor of this work says: We will content ourselves with this much as an introduction to this book, hoping that Allah, the Almighty, will grant us success in achieving His pleasure, and in serving the unsubmitting to the oppression (*abiyyu al-daim*), the lord of martyrs, Ḥusain bin ‘Alī (‘a).

And the last of our cry is all praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds.

AL-ḤUSAIN ('A) IN MADĪNAH

[Mu'āwiyah's¹ Last Will]

Ṭabarī reports in his *Tārīkh* (5:322) saying: "Thereafter began the year 60 H...In this year Mu'āwiyah took allegiance for Yazīd from a delegation that had come to see him together with 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād.

His will was as Hishām bin Muḥammad has reported from Abū Mikhnaf who says that 'Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Musāḥiq bin 'Abdullah bin Makhramah has narrated to me saying:

"When Mu'āwiyah became afflicted with the illness that

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Mu'āwiyah bin Ṣakhr bin Ḥarb bin Umayyah bin 'Abd Shams. He was born 25 years before the migration [of the Prophet (ṣ) to Madīnah] (5:325). Mu'āwiyah was with his father Abū Sufyān in all his battles against the Prophet (ṣ). He embraced Islam together with his father in 8 H, the year of the conquest of Makkah. The Prophet (ṣ) then made him and his father in charge of the people whose hearts were to be won over (3:90). 'Umar appointed him as the governor of Shām (3:604) and he retained this position till 'Uthmān was assassinated. He rose against 'Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, to avenge 'Uthmān's blood and fought him at Ṣiffīn for the same. He continued to stand against the Commander of the Faithful until the latter was martyred. Thereafter he fought Ḥasan bin 'Alī till the month of Jumād al-Ūlā of the year 41 H when he signed a peace treaty with him. This year came to be known as the Year of Unity (*'ām al-jamā'ah*). He ruled for 19 years and just under three months and died in the beginning of Rajab of the year 60 H, at the age of 85, based on what Ṭabarī narrated from al-Kalbī and who, in turn, was reporting from his father (5:325).

took his life, he called upon his son Yazīd¹ and said: My dear son! I have spared you the trouble of travelling and going from one place to another [for attaining the caliphate]; I have prepared the grounds for you; I have humbled the enemies for you; I have subjugated the Arabs for you; and I have produced a consensus [among them] in favour of you.² I have no fear that anyone will contend with

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was born in the year 28 H. His mother was Maisūn bint Bajdal al-Kalbī. Mu'āwiyah summoned the people in 56 H to pay their allegiance to Yazīd as his heir apparent and in 59 H he took allegiance from different delegations. Yazīd assumed leadership in the beginning of Rajab 60 H, a few months after reaching the age of 32. He died at Ḥawwārīn on the 14th night of Rabī' al-Awwal 64 H (5:499). Accordingly, he ruled for a period of 3 years, 8 months and 14 days, and was 36 years of age when he died. We shall comment in the coming pages on the presence of Yazīd at his father's deathbed. In *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.235), Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī agrees [with the opinion that he was present]. The same has been reported by Shaikh al-Ṣadūq in his *Amāli* through a chain of narration which goes back to Imam 'Ali bin al-Ḥusain ('a). Al-Khwārazmī narrates in his *Maqtal al-Ḥusain* (pg.177) from Aḥmad bin al-A'tham al-Kūfī (d.314 H) that Yazīd was present at that moment, but then left for hunting and returned after three days. On his return, he entered the palace and was not seen for another three days. This might have been the case, or, perhaps, Mu'āwiyah had two separate wills; one in the presence of Yazīd and another in his absence, and which was reported by two people whom we shall mention later. For this very reason, we find differences in the two wills.

² This was done over a period of ten years, from the year 50 H upto the time of his death in 60 H. Ṭabarī (5:301) has mentioned the [following] reason for that: In the year 49 H, Mughīrah bin Shu'bah had come to see Mu'āwiyah from Kūfah, fleeing from the plague that had then struck the city. Mughīrah had been the governor in the city since the year 41 H. He was complaining to Mu'āwiyah of his deficiency and requested him to accept his

you in this matter which has already been settled in your favour, except for four people from the Quraish: Ḥusain bin 'Alī¹, 'Abdullah bin 'Umar¹,

resignation from the office. Mu'āwiyah accepted his resignation and thought of appointing Sa'id bin al-'Āṣṣ in his place. This aroused Mughīrah's jealousy and so he came to Yazīd and proposed his allegiance to him as the crown prince. Yazīd brought the matter to this father and he reinstated Mughīrah in the office and ordered him to return to Kūfah and prepare the people for Yazīd's heir-apparency. So Mughīrah went back to Kūfah and discharged this duty and sent a delegation to Mu'āwiyah for this purpose.

Mu'āwiyah wrote to Ziyād bin Sumayyah -who was then his governor in Baṣrah since 45 H- asking for his advice on the issue. So Ziyād sent 'Ubaid bin Ka'ab al-Numairī al-Azdī to Yazīd proposing that the latter should leave all detestable behavior so that it would be easier for the governors to rally people round him. Ziyād passed away in Kūfah in the month of Ramadhān 53 H, while he was in charge of Baṣrah and Kūfah (*'irāqain*).

Mu'āwiyah went to *'umrah* in the month of Rajab 56 H and there he announced that he had appointed Yazīd as his successor and invited people to swear allegiance to him. Sa'id bin 'Uthmān bin 'Affān approached Mu'āwiyah and declared his opposition to that upon which Yazīd intervened and requested him to be appointed as the governor of Khurāsān, and Mu'āwiyah did that. Marwān - who was then his governor in Madīnah since the year 54 H- also came to see Mu'āwiyah and expressed his disapproval on the matter. This action so incensed Mu'āwiyah that he dismissed him from the post in 57 H, as reported by *al-Ṭabarī* (5:309). Al-Mas'ūdī has extensively mentioned about Marwān's opposition in *Murūj al-Dhahab* (3:38).

Finally, in the year 60 H 'Ubaid Allah bin Ziyād -Mu'āwiyah's governor in Baṣrah since 55 H- dispatched a delegation to Mu'āwiyah and he took their allegiance on Yazīd's heir-apparency (5:322).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was born a few days after the beginning [of the month] of Sha'bān in the year 4 H (3:555). He lived with his

'Abdullah bin al-Zubair² and 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Abī

grandfather, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), for 6 years, and with his father, the Commander of the Faithful ['Alī ('a)], for 30 years. In the year 30 H and during the reign of 'Uthmān, he took part in a military expedition to Khurāsān together with his brother, al-Ḥasan ('a), Ḥudhaifah bin al-Yamānī, 'Abdullah bin 'Abbās and a number of other Prophet's companions, under the leadership of Sa'id bin al-'Āṣṣ (4:269).

He spent 10 years with his brother Ḥasan ('a), while the period of his divine leadership (*imāmah*), after al-Ḥasan ('a), also lasted for 10 years. He was a contemporary of Mu'āwiyah bin Abī Sufyān during these ten years until the latter's death. Al-Ḥusain ('a) was martyred in Karbalā' on Friday, 10th of Muḥarram 61 H and was, at that time, fifty-six years and six months of age.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He did not pay allegiance to 'Alī ('a) after 'Uthmān. 'Alī ('a) is narrated to have told him: "You are ill-natured, both when you were a child and as a man" (4:428), or, according to another report, he said: "Had it not been because of what I know of your ill-nature, both as a child and now as a man, you would not have renounced me." (4:436). However, he prevented his sister, Ḥafṣah, from accompanying 'Āishah when she rose [against 'Alī ('a)] (4:451). He also refrained from joining Ṭalḥah and Zubair in their revolt against 'Alī ('a) (4:460). Beside that, 'Abdullah bin 'Umar was the son in-law of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī. When the latter was approached for the arbitration, he invited 'Abdullah along with a group of other people. Al-Ash'arī also refused the proposal of 'Amru bin al-'Āṣṣ that 'Abdullah should be made the caliph. But when the matter was settled in favour of Mu'āwiyah, 'Abdullah took his side (5:58).

Although he did not pay allegiance to Yazīd at this stage, he wrote him a letter after the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain ('a) requesting for the release of Mukhtār, his brother in-law. Yazīd granted his request and 'Abdullah might have paid allegiance to him after this (5:571). But al-Mas'ūdī clearly states that he paid allegiance to Yazīd through Walīd, and to Marwān through Ḥajjāj (*Murūj al-Dhahab*: 2:316).

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was born in the first or the second year of Hijrah. He defended 'Uthmān during the siege until he sustained injuries

Bakr.¹

With regard to 'Abdullah bin 'Umar, he is a man exhausted by excessive devotion. If there remained none other than him, he would pay you allegiance.

As for Ḥusain bin 'Alī, the people of Iraq will never leave him until they cause him to rise.² If he were to rise against

(4:328). He did this on the order of his father, Zubair (4:385), whom 'Uthmān had entrusted with a will (4:387). 'Abdullah participated with his father in the battle of Jamal and prevented him from repenting (4:502), at the time when 'Āishah had already assigned him the treasure house of Baṣrah. He was her half brother through her mother, Umm Rūmān (4:377). 'Abdullah was injured in the battle of Jamal and was taken off the field and he later recovered (4:509). 'Alī ('a) used to call him 'the evil son' (4:509). He was with Mu'āwiyah and was sent together with 'Amru bin al-'Āṣṣ to fight Muḥammad bin Abī Bakr. When 'Amru sought to kill Muḥammad, 'Abdullah interceded with Mu'āwiyah on his behalf, but he did not accept (5:104). After the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain ('a), 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair revolted in Makkah (5:474). He continued with his struggle there for twelve years until he was killed at the hands of Ḥajjāj during the reign of Abd al-Malik bin Marwān, in Jumāda al-Ūlā 73 H (6:187). In an expedition personally led by 'Abd al-Malik, Ḥajjāj had also killed 'Abdullah's brother, Muṣ'ab, at al-Anbār a year before.

¹ The author of Usud al-Ghābah says: "'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Abī Bakr left for Makkah before the allegiance to Yazīd was accomplished and he died at a place called Ḥabashī, about ten miles from Makkah, in the year 55 H." This report is not in agreement with the above will, and Allah knows best.

² He came to know this from what the people of Iraq had written to the Imam ('a) while he was in Madīnah, after the death of his brother al-Ḥasan ('a), as reported by al-Ya'qūbī (2:216). According to al-Ya'qūbī, "The people of Iraq were waiting for the Imam to rise for his right and Mu'āwiyah heard about this. So he

you and you were to gain victory over him, then you should pardon him¹; for he belongs to an important family and has a great right [on the people]!

Regarding [‘Abd al-Raḥmān] Ibn Abū Bakr, he is a kind of person who will follow whatever his companions will do, and his only concern is women and sport.

The one who will crouch the crouching of a lion in wait of its prey, and will consistently engage in trickery like a fox and pounce on you when an opportunity presents itself, is Ibn al-Zubair. If he does that with you, tear him to pieces.”²

[Mu’āwiyah’s Death]

[Mu’āwiyah died in the beginning of Rajab 60 H]³. Ḍaḥḥāk bin Qais [al-Fihri]⁴ came out from the palace and went on

reproached the Imam for this, but he refuted his claim. Mu’āwiyah then left the issue.”

¹ His statement: “If he were to rise against you and you were to gain victory over him”, clearly implies that: should he rise against you, fight him till you are victorious, but then do not kill him. Mu’āwiyah was in this manner trying to combine two good things (*ḥusnayayn*) for Yazīd; the victory over al-Ḥusain and the privilege of not avenging him. What indicates the preparation of Mu’āwiyah for encountering al-Ḥusain (‘a) is the former’s letter which he had given to Sarjaun, his Roman servant, containing the order to appoint Ibn Ziyād over Iraq if such an incident were to occur, as we shall see later.

² Al-Khwārazmī also has related this in his *Maqatal* (pg.175) with some additions.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:324): “Hishām bin Muḥammad has said...” Page 338 of the same book says: “Hishām bin Muḥammad reported on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf that Yazīd ascended the throne in the beginning of Rajab 60 H.”

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was with Mu’āwiyah in the battle of Ṣiffīn and

the pulpit while Mu'āwiyah's shroud was visible in his hands. He praised and extolled Allah and then said: "Mu'āwiyah was the backbone of the Arabs and their master. Allah wiped off dissension (*fitnah*) through him, made him in charge of His servants, and conquered new territories at his hands. He is now dead and this is his shroud with which we shall wrap him and put him in the

was appointed by him as the commander of the foot soldiers, the heart of the Damascus army. Later Mu'āwiyah assigned him the administration of a peninsula under his control in Ḥarrān. He thus became the focus of the partisans of 'Uthmān living in Baṣrah and Kūfah. In the year 36 H, 'Alī sent Mālik al-Ashtar al-Nakha'ī to confront him. Mu'āwiyah then appointed al-Fihri as the head of his bodyguards in Damascus. He sent him to Kūfah in 55 H in order to invite people to pay allegiance to Yazīd as heir apparent. In the year 58 H, he called him back (5:309). *Al-Mas'ūdī* (2:328): "He reinstated him as the head of the bodyguards. He continued to hold this position till 60 H when the delegation sent by 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād from Baṣrah arrived in Damascus and Mu'āwiyah took allegiance from them for his son Yazīd." It seems natural that he should have remained in this position until the time when the prisoners from the Prophet's family entered Shām.

Al-Ṭabari: When Mu'āwiyah bin Yazīd died in the year 64 H, Ḍaḥḥāk invited the people first towards himself and later to Ibn al-Zubair! When Marwān arrived in Shām and met 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād from Iraq, the latter tempted Marwān to take up the caliphate. So Marwān started inviting people towards himself and they paid him allegiance. This prompted al-Ḍaḥḥāk to lead a protest against Marwān in Damascus and, later, rise to fight him at Marj Rāhiṭ, a few miles away from Damascus. The fight lasted for twenty days, at the end of which Ḍaḥḥāk was killed and his side defeated. His head was brought to Marwān in the month of Muḥarram 64 or 65 H (5:535-544). The Commander of the Faithful ('a) used to curse Ḍaḥḥāk in the *qunūt* of his prayers as reported in *al-Ṭabari* (5:71) and *Waq'at Siffin* (pg.72).

grave and leave him to his deeds. He shall remain in *barzakh* till the Day of Judgement. Whosoever among you wishes to attend his funeral should come [at noon].”

A messenger had earlier been sent to Yazīd to inform him of Mu'āwiyah's critical condition.¹ [Upon receiving the news,] he

¹ This is how the narration by *al-Ṭabarī* leaves off at the will and picks up again at the dispatch of the messenger to Yazīd, without any mention of his journey and the place he was. For this reason Ṭabarī gives another report after this one, based on the authority of Hishām from 'Awānah bin al-Ḥakam (d. 157) [who says]: “Yazīd was not present, so Mu'āwiyah called Ḍaḥḥāk bin Qais al-Fihri -who was the head of his bodyguards- and Muslim bin 'Aqabah al-Mariyy -who led the raid of Ḥarrah in Madīnah- and made his will. Then he told them: “Inform Yazīd of my will.”

This narration from *al-Ṭabarī* about the will of Mu'āwiyah slightly differs from that of Abū Mikhnaf, both in wording and meaning. [Firstly,] while Abū Mikhnaf's report mentions 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Umar as one of the four people about whom Mu'āwiyah was apprehensive that they might not pay allegiance to Yazīd, this narration omits him.

[Secondly,] in the previous account Yazīd is advised not to avenge al-Ḥusain ('a), while in the present narration from *al-Ṭabarī*, Mu'āwiyah hopes that Allah would save Yazīd through those who killed the father of al-Ḥusain ['a] and abandoned his brother -i.e. the people of Kūfah.

[Thirdly,] Abū Mikhnaf reports that Mu'āwiyah advised Yazīd to tear Ibn al-Zubair to pieces, while this narration enjoins him to make peace and not engage in bloodshed with the Quraish!

What backs the account of *al-Ṭabarī* is the fact that 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Abī Bakr is not mentioned in Yazid's letter to Walid, and also that 'Abd al-Raḥmān died in the year 55 H as previously reported by *Usud al-Ghābah*. In addition to that, the appointment of Ibn Ziyād by Mu'āwiyah as the governor of Iraq in his letter deposited with Sarjaun, the Roman, confirms the present account, as we shall see later.

As for the place where Yazīd was at the time of his father's death,



said:

A carrier with a letter came trotting,
Casting fear in the heart, frightening.
So we said: Woe unto you! What is the news?
As if uprooted were its every foundation.
One whose soul remains in apprehension,
Almost brings about that which he does fear.
I found the mansion gate closed when I came near,
Ramlah's voice wrecked my heart and it was rent
apart.¹

[Yazīd's letter to Walīd]

Yazīd assumed power in the beginning of Rajab in the year 60 H. The governor of Madīnah at the time was Walīd bin 'Utbah bin Abī Sufyān², while 'Amru bin Sa'id bin al-'Āṣṣ

al-Ṭabarī (5:10) narrates from 'Alī bin Muḥammad that he was at Ḥawwarīn. Al-Khwārazmī relates in his *Maqtal* (pg.177) from Ibn al-A'tham that Yazīd had left for Ḥaurān on the same day, after the will, for hunting. He thus reconciles between the present version of the will and the absence of Yazīd at the time of Mu'āwiyah's death.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: "I narrate, on the authority of Hishām bin Muḥammad, from Abū Mikhnaf who said: "Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Masāḥiq bin 'Abdullah bin Makhramah told me that when Mu'āwiyah died..." (5:327)

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: He became the governor of Madīnah on the order of Mu'āwiyah in the year 58 H (5:309). Yazīd dismissed him in the month of Ramadān of the same year for not handling the issue of Imam al-Ḥusain ('a) seriously, and instead appointed 'Amru bin Sa'id al-Ashdaq in his place (5:343). His father was 'Utbah bin

was the governor of Makkah.¹

Abī Sufyān who was among the supporters of Mu'āwiyah at Ṣiffīn. According to *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* (pg.417), his grandfather had been earlier killed by 'Alī ('a).

The last place we read of Walīd in *al-Ṭabarī* is as follows: "After the death of Yazīd, Ḍaḥḥāk called on the people to pay allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair. Walīd swore at Ḍaḥḥāk due to which the latter imprisoned him (5:533).

Muḥaddith al-Qumī says in *Tatimmat al-Muntahā* (pg.49) that Walīd attended the funeral prayer of Mu'āwiyah bin Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah where he was stabbed to death.

¹ He was appointed by Yazīd as the governor of Madīnah in the month of Ramaḍān 60 H. He also designated him as the head of pilgrimage affairs, thus he led the people to Ḥajj in the year 60 H. This supports the assertion that Yazīd had ordered him to assassinate al-Ḥusain ['a] wherever he found him, even if he was holding to the covering of the Ka'bah.

He was paid allegiance as an heir apparent of Khālīd bin Mu'āwiyah bin Yazīd on the same day that people pledged their allegiance to Marwān bin al-Ḥakam. This took place at Jābiyah, situated in Jawlān, a place between Damascus and Jordan, either on Wednesday or Thursday, three or four days to the end of Dhū al-Qa'dah 64 H, after the death of Mu'āwiyah bin Yazīd. It was agreed then that 'Amru would assume the governorship of Damascus the same day.

When Ḍaḥḥāk bin Qais al-Fihri came over to them from Damascus inviting people to accept either him or Ibn al-Zubair as the governor, and Marwān decided to fight him, 'Amru was in charge of the right wing of Marwān's army (5:527). Later he also conquered Egypt for Marwān and fought Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair in Palestine till the latter was defeated (5:540). When 'Amru set out to return to Marwān, he [i.e. Marwān] was informed that Ḥassān bin Bajdal al-Kalbī -the maternal uncle of Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah, the chief of the Banū Kilāb, and the one who rallied the people round Marwān for allegiance- has paid allegiance to 'Amru bin Sa'id directly. Marwān thus summoned Ḥassān and told him of what he had heard. He denied the claim and said: "I will protect

Nu'mān bin Bashīr al-Anṣārī¹ was the governor of Kūfah¹

you from 'Amru." So when the people assembled that evening, Ḥassān stood up and addressed them and called for allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik [bin Marwān] as the successor to Marwān. All the people, without exception, extended their pledges to him!

In the year 69, 70 or 71 H, he came out to fight Zafr bin al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī, or was heading towards Dair al-Jāthaliq to fight Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair. He left behind 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī as his deputy in Damascus. So 'Amru bin Sa'id al-Ashdaq said to 'Abd al-Malik: "You are going towards Iraq, so appoint me as your deputy in your absence." 'Abd al-Malik refused to do so, so al-Ashdaq went back to Damascus while al-Thaqafī fled from it. However, 'Abd al-Malik personally traveled to Damascus, reconciled their differences and entered the city. He then assassinated al-Ashdaq in his palace with his own hands (6:140-148). 'Amru al-Ashdaq's father, Sa'id bin al-'Āṣṣ was 'Uthmān's governor in Kūfah. The people of Kūfah had once complained against him to 'Uthmān for consuming intoxicants. The Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib ('a), executed on him the legal punishment [specified by the Sharī'ah].

The following report has appeared in *Majma' al-Zawā'id* (5:240) of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haithamī, and also in *Taḥīr al-Jinān* which has been collected on the margins of *Ṣawāiq al-Muḥriqah*: "From Abū Hurairah who said: 'I heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) saying: 'Verily, a tyrant from among the tyrants of the Banū Umayyah shall have a nose-bleed on my pulpit which shall flow [on it].' This happened exactly in the case of 'Amru bin Sa'id who had a nose-bleed while on the pulpit of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and his blood flowed [on it]!"

¹ He was a Khazrajī. In his *Rijāl* (pg.30), Shaikh al-Ṭūsī counts him among the companions of the Prophet (ṣ), while according to Ṭabarī (4:430) he was among those who did not pay allegiance to 'Alī ('a) after the death of 'Uthmān and instead joined Mu'āwiyah and supported him at Ṣiffīn. Later, He was sent by Mu'āwiyah to raid 'Ain Tamr, and he did that as reported in *al-Ṭabarī* (5:133; The Events of the Year 34 H). In 58 H, Mu'āwiyah appointed Nu'mān as the governor of Kūfah and he

continued to hold this position until the former died. After succeeding Mu'āwiyah, Yazīd replaced Nu'mān in 60 H with 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād. Nu'mān thus returned to Yazīd and was with him till the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusain ('a). He accompanied the family of the Imam ('a) to Madīnah on the order of Yazīd (5:462). He once again went back to Shām and was with Yazīd till he sent him to Madīnah to dissuade the Anṣār from supporting 'Abdullah bin Ḥanzalah, and warn them of opposing Yazīd, but they did not pay heed to him (5:481).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Sa'd bin Abī Waqqāṣ wrote to 'Umar [bin al-Khaṭṭāb] about the success granted by Allah to the Muslims in conquering Jalwalā. In reply, 'Umar wrote him: "Remain in your position, do not pursue them and prepare for the Muslims a place for migration (*hijrah*) and a point for Jihād." Hence, Sa'd stopped at al-Anbār where they were caught by fever. So he wrote to 'Umar informing him of the situation. 'Umar wrote back to Sa'd saying: "No place will fit the Arabs except that which is suitable for their camels and sheep, a place where there is enough vegetation. Look for a plain beside the river [Euphrates] and take it up as a habitation for the Muslims." So Sa'd returned and camped at Kūfah. (3:579)

Literally, Kūfah means a plain with pebbles and red sand (3:619). Any area with red sand is called '*sahlah*'. An area covered with the mixture of such pebbles and sand is called Kūfah (4:41). Kūfah had three regions: Ḥirqah, Umm 'Amru and Silsilah (4:41). In the month of Muḥarram 17 H, Sa'd and his men erected structures made of reed. There occurred a great fire in Kūfah due to which eighty structures were destroyed, and the reeds razed to the ground by the month of Shawwāl. Sa'd therefore sent some people to 'Umar asking for permission to build structures with mud bricks. 'Umar replied saying: "Go ahead, but no one among you should have more than three houses, nor should you construct high buildings." Abū al-Hayyāj bin Mālik was the person in charge of accommodating people in Kūfah, so Sa'd sent him a message informing him of 'Umar's order regarding the plan for the city, and that the following method must be followed: the main streets were to be 40 arms-length wide; the streets following that should be 30 arms-length; 20 arms-length for smaller streets;

and the governor of Baṣrah was 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād.¹

and 7 arms-length for the alleys. Nothing should be below this. The experts then gathered to assess the plan and Abū al-Hayyāj was to be informed about all they had agreed upon, so that he could assign everyone with a particular task. Accordingly, the first thing to be sketched out and built in Kūfah was the mosque. It was located on that side of the market in Kūfah which was held by the date and soap sellers. A man good in archery stood in the middle of the place where the mosque was to be constructed and shot arrows to his right, before and behind him, and then declared that everyone is free to build houses beyond the points the arrows have landed. A canopy of two hundred arm-lengths was erected in the front part of the mosque. It was placed on marble columns which belonged to the Persian kings; while its ceiling was similar to that of Roman churches. A ditch was dug around it to mark its borders in order to prevent encroachment. A residence was built for Sa'd adjacent to the mosque, separated by an overlaid street of 200 arm-lengths. The treasure houses were located at this very place. This was the palace of Kūfah which was constructed for him by Rūzbah out of the burnt bricks used for the buildings of the Persian kings at Ḥīrah (4:44&45).

Sa'd was living in the palace adjacent to the *miḥrāb* of the mosque, where the treasure house was located. However, one day a hole was drilled through it and the treasures were stolen, so Sa'd wrote about this to 'Umar. The mosque was then moved to some other place. Its foundations were changed and built afresh from the burnt bricks of a palace which belonged to the Persian kings in the suburbs of Ḥīrah. The mosque was now located in the area near the treasure houses, starting from there upto the end of the palace, in a direction opposite the *Qiblah*. The *qiblah* of the mosque was on the right of the palace. The mosque was founded on a marble which belonged to the Persian monarchs.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād was born in the year 20 H (5:297). In the year 41 H, Busr bin Arṭāt imprisoned him in Baṣrah together with his two brothers: 'Abbād and 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He then wrote to Ziyād saying: "You should present yourself before Mu'āwiyah, or else I will kill your sons." (5:168).

Yazīd's most pressing concern was to take allegiance from those four people who had refused to answer Mu'āwiyah's call for pledging allegiance to Yazīd as his heir apparent, and get rid of their opposition.

So he wrote to Walīd:

Ziyād died in 53 H (5:288), so his son 'Ubaidullah went to see Mu'āwiyah who then appointed him as the governor of Khurāsān in the year 54 H (5:297). In 55 H he was transferred to Baṣrah, leaving Aslam bin Zur'ah al-Kalbī over Khurāsān (5:306). During his governorship in Khurāsān, 'Ubaidullah had launched an attack on Bukhārā highlands and conquered the cities of Ramīthnah and Bikand. He captured two thousand archers from Bukhārā, won their hearts and brought them to Baṣrah with himself (5:298). Mu'āwiyah also appointed 'Abbād bin Ziyād as the governor of Sajistān, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Ziyād as the administrator of Khurāsān together with his brother 'Ubaidullah (5:315). 'Ubaidullah held this position for two years (5:316), and was then also made in charge of Kermān. Thereafter, Sharīk bin al-A'war al-Ḥārithī al-Hamdānī was assigned over Kermān (5:321). Later, Yazīd dismissed 'Abbād from Sajistān and 'Abd al-Raḥmān from Khurāsān and appointed Silm bin Ziyād, their brother, over both the places; and he later sent Yazīd bin Ziyād, Silm's other brother, to Sajistān (5:471). In 60 H, Yazīd made 'Ubaidullah in charge of Kūfah, so he left Baṣrah under his brother, 'Uthmān bin Ziyād (5:358). 'Ubaidullah was forty years old when al-Ḥusain ('a) was martyred. He returned to Baṣrah in 61 H. When Yazīd and his son Mu'āwiyah died, the people of Baṣrah paid allegiance to 'Ubaidullah temporarily and until the next caliph had been chosen. But then they opposed him and so he went to Shām (5:503) together with his brother 'Abdullah in 64 H (5:513). In Sham, 'Ubaidullah paid allegiance to Marwān bin al-Ḥakam and prompted him to wage a war on Iraq. Marwān thus sent him towards Iraq (5:530) where he fought the [members of the] movement of Tawwābūn in the year 65 H and defeated them (5:598). Then he fought Mukhtār in 66 H (6:81) where he and those with him from Shām were killed in 67 H (6:87).

“In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From Yazīd -the commander of the faithful- to Walīd bin ‘Utbah... Indeed, Mu’āwiyah was a servant among the servants of Allah. He honoured him and made him His successor. He bestowed on him authority and established him. He lived based on what had been decreed for him and died when his term came to the end. May Allah have mercy on him! He lived a praiseworthy life and died as a good and pious person.”

In another letter to Walīd, which was as small as a rat’s ear, he says:

“Take allegiance from al-Ḥusain, ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar and ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair with as much severity as you can, and spare them not until they pledge their oath. That is all.”^{1, 2}

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:338): “Hishām bin Muḥammad narrated from Abū Mikhnaf...” This is the first among the numerous reports which Ṭabarī connects part of it to another by saying in the beginning of each report: ‘He narrated (*qāla*)’, while the report is based on the narration of Abū Mikhnaf.

² This is how Ṭabarī’s report from Abū Mikhnaf, on the authority of Hishām, is restricted to the mention of ‘severity’ only, without any mention of bloodshed. So is the report of Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī (pg.235), also from Hishām, and of Shaikh al-Mufīd in *al-Irshād* (pg.200), which is either from Hishām or al-Madāinī. However, al-Ya’qūbī reproduces in his *Tarīkh* (2:229) the text of Yazīd’s letter in the following words: “As soon as my letter reaches you, call on Ḥusain bin ‘Alī and ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair and take allegiance from both of them. If they refuse, behead them and send me their heads. Also invite the people to pay their allegiance. And whosoever refuses [to do so], then carry out my order on him, [and] on Ḥusain bin ‘Alī and ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair. That is all.”

When the news of Mu'āwiyah's death¹ reached Walīd, he was very shocked and could not bear the news. So he sent a message to Marwān bin al-Ḥakam²

Al-Khwārazmī mentions the letter in *al-Maqtal* (pg.180) from Ibn al-A'tham in the same manner as *al-Ṭabarī* did from Hishām, and adds: "... And whoever among them refuses, then behead him and send me his head."

Yazīd's letter reached Walīd on the night preceding Friday, 26th of Rajab, as it is inferred from Imam al-Ḥusain's date of departure from Madīnah, as we shall see later.

¹ Historians have not specified when exactly Yazīd wrote this letter and when he sent it to Madīnah, based on which the time period of traveling from Shām to Madīnah could have been calculated. But we can infer that from what *al-Ṭabarī* (5:482) has reported from Abū Mikhnaf, on the authority of Hishām that: "Abd al-Malik bin Marwān told the person he sent with the letter from the Banū Umayyah – when they were besieged in Madīnah before the event of Ḥarrah- to Yazīd in Shām: 'I give you twelve nights for going and twelve for returning; so report back to me within 24 days at this place.' Later the messenger said: 'I went and came back to 'Abd al-Malik within that time or a little later.'" This is also confirmed by what *al-Ṭabarī* (5:498) has related from al-Wāqidī (d. 207 H) that the news of Yazīd's death reached Madīnah in the beginning of Rabī' al-Ākhar, while Yazīd had died 14 nights after [the month of] Rabī' al-Awwal 64 H began –as mentioned on the same page. Therefore the news of Yazīd's death must have reached them after 16 days.

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was banished by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) from Madīnah along with his father, Ḥakam bin al-'Āṣṣ bin Umayyah, because the latter used to mock at the Prophet (ṣ). 'Uthmān escaped with Ḥakam and married his daughter, Nā'ilah. 'Uthmān granted Ḥakam a tribute from Africa which weighed [around] 300 *qinṭār* of gold (4:256). [Marwān] purchased a series of wells in Iraq by that [tribute] which later came to be known as 'Nahr Marwān' (4:280). He also gave Marwān 15,000 silver coins (4:345). 'Uthmān had become a puppet in the hands of Marwān as 'Alī ('a) once said (4:364).

[On the day of the siege,] Marwān fought in defence of 'Uthmān and was struck with sword on [the back part of] his neck and fell to the ground. The people wanted to finish him off but his wet nurse, who was then an old woman, jumped on him saying: "If you are intending to kill the man, then he has already been killed. But if you intend to mangle his body, then this is abominable." So they left him (4:381). His servant, Abū Ḥafṣah al-Yamānī, then carried him to his house (4:380). Marwān continued to live thereafter with a short neck (4:394).

He participated in the battle of Jamal and used to call to prayer (4:454). He shot an arrow at Ṭalḥah on the day of Jamal and killed him (4:509). He also sustained injuries on that day (4:530), thus escaped from the battlefield and sought protection with Mālik bin Masma' al-Ghazārī and he granted him (4:536). On his return, Marwān joined Mu'āwiyah (4:541) who appointed him as the governor of Madīnah after the Year of Unity (5:172). There he invented the *maqṣūrah* for prayers in the year 44 H (5:215). [*Maqṣūrah* was a cabin-like place in the mosque from inside which the ruler used to lead the people in prayers. This norm was first invented by Mu'āwiyah out of fear of being assassinated.]

Mu'āwiyah had gifted him with Fadak but later took it back from him (5:231). [Mu'āwiyah] dismissed him from the governorship of Madīnah in 49 H (5:232), and reinstated him in the same position in 54 H (5:293). It was during Marwān's rule in Madīnah that Mu'āwiyah had gone for Ḥajj in 56 H and prepared the grounds for the successorship of his son, Yazīd (5:304). However, in the year 57 or 58 H, Mu'āwiyah replaced him with Walīd bin 'Uqbah bin Abī Sufyān. It was for this very reason that he used to dislike Walīd (5:309).

Marwān was in Damascus when the captives, together with the heads of the martyrs, arrived [in the city] (5:465). When the incident of Ḥarrah took place in 62 H, [Marwān] was in Madīnah. Actually, it was he who asked Yazīd for help, and the latter sent Muslim bin 'Aqabah al-Mariyy to his help (5:482). As the people of Madīnah heard about the coming of Muslim bin 'Aqabah, they besieged the Umayyads -who were a thousand men- at Marwān's house, and then expelled them from Madīnah. [Marwān] thus left his family in the custody of 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain ('a) at Yanbū',

to come to him.¹

[Walīd Seeks Counsel from Marwān]

When Walīd read Yazīd's letter to Marwān, the latter pronounced the verse: "Verily, we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return", and invoked Allah's mercy upon Mu'āwiyah. Walīd then asked for his advice saying: "In your opinion what shall we do?"

Marwān replied: "I think you should send a messenger to these people and invite them to pledge their allegiance and submit to Yazīd's authority. If they did that, accept it from them and leave them. But if they refused, you should strike their heads. You must do this before they become aware of Mu'āwiyah's death. Otherwise, each of them will scatter away and announce his opposition and rejection, and will

who agreed to provide for them and protect them. 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain ('a) had earlier withdrawn from Madīnah to Yanbū', as he detested witnessing the atrocities [of the Banū Umayyah] (5:485). In the year 64 H, 'Ubaidah bin al-Zubair took charge of Madīnah for his brother 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair. He expelled the Umayyads from Madīnah to Shām. Marwān was paid allegiance as the caliph in Shām the same year (5:530). He died in the month of Ramadān 65 H.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: The complete report is as follows: "Marwān reluctantly came to Madīnah on the same day as Walīd (5:325). When Walīd noticed that from him, he reviled [Marwān] in his gathering. The news reached Marwān and so he cut-off from Walīd. The situation continued to remain so until the news of Mu'āwiyah's death reached Walīd. The death of Mu'āwiyah and Yazīd's order to take allegiance from a particular group of people was so distressing for Walīd that he had to take refuge to Marwān and call on him."

invite people toward himself.”¹

[Walīd's Envoy]

Walīd sent ‘Abdullah bin ‘Amru bin ‘Uthmān² -who was then a young man- to summon al-Ḥusain ('a) and Ibn al-Zubair. He found them sitting in the mosque. So he came [later] at a time when Walīd did not usually have any meeting with the people, nor would the people come to him at such a time.³ The messenger said to them: “The governor

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:339): “Hishām bin Muḥammad related from Abū Mikhnaf that...” This has also been reported by al-Khwārazmī in *al-Maqtal* (pg.181).

² He was alive till the year 91 H. He was among those men from the Quraish who welcomed Walīd bin ‘Abd al-Malik to Madīnah (*al-Ṭabarī*:6:465). His agnomen was al-Muṭarrif. He died in 96 H (*al-Qamqām*, pg.270). His father, ‘Amru, was the son of ‘Uthmān bin ‘Affān, the third caliph. His mother was Umm ‘Amru bint Jundab al-Azdī (4:420).

Al-Ṭabarī (5:494) reports that ‘Abdullah’s mother was from Dūs. During the event of Ḥarrah, Muslim bin ‘Uqbah accused him of not being sincere to the Banū Umayyah. So when [‘Abdullah] was brought before Muslim, the latter swore at him and ordered his beard to be plucked (5:494).

³ This is how the report of Abū Mikhnaf is restricted here to the description of this ‘hour’ as ‘the one in which Walīd did not usually meet the people’, without specifying whether it was in the daytime or at night. Nevertheless, the same report contains a number of contextual clues that help us in concluding that it was in the early hours of Friday, four days to the end of the month of Rajab. They are:

(a) The actual text of the report goes like this: “Then he sent... to summon both of them. The messenger saw them and said: ‘The governor is calling you, so answer him!’ They said: ‘Go, we are just coming.” Therefore, they were both invited at the same time. The end of the report relates Ibn al-Zubair as saying: “I am just

coming.” He then went to his house and hid himself. Walid sent for him a second time and found him among his companions well guarded. So Walid went on insisting by repeatedly sending messengers, one after the other [for a third and a fourth time, at least]. Ibn al-Zubair said: “Do not be in haste with regard to me; grant me respite, for I will surely come to you.” Walid sent a group of his servants [for the fifth time] who rebuked Ibn al-Zubair and shouted at him saying: “O son of Kāhiliyyah! By Allah, either to the governor, or else he will kill you!”

Ibn al-Zubair spent the whole day and part of the night answering: “I will come soon.” But when they impelled him to come, he reacted by saying: “By Allah! I have grown suspicious because of the repeated summons and successive coming of these people. So do not rush me until I send someone to the governor to inform me of his orders.” He then sent his brother Ja’far bin al-Zubair who told Walid: “May Allah have mercy on you! Hold back from ‘Abdullah; for, indeed, you have scared him [by sending] numerous messengers. He will come to you tomorrow if Allah wills. So order your messengers to leave us alone.” So Walid ordered them to disperse and they did so [in the evening], while Ibn al-Zubair left [Madīnah] under the cover of the night.”

It seems that all these exchanges took place in the day time. In addition, the text also is explicit in that when it says: “... he then lingered the whole day and part of the night...” Now, since he was summoned at the same time as the Imam (‘a) was, it seems that the Imam (‘a) also was called in the early part of the morning.

(b) The report contains the following: “They impelled the two men at the evening and early parts of the night.” This phrase might lead some to think that they were summoned in the evening –at the time of *‘aṣr*, but this is a mere illusion because the report says *‘fa alahḥū ‘alaihimā*, and *ilḥāḥ* literally means to ‘demand urgently, to insist and to repeat a request or a call’. Therefore, the call at the evening must have been preceded with similar calls before it. Thus, the text itself leads us to conclude that the invitation was in the day time, and not at night.

(c) Abū Mikhnaf relates from ‘Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Musāḥiq bin Makhramah, who reported from Abū Sa’id al-



is calling you, so answer him!”

Maqbarī who said: “I saw al-Ḥusain ('a) entering the mosque of Madīnah ...and after only two days I was informed that he has left for Makkah (5:342).”

This report confirms another report by Abū Mikhnaf which suggests that Ibn al-Zubair concealed himself in his house guarded by his companions. He spent there the whole day and the early hours of the night and then departed from Madīnah at night. In the morning Walīd sent to him but found that he had already left. So he dispatched eighty riders after him, but they could not reach him and returned. The authorities were preoccupied with this matter for the whole of the second day till evening when Walīd sent for al-Ḥusain ('a). He responded to them saying: “Wait until morning, then you will [have time to] consider so shall we.” So they left him that night and did not compel him, and [al-Ḥusain ('a)] left under the cover of darkness, on the night preceding Sunday, two days before the end of Rajab” (5:431).

Accordingly, Ibn al-Zubair remained in Madīnah only for one day after the start of the invitation and left at night, while al-Ḥusain ('a) was there for two days and departed on the second night. Since the Imam ('a) departed on the night preceding Sunday, the days of his stay in Madīnah, after the call, must have been [the day of] Friday, the night [preceding] Saturday and the day of Saturday. Also, the series of calls from Walīd must have started in the early hours of Friday morning. Thus, describing the time of the arrival of the messenger as: “An hour in which Walīd did not usually have meetings with people”, would thus be correct. So the meeting of Ibn al-Zubair with the Imam ('a) in the Prophet's mosque took place on Friday morning, probably after the morning prayers. What Abū Mikhnaf reported on the authority of al-Maqbarī that Imam Ḥusain ('a) entered the Prophet's mosque supported by two men, must have been after his return from Walīd's palace with two of his men with whom he had gone to see him.

We thus conclude that: Walīd's invitation was sent in the early hours of Friday, four days before the end of Rajab, at such a time when Walīd did not have sittings with the people; since it was Friday and it was not his working day.

They said: "Proceed! We are coming to him."¹

Then they looked at one another and 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair said to al-Ḥusain ('a): "What do you think should be the reason that he has sent for us at this unusual hour?"

Al-Ḥusain ('a) replied: "I think the tyrant among them has perished², so he has summoned us to take allegiance from us before the news spread to the people."

Ibn al-Zubair said: "I suppose it is so. What do you intend to do then?"

Al-Ḥusain ('a) answered: "I will gather my young men right now and will go to see him. As I reach the entrance, I will leave the young men by the gate and enter myself."

Ibn al-Zubair remarked: "I indeed fear for you if you enter."

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:339): "Hishām bin Muḥammad narrated from Abū Mikhnaḥ..." Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī brings the above report in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.203), while al-Khwārazmī has paraphrased it in his *Maqṭal*. It is not known why the pronoun (*ḍamīr*) in the report has appeared in the dual form, while the invitation was sent to three people. What appears from the final part of the report is that these two people were al-Ḥusain ('a) and 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair only, and there is no any mention of 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Abī Bakr and 'Abdullah bin 'Umar. What would probably account for the omission of Ibn Abī Bakr is that he had died before this -as mentioned earlier, while Ibn 'Umar was not present in Madīnah at that time as *al-Ṭabarī* has narrated from al-Wāqidī (5:343).

With regard to Walīd's envoy and who he was, al-Khwārazmī (pg. 181), based on the report of Ibn al-A'tham, and also Sibṭ al-Jawzī (pg.235), [are of the opinion that] he was 'Amru bin 'Uthmān. According to *Tarīkh Ibn 'Asākir* (4:327), he was 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Amru bin 'Uthmān bin 'Affān.

² The actual text reads: "I think I am going to see the tyrant among them", but what we have mentioned is more correct.

Al-Ḥusain ('a) replied: "I will not go to see him unless I am capable of refusing [what he wants from me]."

He then left the mosque and assembled his servants and the members of his household. They all walked until they reached the door of Walīd. He then said to his companions: "I am entering. If I call you, or you hear my voice raised, then rush your way in. Otherwise, remain in your positions until I come out."¹

[Al-Ḥusain ('a) Meets Walīd]

Al-Ḥusain ('a) entered and greeted the governor while Marwān was sitting next to him. [Marwān had once cut off from Walīd as mentioned earlier].

Al-Ḥusain ('a) said –as if he did not suspect Mu'āwiyah's death: "Maintaining the bond of kinship is better than severing it. May Allah set aright your difference." But the two men did not return a word.

After al-Ḥusain ('a) took his seat, Walīd read him the letter and informed him about the death of Mu'āwiyah, and asked him to pay allegiance [to Yazīd].

Al-Ḥusain ('a) said: "Verily, we belong to Allah and to him do we indeed return..." As for the oath, anyone like me would not give his allegiance in secret. And I do not think you will be contented with a pledge from me in privacy, without making it known to the people publicly."

Walīd responded: "Yes, indeed!"

¹ Al-Mufīd has narrated this briefly in *al-Irshād* (pg.200), and so has Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.236) and al-Khwārazmī (pg.183).

[Al-Ḥusain ('a)] said: "So when you go out to the people inviting them to pledge their allegiance, invite us along with them, thus the matter will take place at one time."¹

Walīd [in fact] wanted to be excused from the issue of al-Ḥusain ('a). So he said to him: "Go in the name of Allah until you come back to us with the people."

[Here] Marwān interrupted "By Allah! If he parts from you now without paying allegiance, then you will never have the same power over him until a great number of people from among you and him are killed! Arrest him and do not let him leave you until after he has paid homage [to Yazīd], or you have executed him!"²

[At this] al-Ḥusain ('a) jumped up and said: "O son of Zarqā'!"³ Are you going to kill me or he? By Allah, you have lied and sinned!"⁴

¹ Al-Khwārazmī has reported this on pg.183 of his *Maqtal* with different wordings.

² See *al-Maqtal* of al-Khwārazmī (pg.184).

³ She was Zarqā' bint Mawhib. She was among the prostitutes who had banners [on their houses] as reported in *al-Kāmil* (4:75). Therefore, the Imam's statement was not an accusation, nor was it 'calling someone by bad names'. Rather, it is similar to what has appeared in the Holy Qur'an regarding Walīd bin al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī: "Any violent tyrant, who is in addition base born" (68:13). The word *zanīm* –which has appeared in the verse just mentioned- literally means a 'bastard'.

⁴ Al-Khwārazmī (pg.184) has related [the above words of the Imam ('a)] and added: "Verily, we are the family to which belongs the Prophethood, [we are] the origin of the [divine] messengership (*ma'din al-risālah*), the place frequented by the angels, and the point where the mercy of Allah descends. With us Allah began the creation and with us he will end it. Yazīd is an

Then he went out and passed by his companions, so they accompanied him until he reached his house.¹

immoral person who drinks wine, kills innocent people and sins openly. A person like me cannot pay allegiance to someone like him! However, the matter will eventually come to light as to who among us deserves the allegiance and the caliphate.” [Meanwhile,] the people at the door heard the voice of al-Husain ('a) raised, so they were about to enter with their swords drawn when al-Husain ('a) came out and ordered them to return to their houses.” Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs (d.693 H) also has narrated this in *al-Malhūf fi Qatlā al-Ṭufūf*, and so has Ibn Namā (d.645 H) in *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:339): “Hishām bin Muḥammad narrated from Abū Mikhnaf...” Al-Khwārazmī (pg.184) has also related it with the following addition: “So Marwān said to Walīd: ‘You disobeyed me! By Allah! He will never give you the same opportunity over his life!’ Walīd retorted: ‘Blame someone other than myself, O Marwān! Indeed, you have chosen for me something which would destroy my religion! By Allah, I would not love to have all the worldly wealth [and dominion] which the sun rises and sets over, while I am [guilty of] killing al-Husain.’” Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.226) has briefly related this: “Walīd remarked: ‘Glory be to Allah! Should I kill al-Husain because he said ‘I will not pay allegiance’?! By Allah, I believe that anyone who is [responsible] for the blood of al-Husain shall certainly have light scales (*khafīf al-mīzān*) before Allah on the Day of Judgement!’ ‘If this is your opinion, then you have acted correctly in what you did”, said Marwān. He said this showing his disapproval of his view.” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.201).

[The Stand of Ibn al-Zubair]

With regard to Ibn al-Zubair, he said to the messenger: “I am just coming.” He then went to his house and hid himself. Walīd sent for him and found him among his companions well guarded. So Walīd went on insisting by repeatedly sending messengers, one after the other... So Ibn al-Zubair said: “Do not be hasty with



regard to me; I will surely come to you; grant me respite." Ibn al-Zubair spent the whole day and part of the night by answering: "I will come soon." Walīd sent a group of his servants who rebuked Ibn al-Zubair and shouted at him saying: "O son of Kāhiliyyah! By Allah, either come to the governor, or else he will kill you!" But when they impelled him to come, he reacted in these words: "By Allah! I have grown suspicious because of the repeated summons and successive coming of these people. So do not rush me until I send someone to the governor to inform me of his orders." He then sent his brother Ja'far bin al-Zubair who told Walīd: "May Allah have mercy on you! Hold back from 'Abdullah, for you have indeed scared him by sending too many messengers. He will come to you tomorrow if Allah wills. So order your messengers to leave us alone." So Walīd ordered them to disperse and they did so. Ibn al-Zubair left [Madīnah] under the cover of the night preceding Saturday, [three days before the end of Rajab] and a night before al-Ḥusain's departure. He set out to Makkah by taking the unusual way -avoiding the main one in fear of being traced- together with his brother Ja'far without anyone accompanying them. [See also *al-Tadhkirah*, pg.236]. In the morning Walīd sent for Ibn al-Zubair but he had already left. So Marwān said "By Allah! He has not gone except towards Makkah." Walīd thus dispatched after him eighty riders from among the servants of the Banū Umayyah, but they could not reach him and returned.

Ibn al-Zubair entered Makkah saying: "I am only seeking refuge here." 'Amru bin Sa'id was then the governor of Makkah. While he was there, Ibn al-Zubair would neither pray with the people, nor leave the mosque with them. Instead, he used to pray in one corner together with his companions and then leave with them (See *al-Ṭabarī*:5:343, Hishām bin Muḥammad reporting from Abū Mikhnaf). Al-Mufīd (pg.201) also has related it and so has Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.236) saying: "Al-Ḥusain ('a) left Madīnah the following night together with his family and young men, while the authorities were preoccupied with the matter of Ibn al-Zubair." On page 245, Ibn al-Jawzī reports from Hishām and Muḥammad bin Ishāq that [al-Ḥusain ('a) left] on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab. According to al-Khwārazmī

[Al-Ḥusain ('a) in the Mosque of Madīnah]

They were distracted from al-Ḥusain ('a) by the pursuit of 'Abdullah [bin al-Zubair throughout the first day and the morning of the day he departed] until the evening.

[Walīd] then sent his men to al-Ḥusain ('a) in the evening [of the second day, Saturday, 28th of Rajab]. His response was: "Come in the morning, then you will [have time to] consider [the situation] and so shall we." So they left him for that [second] night, [i.e. the night preceding Sunday 29th of Rajab], without insisting upon him [attending].¹

[It was on the first of the two days that al-Ḥusain ('a) went to the mosque of Madīnah supported by two people as related] by Sa'id al-Maqbarī who said: "I saw al-Ḥusain ('a) entering the mosque of Madīnah. He was walking by leaning on two men, sometimes leaning on this, and at times on the other. I heard him quoting [Yazīd] bin al-Mufarragh [al-Ḥimyārī]: "Let me not live -and be called by my name and drive my flocks- if I were to be granted dignity only after humiliating myself, at a time when I can face death without degradation."²

Al-Maqbarī says: "I said to myself: By Allah! He did not repeat the two verses except that he had a purpose behind it." After only two days I heard that he had left for Makkah.³

(pg.189), he left on the third of Sha'bān!

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:338-341): "Hishām bin Muḥammad reports from Abū Mikhnaf..." See also *al-Irshād* (pg.201).

² Al-Khwārazmī (pg.186) related it upto here.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:342): "Abū Mikhnaf says: "Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Musāḥiq narrated to me from Abū Sa'id al-Maqbarī

[The Stance of Muḥammad bin al-Ḥanafīyyah]¹

that..." We have given al-Maqbarī's biography in the introduction of this book. Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.237) has also narrated [the above report], but in different wordings.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: His mother was Khaulah bint Ja'far bin Qais from the clan of the Banū Bakr bin Wāil (5:154). He was together with his father, 'Alī ('a) on the day of Jamal, and was given the banner by him (5:445). He fought and severed the hand of a man from the tribe of Azd who was urging his men to fight for [the companions of] the camel (4:512). Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah participated in Ṣiffin also where 'Ubaidullah bin 'Umar challenged him for a duel but 'Alī ('a) prevented him, out of pity, lest he should be killed (5:13). Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah was residing in Madīnah when al-Ḥusain ('a) departed Makkah for Iraq (5:394).

Mukhtār had claimed that he was calling the people of Kūfah on behalf of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah (5:561). When he was informed about this and asked for his comments, he said: "I wish Allah grants us victory over our enemy through whoever he wishes from among his creatures." When his observation reached Mukhtār, he gave him [i.e. Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah] the appellation of 'Imam al-Mahdī' (6:14).

Mukhtār showed Ibrāhīm bin Mālik al-Ashtar a document attributed to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah, thus inviting Ibrāhīm to follow him on that authority (6:46). The incident was reported to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah who refuted it in these words: "He claims to be our follower, while the murderers of al-Ḥusain sit in his company and chat with him!" [A few years after the event of Karbalā'] when Mukhtār killed 'Umar bin Sa'd and his son, he sent their heads to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah (6:62). He also tried to dispatch an army to Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah in order for him to confront Ibn al-Zubair, but he refused the offer and stopped him from bloodshed (6:74). When Ibn al-Zubair heard this, he imprisoned Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah at Zamzam, along with other seventeen people from among his family members and the people of Kūfah who were with him, and asked them to pay him allegiance, or else he would burn them! So Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah sent three men from Kūfah to Mukhtār seeking his help. So Mukhtār sent 4,000 men together with a great amount

[With regard to Muḥammad bin al-Ḥanafīyyah, when he heard about the matter, he came to his brother, al-Ḥusain ('a) and] said to him:

“O my brother! You are the most lovable of people to me and the dearest of them to me. You are more entitled to my advice than any other person is. Avoid giving allegiance to Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah and [avoid] the towns as much as you can. Then send your messengers to the people and summon them to [follow] you. If they pledge allegiance to you, then praise Allah for that. [But] if the people agree upon someone other than you, then Allah will not make your religion nor your reason deficient on that account, nor will he remove your manliness and outstanding merit because of it. [Yet] I am afraid that you will enter one of these towns and a group of people will gather around you, thus they will differ with each other; a group will be for you and another against you. They will fight each other and you will be a target for the first of their spears. Then, the best of all this community, in person, in father and in mother, would be the one in it whose blood was most terribly exposed and whose

of money. As they reached Makkah, they entered Masjid al-Ḥarām and freed the prisoners. After this, they sought the permission of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah to fight Ibn al-Zubair, but he did not allow them and distributed the money among them (6:67).

He also used to stop the Shī'ah from exaggeration (*ghuluww*) (6:103). Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah had a separate banner for the pilgrimage in the year 68 H. He used to say: “I am a person seeking to get rid of Ibn al-Zubair and what he wants from me, but I do not want to achieve this aim at the cost of difference among people regarding me” (6:138). He was alive until the Year of Draught in 81 H and was then 65 years of age (5:152). He passed away in Ṭāif and his funeral prayer was led by Ibn 'Abbās. (5:154)

family most humiliated!”

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) said: “Where then should I go, my brother?”

Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah said: “[Go and] stay at Makkah. If that base is secure for you, then stay there. [However,] if it becomes dangerous for you, then you can take to the deserts and the mountain peaks, and move from place to place so that you may see how the people’s attitude to the affair develops. Then you will know the right decision [to make]. It is only by facing matters directly that you will be able to make the best judgement and you will be more resolute in practice. And nothing will ever make matters more difficult for you than turning away from them.”

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) responded to him saying: “My brother! You have given advice and shown your concern. I hope that your judgement is correct and lucky.”¹

[Al-Ḥusain (‘a) Leaves Madīnah]

[Al-Ḥusain (‘a) had told Walīd:] “Hold back! Give the matter a thought and so should we.” But they were preoccupied by the pursuit of ‘Abdullah [bin al-Zubair on the first day and the day he left] until evening. [In the evening, Walīd] sent his men to al-Ḥusain [‘a], the evening

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:341): “Hishām bin Muḥammad reports from Abū Mikhnaf...” *Al-Mufīd* (pg.202) also has narrated the report in *al-Irshād*. *Al-Khwārazmī* (pg.188) has related it with some additions. He has also included the Imam’s will to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, narrating it from Ibn al-A’tam, [which says]: “Indeed, I have not come out...”, and then [al-Khwārazmī mentions the following as part of the will also]: “[and that I may follow the path of the Prophet (ṣ)...] and that of the rightly guided caliphs!”

[of the second day, Saturday 27th of Rajab]. Al-Husain ('a) said: "Wait till tomorrow morning. Then you will [have time to] think [over the matter] and so shall we." So, they left him that [second] night [the night preceding Sunday 28th of Rajab] without compelling him.

Al-Ḥusain ('a) departed under the darkness of this [second] night, the night before Sunday and two days before the end of Rajab 60 H. He took with him his children, his brothers, his nephews and most of his family members except for Muḥammad bin al-Ḥanafīyyah.¹

[As he was leaving the city,] he recited the following verse: "So he left the city, fearful and vigilant. He said: 'My Lord, deliver me from the wrongdoing lot.'"² And when he entered Makkah, he recited this verse: "And when he turned his face toward Midian, he said: 'May be my Lord will show me the right way.'"^{3, 4}

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:340-341), and the date of his departure has been mentioned in (5:381), which he also related from Abū Mikhnaf, who narrated it from Ṣaq'ab bin Zuhair, who in turn reported from 'Aun bin Abī Juḥaifah. See also *al-Irshād* (pg.209). Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.236) says: "And al-Ḥusain ('a) departed the following night along with his family and young men, while the authorities remained distracted from him by the issue of Ibn al-Zubair." He also narrated it on page 245 from Muḥammad bin Ishāq and Hishām [saying]: "[It was] on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab." But al-Khwārazmī says on page 189 of his *Maqṭal*: "[It was on] the third day of Sha'bān."!

² Qur'an:28:21.

³ Qur'an:28:22.

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:343): "Hishām bin Muḥammad reported from Abū Mikhnaf..."

The Stand of 'Abdullah bin 'Umar

Walīd sent for 'Abdullah bin 'Umar and said [to him]: "Pay



allegiance to Yazīd.” ‘Abdullah replied: “If the people pay allegiance, I will do the same.”* Someone asked him: “What prevents you from paying allegiance?! Indeed, you only want the people to disagree and fight among themselves, and annihilate each other. And when they are exhausted by that, they would say: Follow ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar, for there remains no one except him! So pay him your allegiance.” ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar replied: “I do not like to see people fighting amongst themselves, disagreeing and annihilating each other. But if the people paid allegiance and no one remained apart from me, then I will give allegiance.” Thus, they left him and were, no more, afraid of him.**

* As was acknowledged by Mu’āwiyah in his will, and by Marwān in his advice to Walīd, as mentioned earlier.

** *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:342): “Hishām bin Muḥammad reports on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf that...” Then *al-Ṭabarī* says: “Al-Wāqidī (d.207 H) maintains that: ‘Ibn ‘Umar was not in Madīnah when the news of Mu’āwiyah’s death and the matter of paying allegiance to Yazīd were brought to Walīd.” [So has been maintained by Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.237) also]. [Al-Wāqidī also says:] “And when Ibn al-Zubair and al-Ḥusain [‘a] were summoned to pay allegiance to Yazīd, they refused to do so and left for Makkah the same night. They were met on the way by Ibn ‘Abbās and Ibn ‘Umar who were coming from Makkah. So they asked them about the news. They answered: ‘Mu’āwiyah’s death and allegiance to Yazīd.’ So Ibn ‘Umar said: ‘Fear Allah [both of you] and do not sow discord within the Muslim community!’ Ibn ‘Umar continued towards Madīnah and stayed there a number of days waiting, until the news of the people’s allegiance from different cities reached Madīnah. Thereafter, he along with Ibn ‘Abbās came forth and paid allegiance.”

AL-ḤUSAIN ('A) IN MAKKAH

Al-Ḥusain ('a) on the Way to Makkah

'Uqbah bin Sim'ān says: "We departed [from Madīnah] and kept to the main road. [Some of] al-Ḥusain's ('a) family members said to him: 'Would that you had avoided the high road, like Ibn al-Zubair did, the search [group] could not reach you?' He replied: 'No! By Allah, I will not part from it until Allah decrees what is more lovable to Him.'"¹

'Abdullah bin Muṭī' al-'Adawī²

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:351): "I narrate from Hishām bin Muḥammad who reported from Abū Mikhnaf who said: "Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab informed me saying: 'Uqbah bin Sim'ān –a servant of Rabāb bint Imra' al-Qais al-Kalbiyyah, the wife of al-Ḥusain ('a) and the mother of Sakīnah bint al-Ḥusāin ('a)- has narrated to me [this report].'" We have given 'Uqbah's biography earlier. *Al-Mufīd* (pg.202) also has related this and so has *al-Khwārazmī* (pg.189) ascribing the report to Muslim bin 'Aqīl ('a).

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was a Quraishī. He was born during the time of the Prophet (ṣ). He led the Quraish when the people of Madīnah revolted against Yazīd (5:481). Then he joined Ibn al-Zubair in Makkah and fought on his side. Later, al-'Adawī served as the governor of Kūfah under Ibn al-Zubair as reported by *al-Ṭabarī* (5:622). This has been related also by *al-Ya'qūbī* (3:3&5), *al-Mas'ūdī* (3:83) and *al-Khwārazmī* (2:202), who narrated it from Muḥammad bin Ishāq. Al-'Adawī used to oppose Mukhtār until the latter expelled him from Kūfah (6:31). Ṭabarī shall also relate in the coming pages –from Hishām on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf who reported from Muḥammad bin Qais- another meeting between Ibn al-Muṭī' and the Imam ('a) which took place at some watering place of the Arabs, located after Ḥājir and before Zarūd.

We met ‘Abdullah bin Muṭī’ al-‘Adawī. He said to al-Ḥusain (‘a): “May I be your ransom, where do you intend to go?”

He replied: “For the moment, I am going to Makkah. Thereafter, I will seek from Allah that which is the best.”

‘Abdullah said: “May Allah choose the best for you and make us your ransom...When you reach Makkah, beware of nearing [Kūfah]; for it is an auspicious city. It was in this city that your father was killed and your brother betrayed and stabbed such that it almost took his life. So keep close to the holy sanctuary (*ḥaram*), as you are the master of the Arabs, and by Allah, none of the people of Ḥijāz equals you. The people will call one another from all sides and gather round you. Do not leave the *ḥaram*. May my paternal and maternal uncles be your ransom. By Allah! If you are killed, then we are indeed going to be enslaved after you!”¹

[Al-Ḥusain (‘a) in Makkah]

He continued the journey until he reached Makkah² and entered the city on the night preceding Friday, third of Sha’bān.³

¹ Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.243) has related this from Hishām and Muḥammad bin Ishāq. Al-Khwārazmī (pg.189) narrated it from Ibn al-A’tham.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:351), from ‘Uqbah’s report.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:387): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Ṣaq’ab bin Zuhair informed me on the authority of ‘Aun bin Abī Juḥaifah that...” Imam al-Ḥusain’s departure from Madīnah was two days before the end of Rajab. Therefore, he must have covered the distance between Madīnah and Makkah in only five days. The distance between the two is around 500 kilometers. So he must have covered

He stayed there throughout Sha'bān, the month of Ramaḍān, Dhū al-Qa'dah and the first eight days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.¹

The people of Makkah started frequenting him and so did others who had come for the *'umrah*, and those from other places.

Ibn al-Zubair was [already] in Makkah, having settled himself near the Ka'bah. He used to spend the whole day praying and performing the circumambulation (*tawāf*). He would visit al-Ḥusain ('a) with those who came to visit him. [Sometimes,] he would come for two consecutive days and sometimes once in two days. He continuously used to give his suggestions to [al-Ḥusain ('a)]. He ('a) was the most despised of Allah's creatures by Ibn al-Zubair, because he realized that the people of Ḥijāz would never pledge allegiance to him so long as al-Ḥusain ('a) was in the city, and that al-Ḥusain ('a) was more revered in their eyes and hearts, and that he ('a) was more capable of commanding the people's obedience than him.²

around 100 km. a day, which is almost 18 *farsakh*. This is twice the normal distance that used to be covered in one day during those days. Thus, we conclude from here that although the Imam ('a) did not avoid the main road in fear of being traced –as mentioned earlier, since it involved fear and escape which was unbecoming of the Imam ('a), nonetheless, he sped in his journey.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:381), also from the report of 'Aun bin Abī Juḥaifah. Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.245) has related it on the authority of Hishām.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:351), from the report of 'Uqbah. Al-Mufīd (pg.202) has narrated this also.

[The Letters from the People of Kūfah]¹

¹ *Al-Ṭabari*: There were 30,000 people in Kūfah who had participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah (4:75). In the year 18 H, 'Umar appointed Shuraiḥ bin al-Ḥārith al-Kindī as the judge of Kūfah (4:101). In 20 H, 'Umar dismissed Sa'd from the governorship of Kūfah as a result of the people complaining that he did not even know how to pray! It was in the same year that 'Umar evicted the Jews of Najrān to Kūfah (4:112). In the year 21 H, he appointed 'Ammār bin Yāsir as the governor of Kūfah, Ibn Mas'ūd as the treasurer and 'Uthman bin Ḥunaif as the one in charge of the lands and land tax. The people of Kūfah complained against 'Ammār, so he requested to be relieved of his post (4:144). 'Umar replaced him with Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī who stayed with them for only a year before they complained against him. So 'Umar dismissed him and instead appointed Mughīrah bin Shu'bah in his place.

Kūfah then had 100,000 fighters (4:165), whereas during the time of 'Umar, it had 40,000 combatants, 10,000 of which would, every year, go on military expedition in defence of the territories. Accordingly, each of them participated in an expedition once in every four years (4:246).

In the year 37 H, the Commander of the Faithful, ['Alī ('a)], ordered the leaders of each tribe to write down the number of warriors in their respective tribes, and also their sons who could then participate in battles, as well as the slaves of the tribes, and thereafter send them to him. They sent him [the names of] 40,000 combatants, 17,000 sons capable of participating in battles, and 8,000 of their slaves. This sums up to 65,000 warriors (5:79), of which 800 were from Madīnah (4:83).

Sa'd arranged them into groups: Kanānah and their allies from among the Aḥābīsh and Jadīlah formed a group. Qadhā'ah, Bajīlah, Khath'am, Kindah, Ḥaḍramaut and Azd comprised another group. Madhḥij, Ḥimyar, Hamdān and their followers made up the third group. Tamīm, Hawāzin and al-Rubāb were the fourth group. The fifth group consisted of Asad, Ghaṭfān, Muḥārib, Al-Namr, Ḍabī'ah and Taghlib. The sixth group was made up of Ayād, 'Akk, 'Abd al-Qais and the people of Hijr and

When the people of Kūfah learnt about the death of Mu'āwiyah, the people of Iraq spread rumours about Yazīd and said: "Al-Ḥusain ('a) and Ibn al-Zubair have refused to pay allegiance and have left for Makkah."¹

Muḥammad bin Bishr al-Hamdānī reports²: "We assembled in the house of Sulaimān bin Ṣurad [al-Khuzā'ī]³ and he

Dailam. This grouping remained in place throughout the reign of 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī ['a] until the time of Ziyād when he rearranged them into four groups (4:48).

[In the later order,] 'Amru bin Ḥārīth was in charge of the group of the people of Madīnah. Khālid bin 'Arqāṭah was the head of the quarter of Tamīm and Hamdān. Qais bin al-Walīd bin 'Abd Shams was the leader of Rabī'ah and Kindah, while Abū Burdah bin Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī was the in charge of Madhḥij and Asad. The leaders of all these groups [were among those who] testified against Ḥujr and his companions (5:268).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:351), from the report of 'Uqbah.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:352): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Ḥajjāj bin 'Alī informed me on the authority of Muḥammad bin Bishr al-Hamdānī who said...'"

³ Al-Kashhī mentions him in his *Rijāl* (pg. 64, ḥadīth no. 124) on the authority of Faḍl bin Shādhān, under the topic: 'From among the great personalities of the *tābi'ūn*, their heads and the pious of them.' Al-Ṭūsī also has mentioned him in his *Rijāl* (pg.43) among the companions of the Prophet (ṣ) and of the Commander of the Faithful, ['Alī ('a)]. However, al-Ṭūsī remarks: "He stayed away from him on the day of Jamal and whose excuse in this regard has been fabricated!" Both his staying behind and the excuse have been reported by Naṣr bin Muzāḥim on page six of his book. [Ibn Muzāḥim] says: "'Alī ('a) said to [Ibn Ṣurad]: 'You became doubtful, hung about and engaged in low trickery. I was considering you to be among the trustworthy people and among the quicker to support me.'" Al-Khuzā'ī replied: 'O the Commander of the Faithful...Have confidence in my love for you and I will be sincere to you. And there remain matters through which you will [come to] know your friend from your foe.' So he

addressed us] saying:

‘Mu’āwiyah is dead and al-Ḥusain (‘a) has withheld his pledge of allegiance to the people [i.e. the Banū Umayyah] and has gone to Makkah. You are his followers (*shī‘ah*) and the followers of his father. If you know [in your hearts] that you will be his helpers and fighters against his enemy, then write to him. But if you fear failure and weakness, then do not tempt the man [to risk] his own life!’

They replied: ‘No! We will fight his enemy and sacrifice our lives for him!’

Sulaimān said: ‘Then write to him!’¹ So they wrote to him:

‘In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. To Ḥusain bin ‘Alī, from Sulaimān bin Ṣurad, Musayyib bin Najabah², Rafā‘ah bin Shaddād,¹

left him.” In the battle of Ṣiffīn, ‘Alī (‘a) appointed him as the commander of the right flank of his foot soldiers (*Waq‘at Ṣiffīn*, pg.205). Sulaimān engaged Ḥawshab -the leader of the people of Yemen who was from Shām- in a duel and killed him saying: “‘Alī is loved by us. We ransom him with our fathers and mothers (*Waq‘at Ṣiffīn*, pg.401). He was struck on his face with a sword in the same battle (*Waq‘at Ṣiffīn*, pg.514). Abū Mikhnaf has counted Sulaimān bin Ṣurad among the companions of the Prophet (ṣ) and the leaders of the Shī‘ah (*al-Ṭabarī*:5:552). He led the Tawwābūn movement in 64 H (5:555). His excuse [for not joining al-Ḥusain (‘a)] was: “We acted smartly and waited to see what would happen until he was [finally] killed.”! (5:554).

¹ Al-Khwārazmī (pg.193) has narrated this in detail.

² Al-Kashhī mentions him in his *Rijāl* (pg.64, ḥadīth no.124) under the topic: ‘From among the outstanding personalities of the *tābi‘ūn*, their heads and the pious of them.’ Al-Ṭūsī counts him in his *Rijāl* (pg.58, no.8) among the companions of the Commander of the Faithful [‘Alī (‘a)] and al-Ḥasan [‘a] (pg.70, no.4). Al-

Ḥabīb bin Muẓāhir² and his followers from among the

Fazārī has added that he was among the leaders of a group that rushed from Kūfah to Baṣrah in support of 'Alī ('a), as reported in *al-Ṭabarī* (4:448). Imam 'Alī ('a) had sent Ibn Najabah with Bishr, together with a large number of his people, to resist against the raid of 'Abdullah bin Mas'adah al-Fazārī (5:135). Ibn Najabah led the Tawwābūn movement after Sulaimān bin Ṣurad and was killed with them in 65 H (5:599).

¹ Al-Kashhī has counted him in his *Rijāl* (pg.65, ḥadīth no.118) among those righteous people who buried Abū Dharr. Shaikh al-Ṭūsī [also] mentions him in his *Rijāl* (pg.41) among the companions of the Commander of the Faithful, ['Alī ('a)], and on page 68 as one of the companions of Imam al-Ḥasan ('a). He has also added 'al-Bajalī' to his name. He was with 'Alī ('a) in Ṣiffīn as the leader of the Banū Bajalah [or Bajīlah] (*Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pg.205). Later, Ibn Shaddād joined Ḥujr bin 'Adiyy and 'Amru bin al-Ḥamq. When Ziyād bin Abīh pursued 'Amru, Ibn Shaddād fled with him to the mountains in Mosul. Though 'Amru was then captured, Ibn Shaddād managed to escape with his horse (*al-Ṭabarī*:5:265).

He was the second of the Tawwābūn leaders to address his fellow colleagues (5:553). He was commissioned to mobilize them (5:587). He was the last commander of the Tawwābūn movement (5:596). Ibn Shaddād was a storyteller, so he used to tell stories to the right flank, inciting them to fight (5:598). He himself was fighting (5:601), but he returned to Kūfah at night together with the people (5:605). Ibn Shaddād corresponded with Mukhtār (6:8) and took allegiance for him from the people (6:9). However, he revolted against Mukhtār in Kūfah with the people of Yemen and was leading them in prayers (6:47). When Ibn Shaddād heard of a man from Hamdhān calling: 'Revenge for 'Uthmān!' in response to the call of Mukhtār: "Revenge for al-Ḥusain ('a)", he retorted: "What have we to do with 'Uthmān! I will not fight on the side of the avengers of 'Uthmān's blood. He then said: "I am the son of Shaddād, following the path of 'Alī. I am not a partisan of 'Uthmān bin Arwā." Ibn Shaddād was killed at the bath of al-Mahbadhān at Sabkhah. He was an ascetic (*nāsik*) person (6:5).

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: He led the left flank of al-Ḥusain's army (5:422).

believers and Muslims of Kūfah. Peace be upon you. We praise Allah besides whom there is no deity.

All praise is to Allah who has broken your enemy, the obstinate tyrant who had leapt upon this community, robbed it and usurped its treasures (*fay*). He was ruling over the people against their wish, killed their chosen ones and preserved the wicked among them. He made the wealth of Allah to be taken by turns (*dūlatan*) among its tyrants and wealthy. So away with him as had been the case with the people of Thamūd.

We have no Imam over us, so proceed towards us. Perhaps Allah will unite us through you under the truth. Nu'mān bin Bashīr is in the governor's palace; we do not gather with him for the Friday [service], nor do we come out with him for 'Īd [prayers]. If we learn that you have set out to us, we will drive him away and send him [back] to Shām, by the will of Allah. Peace and mercy of Allah be upon you.¹

Then we sent the letter with 'Abdullah bin Sab' al-Hamdānī² and 'Abdullah bin Wāl [al-Tamīmī].³ The two

Ḥuṣain bin Tamīm boasted of killing him and hanging his head on the breast of his horse. Qāsim, son of Ḥabīb, avenged his father's assassin, Budail bin Ṣuraim al-Tamīmī, as they were in the army of Muṣab bin al-Zubair during the expedition of Bājmīrā.

¹ See *al-Maqtal* of al-Khwārazmī (pg.194).

² Al-Mufīd (pg.203) mentions him as 'Abdullah bin Masma', while al-Khwārazmī (pg.194) refers to him as 'Abdullah bin Sabī'. He was killed together with al-Ḥusain ('a).

³ Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.144) names him as 'Abdullah bin Masma' al-Bakrī. In his *Rijāl* (pg.77), Shaikh al-Ṭūsī confines himself to mentioning their first names only and says: "Abdullah and 'Ubaidullah; they are well known." 'Abdullah bin Wāl al-Tamīmī was the third leader of the Tawwābūn movement and who was

men sped in their journey and met al-Ḥusain ('a) in Makkah on the tenth of the month of Ramaḍān.¹

We waited for two days and then sent Qais bin Musahhar al-Ṣaidāwī², 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-Arḥabī³ and 'Umārah bin 'Ubaid al-Salūlī,⁴ taking with them around [a hundred and] fifty letters,⁵ [some written] by

[ultimately] killed (*al-Ṭabari*:5:602).

¹ Al-Mufīd (pg.203) has narrated this, and so has Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.244).

² *Al-Ṭabari*: Al-Asadī. He returned to Iraq together with Muslim bin 'Aqīl ('a). When things became straitened for Muslim at al-Maḍīq, he sent Qais with a letter to al-Ḥusain ('a) (5:354). On his way back, he accompanied Imam ('a) till Baṭn al-Ḥājir, who then sent him with a letter to the people of Kūfah. When Qais reached al-Qādisiyyah, he was arrested by Ḥuṣayn bin Tamīm al-Tamīmī and sent to Ibn Ziyād. The latter ordered him to be brought before him and then thrown down from the top of the palace. He was then cut into pieces and thus he passed away. May Allah shower his mercy upon him (5:395). When al-Ḥusain ('a) reached 'Udhaib al-Hijānāt, he heard about the fate of Qais and could not control himself and his eyes flowed with tears. He said: "Of them are some who have fulfilled their pledge, and of them are some who still wait..." (Qur'an, 33:23). O Allah, make the heaven to be our abode and their's, and gather us with them under your ever-lasting mercy and where the desired rewards are deposited" (5:405).

³ Al-Mufīd (pg.203) mentions him as 'Abdullah and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Shaddād al-Arḥabī! Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.194) calls him 'Abdullah bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān! He was with Muslim on this way to Iraq (*al-Ṭabari*:5:354).

⁴ Al-Khwārazmī (pg.195) calls him 'Āmir bin 'Ubaid. Al-Mufīd (pg.203) and Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.244) mention him as 'Umārah bin 'Abdullah al-Salūlī. He was with Muslim on his way to Iraq (*al-Ṭabari*:5:354), and also at Hāni's place (5:363). But nothing is known about him after this.

⁵ The text of *al-Ṭabari* reads: "About 53 letters", but Shaikh al-

a single person, and others by [a group of] two or four.”

Muḥammad bin Bishr continues: “Then we waited for two more days before sending another letter with Hāni’ bin Hāni’ al-Sabī’ī and Sa’īd bin ‘Abdullah al-Ḥanāfi¹ saying:

‘In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. To Ḥusain bin ‘Alī, from his followers (*shī‘ah*) among the believers and the Muslims: ‘Make haste! The people are waiting for you. They have no opinion [of any man] except you. So speed, speed! Peace be upon you.’”²

[There was another letter written to the Imam (‘a) by] Shabath bin Rib’ī³, Ḥajjār bin Abjar¹,

Mufīd (pg.203) mentions a hundred and fifty. So has Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.244) from Hishām bin Muḥammad bin Ishāq, and al-Khwārazmī (pg.195) from Ibn al-A’tham. Therefore, it seems that ‘*thalāthah*’ [i.e. three] in *al-Ṭabari*’s report is the distorted form (*taṣḥīf*) of ‘*al-mi‘ah*’ [i.e. a hundred].

¹ We shall mention later that the two returned to Kūfah with the reply from Imam (‘a). With regard to Hāni’, no trace of him is found. As for al-Ḥanāfi, he joined the Imam (‘a) and was martyred together with him.

² Al-Mufīd (pg.203) has narrated this and so has Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.244).

³ *Al-Ṭabari* (5:369): Al-Yarbū’ī al-Tamīmī. He was the caller to prayer (*mua’dhhin*) of Sajjāḥ, a man from the clan of Maḍariyyah who had claimed prophethood (3:273). He later professed Islam and supported the uprising against ‘Uthmān. He then joined ‘Alī (‘a) and was with him at Ṣiffīn, leading the warriors of the Banū ‘Amru bin Ḥanzalah from Kūfah (*Waq‘at Ṣiffīn*, pg.205). He led the left flank of ‘Alī’s army at Nahrawān (*al-Ṭabari*:5:85). He was the emissary between ‘Alī (‘a) and Mu’āwiyah together with a group of other people (*Waq‘at Ṣiffīn*, pg.97). Shabath testified against Ḥujr bin ‘Adiyy that he revolted against Ibn Ziyād (*al-Ṭabari*:5:269). He was present at the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (‘a)

and was leading the foot soldiers [of Ibn Ziyād] on the day of 'Āshūrā' (5:422). The people noticed his dislike [on that day] to fight al-Ḥusain ('a); for when Ibn Sa'd asked him: "Why are you not coming forward to lead the archers to shoot at al-Ḥusain ('a)?" he replied: "Glory be to Allah! Are you approaching the Shaikh of Muḍar and the rest of the people and send him with the archers?! Did not you find anyone else to entrust this job to and replace me with him?" After this, Shabath constantly used to say: "Allah will never give the inhabitants of this city any good after this, nor will he lead them to guidance. Are you not astonished that we fought alongside 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib and his son after him against the family of Abū Sufyān for five years, and now we are with their enemies against his son -while he is the best of the inhabitants on this earth; we are fighting him alongside the family of Mu'āwiyah and the son of Sumayyah, the adulteress?! Misguidance! What a misguidance!" (5:432-437). Shabath was exactly the one who had reproached the people of Kūfah when they celebrated the killing of Ibn 'Awsajah (5:436). However, he was afraid of Ibn Ziyād to express such kind of his stands, so he built a mosque to show his joy for the killing of al-Ḥusain! (6:22). Later he fought against Mukhtār along with 3,000 warriors of Ibn Muṭī' who was a proxy of Ibn al-Zubair (6:23).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Al-'Ijlī (5:369). His father was a Christian and a revered personality amidst them (5:145). Ibn Abjar was among those who testified against Ḥujr bin 'Adiyy in favour of Ibn Ziyād (5:270). He also raised the banner of amnesty for his son on the day Muslim rose (5:369). On the day of 'Āshūrā', he denied having written a letter to the Imam ('a) (5:425). Later, al-'Ijlī fought for Muṣ'ab against Mukhtār (6:22) and also 'Abdullah bin al-Ḥurr and was defeated before Muṣ'ab's eyes. So the latter swore at him and sent him back (6:136). Ibn Abjar al-'Ijlī was one of those people in Kūfah to whom Abd al-Malik bin Marwān had written [soliciting their support]. They accepted on the condition that they should be granted the governorship of Iṣfahān. Accordingly, 'Abd al-Malik granted it to all of them (6:156). However, he had set out with Muṣ'ab pretending to fight 'Abd al-Malik, but when Muṣ'ab invited him for the battle he said: "To this wicked man?!" (6:158). He was alive until the year 71 H, after

Yazīd bin al-Hārith bin Yazīd bin Ruwaim¹,
 ‘Azarah bin Qais², ‘Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaidiyy¹ and

which there is no trace of him.

¹ *Al-Ṭabari*: He was Abū Ḥawshab al-Shaibānī. On the day of ‘Āshūrā’, he denied having written to al-Ḥusain (5:425). When Yazīd was killed and ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād appointed ‘Amru bin Ḥuraith over Kūfah, the latter started calling the people to pay allegiance to Ibn Ziyād. Here Yazīd bin al-Hārith stood up and said: “Praise be to Allah who relieved us of the son of Sumayyah! No! [We will not pay allegiance to him] and he does not deserve that honour!” So ‘Amru bin Ḥuraith ordered him to be imprisoned, but the Banū Bakr bin Wāil intervened and prevented him from that (5:524). He then became the follower of ‘Abdullah bin Yazīd al-Khaṭmī al-Anṣārī, the governor of Kūfah under Ibn al-Zubair, before Ibn Muṭī’. Ibn al-Hārith used to prompt al-Anṣārī to fight Sulaimān bin Ṣurad and his companions before their revolt (5:561-563). He also urged him to imprison Mukhtār (5:580). Later, Ibn Muṭī’ sent him to Jabbānah Murād to fight Mukhtār (6:18). He also sent him with an army of 2,000 men to a road in Laḥḥām Jarīr. They stopped at the opening of the roads (6:26) and positioned their archers on top of the houses and hence stopped Mukhtār from entering Kūfah (6:28). He then rose against Mukhtār during his reign over Banī Rabī’ah (6:45) and was defeated along with his companions (6:52). Yazīd was one of those who fought the followers of the sect of Azāriqah, from the Khawārij, in 68 H, along with Ḥārith bin Abī Rabī’ah, the governor of Ibn al-Zubair in Kūfah (6:124). Muṣ’ab appointed him as the administrator of Madāin (6:134). In 70 H, he was appointed the governor of Rayy under ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān (6:164). He was finally killed by the Khawārij (*Ibṣār al-‘Ain*, pg.15). His grandfather was Yazīd bin Ruwaim al-Shaibānī, who was leading the Kūfan tribe of Dhahl at Ṣiffīn alongside ‘Alī (‘a) (*Waq’at Ṣiffīn*, pg.205).

² *Al-Ṭabari*: Al-Aḥmasī. He was among those who testified against Ḥujr bin ‘Adiyy (5:270) and this is why he wrote to the Imam (‘a) so that he may expiate for his action. [And since he had written to him], he felt ashamed to meet him as Ibn Sa’d’s envoy



lest he should ask him what brought him [to Karbalā'] (5:410). It was exactly because of this that on the evening of the ninth of Muḥarram, Zuhair bin al-Qain answered 'Azarah alluding to that: "By Allah, I did not write any letter to him, nor did I send any messenger, nor had I promised him my support." 'Azarah was the partisan of 'Uthmān. He told Zuhair: "I was never a follower of the people of this house [i.e. the family of the Prophet (ṣ)], I was rather a partisan of 'Uthmān" (5:417). On the day of 'Āshūrā', 'Umar bin Sa'd appointed him as the head of the cavalry as he was also their night watchman (5:422). The companions of al-Ḥusain ('a) would not launch an attack on his cavalry except that they would break through them. So he complained to Ibn Sa'd about this and requested to be relieved of the task, and, instead, send towards them the foot soldiers and archers. Ibn Sa'd granted his request (5:436). Later, 'Azarah was one of those who carried the heads of the Imam's companions to Ibn Ziyād (5:456). No trace of him is found after this.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Al-Zubaidī is among those who testified against Ḥujr bin 'Adiyy (5:270). His sister, Raw'ah bint al-Ḥajjāj, was the wife of Hāni' bin 'Urwah and the mother of Yaḥyā bin Hāni' (5:364). When Hāni' was said to be killed, al-Zubaidī accompanied a large group of people from the clan of Madhḥij [to the palace of Ibn Ziyād]. But when Shuraiḥ informed them that Hāni' was still alive, they all dispersed (5:367). Al-Zubaidī was present in Karbalā'. 'Umar bin Sa'd sent him together with 500 horse riders to position themselves at the river bank and stop al-Ḥusain ['a] and his companions from reaching the water. This was three days before the martyrdom [of al-Ḥusain ('a)] (5:412). He rebuked Ibn Sa'd for his delay in granting the request of the Imam ['a] for respite for the tenth night (5:417). Al-Zubaidī was leading the right flank –from the side of the Euphrates- of 'Umar bin Sa'd on the tenth day (5:422). He launched attacks along with his men on al-Ḥusain ('a) and his companions and was inciting them to kill the Imam and his followers (5:435). He was among those who took the heads [of the martyrs] to Kūfah (5:456). Ibn al-Zubaidī also supported Ibn Muṭī' against Mukhtār (6:28) in an army of 2000 men from the Thauriyyīn (6:29), and then he fought in the area of the [Banū] Murād alongside his followers from

Muḥammad bin ‘Umar al-Tamīmī¹ saying:

“The gardens have grown green, the fruits have ripened and the waters have overflowed². So if you want to, then come to an army which has been gathered for you. Peace be upon you.”³

Madhhij (6:45). When Mukhtār attained victory, Ibn al-Zubaidī mounted his [horse] and took the direction of Sharāf and Wāqīṣah and was not seen after that (6:52).

¹ *Al-Ṭabari*: Ibn ‘Aṭārud. He was one of those who bore witness against Ḥujr bin ‘Adiyy (5:270). He was leading the Muḍar in fighting against Mukhtār (6:47). Later, he paid allegiance to him and was sent to Azerbaijan as the governor (6:34). Ibn ‘Aṭārud was alongside Ḥārith bin Abī Rabī’ah –the governor of Kūfah under Ibn al-Zubair- in the latter’s struggle against the Khārijī sect of Azāriqah (6:124). He was among the adherents of Marwān in Kūfah to whom ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān had written [asking for his support] (6:156). He was later assigned by ‘Abd al-Malik with the governrship of Hamadān (6:164). He then returned to Kūfah and was there during the time of Ḥajjaj in 75 H. (6:204). There is no trace of him after this period. His father, ‘Umar bin ‘Aṭārud, was leading the clan of Tamīm from Kūfah alongside ‘Alī (‘a) at Ṣiffīn (*Waq’at Ṣiffīn*, pg.205). Ibn ‘Aṭārud was among those who slandered against ‘Amru bin al-Ḥumq al-Khuzā’ī before Ziyād in order for him to be killed, to the extent that he was reproached by ‘Amru (5:236).

² ‘*Al-jumām*’, [as it has appeared in the Arabic text of this letter] is the plural of ‘*jammah*’ which means ‘a place where water gathers’. ‘*Ṭammat*’ is a past tense verb which means ‘the waters have rose high and overflowed’. Notice, how the people who are attached to this world consider the worldly and transient matters to be among the motives behind the Imam’s advance towards Kūfah! What a short-mindedness!

³ See *al-Irshād* (pg.203) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.244).

[The Reply of al-Ḥusain ('a)]

All the messengers gathered before [al-Ḥusain ('a)]. He read the letters and inquired from them about the situation of the people. He then wrote his reply and sent it with Hāni' bin Hāni' al-Sabī'i and Sa'id bin 'Abdullah al-Ḥanafī -who were the last of the messengers. [The reply read as follows:]

“In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From Ḥusain bin 'Alī to the congregation of the believers and Muslims. Hāni' and Sa'id have brought me your letters; they are the last two of your messengers who have come to me. I have understood everything which you have described and mentioned. The main statement of most of you is: 'There is no Imam over us, so come. Perhaps Allah will unite us through you under guidance and truth.'

I am sending you my brother, my cousin and the man from my family whom I trust, Muslim bin 'Aqīl. I have ordered him to write to me about your status, condition and opinion.

If he writes to me that the opinion of the majority of you and of the men of wisdom and merit among you is united, in the same way as the messengers who have come to me have described and as I have read in your letters, then I will come to you speedily, if Allah wills. For by my life, a leader (*imām*) is none but one who acts according to the Book [of Allah], upholds justice, follows the truth, and devotes himself entirely to Allah. And that is all.”¹

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:353): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Al-Ḥajjāj bin 'Alī informed me from Muḥammad bin Bishr al-Hamdānī who said...’. *Al-Mufīd* (pg.204) and *Ibn al-Jawzī* (pg.196) have narrated this also.

[The Journey of Ibn 'Aqīl]

He then summoned Muslim bin 'Aqīl and sent him with Qais bin Musahhar al-Ṣaidāwī¹, 'Umārah bin 'Ubaid al-Salūlī² and 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-Arḥabī.³ Imam enjoined [Muslim] with the fear of Allah, and to conceal his affair, and to act in a kindly way. If he saw that the people are united and had committed themselves to agreement, then he should speedily inform him of that.

Muslim thus started his journey till he reached Madīnah. He prayed in the mosque of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and said farewell to whom he wished among his family members. Then he hired two guides from the clan of Qais. They set out with him but soon lost their way and were struck by severe thirst. The guides said to Muslim: "Take this road until you reach the watering place." That was at [a place known as] al-Maḍīq in Baṭn al-Khubait.⁴

^{1, 3, 4} These were the people who brought the one hundred and fifty letters from the people of Kūfah to the Imam ('a). We have already given their biographies [in brief]. Al-Mufīd and Ibn al-Jawzī mention 'Umārah bin 'Ubaid as Ibn 'Abdullah. With regard to 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abdullah, al-Mufīd (pg.204) says: 'Abdullah and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the two sons of Rāshid al-Arḥabī.

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:354) brings this report after the narration of Abū Mikhnaf from Abū al-Makhāriq al-Rāsibī.

[Muslim's Letter to al-Ḥusain ('a) On His Way to Kūfah]

Muslim bin Aqīl sent a letter to al-Ḥusain ('a) with Qais bin Musahhar al-Ṣaidāwī. He wrote:

“I set out from Madīnah with two guides and they missed the way and got lost. We were overcome by thirst and soon both of them died. We kept going until we reached the watering place. We were only saved at the last moment of our lives. This watering place is in a place called al-Maḍīq at Baṭn al-Khubait.¹ I see an evil omen in what I have faced. Thus, if it seems fair to you, then relieve me of this [mission] and send someone else [in my place]. That is all.”²

[Al-Ḥusain's Response to Muslim]

Imam ('a) wrote to him:

“I am afraid that what has prompted you to write to me to relieve you of the task I sent you on is only cowardice. Therefore, go on with the task I have assigned to you. Peace be upon you.”

[When Muslim received the letter,] he told the one who read it for him: “This [mission] is not what I fear of myself.” He continued until he reached [some] watering place belonging to the tribe of Ṭayyi'. He stayed there, and then as he rode

¹ Khubṭ is located in the suburbs of Madīnah, in the direction of Makkah. It seems that the guides strayed to the extent that they turned towards Makkah, as reported in *Ibṣār al-'Ain* (pg.16).

² Al-Mufīd (pg.204) has narrated this and so has al-Khwārazmī (pg.197) with a slight difference. *Al-Ṭabarī* has also related it on the authority of Mu'āwiyah bin 'Ammār from Imam al-Bāqir ('a) (5:347).

off, [he saw] a man shooting at fawn –as it drew closer to him- and killed it. Muslim hence said: “[Thus] shall our enemy be destroyed, by the will of Allah.”

THE EVENTS IN KŪFAH AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF MUSLIM BIN 'AQĪL

[Muslim ('a) Enters Kūfah]

Muslim ['a] continued his journey until he reached Kūfah [together with his three companions: Qais bin Musahhar al-Şaidāwī, 'Umārah bin 'Ubaid al-Salūlī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-Arḥabī].¹ [There] he stayed in the house of Mukhtār bin Abī 'Ubaid.²

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:355). This was on the fifth of Shawwāl as mentioned in *Murūj al-Dhahab* (2:86) of al-Mas'ūdī.

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: Al-Thaqafī. He was born in the first year of Hijrah (2:402). In 37 H, his uncle Sa'd bin Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī appointed him over Madāin as his deputy (5:76). He remained there with his uncle until after the Year of Unity, 40 H (5:159). *Al-Ṭabarī* mentions what Mukhtār pointed to his uncle about the surrender of al-Ḥasan ('a) to Mu'āwiyah (5:569). During his rule over Kūfah, Ziyād had invited Mukhtār to testify against Ḥujr bin 'Adiyy but he evaded it (5:270). Mukhtār was the standard-bearer on the day Muslim rose in Kūfah (5:381). In fact, he came out with the banner and his servants –without prior agreement with his companions- as soon as he learned about the arrest of Hāni, [even] before the [attempted] rise of Muslim ('a). Mukhtār yielded to the invitation of 'Amru bin Ḥuraith al-Makhzūmī to accept the safe-conduct from Ibn Ziyād who struck out his face with a staff, which hit his eyes and seriously tore one. He was then imprisoned until the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain ('a).

Mukhtār had a sister by the name of Şafiyyah, who was the wife of 'Abdullah bin 'Umar. Mukhtār sent his cousin -Zāidah bin Qudāmah al-Thaqafī- to Ibn 'Umar, asking him to write to Yazīd and request him to order Ibn Ziyād to free him. Ibn 'Umar did so and Ibn Ziyād expelled Mukhtār from Kūfah. He then went to Ḥijāz and paid allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair and participated with him in a severe battle against the people of Shām. Five months

The Shī'ah began to visit him regularly. When a group of them gathered round him, he read out to them the letter of al-Ḥusain ('a) and they all started weeping.

after the death of Yazīd, Mukhtār left Ibn al-Zubair and went to Kūfah (5:570-578). He entered the city at the time when Sulaimān bin Ṣurad al-Khuzā'ī was calling the Shī'ah to repent and avenge the blood of al-Ḥusain ('a). Here Mukhtār claimed that he was sent by Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah and that Sulaimān was not acquainted with warfare, and therefore, he would end up killing himself and his companions (5:560&580). Mukhtār was imprisoned by Ibn Muṭī' - the governor of Ibn al-Zubair- at the start of the Movement of Tawwābūn (5:605). Mukhtār sent his slave - Zarbiyy- to Ibn 'Umar asking him to write and request Ibn Muṭī' to release him. Ibn 'Umar did so and Ibn Muṭī' released him after taking an oath and surety from him (6:8). Mukhtār was freed and attained victory over the matter. He fought Ibn Ziyād and killed him. He also killed the assassins of al-Ḥusain ('a). He was finally killed by Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair in the year 67 H (6:107) who ordered his body to be hung. Thus, his body was nailed beside the mosque and remained there until it was removed by Ḥajjāj al-Thaqafī (6:110). Muṣ'ab also killed one of Mukhtār's wives by the name of 'Umarah bint Nu'mān bin Bashīr and freed his other wife, Umm Thābit, daughter of Samurat bin Jundab (6:112). In the year 71 H, Muṣ'ab fought against 'Abd al-Malik in whose army Zāidah bin Qudāmah al-Thaqafī happened to be present. Zāidah killed Muṣ'ab and cried: revenge for Mukhtār! (6:159). Mukhtār's house was situated near the mosque and was purchased by 'Īsā bin Mūsā al-'Abbāsī from his heirs in 159 H (8:122). It seems that the reason behind choosing Mukhtār's house for the stay of Muslim ('a) was due to the fact that the former was the son in-law of Nu'mān bin Bashīr, the governor of Kūfah. This was enough as a protection, especially if we take into consideration *al-Ṭabarī's* report (5:569) which says: "The Shī'ah were reproaching and reviling Mukhtār because of his stand in the case of Ḥasan bin 'Alī ('a), on the day he was stabbed in the darkness of an overlaid lane and was then carried to Madāin in broad day light."

‘Abbās bin Abī Shu’aib al-Shākirī¹ got up, praised Allah and then said: “Indeed I am not informing you about the people, nor do I know what is there in their hearts. I am not trying to deceive you of their condition either. By Allah, I am going to tell you about what I have prepared myself for. By Allah, I will answer you when you call. I will indeed fight with you against your enemy. I will strike with my sword in defense of you until I meet Allah. I expect nothing from this except what lies with Allah.”

Thereafter stood Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir al-Faq’asī [al-Asadī] and said: “May Allah have mercy on you! You have reflected all that is in your heart by your brief talk.” He then said: “By Allah beside whom there is no deity! I stand on the same position as he does.” Then al-Ḥanafī² also said something similar to that.

The Shī‘ah visited [Muslim] so frequently that his place [of residence] became well-known and the news reached Nu’mān bin Bashīr³. [So he set out for the mosque] and went up on the pulpit. After praising Allah and glorifying Him, he said:

“O servants of Allah! Fear Allah and do not hasten to dissension (*fitnah*) and discord; for in that men will be

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Thereafter, he took Muslim bin ‘Aqīl’s letter to Imam al-Ḥusain (‘a) (5:375). He remained with him till he was killed (5:444). He was from the [Banū] Hamdān.

² He is Sa’īd bin ‘Abdullah al-Ḥanafī, the messenger of the people of Kūfah to Imam al-Ḥusain (‘a). He had returned to Kūfah with the Imam’s reply to them.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:355): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Numair bin Wa’lah informed me on the authority of Abū al-Waddāk who said: ‘Nu’mān bin Bashīr came out to us and ascended the pulpit...’”

destroyed, blood will be shed and property will be plundered... I will not combat one who does not combat me. I will not pounce on the one who does not pounce on me. I will neither reproach you, nor provoke you. I will not apprehend [you merely] on grounds of accusation and suspicion. But if you displayed your [true] face to me, violate your pledge of allegiance and oppose your leader (*imām*), then by Allah, other than whom there is no deity, I will indeed strike you with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand, even if I do not have any of you to help me! Yet I hope that those among you who know the truth are more numerous than those whom falsehood will destroy.”

‘Abdullah bin Muslim bin Sa’id al-Ḥaḍramī¹ - an ally of the Banū Umayyah- stood up and said: “What you see can only be adequately dealt with by violence; for the view which you hold about what [should be done] between you and your enemy is that of the weak!”

Nu’mān retorted [saying]: “I would prefer to be one of the weak [while remaining] in obedience to Allah than to be one of the mighty [while being] in rebellion against Allah!” Thereafter he descended from the pulpit.

‘Abdullah bin Muslim left the mosque and wrote to Yazīd bin Mu’āwiyah [saying]:

“Muslim bin ‘Aqīl has arrived in Kūfah and the Shī‘ah have pledged allegiance to him on behalf of Ḥusain bin ‘Alī. So if you have any need for Kūfah, then send it a strong man,

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: His name appears in the list of those who gave witness against Ḥujr bin ‘Adiyy as ‘Abdullah bin Muslim bin Shu’bah al-Ḥaḍramī. (5:269)

who will carry out your orders and act in the same way as you would against your enemy. Nu'mān bin Bashīr is a weak man, or he is acting like a weak man."

Then 'Umārah bin 'Uqbah¹ wrote to Yazīd in similar vein. Then 'Umar bin Sa'd bin Abī Waqqāṣ²

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He is the brother of Walīd bin 'Uqbah bin Abī Mu'īt. He and his brother, Walīd, had come from Makkah to Madīnah to request the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) to send back to them their sister, Umm Kulthūm -who had migrated to Madīnah- by virtue of the terms agreed in the treaty of Ḥudaibiyyah, but the Prophet refused (2:640). Their house was [situated near] the valley of Kūfah (4:274). 'Umārah's daughter, Umm Ayyūb, was the wife of Mughīrah bin Shu'bah. When Mughīrah died, she was married by Ziyād bin Abīh (5:180). 'Umārah is the one who slandered against 'Amru bin al-Ḥamq al-Khuzā'i before Ziyād (5:236). His father, 'Uqbah bin Abī Mu'īt, was brought to the Messenger of Allah [ṣ] while he was an infidel (*kāfir*) and the Prophet [ṣ] ordered him to be killed. So he said: "O Muḥammad! Who is going to look after the children? The Prophet [ṣ] replied: "The fire" (5:349). 'Umārah was present in the palace on the day Muslim was killed (5:376). He is also the one who slandered against Mukhtār before Ibn Ziyād on the day Muslim rose (5:570). There are no reports about him after this.

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: His mother was Bushrā, the daughter of Qais bin Abī al-Kaisam, who was taken as a captive among those who had turned their back from Islam after the Prophet [ṣ] (3:341). So he must have been born in the beginning of the second decade of Hijrah, and must have been around fifty in Karbalā'. In the year 17 or 19 H when he was still a young man, his father, Sa'd, sent him with 'Ayād bin Ghunm to conquer north of Iraq and Syria (4:53). In the year 37 H, 'Umar tempted his father to participate in the arbitration (*tahkīm*), and so he brought him [for this purpose] from the watering place of the Banū Sulaim in a desert area, to Dūmah al-Jandal, at a place known as Adhrakh. He then told him: "O my father! Attend their deliberations, for indeed you are a companion of the Prophet and were one of the members of

wrote to him in the same.¹

the Shūrā [i.e. the council formed by the second caliph]. So be present, for you are more entitled to the caliphate than any other person" (5:7-66). [‘Umar bin Sa’d] was one of those who gave witness against Ḥujr (5:269) and among those who wrote to Yazīd advising him to save the situation in Kūfah (5:356). He disliked Muslim bin ‘Aqīl making his will to him and [later] disclosed it to Ibn Ziyād who said: "A trustworthy person never betrays you, but sometimes a traitor has to be trusted" (5:377). Muḥammad bin al-Ash’ath al-Kindī wanted to appoint ‘Umar bin Sa’d as the governor of Kūfah after Ibn Ziyād, but the members of the Banū Hamdān opposed him; their men came out putting on swords, while their women were lamenting for al-Ḥusain (‘a) (5:524). Mukhtār sent Abū ‘Umrah against ‘Umar bin Sa’d. The former managed to kill him and brought his head to Mukhtār. He then killed his son, Ḥafṣ bin ‘Umar. Mukhtar then said: "By Allah! If I were to kill three quarters of the Quraish, they would not have still compensated for even a fingertip of al-Ḥusain (‘a)." He then dispatched their heads to Muḥammad bin al-Ḥanafīyyah in Madīnah (6:2-61).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:357): Hishām says: "Awānah has narrated: 'When [all] the letters reached Yazīd with the [maximum] gap of two days between them, he summoned Sarjaun*, Mu’āwīyah’s retainer, and asked him: 'What is your opinion? Al-Ḥusain has set out for Kūfah, while Muslim bin ‘Aqīl is there receiving allegiance on behalf of al-Ḥusain. I have been informed that Nu’mān is weak and [I have had] other bad reports about him. What do you think? Who should I appoint as the governor of Kūfah?' [This was at a time when] Yazīd was angry with ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād. Sarjaun said: 'Tell me, if Mu’āwīyah was to be raised, would you accept his opinion?' Yazīd replied: 'Yes.' [Here,] Sarjaun took out Mu’āwīyah’s [letter in which] he had appointed ‘Ubaidullah over Kūfah and said: 'This is the opinion of Mu’āwīyah. He enjoined this letter as he died.' Yazīd accepted the advice and summoned Muslim bin ‘Amru al-Bāhili** and dispatched him to ‘Ubaidullah in Baṣrah with the [letter of] his appointment. He wrote to him [as follows]: 'My followers among

the people of Kūfah have written to me that Muslim bin 'Aqīl is in Kūfah gathering people, in order to cause difference in the ranks of the Muslims. Therefore, go to the people of Kūfah when you read this letter of mine, and search for Ibn 'Aqīl as if you were looking for a bead until you find him. Then bind him [in chains], kill him or expel him. That is all.' Muslim bin 'Amru set out till he reached Baṣrah and urged 'Ubaidullah to get prepared and move to Kūfah the next day.

Ṭabarī has narrated this on the authority of 'Ammār al-Duhanī*** from Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir ('a): "He then summoned his servant called Sarjaun whose advice he used to seek, and informed him of the news. Sarjaun said to him: 'If Mu'āwiyah was alive, would you have taken his counsel?' Yazīd answered: 'Yes.' Sarjaun said: 'Then accept [this] from me; there is no one suitable for Kūfah except 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād. So appoint him over it.' Yazīd was then angry with 'Ubaidullah and was even seriously thinking of dismissing him from Baṣrah. Yet, Yazīd wrote to him showing his satisfaction and informing him that, besides Baṣrah, he has also appointed him over Kūfah. He also wrote [to him] that he must search for Muslim bin 'Aqīl and kill him if he were to find him" (5:348).

* Sarjaun bin Manṣūr al-Rūmī was Mu'āwiyah's scribe and the record keeper of his office (*al-Ṭabarī*:5:230 & 6:180).

** *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:228): Muslim bin 'Amru al-Bāhilī was in Baṣrah together with Ziyād bin Abīh. He was respectable in the clan of Bāhilah and was leading it in the year 46 H. He resided in Shām [for some time] and was thus counted to be from both Shām and Baṣrah. He returned to Baṣrah with Yazīd's letter to Ibn Ziyād and then moved with him to Kūfah. When Hānī' bin 'Urwah was brought before Ibn Ziyād, al-Bāhilī asked him to submit Muslim bin 'Aqīl to him (5:366). Al-Bāhilī also abused Muslim when he reached the gate of the palace and asked for water (5:376). Later, he flattered Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair who then sent him to fight Ibn al-Ḥurr al-Ju'fī, but he was defeated in 68 H (6:132). He was acting as an assistant of Muṣ'ab (6:136) and was killed together with Budair al-Jāthaliq in a battle against Marwān in 71 H (6:158). Al-Bāhilī used to love wealth exceedingly (5:432). He had seven sons: Qutaibah, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Abdullah,

[Al-Ḥusain's Letter to the People of Baṣrah]

Al-Ḥusain ('a) sent a copy of his letter -with his servant Sulaimān¹- to the heads of the five districts of Baṣrah² and also to such noblemen as Mālik bin Masma' al-Bakrī³,

'Ubaidullah, Ṣāliḥ, Bashshār and Muḥammad (6:516), all of whom joined Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf. Ḥajjāj appointed Qutaibah over Khurāsān in the year 86 H (6:424). Qutaibah later fought a battle and conquered Bikand, Nūshkath, Rāmthīn, Bukhārā, Shūmān, Kush, Nasaf, Khāmjard, Samarqand, Shāsh, Farghānah, Kāshghar upto the borders of China. He also made peace with Nizak, Saghad and Khwārazmshāh. Qutaibah was killed along with his brothers in 96 H (6:429-506).

*** 'Ammār al-Duhanī was the father of Mu'āwiyah bin 'Ammār. Mu'āwiyah was among the companions of Imam al-Ṣādiq ('a) and Imam al-Kāẓim ('a). His father, 'Ammār, was an outstanding personality and considered to be reliable by the people. His agnomen was Abū Mu'āwiyah. He has, at times, narrated [reports] from Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir ('a) (See *al-Rijāl* of 'Allāmah al-Ḥillī, pg.166). 'Ammār also wrote a book as reported by Ibn al-Nadīm in *al-Fihrist* (pg.235; Europe edition).

¹ Historians have differed over the name of this messenger of al-Ḥusain ('a) to Baṣrah. In this book, he is called Sulaimān as he is in *al-Maqtal* of al-Khwārazmī (1:199) who narrated that from Ibn al-A'tham. Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs has given him the same name in *al-Luhūf*, but with the agnomen of Abū Razīn, whereas this was in fact his father's agnomen. His mother was Kabshah, a slave of al-Ḥusain ('a). She used to serve in the house of Umm Ishāq al-Tamīmiyyah, one of al-Ḥusain's wives, and then got married to Abū Razīn and gave birth to Sulaimān. Ibn Namā writes in *Muthīr al-Aḥzān* (pg.12) that Imam ['a] sent the letter through Dhuray' al-Sadūsī. Sayyid al-Amin has mentioned both of them together in his *Lawāij al-Ashjān* (pg.36).

² The city of Baṣrah was divided into five parts, each of them having a leader from among their outstanding men.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Mālik bin Masma' al-Bakrī al-Jahdarī. He was the head of the clan of Banū Bakr bin Wāil in Baṣrah (4:505). He

granted asylum to Marwān bin Ḥakam on the day he was defeated. The descendants of Marwān remained grateful to them for this favour and honoured them, while the Banū Bakr made use of their good relationship with the Banū Marwān! (5:536). Mālik was inclined towards the Banū Umayyah and therefore refused to support Ziyād against Ibn al-Khaḍramī, whom Mu'āwiyah had earlier sent to Baṣrah to invite the people to his authority (5:110). Mālik was the one who swore allegiance to Ibn Marjānah when Yazid died, but later he infringed his allegiance and broke into the treasure house along with a group of other people, and plundered it (5:505). Later, Mālik was accused of trying to restore Ibn Ziyād in the office in Baṣrah (5:512). Mālik bin Masma' was the head of the quarter of Bakr bin Wāil from Yemen which comprised the Lahāzim, which consisted of the Banū Qais bin Tha'labah and their allies, Ghazzah; the clan of Shiya' al-Lāt and its allies: 'Ijl; and the family of Dhuhā bin Tha'labah along with its allies: Yashkur and Ḍai'ah bin Rabī'ah bin Nazzār. These groups were nomads, while the Hanīfah were city dwellers (5:515). When the tribe of Azd moved to Baṣrah towards the end of Mu'āwiyah's rule and the early days of Yazīd's reign, Mālik approached them and renewed the alliance with them (5:516). In the year 64 H, he once again renewed the alliance with them while Mas'ūd bin 'Amru al-Ma'nā was in charge of them. They revolted against 'Abdullah bin al-Ḥārith bin Naufal bin 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Qarashī al-Hāshimī, with the intention of reinstating Ibn Ziyād in the office. They were defeated and Mālik's house was set on fire (5:521). Mālik defended the followers of Mukhtār in Baṣrah under tribal fervor, though he did not share with them their views (6:68). When Muṣ'ab fought Mukhtār, Mālik led the district of Bakr bin Wāil in support of Muṣ'ab (6:95). He also gave refuge to Khālid bin 'Abdullah bin Khālid bin 'Ubaid who was sent to Baṣrah by 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān to invite people to his authority. Mālik even took up arms in his defence and sustained injuries to his eyes. As a result, he was annoyed by the battle and sought refuge with 'Ubaidullah bin 'Ubaidullah bin Mu'ammār, Muṣ'ab's deputy. 'Ubaidullah gave him asylum but also expelled Khālid from Baṣrah. Malik thereafter was afraid of Muṣ'ab, so he fled to his people at Tha'j (6:152-155). Muṣ'ab [in

Aḥnaf bin Qais¹

turn] demolished his house (6:155). There are no reports about him after this.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Al-Aḥnaf Sakhr bin Qais Abū Baḥr al-Sa'dī. He has related [narrations] from 'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (1:263). In the year 17 H, 'Utbah bin Ghazwān sent him together with the delegation of the people of Baṣrah to 'Umar (4:74). He was among those people of Baṣrah who had participated in the battle against Persia in 17 H (4:81). 'Umar –based on his own judgement- entrusted him with the standard of Khurāsān in order to conquer it (4:94). He pursued Yazdgard until he was killed (4:171). Al-Aḥnaf also conquered Herāt in 31 H (4:301) and signed a peace treaty with [the people of] Mirwadūd (4:310) and Balakh (4:313). He was among those people of Baṣrah with whom 'Āishah was in correspondence (4:461).

During the battle of Baṣrah, Aḥnaf went to see 'Alī ('a) who invited him and his people in the city not to fight against him. Aḥnaf called on his men not to take up arms and they accepted his call and withdrew. When 'Alī ('a) gained victory, Aḥnaf entered the city with him, along with his 10,000 (4:497) or 6,000 (4:468) or 4,000 men (4:501). Aḥnaf renewed his pledge with 'Alī ('a) in the evening of the same day (4:541). Later, Aḥnaf came to 'Alī ('a) at Kūfah and wrote to his kinsmen in Baṣrah inviting them to come over to Kūfah, so that they could move together to Ṣiffīn and they accepted that (*Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pg.24). Aḥnaf was leading Tamīm, Ḍubbah and Rubāb on that day (*Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pg.117). Nevertheless, he was apprehensive about the loss of Arabs [in the battle] (*Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pg.387).

Aḥnaf proposed himself to 'Alī ('a) for the arbitration (*tahkīm*) and pointed to the tenderness of Abū Mūsā, but his proposal was denied by Ash'ath bin Qais (*Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pg.501). Aḥnaf stopped 'Alī from erasing his name as the leader of the believers on the day of Ṣiffīn (*Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pg.508). When Ash'ath came out to read the agreement reached at the arbitration, Aḥnaf stopped him from that and a man from the Banū Tamīm engaged in a [brief] skirmish with Ash'ath with his sword. On seeing this, the people of Yemen came forward to take revenge from the Banū

Mundhir bin al-Jārūd¹, Mas'ūd bin 'Amru²,

Tamīm, so Aḥnaf [immediately] went to Ash'ath and apologized to him (*Waq'at Şiffin*, pg.513). He had also advised Abū Mūsā not to be deceived [in the arbitration] (*Waq'at Şiffin*: pg. 536). 'Alī ('a) used to invite Aḥnaf together with the Banū Hāshim for consultation (5:53). Aḥnaf came out with the Banū Tamīm in an army of 1,500 men during his second departure to Şiffin (*al-Ṭabarī*:5:78).

In the year 50 H, Aḥnaf went to see Mu'āwiyah who awarded him 100,000 [dirhams] (5:242). Again in 59 H, Ibn Ziyād sent him to Mu'āwiyah where he was received last (5:317). Aḥnaf later paid allegiance to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād after Yazīd in order to attain the governorship of Baṣrah (5:507). He also promised Ibn Ziyād to bring to him Ibn al-Zubair's propagandist. But when he saw the latter's refusal, Aḥnaf gave up persuading him (5:508).

When the tribe of Azd was attempting to reinstate Ibn Ziyād to the governership after his escape, Banū Tamīm flocked on Aḥnaf complaining to him of the return of Ibn Ziyād to power, and also of the killing of some men from the Banū Tamīm at the hands of the Azd. So Aḥnaf rose with them against the Azd and killed Mas'ūd bin 'Amru, the head of the Azd and the one who had granted protection to Ibn Ziyād. Upon this, Ibn Ziyād fled to Shām (5:519). Subsequently, Aḥnaf paid allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair (5:615). In 67 H, he fought against Mukhtār alongside Muş'ab bin al-Zubair (6:95) and was the one to advice Muş'ab to kill those of Mukhtār's followers who had surrendered (6:116). It seems Aḥnaf was dead by the year 71 H (6:157).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was leading the the clans of Jadh'ah and Bakr bin 'Abd al-Qais in support of 'Alī ('a) on the day of Jamal (5:505). His daughter, Baḥriyyah, was 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād's wife. When Yazīd bin al-Mufarragh al-Ḥimyarī mocked at the family of Ziyād, Ibn Jārūd gave him refuge, but Ibn Ziyād denied him (5:318). Later, Ibn Ziyād appointed Ibn Jārūd over Sindh in India where he died in 62 H, as reported in *al-Işābah* (3:480).

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: Mas'ūd bin 'Amru bin 'Adiyy al-Azdī, the head of the Azd during the battle of Jamal in Baṣrah (4:505). He is the one who gave refuge to Ibn Marjānah [i.e. Ibn Ziyād] when the

Qais bin Haitham ¹ and 'Amru bin 'Ubaidullah bin

people opposed him. Ibn Marjānah waited for ninety days after the death of Yazīd before he went to Shām (5:525). Mas'ūd sent with Ibn Ziyād 100 men from the clan of Azd -who were led by Qurrah bin 'Amru bin Qais- to escort him to Shām (5:522). Ibn Marjānah appointed Mas'ūd as his deputy when he left Baṣrah. Mas'ūd thus set out accompanied by his clansmen until he reached the palace and entered (5:525). A group of the Khawārij entered the mosque while Mas'ūd was on the pulpit, accepting allegiance from whoever came to him. A Persian Muslim among them - who had embraced Islam after entering Baṣrah and then joined the Khawārij- shot at Mas'ūd's heart and killed him and then they left the mosque (5:525). They were either 400 or 500 in number and were from the Āshūrī's (5:519), together with the Māh- Afrīdūn who presented themselves to the Banū Tamīm [on their way to Baṣrah]. Salamah asked them: "Where are you heading to?" They replied: "Towards you [i.e. Baṣrah]." So Salamah said: "Then move ahead of us." Accordingly, they were [moving] ahead of them. [Following Mas'ūd's assassination] the people of Azd attacked this group of the Khawārij killing a number of them and injuring others, and finally expelled them from Baṣrah. Some members of the Banū Tamīm confessed thereafter that they were the ones who invited this group to Baṣrah and entered the city with them. So the Azd attacked the Banū Tamīm and a great number from both sides were killed. They finally agreed on 100,000 dirhams -ten times more than the amount specified by the Shari'ah- as the blood-money for Mas'ūd's killing and thus reconciled (5:526).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (4:314): Qais bin al-Haitham al-Sulamī. In the year 32 H, 'Abdullah bin 'Āmir appointed him over Khurāsān together with Qais' cousin, 'Abdullah bin Khāzim. When 'Abdullah bin 'Āmir came out of Khurāsān, having mobilized around 40,000 men from Herāt, Qahistān, Ṭabas and Bādghīs, Ibn Khāzim took out a fake document -produced by himself- which he attributed to Ibn 'Āmir, claiming that he had been appointed as the ruler of Khurāsān, in case there was a war. So Qais accepted it and left the place to come to Baṣrah. Thereafter, the uprising against 'Uthmān came up and 'Uthmān asked for help from the people of

Başrah through 'Abdullah bin 'Āmir. As 'Abdullah asked for their assistance, Qais came forward and addressed the people urging them to assist 'Uthmān. The people rushed to his help but were then informed of Uthman's murder and so they returned (5:369).

It has been said that Qais had been the chief of security guards in Başrah for 'Abdullah bin 'Āmir during the reign of Mu'āwiyah in 41 H (5:170). He later appointed him as the governor of Khurāsān for two years (5:172). Qais failed to send him the taxes on time and so Ibn 'Āmir wanted to dismiss him. 'Abdullah bin Khāzim asked Ibn 'Āmir to make him in charge of Khurāsān and the latter was about to write for him his letter of appointment when he learned about it. So Qais left Khurāsān and went to see Ibn 'Āmir. The latter ordered Qais to be whipped (5:209) hundred lashes, shaved his head and imprisoned him. Ibn 'Āmir was [in fact] Qais' uncle, so his mother pleaded for his release and he released him (5:210). In the year 44 H, Ibn 'Āmir appointed a man from the Banū Yashkur -either Ṭufail bin 'Awf al-Yashkurī or 'Abdullah bin Abī Shaikh al-Yashkurī (5:213)- as the governor of Khurāsān (5:209), who sympathized with Qais bin Haitham and appointed him as his deputy in Başrah whenever he set out to visit Mu'āwiyah (5:213). Mu'āwiyah gave the hand of his daughter, Hind, to him in marriage and dismissed him in 44 H from the governership of Başrah (5:214). Mu'āwiyah then appointed Ziyād bin Sumayyah in his place in the year 45 H. Ziyād put Qais bin Haitham in charge of Mirwad al-Raudh, Al-Fāriyab and Ṭāliqān (5:224). In the year 61 H -after the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain ['a], Qais was appointed as the deputy of 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Ziyād in Khurāsān, whenever the latter would go to see Yazīd. However, Yazīd dismissed him and Qais remained in isolation (5:316). When Yazīd died Qais was in Başrah, and Ḍaḥḥāk bin Qais wrote to him inviting him towards himself (5:504), though Qais was inclined towards Nu'mān bin Ṣahbān al-Rāsibī, since the people of Başrah had appointed these two [i.e. Nu'mān and Ṣahbān] from among the Banū Umayyah as leaders over them after Ibn Ziyād. Afterwards, they [i.e. Ḍaḥḥāk and Qais] agreed upon a Hashimite from the clan of Muḍar (5:512). In 66 H, Qais was the head of the security guards and the fighting forces in Başrah for

Mu'ammār. The letter read:

“Allah chose Muḥammad (ṣ) over His creation, honoured him with prophethood and chose him to convey His message. Then Allah took him to Himself after he had sincerely admonished the people and conveyed to them what He had sent him with. We are his family, his friends, his trustees and his inheritors. We are more entitled from among the people to his position than any other person is. But our community held onto it to our exclusion and we did not oppose them; [for] we detested disunity and loved the well-being [of the community]. We know that we are more entitled to that position and truly worthy of it than those who have taken it over.¹ They [may] have done well, put things in order and pursued the truth.

I am sending to you my messenger with this letter. I invite you to the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of his Prophet (ṣ). Indeed, the Sunnah has been eradicated (*umītat*) and the innovations (*bid'ah*) have been revived. If you listen to my

Ibn al-Zubair during the battle against Muthannā bin Mukharribah al-'Abdī al-Baṣrī, the one who used to invite people towards Mukhtār (6:67). He, together with Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair, were at the head of the district of Ahl al-'Āliyah in their encounter with Mukhtār in 67 H (6:95). In the year 71 H, Qais was hiring people—in support of Ibn al-Zubair—to help him fight against Khālid bin 'Abdullah, the one who was calling the people towards 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān (6:71). Qais used to warn the people of Iraq against betraying Muṣ'ab (6:157). This is our last encounter with the story of Qais. Perhaps, he was killed in 71 H along with the companions of Muṣ'ab at the hands of 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān.

¹ This indicates that the acceptance of this situation by the Ahl al-Bait ('a) was only to avoid discord [within the community] and ward off evil, not out of their willing consent.

speech and obey my commands, I will guide you to the right path. Peace and mercy of Allah be upon you.”

All these noblemen read the letter and concealed it's content except for Mundhir bin Jārūd. He was afraid, for he thought that [the sending of Sulaimān, the messenger of al-Ḥusain ('a)] might be a conspiracy by 'Ubaidullah. Thus, he came with the messenger to Ibn Ziyād in the evening preceding the day he intended to leave for Kūfah, and asked the messenger to read the letter to him. ['Ubaidullah] asked the messenger to come forward and [as he did so,] he put him to the sword.

[Ibn Ziyād's Address in Baṣrah]

Ibn Ziyād went on the pulpit of Baṣrah, praised Allah and glorified Him and said:

“By Allah! The intractable camel (*ṣu'bah*) shall never be coupled with me¹; and I will not let anyone clatter (*qa'qa'ah*) before me²; I will punish (*la-nakilun*) whoever is hostile towards me³; I will prove to be a poison for whoever fights me; Indeed, the tribe of Qārrah fairly treated the one who shot at them⁴.

¹ *Al-ṣu'bah* as it has appeared in the Arabic text means a she-camel who is not easy to mount. By using this term, Ibn Ziyād meant to say that as if he has mounted Baṣrah and leading it. Thus, he would not allow it to become difficult for himself to get on.

² *Al-qa'qa'ah* means voice. As if he meant to say: I will not let the people speak about their hatred and dislike to me.

³ *Nakilun* comes from *al-nikāl* which means punishment and revenge.

⁴ This is how *al-Ṭabarī* has reported. This statement was actually

O people of Baṣrah! Verily the commander of the faithful has made me in charge of Kūfah and I am departing towards it tomorrow. I am placing ‘Uthmān bin Ziyād bin Abī Sufyān as my deputy. Beware of opposition and spreading rumours. By Him beside who there is no deity! If I am informed of any opposition from anyone of you, then I shall certainly kill him, and the one who knows him, and his near ones. Verily, I will punish severely for even the slightest act of disobedience until you totally submit to me and there remains among you no opponent or opposer! I am the son of Ziyād; I resemble him [more] than anyone else on this earth; I have not been taken away by similarity to [my] maternal uncle or [my] cousin.”

[Ibn Ziyād Enters Kūfah]

Ibn Ziyād then left Baṣrah for Kūfah together with Muslim bin ‘Amru al-Bāhilī¹, Sharīk bin al-A’war al-Ḥārithī¹, his

a call of a man from the tribe of Qārrah. This particular tribe was known for its proficiency in shooting during the days of Ignorance (*jāhiliyyah*). So a member of this tribe happened to meet a person from another tribe and told him: “If you wish I can fight with you; and if you like I can race with you; and if you want I am ready to compete with you in shooting.” The other person replied: “I have chosen shooting.” Here the member of the tribe of Qārrah recited the following couplets: “Indeed the tribe of Qārrah fairly treated the one who shot at them; Verily if we were to meet any group, we shall send back its first one to its last.” He then shot at him an arrow piercing his heart. Now, by repeating a part of these couplets, perhaps Ibn Ziyād meant to say that whoever chooses to shoot at the Banū Umayyah, then he is like the one who chose shooting with the member of the tribe of Qārrah; for the Banū Umayyah are as much proficient in shooting as the tribe of Qārrah.

¹ We have already given his biography earlier.

attendants and his family members who were around ten men². He entered Kūfah with a black turban on his head, while he had covered his face. The people [of Kūfah] had heard that al-Ḥusain ('a) had set out towards them, so they were waiting for his arrival.

When Ibn Ziyād arrived [in the city], they thought that he was al-Ḥusain ('a). He did not pass a group of people without them greeting him by saying: "Welcome to you, O son of the Messenger of Allah! Your arrival is a happy [event]." He saw in their welcoming of al-Ḥusain ('a) something which [greatly] troubled him. He was so angry at what he heard from them that he said: "I wish I could see them in other than this state!" When their number increased, Muslim bin 'Amru [al-Bāhili] called out: "Move back! This is the governor, 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād."

When he entered the palace and the people came to know

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was appointed over Iṣṭakhr Fāris where he built a mosque in the year 31 H (4:301). He participated in the battle of Ṣiffīn with 'Alī ('a) (5:361). In the year 38 H, 'Alī ('a) sent him together with Jāriyah bin Qudāmah al-Sa'dī at the head of a group of men from the Banū Tamīm to Baṣrah to fight Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and those with him who had responded to his call to Mu'āwiyah (5:112). 'Abdullah bin 'Āmir had also sent Sharīk to Baṣrah along with 3,000 riders from the tribe of Rabī'ah to fight Mustawrad bin 'Allafah, the Khārijī (5:193). He also ruled over Kermān for 'Abdullah bin Ziyād in 59 H (5:321). He lived for a few days after reaching Kūfah and then died. Ibn Ziyād led his funeral prayer (5:364).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:359) narrates on the authority of 'Īsā bin Yazīd al-Kanānī who said: "When Yazīd's letter reached 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād, he selected 500 men from the people of Baṣrah among whom were 'Abdullah bin al-Ḥārith al-Naufal and Sharīk bin al-A'war.

that he was ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād, they became very sad and grief stricken!¹

[Ibn Ziyad’s Address Upon His Arrival in Kūfah]

After he entered the palace, a caller shouted [in the morning of the following day]: “*al-ṣalāh jāmi’atan* [the prayer is a general prayer which all should gather for].” The people gathered and he went out to them. He praised and glorified Allah and said:

“The commander of the faithful [i.e. Yazīd] –May Allah correct him- has appointed me over your city and frontier-station. He has ordered me to give justice to the oppressed among you, help the weak, treat the obedient among you with generosity and to be harsh with the disobedient and suspicious among you. I will follow his order with regard to you and execute his command on you. To the good and submissive among you, I will be like a kind father. But my sword and whip shall be for him who disobeys my orders and opposes my commands. So let each man protect himself! ‘True belief (*sidq*) should declare itself on your behalf, not the threat of punishment (*wa’id*)’.”

Then, he descended from the pulpit and took the group leaders (*‘urafā’*) and the people harshly, and said:

“Write to me the strangers (*ghurabā’*) and those among you who are the seekers of the commander of the faithful [i.e. Yazīd], and those among you are the [members of the]

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:357): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Ṣaq’ab bin Zuhair related to me from ‘Uthmān al-Hindī who said...’ This has also been narrated in *al-Irshād* (pg. 206) and *al-Maqtal* (pg. 200) of al-Khwārazmī.

Ḥarūriyyah¹, and the suspicious ones who [only] think of discord and turmoil. Whoever writes to us in this regard will be free [from harm]. But he who does not write to us anyone, will have to guarantee that there is no opponent in his group (*'arāfah*)² who will oppose us, and no wrongdoer who will try to wrong us. Anyone who does not do so shall be denied protection and his blood and his property will be permitted to us. Any head of *'arāfah* in whose group is found an opponent of the commander of the faithful whom he has not reported to us, will be crucified at the door of his house. I will abolish the pay (*'aṭā*) of that group and they shall be expelled to a place in 'Ummān al-Zārah."^{3,4}

¹ The Khawārij. They are attributed to Ḥarawrā' -which is located in the suburbs of Kūfah- because that was the first place that they had gathered in on their return from Ṣiffin and before entering Kūfah.

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: *'Arāfah* was a governmental post responsible for the identification of the citizens and to organize their stipends from the treasure house (*bait al-māl*). There were a hundred people who held this position (*'irrif*) in Kūfah. The stipends used to be given to the heads of the four districts of the city, who would pass it to the *'urafā* (pl. of *'irrif*), and the trustworthy people, who would then distribute it to the people within their areas (4:49) . They used to receive the order to distribute the stipends in the month of Muḥarram of every year, and their grants at the harvest time every year (4:43). The system of *'arāfah* used to exist even during the time of the Prophet (ṣ) (3:448).

³ 'Ummān al-Zārah is the present day Oman which is situated in the coast of the Persian Gulf. This place is extremely hot and difficult to live in, and that is why Ibn Ziyād was threatening to deport his opponents to this place.

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:358): "Abū Mikhnaf says: "Mu'allā bin Kulaib has narrated to me from Abū Waddāk who said..." *Al-Irshād* (pg.202) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.200) have narrated this also.

[Muslim Moves from the House of Mukhtār to that of Hāni']¹

Muslim learnt about the arrival of 'Ubaidullah, about the speech he had made and his treatment of the 'urafā' and the people. So he left the house of Mukhtār -where he was now known to be residing- until he reached the house of Hāni' bin 'Urwah al-Murādī. He entered the door and asked him to come out. Hāni' came out and disliked his presence when he saw him. Muslim said to him: "I have come to you so that you may give me refuge and take me in as a guest."

¹ Al-Mas'ūdī writes: "He was the chief and leader of Murād. In those days he used to ride accompanied by 4,000 armored warriors and 8,000 foot soldiers. If their allies from the [Banū] Kindah and others were to respond to them, then Hāni' would ride amidst 30,000 armoured fighters" (See *Murūj al-Dhahab*:3:69). It is thus known from here why Muslim left Mukhtār's place and moved to the house of Hāni, the chief (*shaikh*) of the clan. Nevertheless, events turned out to be as al-Mas'ūdī says: "But their leader could not find even a single supporter from among them due to their faint-heartedness and betrayal.

Both Hāni' and his father were among the companions [of the Prophet (ṣ)]. He was killed while he was either eighty or ninety years of age as mentioned in *al-Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd. Al-Mubarrad says in *al-Kāmil* that Hāni's father was among those who rose with Ḥujr bin 'Adiyy, but Ziyād bin Abīh interceded [with Mu'āwiyah] on his behalf. This is why Ibn Ziyād had told Hāni' -as it has appeared in *al-Ṭabarī*: "O Hāni'! Do not you know that my father had come to this city and killed all the Shī'ah except for your father and Ḥujr? And you well know what came to happen of Ḥujr. He [i.e. Ziyād] did not cease to show his kindness towards you to the extent that he even wrote to the governor of Kūfah [saying]: 'My request from you is that you should take care of Hāni'. Hāni' answered: 'Yes.' Ibn Ziyād then said: 'Is this my recompense that you have hidden in your house a man that he may kill me!'" (5:361).

Hāni' replied: "May Allah have mercy on you! Indeed, you are excessive in your demands of me! Had it not been that you have already entered my house and that you are a reliable man, I would have preferred –and asked- you to leave. However, I am now obliged to protect you. Someone like me cannot refuse you shelter out of ignorance. [So] enter." Thus, he sheltered him.

The Shī'ah began to visit Muslim in the house of Hāni' bin 'Urwah.¹ After Muslim moved to the house of Hāni' bin 'Urwah and eighteen thousand people paid allegiance to him, he sent a letter to al-Ḥusain ('a) with 'Ābis bin Abī Shabīb al-Shākiri² [saying]:

"Verily, a scout never lies to his people. Eighteen thousand from among the people Kūfah have paid allegiance to me, so hasten to us as my letter reaches you; for the people are all with you. They have no liking or inclination to the family of Mu'āwiyah. That is all."

The letter was dispatched twenty-seven nights before he was killed.³

[Ma'qil al-Shāmī spies on Muslim ('a)]

Ibn Ziyād summoned his servant called Ma'qil⁴ and told

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:361): [I narrate] from Abū Mikhnaf, who reported from Mu'allā bin Kulaīb, who related from Abū al-Waddāk that..."

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:375): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Ja'far bin Ḥudhaifah al-Ṭāi narrated to me that..."

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:395): "Abū Mikhnaf reports [that]: 'Muḥammad bin Qais narrated to me [saying]..."

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:360) relates on the authority of 'Īsā bin Yazīd al-Kanānī that Muslim bin 'Aqil arrived in Kūfah a night before Ibn

him: "Take three thousand dirhams with you and search for Muslim bin 'Aqīl and his followers, and give them this money. Tell them: 'Use it in the war against your enemy', and let them know that you are one of them. For if you give it to them, they will have confidence in you, trust you and they will not conceal any of their information from you. Thereafter, visit them frequently."

[Ma'qil] thus came to Muslim bin 'Awsajah al-Asadī¹ at the great mosque and saw him praying. He had heard the people saying that Ibn 'Awsajah was accepting people's allegiance for al-Ḥusain ('a). So he waited until he finished his prayers. He then said [to him]: "O servant of Allah, I am from Shām and a servant of Dhū al-Kalā'. Allah has blessed me with love for the people of this House [i.e. the family of the Prophet (ṣ)] and love for those who love them. These are three thousand dirhams with which I want to meet a man from them who I have learnt has come to Kūfah to receive

Ziyād. The latter was informed about Muslim's arrival while he was in the suburbs of Kūfah. So he summoned a slave from the Banū Tamīm and gave him some money and told him: "Take up this matter and help them with this money. Proceed to Hāni' and Muslim, and make him stay at Hāni's place."

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:436): Shabath bin Rib'ī said in reply to those of his companions around him who had gathered to kill Muslim bin 'Awsajah: "May your mothers mourn you! You are killing yourselves with your own hands and abasing yourselves to the benefit of others. You are happy that someone like Muslim bin 'Awsajah has been killed?! I swear by the one to whom I have submitted! How often I have seen him amidst the Muslims doing a noble deed! I have seen him on the highlands of Ādharbāijān killing six idolaters before [even] the cavalry of the Muslims took its position. Should you be rejoicing when such a man has been killed from among you?!"

pledges of allegiance on behalf of the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ). I have been wanting to meet him but I have not found anyone who will direct me to him, as his place [of stay] is unknown. I was just now sitting in the mosque and I heard a number of Muslims saying that this is a person who knows the people of this House. Therefore, I have come to you so that you may take this money from me and introduce me to your colleague (ṣāhib) so that I may pledge my allegiance to him. If you wish, you may receive my pledge of allegiance to him before I meet him.”

[Muslim bin ‘Awsajah] replied [him]: “I thank Allah that you met me. I am glad that you are going to attain what you wish, and that Allah will help the house of His prophet through you. Yet your knowledge of my connection with this affair before it is finished troubles me, due to [my] fear of this tyrant and his severity.”

Then he received his allegiance before he departed and took a binding oath from him that he would be sincere and keep the matter concealed. He [in return] gave him whatever would make him satisfied about this. Then [Muslim] told him: “Visit me at my house for some days; for I will seek permission for you [to visit] your master.”

Thereafter, he sought permission for him [from Ibn ‘Aqīl] and [Ma’qil] started visiting [Muslim] with other people.¹

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:361): “[I narrate] from Abū Mikhnaf who related from Mu’allā bin Kulaib, who reported from Abū al-Sawwāk that...” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.207) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.201).

[The Meeting for Planning the Assassination of Ibn Ziyād]

Hāni' bin 'Urwah fell sick and 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād came to see him. 'Umārah bin 'Ubaid al-Salūlī¹ said to Hāni': "[The purpose of] our gathering and plotting is to kill this tyrant. [At present] Allah has given you the upper hand over him, so kill him."

Hāni' replied: "I do not like him to be killed in my house." [Ibn Ziyād paid him a visit and] left.

After only a week Sharīk bin al-A'war [al-Ḥārithī] got sick. Although Sharīk was very kind towards Ibn Ziyād and other heads of state, he was a staunch Shī'ah. Ibn Ziyād sent him a messenger to inform him that he was coming to visit him in the evening. At this [Sharīk] told Muslim: "This sinner is going to visit me tonight, so kill him after he takes his seat. Then sit in the palace and there will be no obstacle between you and it. If I get well from my illness in the coming days, [then] I will proceed towards Baṣrah and save you of its troubles."

At evening 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziyād] set out to see Sharīk [al-Ḥārithī]. Muslim bin 'Aqīl got up to enter [the room] when Sharīk said to him: "You must not miss him when he takes his seat." [Here] Hāni' bin 'Urwah stood up and said –as if he detested it: "I do not want him to be killed in my house."

Thereafter, Ibn Ziyād arrived and entered [the house] and

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Al-Salūlī was among the messengers of the people of Kūfah –with 53 letters- to al-Ḥusain ('a) while [the latter] was in Makkah. The Imam ['a] then sent him to Kūfah together with Muslim bin 'Aqīl, Qais bin Musahhar al-Ṣaidāwī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Arḥabī (5:343-344).

took his seat. He inquired from Sharīk about his illness and said: "How do you feel?" His queries took long. [When Sharīk] saw that [Muslim] is not coming out, he feared that he would miss him and so he began [reciting the following verse]: "What are you waiting for to greet Salmā?! Make me drink it even if it were to take my life!" He repeated this twice or three times.

Ibn Ziyād said: "What is the matter with him? Is he exhausted by the fits of delirium?"

Hāni' replied: "Yes –May Allah make you among the righteous. This has been his behaviour from the early morning upto now." Ibn Ziyād then stood up and left.

Muslim came out [after Ibn Ziyād went], so Sharīk asked him: "What prevented you from killing him?"

Muslim answered: "Two things. The first was Hāni's dislike for him to be killed in his house. The other was the tradition (*ḥadīth*) that people have related from the Prophet (ṣ): 'Indeed *imān* prevents assassination, and a believer never commits assassination.'

[On hearing this] Hāni' said: "By Allah! Had you killed him, you would have had certainly killed a corrupt (*fāsiq*), sinful (*fājir*), unbelieving (*kāfir*) and a treacherous (*ghādir*) person! But I detested him to be killed in my house!"¹

[Ma'qil Visits Muslim]

Ma'qil used to regularly visit Muslim bin 'Awsajah for

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:361): "[I narrate] from Abū Mikhnaf who was relating from Mu'allā bin Kulaib, who reported from Abū al-Waddāk that..."

some days so that he may arrange for him to meet Ibn ‘Aqīl, until [one day] he took him to [Muslim]. Ma’qil informed him of his condition and [Muslim] received his allegiance and ordered Abū Thumāmah al-Ṣāidī¹ to collect the money that Ma’qil had brought with him. Thereafter, Ma’qil would consistently visit them. He would be the first [to enter] and the last to leave. He would hear all their news and take note of all their secrets and he would then go and inform Ibn Ziyad of that.²

Ibn Ziyād Inquires About Hāni’

Ibn Ziyād said to his courtiers: “How is it that I do not see Hāni’?” They replied: “He is ill.” ‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziyād] then summoned Muḥammad bin al-Ash’ath³,

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He used to collect their funds and all that by which they used to help one another. He used to buy them weapons and was proficient in this matter. He was among the brave warriors of the Arabs and a distinguished personality among the Shī‘ah (5:364). Muslim had given him the banner [and he was leading] the quarter of [the Banū] Tamīm and Hamdān (5:369). He was present in Karbalā’ and was the gate-keeper of al-Ḥusain (‘a) (5:410). He was the one who asked al-Ḥusain (‘a) to lead them in their prayers on the noon of Āshūrā’, and the Imam [‘a] prayed for him saying: “You have remembered the prayers (*ṣalāt*); may Allah make you among those who establish prayers (*muṣallīn*) and remember him (*dhākirīn*)” (5:439). His cousin –who was in the army of ‘Umar bin Sa’d- had engaged him in a duel -before the time of prayers [on that day]- and was killed by Abū Thumāmah (5:441).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:361): [I narrate] from Abū Mikhnaf who was relating from Mu’allā bin Kulaib, who reported from Abū al-Waddāk that...” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.208).

³ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Muḥammad bin Ash’ath bin Qais al-Kindī. He is the one whom Ziyād had asked to surrender Ḥujr to him. Ḥujr

requested al-Ash'ath to seek protection (*amān*) for him from Ibn Ziyād so that he could go to Mu'āwiyah who would have the final word on him, and Ziyād accepted the request (5:263-264). 'Ubaidah al-Kindī has some verses in which he reproaches Muḥammad bin al-Ash'ath for his betraying Ḥujr and fighting Muslim ('a). [He says]:

"You surrendered your uncle and did not fight for him out of cowardice; if it was not because of your action, he would not have been caught. You killed the envoy of the household of Muḥammad, and plundered his sword and armor plate" (5:285). Ibn al-Ash'ath had raised the banner of protection for those among the [men of] Kindah and Ḥaḍramaut who obeyed him, encouraging them to abandon Ibn 'Aqīl (5:369). However, in order to fight Ibn 'Aqīl, he had also sent some men from [the clan of] Qais together with his men; since every tribe disliked Ibn 'Aqīl to be killed by its kinsmen (5:373). Ibn al-Ash'ath granted protection to Ibn 'Aqīl also (5:374) and informed Ibn Ziyād of that, but he did not approve it (5:375). He also interceded for Hānī bin 'Urwah but was rejected by Ibn Ziyād (5:378).

The clan of Kindah was carrying out the orders of 'Umar bin Sa'd as they were his maternal kin. So when Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah died and Ibn Ziyād invited them towards himself, they rejected him and instead appointed 'Umar bin Sa'd as their head. However, when the men of Hamdān took up swords and their women lamented al-Ḥusain ('a), Ibn Ash'ath backed down and said: "A new situation has arised" (5:525). Subsequently, the [people of] Hamdān wrote to Ibn al-Zubair in Makkah, and the latter sent Muḥammad bin Ash'ath bin Qais to Mosul. When 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Sa'id bin Qais arrived in Mosul as its governor under Mukhtār, Ibn Ash'ath withdrew from it in his favour. Al-Ash'ath then went to Tikrīt and stayed there with some of the noble men of his kinsmen and others, observing the stand of the people. [Ultimately,] he set out to Mukhtār and paid allegiance to him (6:36). When Ibn Ziyād proceeded towards Mosul with the army of Shām and the followers of Mukhtār came out to fight him, the outstanding men of Kūfah -among them being Muḥammad bin Ash'ath- came together and spread calumnies against Mukhtār. Al-Ash'ath's son, Ishāq, came out amidst the

Asmā' bin Khārijah¹ and 'Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj² -whose sister Raw'ah was Hāni's wife- and told them: "What prevents Hāni bin 'Urwah from visiting us?"

They said: "May Allah make you among the righteous! We do not know, but he is complaining (*la-yatashakkā*)³."

So Ibn Ziyād said: "I have heard that he has recovered and

Jabānah of Kindah and they attacked Mukhtār, pouncing on him (6:39-45) and [they] got broken. Thus, Muḥammad bin Ash'ath withdrew to his village near al-Qādisiyyah where Mukhtār sent 100 warriors from among his slaves and others to chase him up. But Muḥammad managed to escape and joined Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair and instead his house was demolished (6:66). Muṣ'ab then sent Ibn al-Ash'ath with a letter to Muhallab bin Abī Ṣufrah with whom he [once again] came for the battle against Mukhtār (6:94). Muṣ'ab also dispatched Ibn Ash'ath with a huge group of riders from Kūfah who had been expelled by Mukhtār and, therefore, were more hostile towards him than the people of Baṣrah such that they would not see a prisoner from a defeated army except that they would kill him (6:97). Ibn Ash'ath was killed in the battle between Muṣ'ab and Mukhtār, so Muṣ'ab sent his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Muḥammad bin Ash'ath to the suburbs (*kināsaḥ*) of Kūfah (6:104).

¹ *Al-Ṭabari*: Asmā' bin Khārijah al-Fazārī. He was one of those who wrote his testimony against Ḥujr bin 'Adiyy al-Kindī (5:207). He was [also] the one to remind Ḥajjāj of Kumail bin Ziyād al-Nakha'i and 'Umar bin Ḍābi' as those who rebelled against 'Uthmān and so he killed them (4:404). Al-Fazārī protested against Ibn Ziyād for beating and imprisoning Hāni' bin 'Urwah and was consequently imprisoned by Ibn Ziyād (5:367). He later came to be among the companions of Ibn Muṭī' al-'Adawī (6:31) and in 68 H was among the followers of Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair (6:124).

² We have mentioned him earlier among those who had written to al-Ḥusain ('a) from the people of Kūfah.

³ *Yatashakkā* means 'he is complaining (*yashtakī*) of his illness'.

is [usually] seen sitting at the door of his house. Go to see him and enjoin him not to abandon his duty towards us; for I do not like an Arab nobleman like him to spoil [his reputation] with me.”¹

[Hāni’ Summoned to Ibn Ziyād]

They came to him in the evening while he was sitting at the door of his house. They asked him: “What prevents you from meeting the governor? He has mentioned you and said that: ‘If I knew that he is ill, I would pay him a sick-visit.’”

Hāni’ replied: “[My] illness stops me.”

So they said to him: “He has heard that you sit at the door of your house every evening. He finds you tardy; and tardiness and churlish behaviour are things which the authorities will not tolerate. We adjure you to ride with us.”

So Hāni’ called for his clothes and got dressed. Then he called for his mule and mounted it. [They rode] until when he got near the palace, he began to feel some apprehension. He said to Ḥassān bin Khārijah: “O my nephew! By Allah, I am afraid of this man! What do you think?” He answered: “O my uncle! By Allah, I do not fear anything for you. Why are you becoming suspicious while you are innocent?”

So they entered onto Ibn Ziyād and so did Hāni’. When he appeared [before Ibn Ziyād, he] said [to himself]: “The

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:361&364): “[I narrate] from Abū Mikhnaf who was reporting from Mu’allā bin Kulaib, who narrated from Abū al-Waddāk; and [also] from Mujālid bin Sa’id, Ḥasan bin ‘Uqbah al-Murādī and Numair bin Wa’lah who reported from Abu al-Waddāk.” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.208).

fool's legs have brought him to you.”¹ When [Hāni'] came closer to Ibn Ziyād, while Shuraiḥ al-Qāḍi was present too², he turned towards [Hāni'] and recited:

I want to give him present (*hibā'ahu*), but he wants to kill

¹ *Al-ḥāin* means 'a fool'. This is an idiom [in Arabic] that is [usually] said in such a situation. Those who have recorded *al-hā'in* as *al-khā'in* are mistaken. See *al-Fākhir* (pg.251).

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: Shuraiḥ bin Ḥārith al-Kindī. 'Umar had appointed him as the judge of Kūfah in 18 H (4:101). He was among those who urged the people of Kūfah to help 'Uthmān (4:352). He appears in the list of those who bore witness against Ḥujr bin 'Adiyy as Shuraiḥ bin al-Ḥārith al-Qāḍi. However, he [himself] used to say: "Ziyād inquired from me about him, so I informed him that he is [a man who] exceedingly establishes prayers (*qawwām*) and fasts a lot (*ṣawwām*)" (5:270). Ziyād had once sought his advice on amputating his leprous hand, so Shuraiḥ suggested him not to do so and was reprimanded [by Ibn Ziyād's companions]. He said [in reply]: "The Messenger of Allah [ṣ] has said: 'A person from whom advice is sought (*mustashār*) must be trusted' (5:289).

Ibn al-Zubair wanted him to serve as his judge in Kūfah, but he refused (5:582). This was before he accepted the position for Mukhtār. But when he heard that the followers of Mukhtār were saying that he was a partisan of 'Uthmān, and that he testified against Ḥujr bin 'Adiyy, and that 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib had dismissed him from the judicial position, and that he did not convey the message that Hāni' had sent him with [when Ibn Ziyād had imprisoned him, and Hāni's kinsmen stormed the palace and Shuraiḥ went to see them]; he pretended to be ill. Consequently, Mukhtār replaced him with 'Abdullah bin 'Utbah bin Mas'ūd and later with 'Abdullah bin Mālik al-Ṭā'ī (6:34). After Mukhtār, Shuraiḥ accepted the position from Ibn al-Zubair (6:149). He requested Ḥajjāj to be relieved from this position and suggested to him Abū Burdah bin 'Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī in the year 79 H. Ḥajjāj accepted his resignation and [instead] appointed Abū Burdah (6:324). Therefore, he held the judicial position for about 60 years altogether!

me.

The one who makes excuses to you is one of your own friends from the [Banū] Murād.”¹

[Hāni’ in the Presence of Ibn Ziyād]

Hāni’ said to Ibn Ziyād: “What is that, O governor?”

Ibn Ziyād replied: “Yes, O Hāni’ bin ‘Urwah! What are these matters going on in your house against the commander of the faithful and the Muslim community? You have brought Muslim bin ‘Aqīl and taken him to your house. You have gathered arms and men for him in houses around you. You thought that was hidden from me!”

[Hāni’] said: “I have not done that and Muslim is not with me.”

[Ibn Ziyād] said: “Oh yes, you have done that!”

[Hāni’] said: “I have not.”

[Ibn Ziyād] said: “Indeed, you have.”

When the argument between them had gone on for some time and Hāni’ persisted in rejecting and denying [his claim], Ibn Ziyād summoned Ma’qil, that spy. He came and stood before him. Then Ibn Ziyād asked [him]: “Do you know this man?”

Ma’qil replied: “Yes.”

¹ This verse is that of ‘Amru bin Ma’d Yakrub al-Zubaidī. *Al-ḥibā’* comes from *ḥabwah* which means ‘a gift’ (‘aṭā’). *Ḥibā’ahu* [in the first verse] has appeared in *al-Kāmil* and *al-Irshād* (pg.208) as *ḥayātahu* [i.e. his life], but this is a [case of] phonetic distortion (*taḥrīf*) of the word.

Here Hāni' realized that he was a spy against them and that he has given all the information to him. So [Hāni'] said to [Ibn Ziyād]: "Listen to me and believe me; for by Allah, I will not lie to you. I swear by Allah beside whom there is no deity, I did not summon him to my house. I did not know anything about his affair until I saw him sitting at my door, asking to stay with me. I was ashamed to refuse him and the duty of giving him protection fell upon me. Therefore, I received him in my house and gave him lodging and refuge. Then his affair developed as you have been informed. If you wish, I will give you strongly sworn testaments and that which will make you satisfied that I will not do you any harm. If you wish, I will give you a guarantee which will be in your hand until I return to you. Then I will go to him and order him to leave my house for wherever in the land he wants to go. Thus, I would come out of my duty to protect him and to give him refuge."

[Ibn Ziyād] said: "Never by Allah. You will not leave me unless you bring him to me!"

[Hāni'] said: "By Allah, I will never bring him to you! Should I bring my guest to you in order for you to kill him?!"

[Ibn Ziyād] said: "By Allah! You have to bring him to me?"

[Hāni'] said: "By Allah! I shall never bring him!"

After their argument went on for some time, Muslim bin 'Amru al-Bāhili stood up and said: "May Allah make the governor among the righteous! Allow me to talk to him." He then said to Hāni': 'Come to me this way I want to talk to you.' So Hāni' got up and moved with him to the side of Ibn Ziyād. They were [standing] where he could see them, such that if they raised their voices he could hear what they were

saying, and if they lowered their voices he could not.

Muslim [bin ‘Amru al-Bāhilī] then said to him: “O Hāni’! I adjure you before Allah not to kill yourself and bring tribulation on your people and kinsmen! By Allah! I hold you too precious to be killed. This man [i.e. Muslim bin Aqīl] is the cousin of these people [i.e. the Banū Umayyah]; they will not kill him nor harm him. So hand him over to him. There will be no shame and failure for you by that, for you would only be handing him over to the ruler.”

Hāni’ replied: “Indeed, by Allah, there will be shame and disgrace for me in doing that. Were I to hand over one who has come under my protection and is my guest, while I am still alive and sound, I can hear and see well, and have a strong arm and many supporters! By Allah! If I was the only one without any helper, I would not hand him over to him until I had died on his behalf.”

Hāni’ said this [to him] thinking that his kinsmen would come to his help. So as [al-Bāhilī] was imploring him [to submit Muslim], he went on saying: “Nay by Allah. I will never hand him over!”

Ibn Ziyād heard that, so he said: “Bring him closer to me.” So they brought him closer. He then said: “By Allah, either bring him to me, or I will have your head cut off!”

“[If you do so] then there will be much flashing [of swords] around your house”¹, replied Hāni’, thinking that his tribesmen

¹ Ṭabarī (5:361) narrates from ‘Īsā bin Yazīd al-Kanānī that Ibn Ziyād said to him [at this point]: “O Hāni’! Do not you know that my father had come to this city and killed all the Shī‘ah except for your father and Ḥujr? And you well know what came to happen of Ḥujr. He [i.e. Ziyād] did not cease to show his kindness

were listening him.

[Ibn Ziyād] said: "What a pity! Do you frighten me with the flashing [of swords]? Bring him nearer to me." Thus, he was brought [nearer]. He then began hitting his face with a staff and continued striking his nose, forehead and cheeks to the extent that he broke his nose and blood flowed on his clothes, and the flesh of his cheek and forehead was sprinkled over his beard. [He hit him] till the cane broke.

[At this] Hāni' stretched out his hand towards the hilt of the sword of one of the armed attendants but the guard pulled it away and prevented him.

'Ubaidullah [bin Ziyād] said: "Have you become a Ḥarūrī today?¹ You have made your blood permissible [to us] and it

towards you and [even] wrote to the governor of Kūfah [saying]: 'My request from you is [that you should take care of] Hāni'.' Hāni' replied: 'Yes.' Ibn Ziyād then said: 'Is this my recompense that you have hidden in your house a man who should kill me!' Hāni' said: '[No] I have not done that.' [Here] Ibn Ziyād called forth his slave, al-Tamīmī, who had been spying against them. So when Hāni' saw him, he realized that the man has given him all the information. So he said: 'O governor! What you have heard is true. However, I shall never be ungrateful with respect to your favours. You and your people are in safety, so move [freely] to wherever you like.' Mahrān, Ibn Ziyād's servant, was the guard standing behind him with a club in his hand. He said [to 'Ubaidullah]: 'What a humiliation! This deceiving slave is giving you protection in your [own] kingdom?' Then he threw Ibn Ziyād his club saying: 'Take it'. He grabbed Hāni' by his braids while Ibn Ziyād began striking at his face with the club until he broke his nose and brow, and pushed him so violently that he crashed against the wall."

¹ That is, a Khārijī. They are attributed to Ḥarawrā' which is located in the suburbs of Kūfah; since this was the first place they

is now lawful for us to kill you. Throw him into one of the rooms of this building and lock him up and keep a guard over him." Accordingly, all that was done to him.

Asmā' bin Khārijah stood up and said [to Ibn Ziyād]: "Have we become the messengers of treachery today? You ordered us to bring this man, but when we brought him, you [started] smashing his face till blood ran over his beard and you thought of killing him!"

'Ubaidullah replied him: "You will be for it here [and now]!" He then ordered his men to take him, so he was beaten (*luhiza*) and harshly taken away (*tu'ta'a bihi*).¹ He was then imprisoned.

As for Muḥammad bin Ash'ath, he remarked: "We give consent to the governor's decision, be it in our favour or against us. Indeed, the governor is taking [only] disciplinary action (*mu'addib*).² Then he went near Ibn Ziyād and said to him:

"Verily, you know the position of Hāni' bin 'Urwah in the city and among his clansmen. His people are aware that my companion and I have brought him to you. So I adjure you - by Allah- to hand him over to me; for I dislike the enmity of his kinsmen, as they are the most powerful people in the city and they comprise a good number of the people of

had gathered in against 'Alī ('a).

¹ *Al-lahz* means beating at the meeting point of the clothes, from above the chest to the neck. *Al-ta'ta'ah* means a violent movement.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:367): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Ghayr bin Wa'lah informed me on the authority of Abū al-Waddāk that..."

Yemen in the city.¹

Ibn Ziyād promised him to do so.²

[Meanwhile] ‘Amru bin Ḥajjāj heard that Hāni’ has been killed. So he set out with a large number of people from the Madhḥij and surrounded the palace. Then he called out: “I am ‘Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj, and these are the knights of Madhḥij and their leading men. [They] have not broken away from obedience, nor [have they] separated from the community! [But] they have been informed that their companion has been killed and so they regarded it as a great crime.”

‘Ubaidullah was informed that Madhḥij were at the gate. So he said to Shuraiḥ al-Qāḍī: “Go and see their companion [i.e. Hāni’], then inform them that he is alive and has not been killed, and that you have seen him.”³

[Shuraiḥ] says: “I went to see Hāni’, and when he saw me he said: ‘O Allah and O the Muslims! Has my clan been destroyed! Where are the people (*ahl*) of religion! Where are the people of the city! They have gone and have left me alone with their enemy and the son of their enemy! -He said this with blood flowing down his beard. Just then [Hāni’]

¹ This is because Kindah was among the tribes of Yemen in Kūfah, while Murād and Madhḥij were among the clans of Kindah.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:378): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Ṣaq’ab bin Zuhair related to me on the authority of ‘Aun bin Abī Juḥaifah that...’ See also *al-Irshād* (pg.210) and *al-Maqtal* (pg.205) of al-Khwārazmī.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:367): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Numair bin Wa’lah informed me on the authority of Abū al-Waddāk that...’ See also *al-Irshād* (pg.210) and *al-Maqtal* (pg.205) of al-Khwārazmī.

heard the tumult at the gate of the palace. So I [i.e. Shuraiḥ] came out and he followed me saying: ‘O Shuraiḥ! I think these are the voices of Madhḥij and my followers among the Muslims! If [only] ten of them reached me, they would rescue me.’”

Shuraiḥ says: “I came out to them with Ḥamīd bin Bukair al-Aḥmarī¹ -who accompanied me on the order of Ibn Ziyād and was among his bodyguards. When I came out to them I said: “When the governor was informed about your stance and demand concerning your companion, he ordered me to go and see him, so I went to see him. He then asked me to inform you that he is [still] alive and that the report that he had been killed is false.”

[On hearing this,] ‘Amru [bin al-Ḥajjāj] and his companions said: “Praise be to Allah since he has not been killed.” Then they went away.²

[Ibn Ziyād’s Speech After Hāni’s Arrest]

‘Ubaidullah feared that people might rise against him. So he went out [to the mosque] accompanied by the noblemen [of the city], his bodyguards and slaves. He went on the pulpit, praised and glorified Allah, and then he said:

“O people! Hold fast onto the obedience of Allah and the

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was with Ziyād and used to spy on his officers. Ziyād had also sent him with a group of other people from among his companions to pursue the companions of Ḥujr bin ‘Adiyy. He was the one to strike Ibn ‘Aqīl on his upper lip and [later] killed him (5:373&378). Aḥmarī was a slave from Shām.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (3:367): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Ṣaq’ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Shuraiḥ who said: ‘I heard him telling Ismā’il bin Ṭalḥah that...’”

obedience of your leaders. Do not differ or become divided, for you will be destroyed, humiliated, killed or harshly treated and deprived! Your brother is [only] he who speaks the truth to you! Indeed, he who warns [from the outset] is excused.”¹

[The Rise of Muslim ('a)]

Muslim bin 'Aqīl sent 'Abdullah bin Khāzim as his messenger to the palace to follow up the issue of Hāni'. He said: "When [Hāni'] was beaten and imprisoned, I mounted my horse and I was the first of the members of the house to bring the information to Muslim bin 'Aqīl. There the women of Murād had gathered crying out: 'O the kinsmen [of Hāni']! O bereavement of him!' I went in to see Muslim bin 'Aqīl and gave him the news of Hāni'. So he ordered me to announce to his companions: 'O the helped one! Kill [your enemy]!'² This was at a time when the houses around him were filled with [Muslim's] followers and eighteen thousand people had [already] paid allegiance to him, four thousand [of them] were present in the houses. So I called out: "*Yā manṣūr amit!*", and the people of Kūfah called one another and [soon] they gathered around him.

Muslim ('a) prepared a banner for 'Ubaidullah bin 'Amru bin 'Azīz al-Kindī to lead the quarter of Kindah and Rabī'ah and said: "Move ahead of me with your horses." He then

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:368): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Ḥajjāj bin 'Alī related to me from Muḥammad bin Bishr al-Hamdānī that..."

² '*Yā manṣūr, amit*'. This was the slogan raised by the Muslims in the battle of Badr for gathering the warriors and passing information to them, and was also raised in other battles after that. [Editor]

issued a banner to Muslim bin 'Awsajah al-Asadī to lead the quarter of Madhḥij and Asad and said: 'Accompany the foot soldiers; you are their head.' He then issued one to Abū Thumāmah al-Ṣāidī to lead the quarter of Tamīm and Hamdān and the fourth to 'Abbās bin Ju'dah al-Judalī¹ as the leader of the quarter of the people of Madīnah. Muslim [himself] was moving amidst the people from [the] Murād.

[The Coming of the Noblemen to Ibn Ziyād]

The noblemen started coming to Ibn Ziyād through the door which adjoined the building of the Romans.² 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziyād] summoned Kathīr bin Shihāb bin al-Ḥuṣāin al-Ḥārithī³ and ordered him to go out among those [men] of

¹ We find in the left wing of the army of Mukhtār -which he had sent to Madīnah to fight Ibn al-Zubair- someone called 'Ayyāsh bin Ju'dah al-Judalī. *Al-Ṭabari*: He, together with three hundred of his men, did not accept the safe-conduct from Ibn al-Zubair after they were defeated by his followers. When they were [finally] caught by them, they were killed except for about two hundred men, many of whom died on the way (6:74). Now, since we do not find any mention of 'Abbās or 'Ayyāsh al-Judalī in apart from this case, and also by taking into consideration the fact that he remained loyal to Mukhtār, it is very unlikely that they are two [different] persons. It is more probable that [the two names in fact indicate a] single person, either by the name of 'Abbās or 'Ayyāsh, who continued to live after Muslim bin 'Aqīl and rose with Mukhtār until he was either killed or died [somewhere] there.

² This indicates that the house of the Romans followed the back side of the Palace. Since they were *ahl al-dhimmah* [i.e. the non-Muslims living under the protection of the Islamic government], Ibn Ziyād used to disguise himself as one of them while moving in and out of the palace. It escaped the followers of Muslim to block this passage.

³ *Al-Ṭabari*: He is among those whose name appeared in the list

Madhḥij who obeyed him and to go round Kūfah and [try to] make the people desert Ibn ‘Aqīl, make them afraid of the [possibility of] war and threaten them with the punishment of the authorities.

He ordered Muḥammad bin Ash’ath to go with those among the Kindah and Ḥaḍramaut who were following him and to raise the banner of protection for those who joined him. Ibn Ziyād gave similar instructions to Qa’qā’ bin Shaur al-Duhali¹, Shabath bin Rib’ī al-Tamīmī, Ḥajjār bin Abjar al-‘Ijlī and Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan al-‘Āmirī.^{2,3} He gave

of those who testified against Ḥujr bin ‘Adiyy (5:269). He took Ḥujr and his companions to Mu’āwiyah (5:270). He is [also] the first person Ibn Ziyād issued a standard and the first to be made in charge of urging the people to desert Muslim (‘a) (5:370).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He is one of those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against Ḥujr bin ‘Adiyy (5:269) and also fought Muslim (‘a). (5:270&381)

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:368): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Yūsuf bin Yazīd narrated to me from ‘Abdullah bin Khāzim that...’”

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:369): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Yūnus bin Ishāq narrated to me from ‘Abbās al-Judalī that...’” Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan was with ‘Alī (‘a) at Ṣiffīn (5:28) and was among those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against Ḥujr bin ‘Adiyy (5:270). He was the one who incited Ibn Ziyād to kill al-Ḥusain (‘a) (5:414). He was present in Karbalā’ and invited the sons of Umm al-Banīn, the brothers of ‘Abbās, to accept the safe-conduct from Ibn Ziyād and to abandon the Imam (‘a) (5:415). Ibn Sa’d sought his advice with regard to giving al-Ḥusain (‘a) respite for the night before ‘Āshūrā’, but he did not respond (5:417). Shamir was in charge of the left flank of Ibn Sa’d’s army (5:422). He responded to the speech of al-Ḥusain [‘a] with foul language and was rebuked by Ibn Muḏāhir (5:425). He responded to Zuhair bin al-Qain’s address by shooting an arrow at him and was reproached by him. (5:436). He attacked the left wing of al-Ḥusain’s army with the left flank of Ibn Sa’d’s army

Shabath bin Rib'ī the banner and said to him:

“Go amidst the people and give [glad tidings] to the obedient of increase [in their stipends] and kindness; and threaten the disobedient of deprivation and punishment, and inform them that the army of Shām has [already] advanced towards them.”¹

[The Noblemen Come Out With Banners of Protection]

Kathīr bin Shihāb addressed the people first saying:

“O people! Return to your families; do not hasten to evil and do not expose yourselves to death. The army of the commander of the faithful, Yazīd, are approaching. The

(5:436). Shamir was the one who pierced the tent of the Imam [‘a] with his spear and called for fire to burn down the tents together with its inhabitants. So the women started screaming and walked out of their tents, upon which the Imam [‘a] cursed him (5:438). He was the one who killed Nāfi’ bin Hilāl al-Jumalī (5:442) and attempted to kill Imam al-Sajjād (‘a) but the people prevented him [from doing so] (5:454). He was [also] the one to bring the heads [of the martyrs] to Ibn Ziyād (5:456), and the heads, together with the captives, to Yazīd (5:460&463). He along with the [members of] Hawāzin had twenty heads (5:468). Ibn Muṭī’ sent Shamir as the head of the quarter of Sālim in Kūfah along with 2,000 fighters (6:29) to encounter Mukhtār (6:18). He had rose with the noblemen of Kūfah to fight Mukhtār (6:44) and was [ultimately] defeated and fled Kūfah (6:52). He was killed by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Abī al-Kanūd in 66 H (6:53).

The word ‘shamir’ is a Hebrew word whose root is *shāmir* meaning entertainer (*sāmir*). This word is prevalent today also as when it is said [for instance] ‘Yitzhak Shamir’.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:369): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Abū al-Janāb al-Kalbī narrated to me that...”

governor has given Allah a promise that if you persist in fighting him and do not go away by nightfall, he will deprive your children of their [right to] state allotment of money (*'atā'*) and he will scatter your soldiers in Syrian campaigns without any greed.¹ He will hold the healthy among you responsible for the sick and those present responsible for those who are absent until none of those rebellious people will remain who has not tasted the evil consequences of what their hands have earned.”

The noblemen also talked in similar vein. When the people heard what they said, they began dispersing.² [Such that] women would come to their sons and brothers saying: “Go, the people will be enough [without] you.” Men were going to their sons and brothers and saying: “Tomorrow, the [army] of Shām will come against you, so what are you going to do with the war and the evil? Go away!” Thus he would be taken.³

Muḥammad bin al-Ash'ath went out till he stopped at the houses of the Banū 'Umārah. 'Umārah bin Ṣalkhab al-Azdī came to him while he was armed and intending to go to Ibn 'Aqīl, but [Muḥammad] arrested him and sent him to Ibn Ziyād where he was imprisoned.

[Thereafter,] Muslim bin 'Aqīl sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin

¹ That is, they will not have any share from the war booty that the Muslims shall attain from their battles against the Romans. [Editor.]

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:370): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid informed me on the authority of 'Abdullah bin Khāzim al-Kathīrī -from the tribe of Azd- that...’”

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:371): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Mujālid bin Sa'id related to me that...’”

Shuraiḥ al-Shabāmī¹ from the mosque [together with a large number of people] to fight [Ibn al-Ash'ath].

[Qa'qā' bin Shaūr al-Dhuhālī attacked Muslim and his companions from a place in Kūfah known as al-'Irār²] and sent [someone] to inform Muḥammad bin al-Ash'ath [that]: "I have attacked Ibn 'Aqīl from 'Irār and he has retreated from his position."³

[Shabath bin Rib'i [also] fought them saying: "Wait till the night falls and they will all disperse". Qa'qā' bin Shaūr said to him: "You have obstructed the way for the people; open it for them and they shall [all] leave"].⁴

[The Loneliness of Muslim ('a)]

Abbās al-Jadalī says: "We came out with Ibn 'Aqīl while we were four thousand [men altogether], and before we [even] reached the palace our number fell to three hundred.⁵ The people continued dispersing and scattering until the evening when Ibn 'Aqīl was left with only thirty men in the mosque. Thus, there were only thirty people who prayed with Ibn 'Aqīl.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:369): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Abū Ḥāb al-Kalbī narrated to me that...'"

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: This part has been mentioned by Hārūn bin Muslim from 'Alī bin Ṣāliḥ, from 'Īsā bin Yazīd (5:381). We have put it in brackets since it has not been reported by Abū Mikhnaf.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:370): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshīd has related it to me from 'Abdullah bin Khāzim al-Kathīrī -from the tribe of Azd- that...'"

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:371): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Mujālid bin Sa'id has narrated to me saying...'"

⁵ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:369): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Yūsuf bin Abī Ishāq related to me that...'"

When he saw this, he came out heading for the gates of Kindah. He reached the gates with only ten of them [left] with him. Then he left the gate with no one beside him. He looked around but could see no one to guide him along the road, to show him to his house or assist him if an enemy appeared before him.

He wandered amid the lanes of Kūfah without knowing where he was going until he came to the houses of the Banū Jabalah of Kindah. He went on until he came to a door of a lady called Ṭaw'ah. She had been a slave-wife (*umm walad*) of Ash'ath bin Qais¹

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Ash'ath bin Qais came to see the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) in the year 10 H amidst 60 riders. He traced his ancestry from his mother's side to Ākil al-Mirār who had royal blood and wanted to link the Holy Prophet (ṣ) to the same ancestry, but he related himself to al-Naḍr bin Kanānah, something which did not impress Ash'ath (3:137). The Prophet of Allah (ṣ) married his sister Qutailah, but he passed away before having relation with her. So she turned her back from Islam together with her brother Ash'ath! (3:168). Ash'ath turned his back from Islam after the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and fought [the Muslims] but was defeated (3:335). He sought protection [from the Muslims] and they granted it to him (3:337). Then they sent him along with other captives to Abū Bakr. [Ash'ath] had earlier proposed Abū Bakr's sister, Umm Farwah, in marriage and [later] married her but did not have coition with her. Thereafter, he turned his back from Islam, so Abū Bakr freed him from captivity [and later] overlooked his wrong doing, accepted his Islam and returned back to him his family (3:339). However, on his death bed, Abū Bakr [regretted his action] saying: "I wish I would have put Ash'ath to the sword the day he was brought to me as a captive; for he has made me believe that he did not come across any evil except that he supported it" (3:430). Ash'ath led 1,700 men from among the people of Yemen to join the army of the battle of al-Qādisiyyah

who had freed her. Then she was married by Usaid al-Ḥaḍramī¹ and borne him [a son called] Bilāl. Bilāl had gone

(3:487). Sa'd [the commander in chief of the army] found Ash'ath among those with good physical features, an awe-inspiring personality and sound judgement and so he included him in the group of those who he sent to invite the Persian king to Islam (3:496). Ash'ath was urging his men –during the battle of al-Qādisiyyah- to fight the Persian army in the cause of the Arabs, there being no mention of Allah! (3:539&560). He marched with 700 warriors from Kindah and killed the leader of the Persian brigade called 'Turk' (3:563). He craved for the the spoils of war attained by Khālid bin Walīd and asked him for some and Khālid allowed him [to take] 10,000 [dirhams] (4:67). Ash'ath also participated in the battle of Nahāwand (4:129). In the year 30 H, he purchased from 'Uthmān the spoils of war of Ṭirnābād in Iraq with [the money] he had in Ḥaḍramaut (4:280). In the year 34 H, Sa'id bin al-'Āṣ sent him from Kūfah as the governor of Ādharbaijān (4:331) and he was still in this position when 'Uthmān died (4:422). Then 'Alī ('a) invited Ash'ath to pay allegiance to him and join him and he accepted the invitation (4:561). He had accepted in Ṣiffīn the task of regaining control over the water from the followers of Mu'āwiyah (4:569). He was the one who disobeyed Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('a) [at Nahrawān] and gave consent to arbitration and nominated al-Ash'arī [for that] and refused to accept Ibn 'Abbās and al-Ashtar who were approved by 'Alī ('a), insisting on al-Ash'arī while he was tired of the battle (4:51). He was the first person whose witness appeared on the document of arbitration. He called on al-Ashtar to sign [the document] but he refused and reproached him. Al-Ash'ath [then] went out reading the document to the people (5:55). He declined to accompany 'Alī ('a) in his move towards Mu'āwiyah after the Nahrawān and insisted on returning to Kūfah under the pretext of [the need for] preparation (5:89). 'Uthmān had tempted him with the taxes from Ādharbaijān [nearing] 100,000 [dinars] a year (5:130). Ash'ath had also built a mosque in Kūfah (5:22).

¹ Usaid bin Mālik al-Ḥaḍramī. It is said that he is the one who

out with the people and his mother was standing [at the door] waiting for him.

Ibn 'Aqīl greeted her and she returned the greeting. He said to her: "O servant of Allah! Give me water to drink." She entered the house and gave him a drink and he sat down. She took the vessel inside and then came out [again].

She said: "O servant of Allah! Have you not had your drink?"

He said: "Yes."

She said: "Then go to your people." But he was silent. She repeated it but he was [still] silent. Then she said to him: "Fear Allah with respect to me! Glory be to Allah, O servant of Allah! Go to your people, may Allah protect you. For it is not right for you to sit at my door and I will not permit you to do it."

He stood up and said: "O servant of Allah! I have neither house nor kinsmen in this town. Would you show me generosity and kindness? Perhaps I will be able to repay it after this day?"

She said: "O Servant of Allah! What is it?"

He said: "I am Muslim bin 'Aqīl. These people have lied to me and deceived me."

She said: "You are Muslim?!"

He said: "Yes."

killed 'Abdullah bin Muslim in Karbalā'. His son, Bilāl, revealed the place in their house [where] Muslim [was hiding], which resulted in his killing.

She said: "Come in." She took him into a room in her house, but not the room she used. She spread out a carpet for him and offered him supper but he did not eat.

Soon her son returned. He saw her frequently going in and out of that room. He said: "By Allah! Your constantly going into and coming out of that room this evening makes me suspect. There is something [there]."

She said: "O my son, forget about this."

He said: "By Allah, you must tell me!"

She replied: "Go on with your own business and do not ask me about anything." But he insisted to her until she said: "O my son! Do not tell any of the people anything about what I am going to tell you." She took from him an oath and he swore [not to do so]. Then she informed him. He went to bed without saying anything.¹

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:371): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Mujālid bin Sa'īd narrated to me that...' See also *al-Irshād* (pg.212) and *al-Maqtal* of al-Khwārazmī (pg.208). *Al-Ṭabarī* reports on the authority of 'Ammār al-Duhanī from Imam al-Bāqir ('a) who said: "When Muslim saw that he was now alone [and just] wandering in the streets [of Kūfah], he stopped at a door and a lady came out from the house. So he said to her: 'Give me water to drink.' She gave him water and then went inside. She came out again after sometime and found Muslim still at the door. So she said: 'O servant of Allah! Your sitting [here] arouses suspicion, so go away!' He said: 'I am Muslim bin 'Aqīl, do you have shelter [for me]?' She said: 'Yes, come in.' Her son was a servant of Muḥammad bin Ash'ath, so when he learnt of Muslim [being in their house], he went to Muḥammad and informed him, who then went to 'Ubaidullah and gave him the news. 'Ubaidullah sent 'Amru bin Huraith al-Makhzūmī -the head of his bodyguards-together with 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Muḥammad bin Ash'ath [to

[The Stand of Ibn Ziyād]

A long time passed for Ibn Ziyād without him hearing the [voices of the] supporters of Ibn ‘Aqīl as he heard them before. He said to his followers: “[Go and] look down at them. See whether you can see any of them?”

They looked down but did not see anyone. He said: “See whether they are in the shadows and are lying in ambush for you.”

They [went] taking refuge in the corridors of the mosque. They began to lower the torches of fire in their hands and then look whether there is anyone in the shadows. Sometimes the torches gave light for them and sometimes they did not give [as much] light for them as they would have wished. So they let down the torches and sticks of cane tied with rope on which was fire. They were let down until they reached the ground. They did this in [places in which was] the deepest darkness, [as well as] those parts which were closer and those which were in between. They [also] did that in the darkness around the pulpit. When they saw that there was nothing, they informed Ibn Ziyād [that the people had dispersed].

Then he ordered his scribe, ‘Amru bin Nāfi’,¹ to announce [saying]:

arrest Muslim]. Muslim did not know of this until after the house was surrounded [by them]” (5:350). But we shall see soon that the head of his bodyguards was [in fact] Ḥuṣāin bin Tamīm.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:380): He was Ibn Ziyād’s scribe who wrote the letter for him to Yazīd informing him of the killing of Muslim. He used to take long in writing letters and was disliked by Ibn Ziyād.

“There is no guarantee of security for any man of the bodyguards, or the group leaders (*‘urafā*’), the supporters and the fighters who prayed the night prayers (*‘ishā*’) anywhere else except in the mosque.”

It did not take an hour before the mosque was filled with the people. Ḥuṣain bin Tamīm [al-Tamīmī] -the chief of his bodyguards-¹ said to Ibn Ziyād: “If you wish, you can lead the people in prayers, or someone else can lead them; for I fear that some of your enemies may attempt to assassinate

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Ibn Ziyād had sent him [i.e. Ḥuṣain] to al-Qādisiyyah for arranging the horsemen from there to the cities of Khaffān, Quṭquṭānah and La’la’ (5:394). He was the one who sent Qais bin Musahhar al-Ṣaidāwī, the messenger of al-Ḥusain (‘a), to Ibn Ziyād who latter killed him (5:395) and ‘Abdullah bin Buqṭur (5:398). He was the one to send ahead Ḥurr with an army of 1,000 men of the Banū Tamīm from al-Qādisiyyah to encounter al-Ḥusain (‘a). He was the head of the guards in Karbalā’ and was [constantly] inciting them to kill Ḥurr (5:434). Ibn Sa’d had sent him along with 500 archers to shoot at the followers of al-Ḥusain (‘a), so they drew near them and showered them with arrows, stunning thereby their horses (5:437). Ibn Tamīm also launched an attack on the companions of al-Ḥusain (‘a) as they were preparing for the prayers, so Ḥabīb bin Muṣāhir came out to him and struck the face of his horse with [his] sword upon which it reared and [Ḥaṣīn] fell off. Consequently, Budail bin Ṣuraim al-‘Aqfānī al-Tamīmī struck Ḥabīb on the head with his sword. Another person from the Banū Tamīm attacked him and stabbed him with a spear. Then Ḥuṣain bin Tamīm returned to him and struck him on the head and [Ḥabīb] fell [to the ground]. Then Budail beheaded Ḥabīb and gave his head to Ḥuṣain. Ḥuṣain hung his head on the neck of his horse and went with it round the army and then gave it back to his killer (5:440). Ḥuṣain shot an arrow at the Imam (‘a) when he drew near the water to drink and the arrow hit his mouth and the Imam [‘a] prayed against him (5:449).

you!”

He said: “Order my guards to stand behind me as they used to do and you should keep a watch on them.” Then he opened the gateway which [went] into the mosque. He came out together with his followers. [He entered the mosque] and led the people [in prayers].

[Ibn Ziyād’s Address after Muslim (‘a) had Remained Alone]

[Thereafter,] Ibn Ziyād went on the pulpit, praised Allah and said:

“Ibn ‘Aqīl -that fool and ignorant- has caused [all] these differences and discord that you have seen! There will be no security from Allah for a man in whose house we find him. Whoever brings him, will have [the equivalent of] his blood-money. Fear Allah, [O] servants of Allah! And keep to obedience and your pledge of allegiance. Do not do anything which will be against yourselves.

O Ḥuşain bin Tamīm! May your mother mourn you, if any of the gates of the lanes of Kūfah is open, or this man gets away and you do not bring him to me! I give you authority over the houses of the people of Kūfah! Send guards to [keep watch over] the openings of the streets. Tomorrow morning clear out [the people from] the houses and search them thoroughly so that you bring me this man!”

[Ibn Ziyād in Pursuit of Muslim (‘a)]

Ibn Ziyād then descended [the pulpit] and went [inside the

palace]. He gave a banner to ‘Amru bin Ḥuraith¹ and appointed him over the people², and ordered him to raise [the banner of safe-conduct] for the people in the mosque.

The news of Muslim’s rise reached Mukhtār bin Abī ‘Ubaid

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: ‘Amru bin Ḥuraith al-Makhzūmī. He purchased from Sā’ib bin al-Aqra’ al-Thaqafī -the scribe and accountant of the Muslim army at the conquest of Nahāwand- two large boxes from the spoils of war that contained pearls, chrysolite, and rubies, for two million dirhams. He then went to the cities in Persia and sold them for four million. He was the richest man in Kūfah by the year 21 H. (5:117)

‘Amru was the deputy of Sa’id bin al-‘Āṣ in Kūfah and helped calm the people with respect to [the crisis of] ‘Uthmān in the year 34 H (4:322). He also served as Ziyād bin Sumayyah’s deputy in Kūfah in 51 H and was [once] stoned by the companions of Ḥujr (5:256). He was the head of the quarter of the people of Madīnah [residing] in Kūfah and was among those to testify against Ḥujr and his followers (5:268) in 64 H. Ibn Ḥuraith also served as Ibn Ziyād’s deputy in Kūfah in the year 64 H. When Yazīd died and Ibn Ziyād made the bid for the caliphate, Ibn Ḥuraith followed him and was inviting people towards his authority, on account of which he was stoned by the people of Kūfah (5:524) and was expelled by them from the palace (5:560). He then detached himself from the people and joined the righteous people in the movement of Mukhtār in 66 H (6:30). Ibn Ḥuraith owned a bathhouse in Kūfah (6:48). In the year 71 H, he earned the favour of ‘Abd al-Malik (6:167) and served as the deputy of Bishr bin Marwān in Kūfah in 73 H (6:144). Ibn Ḥuraith refused to bring water to Muslim bin ‘Aqīl [when he was brought before Ibn Ziyad] (5:376). He pleaded for Zainab (‘a) in the court of Ibn Ziyād only because of his fervor for the Quraish (5:457). He died in 85 H. He was 12 years old when the the Prophet (ṣ) passed away, as reported in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg.527; Suwaidān publications).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:371-373): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Mujālid bin Sa’id narrated to me that...”

while he was in his village called Laqafā at Khuṭraniyyah. Mukhtār was among those people of Kūfah who paid allegiance to Muslim and was sincere to him such that he even invited his followers to obey him. [After he received the news,] he set out for Kūfah together with his followers and reached the gate of al-Fīl in the evening. This was at a time when ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād had already appointed ‘Amru bin Ḥuraith as the in charge over the people.

While Mukhtār was at bāb al-Fīl, Hāni’ bin Abī Ḥayyah al-Wadā’ī¹ passed by and said to Mukhtār: “Why are you standing here?! You are neither with the people nor in your house.”

Mukhtār replied: “I am shocked at the gravity of your crime.”

Hāni’ said: “By Allah! I think you are going to kill yourself.” [He said this] and proceeded towards ‘Amru bin Ḥuraith and informed him about Mukhtār.²

[The Stand of Mukhtār]

‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Abī ‘Umair al-Thaqafī³ says: “I was

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was among those who testified against Ḥujr and his followers (5:270) and went with the heads of Muslim and Hāni’ to Yazīd (5:38). He met Mukhtār in Makkah during the reign of Ibn al-Zubair in 64 H and learnt that Mukhtār was planning to return to Kūfah and initiate a revolt there, so he warned Mukhtār of [causing] dissension (5:578).

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: (5:569): “Abū Mikhnaf reports: ‘Naḍr bin Ṣālih related to me that...”

³ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was with Mukhtār in his uprising in 67 H (6:98). Apparently, he seems to be ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin ‘Abdullah bin ‘Uthmān al-Thaqafī, the son of Mu’āwiyah’s sister by the name of Umm al-Ḥakam. Mu’āwiyah had appointed him as the

sitting in the company of 'Amru bin Ḥuraith when Hāni' bin Abī Ḥayyah informed him of Mukhtār's statement. [On hearing this,] Ibn Ḥuraith said to me: 'Go to your uncle and inform him that the whereabouts of his companion [i.e. Muslim bin 'Aqīl] are not known, so he should not complicate things for himself.' As I was leaving, Zāidah bin Qudāmah bin Mas'ūd¹ stood up and said to [Ibn Ḥuraith]: 'Will he be safe if he comes to you?' 'Amru bin Ḥuraith replied: 'He is safe on my side. If anything about his affair reaches 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād, [then] I shall give witness before him in his favour and intercede on his behalf.'" Zā'idah said: "In this case we hope for the best, by the will of Allah."

'Abd al-Raḥmān says: "I went out to see Mukhtār along with Zāidah and informed him [of our conversation with Ibn Ḥuraith] and adjured him by Allah that he should not act in a way that he could be accused. So Mukhtār [accepted and] went to see Ibn Ḥuraith and greeted him and stayed under his protection till morning."²

governor of Kūfah in 58 H after Ḍaḥḥāk bin Qais, while the head of his bodyguards then was Zā'idah bin Qudāmah al-Thaqafī (5:310). He was earlier the governor of Mosul under Mu'āwiyah in 51 H. He was the one who killed 'Amru bin al-Ḥumq al-Khuzā'i while he was ill, claiming it to be a retaliation for 'Uthmān's blood (5:265). He maltreated the people of Kūfah to the extent that they expelled him and he joined Mu'āwiyah, his maternal uncle, who then appointed him as the governor of Egypt and he was [again] expelled from there, so he returned back to Mu'āwiyah (5:312). If it was not for his family ties with Yazīd, Ibn Ḥuraith would not have benefited him.

¹ We have already given his biography in the introduction.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:570): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Naḍr bin Ṣālih related to me from 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Abī 'Umair al-Thaqafī that...'"

Kathīr [bin Shihāb al-Ḥārithī] happened to see a man from the tribe of Kalb -who was known as ‘Abd al-A’lā bin Yazīd- in Banū Fityān [an area in Kūfah]. He had taken up arms with him, looking for Ibn ‘Aqīl. Kathīr caught him and took him to Ibn Ziyād and informed him about his intention. He said to [Ibn Ziyād]: “I only intended [to join] you!” He said [mockingly]: “And you had, indeed, promised me that!” Then he ordered him to be imprisoned.¹

[Muslim’s Hiding Place Disclosed]

In the morning, Ibn Ziyād took his seat and allowed the people to come and see him. [When] Muḥammad bin Ash’ath entered, Ibn Ziyād said: “Welcome to one whose [loyalty] is above suspicion and accusation!” Then he sat him by his side.

The son of that old woman who provided shelter to Muslim bin ‘Aqīl, that is Bilāl bin Usaid, went to Abd al-Raḥmān bin Muḥammad bin Ash’ath in the morning and told him that Ibn ‘Aqīl was with his mother. So ‘Abd al-Raḥmān went to his father who was with Ibn Ziyād and whispered the news to him.

Ibn Ziyād asked him: “What did he tell you?”

He replied: “He has informed me that Ibn ‘Aqīl is [hiding] in one of the houses of our [tribe].”

“Go and bring him to me immediately”, said Ibn Ziyād, poking a cane into his side.²

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:369): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Abū Janāb al-Kalbī has narrated to me that...’”

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:371-373): “Abū Mikhnaf reports: ‘Mujālid bin

[The Move to Arrest Muslim ('a)]

[Ibn Ziyād] sent an order to 'Amru bin Ḥuraith -his representative in the mosque- that he should dispatch sixty or seventy men from the tribe of Qais [to accompany Ibn Ash'ath]. [The reason being that] Ibn Ziyād disliked sending Ash'ath's Kinsmen¹ with him, for he well knew that every tribe detested a person like Ibn 'Aqīl to be arrested by them. So Ibn Ḥuraith sent 'Amru bin 'Ubaid bin 'Abbās al-Sulamī to accompany Ibn Ash'ath with [around] sixty or seventy men from Qais and they [proceeded] until they reached the house where Ibn 'Aqīl was hiding.

[Muslim ('a) Fights Ibn Ash'ath]

When [Muslim ('a)] heard the [voices of the] hooves of the horses and voices of the men, he understood that they have come [to arrest him]. [As] he went out to face them with his sword, they forced their way into the house. He severely resisted, striking them with his sword until he drove them out of the house. They repeated the attack and he counter-attacked in the same way.

Bukair [bin Ḥamrān al-Aḥmarī al-Shāmī] struck Muslim's mouth, cutting his upper lip and slicing down to the lower lip to knock out two of his front teeth. Muslim struck him a terrible blow on his head and repeated it again, severing a

Sa'id narrated to me..." See also *al-Irshād* (pg.213) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.208).

¹ Ibn Ash'ath himself could have justified this act of his by saying that he was only taking out Muslim from the house of their slave lady, Ṭaw'ah, and her son Bilāl. This indicates how well acquainted Ibn Ziyād was with regard to tribal matters such that he was careful of them and employed them for his own ends.

nerve along his shoulder with a blow which almost reached his stomach.

[Muslim ('a) Attacked with Stones and Fire]

When they saw this, they [went up and] looked down on him from the rooftop of the house. They began throwing stones at him and to light canes of wood with fire which they threw on him from the top of the house. When [Muslim ('a)] saw this, he went out against them into the lane with his sword unsheathed.

Muḥammad bin Ash'ath came forward and said to him: "O young man! You are given security, do not kill yourself." But he continued to fight against them saying:

I have taken an oath that I will only be killed as a free man, although I see death as a detestable thing.

Every man one day will meet evil, as the pleasant and easy [situation] gets mixed up with difficulty and bitterness.

The heart is at peace [now] after being terrified¹, [but] I fear that I will be cheated and deluded.

¹ In the actual text of *al-Ṭabarī* and other books that have reached us, the phrase *shi'ā' al-nafs* has been replaced with *shi'ā' al-shams* (rays of the sun). According to Shaikh al-Samāwī in *Ibṣār al-'Ain* (pg.49), this is a distortion by those who could not understand the meaning of *shi'ā' al-nafs*, so it seemed to them that *shi'ā' al-shams* was more appropriate. *Shi'ā' al-nafs* means 'the fearing of the heart' as it is said: *mārat nafsuhū shi'ā'an*, that is his heart became dispersed like the tiny rays out of fear (*tafarraqat nafsuhū kasshi'ā' al-daḡiq min al-khauf*); for *shi'ā'* means a thing which is totally scattered.

[Muslim ('a) Taken as a Prisoner]

Muḥammad bin al-Ash'ath said to him: "You shall not be lied to or deceived or cheated; for these people [i.e. the Banū Umayyah] are your cousins, they will not fight against you or strike you."

[Muslim] was [now] exhausted as a result of constant hail of stones and was unable to fight. [So he paused to rest] and leaned with his back to the wall of the house. Muḥammad bin Ash'ath called out to him: "You are granted protection."

So [Muslim] asked: "Am I granted security?"

Ibn Ash'ath replied: "Yes" and the people with him said: "[Yes] you are in safety."

Ibn 'Aqīl said: "If it was not for this security that you have granted me, I would not have put my hand in yours." [Here it becomes apparent that he surrendered himself because of the protection he was granted].

A mule was brought and he was sat on it. They gathered around him and pulled away his sword from his neck, as if he was in despair for his life and his eyes filled with tears. He said: "This is the beginning of the deception."

Muḥammad bin Ash'ath answered: "I hope no difficulty falls upon you."

"Is it just a hope, where is your protection?! 'Indeed we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return!'", he retorted as he wept.

'Amru bin 'Ubaidullah bin 'Abbās [al-Sulamī -the one who led the soldiers to capture Ibn 'Aqīl] said to him: "One who has sought for the like of what you have sought for, would not weep when there befalls him what has befallen you."

Muslim replied: “By Allah! I am indeed not weeping for myself, nor am I lamenting for my own death, even though I have not the slightest desire for destruction. But I am weeping for my family who are coming to me, I am weeping for al-Ḥusain and the family of al-Ḥusain [‘a].”

[Muslim’s Will to Ibn al-Ash’ath]

Then he went to Muḥammad bin Ash’ath and said: “O Servant of Allah! By Allah, I can see that you are unable to grant me protection. Yet do you have the goodness to be able to send one of your men to inform al-Ḥusain on my behalf? For I have no doubt that he has [already] set out towards you today, or will be setting out tomorrow with his family members. The anxiety you witness in me is only because of this. [The messenger] should say: “Ibn ‘Aqīl has sent me to you. He is a prisoner in the hands of the people and he does not expect to see the evening before he is killed. He says: ‘Return with your household and do not let the people of Kūfah tempt you! For they were the followers of your father who desired separation from them through death or murder! The people of Kūfah have lied to you and me. [Indeed,] a person who has been lied to has no say!”

Ibn Ash’ath said: “By Allah! I will do that and I will inform Ibn Ziyād that I have given you a guarantee of security.”¹

[Muslim (‘a) at the Gate of the Palace]

Muḥammad bin Ash’ath went with Ibn ‘Aqīl to the gate of

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:372): “Abū Mikhnaḥ said: ‘Qudāmah bin Sa’īd bin Zāidah bin Qudāmah al-Thaqafī has related to me from his grandfather Zaydah that...’ For more about him, see the Introduction.

the palace while he was thirsty. There were [already] some people sitting there waiting for the permission to enter. Among them were ‘Umāra bin ‘Uqbah bin Abī Mu’ṭī’, ‘Amru bin Ḥuraith, Muslim bin ‘Amru and Kathīr bin Shihāb.¹

There was a jug of cold water placed at the doorway. Ibn ‘Aqīl said: “Give me a drink of this water.”

Muslim bin ‘Amru [al-Bāhili] said to him: “Do you see how cold it is! By Allah, you will never taste a drop of it until you taste the boiling water (*ḥamīm*) in the Hell fire!”

[Muslim] said: “Woe on you! Who are you?”

Al-Bāhili replied: “I am the one² who recognized the truth when you denied it; who was sincere to his leader (*imām*) while you deceived him, who listened and obeyed him when you disobeyed and opposed him! I am Muslim bin ‘Amru al-Bāhili!”

Ibn ‘Aqīl retorted: “May your mother weep at the sorrow of your death! How coarse you are, how rough and hard your heart is. O Son of Bāhilah, you are more appropriate for the boiling water of the hell fire and to remain there forever than I am!”

Then he sat down resting his back against the wall. ‘Amru bin Ḥuraith [al-Makhzūmī] sent his slave called Sulaimān and he brought [some] water in a pitcher³ with a napkin on

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:375): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Ja’far bin Ḥudhaifah al-Ṭāī narrated to me that...”

² The actual text reads: “I am the son of one...”, but the correct version is what has been mentioned in this text.

³ Here Abū Mikhnaf stops his report from Qudāmah bin Sa’id and

it and a cup. He poured water into it and gave him to drink. But whenever he went to drink, the cup filled with blood. When he filled the cup for the third time and went to drink, his front teeth fell into the cup. So he said: "All praise is due to Allah! If it was part of my decreed provision, I would have [indeed] drunk it."¹

[Ibn al-Ash'ath] asked permission to enter and it was given to him.² Muslim was brought before Ibn Ziyād but did not

begins relating from Sa'id bin Mudrak bin 'Umārah bin 'Uqbah bin Abī Mu'īṭ [saying] that he is the one who sent his servant called Qais to bring the pitcher. The report of Ibn Mudrak appears to go back to that of Qudāmah. We [here] preferred Qudāmah's report on the authority of his grandfather Zāidah bin Qudāmah al-Thaqafī, because we have indicted Ibn Mudrak for concocting [this] narration as a merit for his grandfather, 'Umārah, whereas such an objection cannot be made on the report of Qudāmah since he has not attributed it to his grandfather, Zāidah, although he was present at the scene, but instead attributes it to 'Amru bin Ḥuraith. Ibn Ḥuraith had two other stands [also]: his favourable word about Mukhtār in the presence of Ibn Ziyād as he testified in favour of the former thus saving him from being killed; and his intervention when Ibn Ziyād intended to beat [Lady] Zainab ('a), though all this was out of his fervour for Quraish. As for 'Umārah bin 'Uqbah bin Abī Mu'īṭ al-Umawiyy, he is among the enemies of the Ahl al-Bait ('a) whose biography we have mentioned in the introduction. Shaikh al-Mufīd has mentioned Qudāmah's report in *al-Irshād* (pg.215) and so has al-Khwārazmī in his *al-Maqtal* (pg.210). Al-Samāwī has reconciled between the two reports by saying that both of them [i.e. 'Umārah and 'Amru] had sent for the water, something which is not correct. See *Ibṣār al-'Ain* (pg.45) of al-Samāwī.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:375): "Abū Mikhnaḥ reports from Qudāmah bin Sa'id that..."

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:375): "Abū Mihnaḥ says: 'Ja'far bin Ḥudhaifah al-Ṭā'ī related to me saying..."

greet him. So a guard said to him: "Will you not salute the governor?"

[Muslim] replied: "If he wants to kill me, then what is [the point of] greeting him with words of peace?! But if he does not want to kill me, then -by my life- my greetings [of peace] to him would be profuse."

Ibn Ziyād then said to him: "By my life, you will surely be killed!"

He said: "Is it so?"

He replied: "Yes."

He said: "Then let me make a will to some of my tribesmen."

[Muslim's Will to 'Umar bin Sa'd]

So he looked at the people who were seated with 'Ubaidullah and among them was 'Umar bin Sa'd. So he called out: "O 'Umar! Indeed there is kinship between you and me¹ and I have need of you. I have a right on you that you should fulfill my request, but it is a secret." [But 'Umar bin Sa'd] refused to listen to him.

So 'Ubaidullah told him: "Do not refuse to consider the need of your cousin."

So 'Umar got up with him and sat where Ibn Ziyād could see him. [Ibn 'Aqīl said]: "I have a debt in Kūfah. I have borrowed seven hundred dirhams since I arrived in Kūfah,

¹ Both of them were from Quraish and both were related to the Banū Zuhrah -the tribe from which Ibn Sa'd came- from their mother's side.

[please] repay it on my behalf. Ask Ibn Ziyād to give you my corpse [after I have been killed] and bury it. Send someone to al-Ḥusain ('a) to send him back. For I have written to him telling him that the people are with him, and now I can only think that he is coming."¹

[Muslim ('a) in the Presence of Ibn Ziyād]

Then Ibn Ziyād said: "Yes, Ibn 'Aqīl! You came to the people while they were united in order to scatter them and divide their opinions so that some of them may attack others?!"

He replied: "Never! I did not come for that, but [because] the people of the city claimed that your father had killed their best men and shed their blood and that he ruled over them the rule of Choesroe and Caesar. We came to them to enjoin justice and invite [them] to the rule (*ḥukm*) by the Book [of Allah]."

Ibn Ziyad retorted: "O sinner! What are you [to do] with that! Did not we do that when you were in Madīnah drinking wine!"

Ibn 'Aqīl exclaimed: "Me, drink wine! By Allah, verily, Allah knows that you are not speaking the truth and you have spoken without any knowledge and that I am not like you have said. [He knows] that the more deserving [to be accused] of drinking wine than me and the more entitled to that, is you who laps the blood of Muslims, kills the soul which Allah has forbidden, kills innocent people, sheds

¹ Muslim ('a) repeated the last part of his will to Ibn Sa'd after he had earlier asked Ibn Ash'ath to do so, due to the significance of the matter and that may be one of them would act on it.

sacred blood and kills out of rage, enmity and suspicion, while he is indulged in play and sport as if he has done nothing [wrong]!”

Ibn Ziyād [angrily] said: “O sinner! Your soul is making you desire that [i.e. caliphate] which Allah has deprived you of and did not regard you worthy of it.”

He said: “Who is worthy of it, O Ibn Ziyād?”

He answered: “Yazīd, the commander of the faithful.”

Ibn ‘Aqīl said: “Praise is due to Allah in all conditions. We accept Allah as a judge between you and us.”

Ibn Ziyād said: “As if you assume that you have a right to it!”

He replied: “By Allah, it is not an assumption (*ẓann*) but a conviction!”

Ibn Ziyād said: “May Allah kill me, if I do not kill you in a manner that no one in Islam has been killed before!”

He said: “You wil never abandon evil murder, wicked punishment, shameful practice, and avaricious domination to anyone [else], as no one among the people is more entitled to these [crimes] than you.”

[Hearing this,] the son of Sumayyah¹ began to curse him

¹ Sumayyah was the mother of Ziyād [bin Abīh] and used to have a flag over her house during the days of Ignorance (*jāhiliyyah*) to indicate that she was was prostitute. Abū Sufyān and other men had illicit relations with her which resulted in the birth of Ziyād. So they drew lots by using arrows which were without head and feathers in order to decide who would have Ziyād. He fell to Abū Sufyān’s lot and he claimed him to be his son. Nevertheless, he came to be known as Ziyād bin Sumayyah, that is after his

and to curse al-Ḥusain, 'Alī and 'Aqīl.

[The Martyrdom of Ibn 'Aqīl ('a)]

[Ibn Ziyād] then ordered: "Take him up to the top of the palace and behead him and throw his body to the ground."

[Muslim] said [to Ibn Ash'ath]: "O Ibn Ash'ath! By Allah, had you not offered me protection, I would not have surrendered myself. So rise with your sword in defense of me; for the security [you granted me] has been broken!"¹

So Ibn Ash'ath came forward and gave 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziyād] an account of Muslim's [arrest] and how he was struck by Bukair [bin Ḥamrān] and informed him about the guarantee of security he gave to [Ibn 'Aqīl].

Ibn Ziyad said: "What have you to do with granting security! As if we had sent you to give him protection! We only sent you to bring him to us!" So [Ibn Ash'ath] kept quiet.²

Then Ibn Ziyād said: "Where is this person whose head and shoulder Ibn 'Aqīl struck with [his] sword?" So he was called and Ibn Ziyād [told him]: "Go up and [now] you be the one who cuts his head off."

So he went up with him. [Ibn 'Aqīl] was exalting Allah

mother, until after Mu'āwiyah attributed him to his own father. [By doing so,] Mu'āwiyah committed the most abominable act from the viewpoint of both religion and convention (*'urf*).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:376): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Sa'id bin Mudrak bin 'Umārah narrated to me from his grandfather, 'Umārah bin 'Uqbah bin Abī Mu'īt, that..."

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:375): "Abū Mikhnaf reports that: 'Ja'far bin Ḥudhaifah al-Ṭāī informed me that..."

saying *allāhu akbar* and seeking His forgiveness and sending salutations on His angels and prophets saying: “O Allah, You judge between us and a people who enticed us, lied to us and deserted us.”

So [Bukair al-Aḥmarī] led him up to a part which overlooked where the butchers are today.¹ His head was cut off and his body was made to follow his head.²

When Bukair bin Ḥamrān descended after killing Muslim, Ibn Ziyād asked him: “Have you killed him?” He replied: “Yes.”

Ibn Ziyād [inquired]: “What was he saying as you were taking him up?”

He said: “He was mentioning the greatness of Allah and glorifying Him and seeking His forgiveness. When I drew him nearer to kill him, he said: ‘O Allah, You judge between us and a people who lied to us, deceived us, deserted us and killed us.’ I told him: ‘Get closer to me’ and gave him a blow but to no avail. Then I struck him for the second time and killed him.”

Then his head was brought to Ibn Ziyād.³

¹ By ‘now’ Abū Mikhnaf meant his own times. *Al-Irshād* (pg.216) says: “...now the location of the cobblers (*al-ḥīdhāyyīn*)”, while al-Khwārazmī says on page 215 of his *al-Maqtal*: “...the market of the butchers”, and again on page 214 he says: “...at a place where sheep and goats were sold.” This report [of al-Khwārazmī] supports what has appeared in the text of *al-Ṭabarī*.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:376): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Sa’id bin Mudrak bin ‘Umārah narrated to me...”

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:378): “Abū Mikhnaf reports that: “Ṣaq’ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from ‘Aun bin Abī Juḥaifah that...”

‘Umar [bin Sa‘d] said to Ibn Ziyād: “Do you know what he said to me? He told me so and so.”

Ibn Ziyād said: “The faithful would not betray you. But sometimes a treacherous man is given a trust.¹ With regard to your money, it belongs to you and we will not prevent you from doing with it what you like.² As for al-Ḥusain, if he does not intend [harm] to us, so will we. But if he intends [harm] to us, we will not hold back from him. As for the body, we do not care what is done to it after we have killed him.”³

[The Martyrdom of Hāni’ bin ‘Urwah]

After the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aqīl, [Ibn Ziyād] declined to fulfil his promise [to Muḥammad bin al-Ash’ath that he would return Hāni’ to him in order to avoid the enmity of [Hāni’]’s tribesmen; for it was him who took him to Ibn Ziyād]. ‘Ubaidullah then ordered for Hāni’ bin ‘Urwah and said: “Take him to the market place and cut off his head.”

¹ When Ibn Sa‘d saw that Ibn Ziyād has asked Ibn Ḥamrān about the last words of Muslim (‘a), he immediately went on to disclose what Muslim had entrusted him with in order to win [Ibn Ziyād’s] favour, but Ibn Ziyād responded by charging him with treachery. Such is the reward of the bootlickers!

² By saying: “With regard to your money...”, as if Ibn Ziyād considers him to be the inheritor of Muslim!

³ In another version he is reported to have said: “We will not grant your request regarding his corpse, since we do not consider him to deserve that, for he fought and opposed us and also tried to destroy us” (*al-Ṭabarī:5:377*). This is found in the same narration by Abū Mikhnaf which begins with [the following phrase]: “And they thought that he said...”

So Hāni' was taken -while he his hands were tied behind his back- to a place in the market where sheep were sold. Hāni' began to shout: "O Madhḥij! There is no one from Madhḥij for me today! O Madhḥij! Where are the Madhḥij to help me!"

When he saw that no one is helping him, he pulled his hand and wrenched it free of the handcuff, saying: "Is there no stick, knife, stone or bone with which one can defend himself!" [At this] they jumped on him and tied him [more] tightly. Then it was said to him: "Stretch your neck forward." Hāni' said: "I am not so generous with my life, I will not help you against myself."

Then a Turkish slave of 'Ubaidullah by the name of Rashīd¹ struck him with [his] sword to no avail. So Hāni' said: "To Allah is the return. O Allah, to Your mercy and pleasure [do I return]!" Then he struck him again and killed him.² [May Allah's mercy and pleasure be upon him. Then they took his head to Ibn Ziyād].³

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:379): [Later,] 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin al-Ḥuṣain al-Murādī happened to see Rashīd with 'Ubaidullah and heard people saying that: "This is the killer of Hāni' bin 'Urwah." So he attacked him with a spear, stabbed him and killed him. See also *al-Irshād* (pg.217) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.214).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:378): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Ṣa'qab bin Zuhair narrated to me from 'Aun bin Abī Juḥaifah...'"

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* does not mention here that they were dragged by their two legs in the markets. But after this, he reports from Abū Mikhnaf himself who narrated from Abū Janāb al-Kalbī, who in turn was relating from 'Adiyy bin Ḥarmalah al-Asadī on the authority of 'Abdullah bin Salīm and Madhrī bin al-Mushma'il – both of whom were from Banū Asad, who reported from Bukair bin Math'abah al-Asadī who said: "I did not leave Kūfah until

[Those Who Were Killed After Muslim ('a) and Hāni']

After killing Muslim and Hāni', 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād ordered for 'Abd al-A'alā al-Kalbī, the one arrested by Kathīr bin Shihāb at Banū Fityān. So he was brought [before Ibn Ziyād]. Ibn Ziyād said to him: "Tell me about your case."

He said: "May Allah make you among the righteous! I had [just] come out to see what the people were doing when Kathīr bin Shihāb arrested me."

[Ibn Ziyād said]: "You must heavily swear that you did not come out for some other reason", but al-Kalbī refused to do so [and 'Ubaidullah got convinced that he had come out in support of Muslim].

Then, Ibn Ziyād ordered [saying]: "Take this man to the cemetery of Sabī' and behead him there." So they took him and killed him.

Then 'Umārah bin Ṣalkhab al-Azdī was brought before 'Ubaidullah. He was among those who intended to mobilize people in support of Muslim bin 'Aqīl.

[Ibn Ziyād] asked him: "From which clan are you?"

He replied: "From Azd."

[Ibn Ziyād] then said: "Take him to his people [and kill him

after Muslim bin 'Aqīl and Hāni' bin 'Urwah were killed and I saw them being dragged by their two legs in the market (5:397). Al-Khwārazmī (2:215) and Ibn Shahrāshūb (2:212) have mentioned that Ibn Ziyād crucified them up side down in the outskirts of Kūfah."

there].” So he was taken and beheaded amidst his people.¹

[The Imprisonment of Mukhtār]

The next morning when the door of ‘Ubaidullah’s palace was opened and people were allowed to enter, Mukhtār [also] went in. [Upon seeing him,] ‘Ubaidullah called him and said: “You are the one who was moving in a group of people to help Ibn ‘Aqīl?”

He replied: “[No,] I never did that. I only came under the banner of ‘Amru bin Ḥuraith and spent the night with him till morning.” [Here] ‘Amru said: “He is right, may Allah preserve you.”

Then [Ibn Ziyād] lifted his staff and struck the face of Mukhtār tearing his eye, and said: “Woe onto you! By Allah! Were it not for the testimony of ‘Amru, I would have beheaded you. Take him to prison.”

He was then taken to prison and remained there until the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain [‘a].²

[The Heads of Muslim (‘a) and Hāni’ Sent to Yazīd]

‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād dispatched Hānī bin Abī Ḥayyah al-Wādi’i [al-Kalbī al-Hamdānī] and Zubair bin al-Arwaḥ al-Tamīmī with the heads of [Muslim] and [Hāni’] to Yazīd bin Mu’āwiyah. He [also] ordered his scribe ‘Amru bin Nāfi’ to write to Yazīd bin Mu’āwiyah about what happened to Muslim and Hāni’. He wrote a long letter. When

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:378): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Ṣaq’ab bin Zuhair related to me from ‘Aun bin Abī Juḥaifah that...’”

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:566): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Naḍr bin Ṣāliḥ has narrated to me that...’”

‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād saw it, he disliked it and said: “What is this prolixity and this excess? Write [as I say]:

“All praise is due to Allah, who exacted the dues of the commander of the faithful and has given him sufficient provisions against his enemy. I [am writing to] inform the commander of the faithful -May Allah honour him- that Muslim bin ‘Aqīl took refuge in the house of Hāni’ bin ‘Urwah al-Murādī. I set look-outs and spies on them, concealed men against them, I tricked them until I brought them out. Allah gave me power over them. Thus I came upon them and had them executed. I have sent their heads to you with Hāni’ bin Abī Ḥayyah al-Hamdānī and Zubair bin al-Arwah al-Tamīmī. They are both men of loyalty, obedience and sincerity. Let the commander of the faithful ask them about whatever of the affair he may wish; for they have knowledge, truth, understanding and piety. That is all.”

Yazīd wrote [in reply]: “You have not gone beyond what I wanted. You have acted with the decisive action I wanted. You have launched into the attack with the violence of man who has control of his emotion. You have sufficed me, been sufficient [for the task], and acted true to my expectation and opinion of you. I have summoned your two messengers, questioned them and talked to them. I found them in their views and merit as you had mentioned. Receive them both with kindness on my recommendation. I have come to learn that Ḥusain bin ‘Alī has set out towards Iraq. So prepare watchtowers (*manāẓir*)¹ and outposts (*masāliḥ*). Guard

¹ *Al-manāẓir* is the plural of *manẓarah* which means a place used for keeping an eye on the enemy, while *al-masāliḥ*, plural of *maslahah*, is a place in which armed men keep a watch on the enemy in order to avert any sudden attack. See also *al-Irshād*

against any suspicious case and arrest [people] upon mere accusation. Do not kill except one who fights you. Write to me about any news which occurs. May the peace and mercy of Allah be upon you.”¹

Muslim bin ‘Aqīl rose in Kūfah on Tuesday, 8th of Dhū al-Hijjah 60 H, while al-Ḥusain [(‘a) left Makkah also] on Tuesday, the Day of Tarwiyah, on the same day when Muslim rose.²

‘Abdullah bin Zubair al-Asadī, or according to some al-Farazdaq, composed the following verses on the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aqīl and Hāni’ bin ‘Urwah al-Murādī:

O soul! If you do not know what death is, then look at Hāni’ in the market-place and Ibn ‘Aqīl.

Look at a hero [i.e. Hāni’] whose face has been smashed by the sword, and at another [i.e. Muslim] who fell dead from a high place.

The command of the governor struck them down, and they became legends for those who travel on every road.

You see a corpse whose colour death has changed, and a

(pg.217) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.245).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘I relate from Abū Janāb Yaḥyā bin Abī Ḥayyah al-Kalbī (5:380). He is the brother of Hāni’ bin Abī Ḥayyah, the one who carried the heads of Muslim and Hāni’ to Yazīd. It appears from Abū Janāb’s report about his brother that he was proud of the way Ibn Ziyād described him that he was a man of knowledge, truth, understanding and piety! And also the way Yazīd characterized him, though such an attitude was not unexpected from the tribe of Kilāb.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:378): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Ṣaq’ab bin Zuhair narrates from ‘Aun bin Abī Juḥaifah that...”

spattering of blood, which has flown abundantly.

A young man [who was even] more bashful than a shy young woman, [but] he was more decisive than the polished blade of a double-edged sword.

How can Asmā'¹ safely ride on ambling horses, while the Madhḥij urged him to seek vengeance.

The young and old from [the Banū] Murād, have surrounded him with their necks erected.

If you [still] do not avenge your brother's blood, then you are like a whore who gives consent to the little [she is given].^{2,3}

¹ This refers to Asma' bin Khārijah al-Fazārī who brought Hāni' bin 'Urwah to Ibn Ziyād.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:381): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Ṣaq'ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from 'Aun bin Abī Juḥaifah that...'"

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* narrates on the authority of 'Ammār al-Duhani from Imam al-Bāqir ('a) who said: "Their poet said the following on that..." and the Imam ['a] mentioned three verses of it, the first being "And (*fa*) [O soul!] If you do not know what death is, then look at..." (5:350), while in the text it reads "[O soul!] If you do not know..." which is not correct, as the couplet does not rhyme in this case. Al-Muḥaqqiq has recorded the name Zubair as 'Zabair' and he seems to have taken it from *al-Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr (4:36) and *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.108). With regard al-Asadī [the poet], al-Iṣfahānī says in his book (pg.290): "He was one of the notable Shī'ite narrators of ḥadīth and 'Abbād bin Ya'qūb al-Rawājani (d.205 H) and his like, and even more distinguished personalities than him, have also narrated from 'Abdullah". It has also been related from al-Iṣfahānī that he was among the companions of Muḥammad bin 'Abdillah bin al-Ḥasan Dhī al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah, who was martyred during the rule of Mansūr in the year 145 H. Al-Iṣfahānī then says: "He is the father of Abū Aḥmad al-Zubairī, the traditionist whose actual name was

Muḥammad bin ‘Abdillah bin al-Zubair” (pg.290).

Al-Kashhī narrates in his *al-Rijāl* (ḥadīth no.621) from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Sayābah who said: “Abū ‘Abdillah (‘a) gave me some dinars and aksed me to distribute them among the families of those who were martyred along with his uncle Zayd. So I distributed the money, and the share of the family of ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair al-Rassān was four dinars. Shaikh al-Mufīd reports in *al-Irshād* (pg.269) from Abū Khālid al-Wāsiṭī who said: “Abū ‘Abdillah (‘a) gave me a thousand *dinars* and ordered me to distribute them among the families of those who had been martyred with Zayd and the share of the family of ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair, the brother of Fuḍail al-Rassān, was four dinars.” In fact, they might be two different persons with the same name; for while al-Iṣfahānī counts Ibn al-Zubair among the distinguished Shī‘ah traditionists, the author of *al-Aghānī* (13:31) asserts that he was a partisan of the Banū Umayyah who was very zealous in their cause and supported them against their enemies! He further says: “Ibn al-Zubair never assisted anyone against them or their governors. ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād used to maintain relations with him, honour him and pay his debts. Ibn al-Zubair has in return a number of eulogies in praise of Ibn Ziyād and also Asmā’ bin Khāriyah al-Fazārī (*al-Aghānī*:13:33&37).

Sayyid al-Muqarram brings the above verses attributed to al-Asadī in his book *al-Shahīd Muslim* (pg.201) and says: “How can one ascribe these verses about Muslim and Hānī’ to this man after knowing his inclination towards the Banū Umayyah and his eulogies in their praise?!” Al-Muqarram then prefers to attribute them to Farazdaq who composed them after his return from *ḥajj* in the year 60 H.

Al-Iṣfahānī quotes these verses ascribed to Ibn al-Zubair al-Asadī from al-Madāinī who narrated them on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf from Yūsuf bin Yazīd.

AL-ḤUSAIN'S DEPARTURE FROM MAKKAH

Al-Ḥusain ('a) left Madīnah for Makkah on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab 60 H¹, and reached Makkah on the night preceding Friday, third of Sha'bān, and stayed there throughout the months of Sha'bān, Ramaḍān, Shawwāl and Dhū al-Qa'dah, and left Makkah on Tuesday, eight of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the Day of Tarwiyah, the very day Muslim bin 'Aqīl launched his uprising.

The people of Makkah started frequenting [al-Ḥusain ('a)] and so did others who had come for the 'umrah, and those from other places.

[Ibn al-Zubair's Stand Vis-à-Vis al-Ḥusain ('a)]

Ibn al-Zubair was among those who used to come to see [the Imam ('a)]. Sometimes he would come for two consecutive days and sometimes once after every two days. Ibn al-Zubair well knew that the people of Ḥijāz would never follow or pay allegiance to him so long as al-Ḥusain ('a)

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* says: "And in this year -60 H- Yazīd dismissed Walīd bin 'Utbah in the month of Ramaḍān [from the governership of Madīnah] and replaced him with 'Amru bin Sa'id bin al-'Āṣṣ al-Ashdaq who reached the city in the same month. Al-Ashdaq was eloquent and a very proud person (5:343). It has also been reported in a narration that he entered the city in Dhū al-Qa'dah of the year 60 H (5:346)." *Al-Ṭabarī* also writes: "In this year [60 H] Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah dismissed Walīd bin 'Utbah from Makkah and appointed 'Amru bin Sa'id bin al-'Āṣṣ as the governor of both Makkah and Madīnah in the month of Ramaḍān of the same year. 'Amru bin Sa'id led the people to pilgrimage on the same year while he was Yazīd's governor in both the cities." (5:399)

was in the city, and that the latter was more revered in their eyes and that the people would obey [al-Ḥusain] more than they would obey him.¹

One day [Ibn al-Zubair] talked to the Imam [‘a] for a while saying: “I do not know why we distanced [ourselves] from these people [i.e. the Banū Umayyah] and abstained from [rising against] them while we are the sons of the *muhājirūn* and [more entitled] to this position than they are! Tell me what do you intend to do.”

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) replied: “By Allah! I am thinking of going towards Kūfah, for my followers (*shī‘ah*) and the noblemen in the city have written to me about this, and I pray to Allah for the best.”

Ibn al-Zubair said to him: “If I had the like of your followers in Kūfah, I would not have abandoned going there!”

[Having said this,] Ibn al-Zubair feared that the Imam might doubt his intentions [and think that he wants him to leave Makkah so that he could then secure the support of the people for himself,] so he [immediately] said: “However, if you stay in Ḥijāz and pursue your aim [of attaining the caliphate], you will not face opposition by the will of Allah.” Ibn al-Zubair then stood up and left.

[After Ibn al-Zubair went away,] al-Ḥusain (‘a) said: “There is nothing more lovable in this world for this man than my departure from Ḥijāz to Iraq. He understands that he would

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:351): “Abū Mikhnaf says: “Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab has narrated to me saying that ‘Uqbah bin Sim‘ān, the servant of Rubāb, the daughter of Imru’ al-Qais and the wife of al-Ḥusain (‘a), related to me that...”

not attain [the caliphate] so long as I am there, and that the people do not consider him to be on par with me. He longs me to leave [Makkah] so that the city should be solely for him.”^{1, 2}

[Al-Ḥusain's Conversation with Ibn 'Abbās]

When [al-Ḥusain ('a)] decided to go to Kūfah, Ibn 'Abbās came to him and said: “O my cousin, the people have spread rumours that you are advancing towards Iraq, so [please] explain to me what you intend to do.”

[Al-Ḥusain ('a)] replied: “I am determined to leave in the coming one or two days³, if Allah wills.”

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:383): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Ḥārith bin Ka'b al-Wālibī has related to me from 'Uqbah bin Sim'ān that...”

² The mental attitude and the treacherous and hypocritical nature of these people was not concealed from the Imam ('a), but he could not express what he knew of his fate to everyone who met him. One cannot reveal all one knows, especially after taking into consideration the difference in the level of understanding of the people. Therefore, the Imam [‘a] used to reply everyone according to his capacity of understanding. It should be observed here that Ibn al-Zubair was not against the rising of the Imam ('a), as he motivated him to do that. His only point was about the time and place of rising.

³ Since the Imam [a'] departed from Makkah in the afternoon of the Day of Tarwiyah [i.e. eight of Dhū al-Ḥijjah] as the pilgrims were heading towards Minā (5:385), this conversation with Ibn 'Abbas must have taken place on the sixth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. Thus, the news of the Imam's intention to leave for Iraq must have spread among the people at most two days before this, that is, on the fourth; and there is nothing to indicate that anything was known about his journey earlier than that. So what happened during these days that made the Imam [‘a] leave on the Day of Tarwiyah and before the completion of the ḥajj, after having

stayed in the city for [more than] four months? Yes, Muslim had sent a letter [to the Imam ('a)] 27 days before his martyrdom, that is on the 20th of Dhū al-Qa'dah -and since it took around ten days for a letter to reach [Makkah from Kūfah] in those days, the letter must have reached the Imam ('a) towards the end of this month or in the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijjah-, but still that does not suffice as a reason for him not to complete the ḥajj which would have taken another four days only!

Farazdaq, the poet, had asked the Imam ('a) about this saying: "What made you leave the ḥajj incomplete?" "I would have been caught had I not hurried", he replied (*al-Ṭabarī:5:386*). And this is why Shaikh al-Mufīd says: "When al-Ḥusain ('a) intended to leave for Iraq, he circumambulated the Ka'bah and performed the *sa'y* between Ṣafā and Marwā and came out of his *iḥrām* and concluded his ḥajj as *'umrah*; for he was unable to complete (*tamām*) the pilgrimage in fear of being caught and taken to Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah. Hence, the Imam ('a) immediately departed from Makkah (*al-Irshād*, pg.218).

Mu'āwiyah bin 'Ammār narrates from Imam al-Ṣādiq ('a) that: "Al-Ḥusain ['a] performed *'umrah* in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah and set off to Iraq on the Day of Tarwiyah while the pilgrims were heading to Minā. There is no objection in performing *'umrah* in [the month of] Dhū al-Ḥijja for one who does not intend to perform ḥajj."

Ibrāhīm bin 'Umar al-Yamānī narrates that he asked al-Ṣādiq ('a) about a person who goes to *'umrah* during the months of ḥajj and then returns back to his city [without performing ḥajj]. The Imam ['a] replied: "There is no objection." He then continued till he said: "Ḥusain bin 'Alī ('a) set out for Iraq on the Day of Tarwiyah while he had [only] performed *'umrah*." (*Wasā'il al-Shī'ah:10:246*)

It is for this very reason that Shaikh al-Shūshtarī says: "They made every effort to catch him or assassinate him, even if he was found clinging to the covering of the Ka'bah! Therefore, he changed his decision and performed *'umrah al-mufradah* and had to leave the ḥajj (*Khaṣā'iṣ al-Ḥusainiyyah: pg.32; Tabriz edition*).

In *A'lām al-Warā*, in a separate section allocated for the reports



Ibn 'Abbās said to him: "I then seek refuge for you with Allah in this regard. Tell me, may Allah have mercy on you, are you moving towards a people who have [already] killed their governor and taken control of their city and have expelled their enemy? If they have done all this [and prepared the grounds], then go to them. But if they are [inviting you] while they are still under the subjugation of their governor and his officers are collecting taxes from [them], then they have certainly invited you to war and fighting. I fear that they will deceive you, lie to you, oppose and abandon you, and that they may [even] fight against you and prove to be the most severe people against you!"

Al-Husain ('a) replied: "I pray to Allah for the best and I will see what is going to happen."¹

on the journey of Imam [al-Husain ('a)] and his martyrdom, Shaikh al-Ṭabrisī brings approximately the same particular section which has appeared in *al-Irshād* of Shaikh al-Mufīd, without any mention of it. Al-Ṭabrisī quotes, as it is, what al-Mufīd said except for the phrase '*tamām al-ḥajj*' where he says '*itmām al-ḥajj*'. The latter phrase is incorrect –and the error might probably have been from the transcribers [of al-Ṭabrisī's work], since there is a clear difference [in meaning] between the two [phrases]; for the word *itmām*, unlike *tamām*, implies that the Imam ('a) had actually put on the *iḥrām* for *ḥajj*.

However, it is equally probable that there are inconsistencies in the different copies of *al-Irshād* itself; for Shaikh al-Qarashī (3:50) quotes al-Mufīd from *al-Irshād* (pg.243), in the same manner as al-Ṭabrisī has done, by bringing the phrase *itmām al-ḥajj*; while in the Ḥaidariyyah edition of *al-Irshād* (pg.218), we find the phrase *tamām al-ḥajj*, which is correct.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:383): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Ḥārith bin Ka'b al-Wālibī narrated to me from 'Uqbah bin Sim'ān that...' It is worthy of note here that Ibn 'Abbās was not opposed to the rising of the Imam ('a), rather he was doubting the establishment of the

[A Second Conversation with Ibn ‘Abbās]

In the evening [of that day] or the next morning Ibn ‘Abbās once again came to the Imam (‘a) and said: “O my cousin! I tried to remain patient but could not. Indeed, I am apprehensive of your death and annihilation should you take this direction! The people of Iraq are a treacherous community, so never get closer to them! Stay in this city for you are the master of the people of Ḥijāz. If at all the people of Iraq want you -as they have claimed, then write and ask them to [first] expel their enemy [from their city], then make a move towards them. But if you still want to leave [this city], then go to Yemen; for it has got fortresses and mountain paths, and it is a vast and spacious land. From there you can send out your men to invite people to support you. I hope that in this way you can achieve your aim in a safer way.”

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) answered him: “My cousin, Verily, By Allah I know that you are sincere¹ and caring but I have resolved on the journey!”

Ibn ‘Abbās then said: “Now that you are going, do not take your women and young children with you, for -by Allah- I

necessary grounds for it, and the Imam (‘a) does not refute him in this regard, as it is evident.

¹ The Imam (‘a) wanted to show that he knew that what Ibn ‘Abbās said was out of sincerity, care and love [for him]. So he is not against the rising of the Imam (‘a), rather he doubts the fulfillment of the necessary conditions for it. The Imam (‘a) also does not refute him in what he said, instead he tells him that even in this case he is determined to rise; because he had felt the necessity to rise for the sake of the continuation of the divine Shari’ah.

fear that you might get killed.”¹

[His Conversation with ‘Umar al-Makhzūmī]

‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Ḥārith bin Hishām al-Makhzūmī² says: “When al-Ḥusain (‘a) was ready for the journey towards Iraq, I came to him, praised and glorified Allah, and then said: “My cousin, I have come to give you a piece of advice. If you are ready to accept my advice, [then that is fine], otherwise I will restrain myself from what I intend to say.”

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) said: “Say [what you want to say]. For by Allah, I do not consider you a person with unsound opinions, or evil intentions and deeds.”

He then said: “I have come to learn that you intend to go to Iraq, but I am concerned about you should you undertake this journey. You are moving towards a city which has its [own] rulers and governors and who have treasure houses at their disposal. Indeed people are slaves of these dirhams and dinars. I fear that those people will come to fight you who

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:383): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Ḥārith bin Ka’b al-Wālibī related to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’ān that...”

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was appointed by Ibn al-Zubair as the governor of Kūfah during the time of Mukhtār in 66 H. He had sent Zāidah bin Qudāmah al-Thaqafī towards Mukhtār with five hundred men and seventy thousand *dirhams* in order to drive him back by offering him the money, or to fight him in case he rejected that. So Mukhtār accepted the money and went to Baṣrah (6:71). What ‘Umar is narrating here of the Imam's commendation about him is actually being reported by himself [and does not carry much weight]. His grandfather was Ḥārith bin Hishām, the brother of Abū Jahl bin Hishām, who was the enemy of the Holy Prophet (ṣ). We have mentioned about him in the introduction.

have promised you their support and to whom you are more beloved than the one they will be fighting for against you.”

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) replied: “May Allah reward you with good, O my cousin. By Allah, I know that you have given [me] a good advice and have spoken with wisdom. But whatever is decreed shall come to pass. I consider you a praiseworthy and sincere adviser, whether I act on your advice or not.”¹

[His Last Conversation with Ibn al-Zubair]

‘Abdullah bin Sulaim [al-Asadī] and Mudhrī bin Mushma’il [al-Asadī] say: “We set out to Makkah as pilgrims and entered [the city on] the Day of Tarwiyah. [We were in Masjid al-Ḥarām] when we suddenly saw al-Ḥusain (‘a) and ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair standing between the [black] stone and the door of the Ka’bah. So we drew near them and heard Ibn al-Zubair saying to al-Ḥusain (‘a): “If you like to stay [in Makkah], you can do so and assume the leadership [as well]. We shall support and help you, be sincere to you and pay allegiance to you.”

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) replied him: “Indeed, my father informed me that: ‘A ram (*kabsh*) in Makkah shall violate the sanctity of [the *ḥaram*].’ So I do not like to be that ram!”^{2, 3}

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:382): “Hishām narrates from Abū Mikhnaf that: “Ṣaq’ab bin Zuhair related to me from ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-Raḥmān [saying]...”

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:384): “Abū Minkhaf says: ‘Abū Janāb Yaḥyā bin Abī Ḥayyah narrated to me from ‘Adiyy bin Ḥarmalah al-Asadī who related from ‘Abdullah that...”

³ *Kabsh* is a male sheep who most of the time moves ahead of a flock. It is for this reason that ‘leaders’ are usually likened to it. By this speech, the Imam (‘a) intended to remind Ibn al-Zubair

So Ibn al-Zubair said to him: "Get closer to me O son of Fāṭimah, so al-Ḥusain ('a) lent his ear to him and he whispered something to him. [‘Abdullah and Mudhrī say that] al-Ḥusain ('a) then turned to us and said: "Do you know what Ibn al-Zubair is saying?"

"We do not know, may Allah make us your ransom", we said.

[Al-Ḥusain ('a)] said: "He told me: 'Stay in this mosque and I will gather the people around you.'"

Then al-Ḥusain ('a) said: "By Allah, it is more lovable for me to be killed a span away from the [*ḥaram*] than to be killed inside it by just a span! I swear by Allah, even if I were to be in the hole of an insect, [these people] will pull me out [of it] in order to get what they want from me. By Allah, I shall be wronged [and the law of Allah be violated in my regard] as the Jews had violated the [sanctity of the] Sabbath."^{1, 2}

only if it were to benefit him, "For admonition indeed benefits the faithful."

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:385): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'I report from Abū Sa'id 'Aqīṣā, who narrated from some of his companions...'"

² This is the best and the shortest reply by which the Imam ['a] answered all the questions raised upto this point; this was by indicating that he was being [constantly] pursued wherever he went and that he was going to be attacked. Therefore, he decided to leave Makkah avoiding to become the ram mentioned by his father, the Commander of the Faithful ('a). He thus left Makkah for this very reason fleeing with his family lest the sanctity of [the *ḥaram*] be violated with his blood. If he was to depart from Makkah, then the best course for him was to proceed to Kūfah and attend to the needs of his followers (*shī'ah*), thus, leaving no room for any excuse on their part, "so that mankind may not have

[The Stand of ‘Amru bin Sa’id al-Ashdaq]

When al-Ḥusain (‘a) was departing from Makkah, the messengers of ‘Amru bin Sa’id bin al-Āṣṣ¹

any argument against Allah, after the [sending of the] apostles” (Qur’an, 4:165), and so that no one should say: “Why did you not send us a messenger as a warner, and appoint for us a guide so that we would have followed your signs.” If he did not go to Kūfah, where else could he go, when the earth had become narrow for him inspite of its expanse?

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: When ‘Amru bin Sa’id became the governor of Madīnah he summoned ‘Ubaidullah bin Abī Rāfi’ – the scribe of ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib– and asked him: “Who is your master?” “The Messenger of Allah”, he replied. So he whipped him hundred lashes. Again ‘Amru asked him: “Whose slave are you?” and he answered: “The Messenger of Allah.” So he whipped him another hundred lashes. Every time ‘Amru asked him the question he received the same answer from ‘Ubaidullah until he had whipped him 500 lashes. When ‘Amru repeated his question [for the sixth time,] ‘Ubaidullah replied: “Your slave” [and so he left him]. [After sometime,] when ‘Abd al-Malik killed ‘Amru bin Sa’id, ‘Ubaidullah bin Abī Rāfi’ composed a poem thanking his killer. ‘Abū Rāfi’ was [once] the slave of Abū Aḥyaḥ Sa’id bin al-Āṣṣ –the older. After him his sons inherited Abū Rāfi’ from him. Three of these sons freed their portion of his servitude all of whom were killed in the battle of Badr. Khālid bin Sa’id [the fourth of the brothers] gifted his share of Abū Rāfi’ to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and the Prophet freed him (3:170).

‘Amru bin Sa’id was the one who fought Ibn al-Zubair (5:343) and lashed between forty to sixty times each of those who were fond of Ibn al-Zubair in Madīnah, among them being Muḥammad bin ‘Ammār bin Yāsir (5:344). ‘Amru rejoiced when the news of al-Ḥusain’s martyrdom reached him. When he heard the wails of the women of Banū Hāshim as they mourned al-Ḥusain (‘a) he said: “These cries are in compensation for the cries on ‘Uthmān bin ‘Affān!” Then, he ascended the pulpit and announced the news (5:466).

led by Yaḥya bin Sa'id¹ sought to block his way. They said to him: "Withdraw! Where are you going?", but he refused. The two groups came to blows and hit at each other with whips. Al-Ḥusain ('a) continued his journey.

Then they called out: "O Ḥusain! Do you not fear Allah?! You are detaching yourself from the community and [trying] to cause division within this nation!"

In reply, al-Ḥusain ('a) recited the following verses: "My deeds belong to me and your deeds belong to you; you are absolved of what I do and I am absolved of what you do."^{2,3}

'Alī bin al-Ḥusain bin 'Alī [(a), i.e. the fourth Imam] says: "When we left Makkah 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Abī Ṭālib⁴

[Later,] Yazīd was informed that 'Amru bin Sa'id was treating Ibn al-Zubair with kindness, so he dismissed him [from his position] in Dhū al-Ḥijjah of 61 H (5:477). As a result, 'Amru went to Yazīd and apologized to him (5:479). His father was Sa'id bin al-Āṣṣ, Mu'āwiyah's governor in Madīnah (5:241).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was the brother of 'Amru bin Sa'id. On the day 'Amru was killed in the palace of 'Abd al-Malik in Shām, Yaḥyā came to his help with one thousand men from among his followers, servants and slaves but they were all defeated and Yaḥyā was imprisoned. Later, he was freed and joined Ibn al-Zubair (6:143-147). Then he went to Kūfah and sought refuge with his maternal uncles from the tribe of Ju'fī. When 'Abd al-Malik entered Kūfah and people paid him allegiance, he also swore allegiance to him and asked for protection (6:162).

² Qur'an, 10:41.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:385): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Ḥārith bin Ka'b al-Wālibī narrated to me from 'Uqbah bin Sim'ān that..."

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was with the Commander of the Faithful in the battle of Jamal and assisted him in taking 'Āishah back to Madīnah (4:510). 'Abdullah was among those whom the Commander of the Faithful used to consult when he was in Kūfah and it was him who proposed to ['Alī ('a)] to appoint Muḥammad

sent a letter to Ḥusain bin ‘Alī (‘a) with his two sons: ‘Aun and Muḥammad¹ [saying]:

“I ask you for the sake of Allah to return as you receive my letter; for I am very concerned because the direction in which you are heading will have within it your destruction and the extirpation of your family. If you are destroyed today, the light of [guidance on] the earth will be extinguished; for you are the standard of the [rightly] guided ones and the hope of the believers. Do not hurry on your journey as I am following this letter. That is all.”

[In the meanwhile,] ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far went to see ‘Amru bin Sa’id bin al-Āṣṣ and talk to him and said: “Write a letter to al-Ḥusain (‘a) and guarantee him protection and promise him kind treatment [by being] trustful in your letter. Ask him to return, may be he will trust your word and return. Send the letter with your brother Yaḥyā bin Sa’id; for [al-Ḥusain] will have confidence in him more than [any other

bin Abī Bakr over Egypt. Muḥammad was the half brother of ‘Abdullah through his mother (4:554). He was with [‘Alī] in Ṣiffīn and used to constantly protect him by moving ahead of him (5:148). ‘Abdullah accompanied al-Ḥasan (‘a) [also] in his movement (5:160) and returned to Madīnah with both of them [i.e. ‘Alī and al-Ḥasan] (5:165). His two sons Muḥammad and ‘Aun were with al-Ḥusain (‘a) [in Karbalā’]. When he received the news of their martyrdom, he said: “By Allah, had I witness their fight, I would have loved not to part from them until I was killed with them” (5:466).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:469): They were martyred along with al-Ḥusain (‘a). With regard to ‘Aun, his mother was Jamānah, the daughter of Musayyib bin Najabah al-Fazārī who was among the leaders of the Tawwābūn movement. As for Muḥammad, his mother was Khaṣā’ bint Khaṣafah bin Thaḳīb from the tribe of Bakr bin Wā’il.

person] and will acknowledge that you are serious.”

‘Amru bin Sa’īd said: “Write what you like and then bring it to me for the stamp.”

So ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far wrote:

“In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From ‘Amru bin Sa’īd to Ḥusain bin ‘Alī: I pray to Allah to save you from what shall cause your destruction and guide you to what shall lead you to the right course. I have come to learn that you have set out for Iraq. I warn you against [causing] discord; for I fear that you will be destroyed because of that. I am sending to you ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far and Yaḥyā bin Sa’īd, so come to me along with them and you shall be given protection and treated with kindness and enjoy [my] good neighbourhood. And I take Allah to be a witness, a guarantor, a guardian and a protector for [all I have said]. Peace be upon you.”

‘Abdullah then brought the letter to ‘Amru bin Sa’īd and said: “Seal it” and he did so. Thereafter, ‘Abdullah and Yaḥyā bin Sa’īd [set out towards al-Ḥusain (‘a)] with the letter. [When they reached,] Yaḥyā read the letter to him.

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) wrote [in reply]: “He who invites the people towards Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, and does good and says: I am one of the Muslims, has not stood in opposition to Allah and his Messenger. Indeed you have invited [me] to [your] protection and kindness but the best protection (*amān*) is the protection of Allah. He will never grant His protection on the Day of Judgment to one who does not fear him in this world. We therefore pray to Allah to confer on us [his] fear in this world so that it may earn us His protection on the Day of Judgment. If by your letter you were intending to show [your] kindness and benevolence

towards me, then may Allah reward you in this world and the hereafter. That is all.”

Thereafter both of them returned to [‘Umar bin Sa’id]. They said: “We read the letter to him and tried our best [to convince him to return]. Among the excuses he put forward to us was that: “I have seen the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) in a dream and I have been commanded in it with a task which I am [now] advancing to carry it out, be it against me or in my favour.”

They asked him: “What was the dream about?”

[Al-Ḥusain (‘a)] replied: “I have not told anyone of it and I am not going to tell anyone until I meet my Lord!”^{1, 2}

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:388): “Abū Mikhnaf Says: ‘Ḥārith bin Ka’b al-Wālibī narrated to me from ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain that...”

² The Imam (‘a) could not disclose what he knew of his fate to anyone who met him; for one cannot reveal all one knows, especially after taking into consideration the difference in the level of understanding of the people. Therefore, the Imam (‘a) used to reply everyone according to his capacity of understanding. The Imam (‘a) revealed to these people the actual answer when he said: “He who invites the people towards Allah, the Almighty, the Sublime, and does good... has not stood in opposition to Allah and his Messenger... the best protection is the protection of Allah. He shall never grant protection on the Day of Judgment to one who does not fear him in this world. We therefore pray to Allah to confer on us [his] fear in this world so that it may earn us His protection on the Day of Judgment.” But since these people were not convinced by this answer from him, he instead told them that he was commissioned with a task in a dream in which he saw the Holy Prophet (ṣ). Yet he did not reveal to them the actual dream but contented himself by saying: “I will not disclose it until I meet my Lord.”

It was probably from here that Aḥmad bin al-A’tham al-Kūfī (d.310 H) talked of the dream of the Imam (‘a) at the grave of his grandfather,

the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ), in Madinah. But where is this from ?, when the Imam ('a) himself said that he was not going to reveal it [to anyone] until he meets his Lord! Therefore, [Ibn al-A'tham] is solely responsible for what he has said. And Allah knows best about this.

THE STATIONS ON THE WAY TO KŪFAH

[Tan'im¹]

Al-Ḥusain ('a) continued with his journey until he passed by Tan'im. There he met a caravan which had been sent to Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah and was headed by Buḥair bin Raisān al-Ḥimyarī², Yazīd's governor in Yemen. The caravan was carrying *waras*³ and Yemeni dresses to Yazīd.

Al-Ḥusain ('a) took the things [from them] and continued with his journey. He then told the owners of the camels:

“I will not force you; whoever [among you] wishes to come with us to Iraq, we will pay his hire in full and be a good company for him. [But] whoever wishes to part with us right from this place, we will pay his hire for the distance he has travelled.”

¹ *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (2:416) reports that Tan'im is a place two *farsakh* away from Makkah. There is a hill on its right known as Na'im and another one on its left called Nā'im, and the valley itself is known as Na'imān. There is also a mosque there and beside that it is the nearest *miqāt* and the closest point where the holy sanctuary ends (*hill*). Today it is located six kilometres from Makkah and therefore it is only one *farsakh* away from it, and not two. It is connected to Makkah for those who enter the city on the way from Madīnah and Jiddah.

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: It seems that he was an astrologer and had augured ill for 'Abdullah bin Mutī' al-'Adawī when he was sent to Kūfah as the governor by Ibn al-Zubair (9:6). The renowned Ṭāwūs al-Yamānī was his master who died in Makkah in the year 105 H (6:29).

³ *Al-wars* is a sesame-like plant used for dying and from which saffron is collected and which is not found except in Yemen.

Those among them who left him, [their account] was settled and he paid them in full. Those of them who accompanied him, he gave them their hire and [also] clothed them.¹

[Ṣifāḥ²]

‘Abdullah bin Salīm [al-Asadī] and Mudhrī [bin Mushma’il al-Asadī] report:

“We moved on until we reached al-Ṣifāḥ where we met Farazdaq bin Ghālib³, the poet, who came near al-Ḥusain (‘a)

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:385): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Ḥārith bin Ka’b al-Wālibī narrated to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’ān that...”

² It is located between Ḥunain and the points which identify the sanctuary of the *ḥaram*. It is situated on the left of one who enters the city of Makkah [from Mushāsh].

³ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He is Hamām bin Ghālib bin Ṣa’ṣa’ah. His two uncles were Dhuhail and Zahāf, who were in the treasury office (*dīwān*) of Ziyād bin Sumayyah, each being in charge of a thousand people. Farazdaq had mocked the Banū Nahshal and Faqīm, so they sued him before Ziyād and the latter summoned Farazdaq but he fled. Whenever Ziyād would come to Baṣrah, Farazdaq would go to Kūfah, and if Ziyād was to come to Kūfah, he would go to Baṣrah. Ziyād used to stay in Baṣrah and Kūfah each for six months. Farazdaq then went to Ḥijāz seeking refuge with Sa’id bin al-‘Āṣṣ from Ziyād until the latter died (5:242-250). Farazdaq scorned at Ziyād and one who elegized him, saying: “You are mourning a disbeliever from the family of Sufyān, who was like Choesroe or Ceaser in aggression” (5:290). Farazdaq then returned to Baṣrah and resided in the city. He went to *ḥajj* with his mother in the year 60 H and this is why he did not accompany al-Ḥusain (‘a) (5:386). Later, he composed a poem in praise of Ḥajjāj! (6:380&394) and was among the courtiers of Sulaimān bin ‘Abd al-Malik (5:548). Farazdaq was alive till the year 102 H (6:616). At the time when he mocked at the Banū Nahshal he was a young man, rather a bedouin young boy residing in the desert (5:242). Therefore, he must have been less

and said to him: "May Allah grant you your request and [fulfil] your hope in what you love [to achieve]."

Al-Ḥusain ('a) asked him: "Tell me about the people you have left behind you?"

Farazdaq replied: "You have asked one who is well-informed. The hearts of the people are with you but their swords are with the Banū Umayyah. [Verily,] the divine decree comes from the heaven and Allah does what He wishes."

Al-Ḥusain ('a) said to him: "You have said the truth. The affair (*amr*) belongs to Allah. Allah does what he wills. 'Every day our Lord manifests [Himself] in a [new] splendour'. If the decree is as we like, then we praise Allah for his blessings and He is the one whose help is sought in order to give thanks to him. But if fate hampers [the fulfilment of our] hopes, then he whose intention is [to attain the] truth (*ḥaqq*) and whose heart is [filled with] God-consciousness (*taqwā*) is never concerned [about that]."

Thereafter, al-Ḥusain ('a) set his mount in motion and said [to Farazdaq]: "Peace be upon you" and then they parted. ^{1,1}

than thirty years old when he met al-Ḥusain ('a).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:386): "Abū Mikhnaf says: "[I narrate] on the authority of Abū Janāb from 'Adiyy bin Ḥarmalah who related from 'Abdullah bin Salīm that..." This report of Ibn Salīm and Ibn Mushma'il is not in consistence with what we shall narrate from them that they joined al-Ḥusain ('a) at a point called Zarūd, which is located a several stations after Ṣifāḥ on the way to Kūfah. Unless we say that they meant by the statement: "We moved on until we reached Ṣifāḥ..." that they moved on from Kūfah and reached Ṣifāḥ on their way to Makkah, and then, after finishing the *ḥajj* rituals, they joined al-Ḥusain ('a) at Zarūd.

When ‘Ubaydullah bin Ziyād learnt of the journey of al-Ḥusain (‘a) from Makkah to Kūfah, he sent Ḥuṣain bin Tamīm [al-Tamīmī], the head of his bodyguards, to al-Qādisiyyah.² [Al-Tamīmī] stationed at this place and set up a [protective] link of cavalry between [the area of] al-Qādisiyyah to Khaffān,³ and [the area of] al-Qādisiyyah to Quṭquṭānah⁴ and La’la’.⁵

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* says: “Hishām has narrated on the authority of ‘Awānah bin Ḥakam from Lubṭah bin al-Farazdaq bin Ghālib who reported from his father that he said: ‘I went to ḥajj in the year 60 H and entered the holy sanctuary during the days of pilgrimage. I met Ḥusain bin ‘Alī outside Makkah, so I approached and asked him: ‘May my father and mother be your ransom, O son of the Messenger of Allah! What made you to rush and leave the pilgrimage [incomplete]?’ He replied: ‘If I do not rush I will be caught.’ Then al-Ḥusain asked me: ‘Where are you from?’ so I replied: ‘I am from Iraq’, and, by Allah, he did not inquire about me more than this. Then he continued: ‘Tell me about the people behind you.’ So I said: ‘The hearts are with you and the swords are with the Banū Umayyah; and the decree is in the hands of Allah.’ Al-Ḥusain [‘a] then said: ‘You have said the truth.’ Then I asked him about some issues related to vowing (*nudhūr*) and ḥajj rituals, and he explained them to me.” (5:386)

² Al-Qādisiyyah is situated fifteen *farsakh* from Kūfah and just four miles from ‘Adhīb. It is also called al-Dīwāniyyah as it was the first big city on the way to the deserts of Ḥijāz from Iraq. Al-Qādisiyyah was the first place in Iraq to be conquered by the Muslims under the leadership of Sa’d bin Abī Waqqāṣ.

³ According to *Mu’jam al-Buldān* (3:451), Khaffān is a village near Kūfah and contains a water-spring owned by the Banū ‘Abbās.

⁴ Quṭquṭānah is some twenty miles away from al-Rahimah on the way to Kūfah, as reported in *Mu’jam al-Buldān* (7:125). According to al-Ya’qūbī (2:230; Najaf edition): “The news of the martyrdom of Muslim reached the Imam at Quṭquṭānah.”

⁵ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:394): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Yūnus bin Abī Ishāq

[Hājir¹]

Al-Ḥusain ('a) went on with his journey until when he reached al-Ḥājir, which is situated in Baṭn al-Rumma, he sent Qais bin Musahhar al-Ṣaidāwī with a letter to the people of Kūfah. He wrote to them:

“In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From Ḥusain bin 'Alī to his brothers from among the believers and the Muslims; peace be on you. I praise Allah beside who there is no deity except Him. Muslim bin 'Aqīl's letter came to me, informing me of your sound opinion and the agreement of your people to support us and to seek our right. I have asked Allah to make your actions good and reward you with the greatest reward. I have set out to you from Makkah on Tuesday, eight of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the Day of Tarwiyah. When my messenger reaches you, be urgent and serious in your affairs; for I am coming to you within the [next few] days, if Allah wills. Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you.”

Qais bin Musahhar al-Ṣaidāwī set off for Kūfah with al-Ḥusain's letter. When Qais reached al-Qādisiyyah, Ḥusain bin Tamīm arrested him and sent him to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād.

Ibn Ziyād said to him: “Go on top of the palace and curse the liar son of the liar!”

He went up and said: “O people! Verily, Ḥusain bin 'Alī -

al-Sabī'i narrated to me saying...”

¹ According to *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (4:290) and *Tāj al-'Arūs* (3:139), al-Ḥājir is a valley in the highlands of Najd, whereas Baṭn al-Rumma is a point where travelers coming from the cities of Kūfah and Baṣrah meet on their way to Madīnah.

the best of Allah's creatures- is the son of Fāṭimah, daughter of the Messenger of Allah. I am his messenger to you. I parted with him at Ḥājir. Answer him." Then he cursed 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād and his father, and sought Allah's mercy for 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib.

[Hearing this from him,] 'Ubaidullah ordered him to be thrown down from the top of the palace. He was thrown down and his body crushed into pieces and he died. [May Allah have mercy on him].¹

[A Watering Place of the Arabs]

Al-Ḥusain ('a) continued to proceed towards Kūfah till he arrived at a watering place of the Arabs where 'Abdullah bin Muṭī' al-'Adawī² happened to have camped. When he saw al-Ḥusain ('a) he approached him and said: "May my father and mother be your ransom, O son of the Messenger of Allah! What has brought you [here]?"

Al-Ḥusain ('a) answered him: "The people of Iraq have written to me calling me towards them."

'Abdullah bin Muṭī' said: "O son of the Messenger of Allah, I remind you of Allah and the sanctity (*ḥurmah*) of Islam lest it be violated! By Allah, I implore you not to let the sanctity of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) be broken! I adjure you before Allah [to think] about the sacredness of

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:394): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Muḥammad bin Qais related to me [saying]...' Al-Mufīd has reported the report in *al-Irshād* (pg.220) also, but he has confused the account of Ibn Qais with that of 'Abdullah bin Buqṭur. The [above] report has also appeared in *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.245; Najaf edition).

² His biography has appeared when mentioning the sources of this text.

the Arabs! For by Allah, if you seek that which is in the hands of the Banū Umayyah, they will surely kill you. If they kill you, they will never fear anyone after you.¹ By Allah, it is the sanctity of Islam which shall indeed be violated, and the sacredness of the Quraish and that of the Arabs. Do not do that and do not go to Kūfah. Do not expose yourself to the Banū Umayyah.”

But [al-Ḥusain (‘a)] insisted on continuing with the journey.

[*Khuzaimiyyah*²]

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) proceeded till he reached a watering place somewhere above Zarūd³ [known as al-Khuzaimiyyah].

¹ The sanctity of Islam or that of the Messenger of Allah [ṣ], the Arabs, or of the Quraish was not violated because of the move of the Imam [‘a], rather it was violated because of the actions of the enemies of Islam. Ibn Muṭī’ was indeed mistaken when he said: “...If they kill you, [then] they would not fear anyone else after you...” For in contrary to what Ibn Muṭī’ was thinking, even those among the people of Makkah, Madīnah and Kūfah who could not dare oppose the Banū Umayyah before the Imam’s martyrdom, became daring after that, including Ibn Muṭī’ himself as he ruled over Kūfah for Ibn al-Zubair. Rather, if it was not for al-Ḥusain’s movement, no one could dare stand against the Banū Umayyah and they would, accordingly, have done all they wanted to destroy Islam [without encountering any opposition].

² Al-Khuzaimiyyah is situated before Zarūd as one comes from Makkah, and after it for one who comes from Kūfah as reported in *Mu’jam al-Buldān*. It has also been said that al-Khuzaimiyyah is thirty-two miles from Tha’labiyyah, as it is one of the stopping points of the pilgrims coming from Kūfah after Tha’labiyyah.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:394): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Muḥammad bin Qais related to me that...’ He is, perhaps, Ibn Qais bin Musahhar.

[Zuhair bin al-Qain Joins al-Ḥusain ('a)]

A man from Banū Fazārah reports that: "We were with Zuhair bin al-Qain al-Bajalī when we left Makkah. [Although] we were travelling alongside al-Ḥusain ('a), there was nothing more hateful to us than that we should stop with him at a halting place. Such that when al-Ḥusain ('a) would start out, Zuhair bin al-Qain would linger behind, and whenever al-Ḥusain ('a) would halt, Zuhair would move ahead, until we reached a station where we could not avoid halting with him. Al-Ḥusain ('a) halted at one side and we halted at the other side. While we were sitting, eating our food, al-Ḥusain's messenger approached us, greeted us and entered [our tent]. He said: "O Zuhair bin al-Qain! Abū 'Abdillah Ḥusain bin 'Alī has sent me to summon you to him." [Here] each one of us threw away what was in his hands in amazement; it was [as surprising] as if birds had alighted on our heads.¹

Dalham bint 'Amru, Zuhair's wife, says: "I said to him: "The son of the Prophet of Allah has sent for you and you are not going to him?! Glory be to Allah! Go to him and see what he says, and then come back."

So Zuhair bin al-Qain went to see him. It was not long before he returned joyfully while his countenance was glowing.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:396): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Al-Siddī narrated to me from a person among the Banū Fazārah saying: 'During the time of Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf we used to hide in the house of Zuhair bin al-Qain al-Bajalī, as the people of Shām would not enter it. So [one day] I said to this man from the Banū Fazārah: 'Tell me about your journey with Ḥusain bin 'Alī.' He said...' See also *al-Irshād* (pg.221) and *al-Maqtal* (pg.325) of al-Khwārazmī.

Then he said to his companions: "Whoever among you wishes to follow me [may do so], otherwise this is the last time [we see each other]! I will tell you a story: 'We participated in the expedition of Balanjar¹ and Allah granted us victory and we won booty. Salmān al-Bāhilī said²: 'Are you happy with the victory which Allah has granted you and the booty you won?' We replied: 'Yes.' Then he said to us: 'If you met the young men from the family of Muḥammad (ṣ), then be happier to fight with them than you are because of the booty you have obtained today.' As for me, I leave you [all] to Allah's protection!"

Then he told his wife: "You are divorced. Go back to your

¹ A city around the Caspian sea at Bāb al-Abwāb which was conquered in the year 33 H, during the reign of 'Uthmān bin 'Affān, at the hands of Salmān bin Rabī'ah al-Bāhilī. See *Mu'jam al-Buldān*.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (4:305) says: Both Salmān al-Fārsī and Abū Hurairah were among the conquerors of Balanjar. Ibn al-Athīr clearly says in *al-Kāmil* (4:17) that the one who spoke to them [about the young men of the family of Muḥammad] was Salmān al-Fārsī, not Salmān al-Bāhilī. This is keeping in mind that the aim of Ibn al-Athīr in writing *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* was to supplement *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, and for this very reason he quotes most of his reports from *al-Ṭabarī*. Among others who have asserted that it was Salmān al-Fārsī [and not al-Bāhilī] are al-Mufīd in *al-Irshād*, al-Fatāl in *Rawḍāt al-Wa'izīn* (pg.153), Ibn Namā in *Muthīr al-Aḥzān* (pg.23), al-Khwārazmī in *al-Maqtal* (1:275) and al-Bakrī in *al-Mu'jam min-mā Ustu'jima* (1:376). This assertion is also supported by *al-Ṭabarī*'s report that Salmān al-Fārsī was present in the expedition. However, what has been said here does not seem to be correct; for what is apparent is that Salmān al-Fārsī was the governor of Madāin after it was conquered in the year 17 H and did not leave the city for any other expedition until he died; and also that he passed away before this [expedition] during the time of 'Umar.

family; for I do not want anything to befall you because of me except good.”^{1, 2}

Somewhere on the way [to Kūfah], Al-Ḥusain (‘a) dispatched ‘Abdullah bin Buḡtur al-Ḥimyarī³ to Muslim bin ‘Aqīl⁴, but he was arrested by the soldiers of Ḥusain bin Tamīm at al-Qādisiyyah. He sent him to Ibn Ziyād who said to him: “Go to the top of the palace and curse the liar son of the liar. Then come down and I will give my judgment on you!”

So he went up. He said while he was looking down at the people: “O people! I am the messenger of al-Ḥusain, son of Fāṭimah, daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ). [He is

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:396): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Dalham bint ‘Amru, Zuhair bin al-Qain’s wife, narrated to me that...’ See also *al-Irshād* (pg.221).

² It will be known later from the speech of Zuhair in Karbalā’ that he was angry right from the beginning about Mu’āwiyah’s declaration of Ziyād as his brother and his killing of Ḥujr bin ‘Adiyy.

³ His mother was a nurse-maid of al-Ḥusain (‘a) and this is why it has been said about him that he is al-Ḥusain’s foster brother. The word ‘Buḡtur’ has appeared with the letter ‘bā’ in *al-Ṭabarī* and so has been recorded by al-Jazarī in *al-Kāmil*. But our masters (*mashāikh*) like al-Samāwī in *Ibṣār al-‘Ain* (pg.52) have recorded it with the letter ‘yā’ (Yuḡtur). We shall later see that the news of al-Yuḡtur’s martyrdom reached the Imam (‘a) at a point called Zabālah; that is before he received the news of the martyrdom of al-Ṣaidāwī. Therefore, it seems that Ibn Yuḡtur was sent [to Muslim bin ‘Aqīl] before al-Ṣaidāwī [was dispatched to the people of Kūfah].

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:348): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Abū ‘Alī al-Anṣārī narrated to me from Bakr bin Muṣ’ab al-Muzniyy [saying]...’ *Al-Irshād* (pg.220) has related the report also, but he confused the report of Ibn Yuḡtur with that of Qais bin Musahhar al-Ṣaidāwī.

asking] you to help and support him against the son of Marjānah, son of Sumayyah, the bastard!”

‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziyād] ordered him to be thrown from the top of the palace. He [fell on the ground and] broke his bones but was still breathing. Then ‘Abd al-Malik bin ‘Umair al-Lakhamī¹ came to him and slaughtered him (*dhabahahu*).

[Zarūd²]

‘Abdullah bin Salīm [al-Asadī] and Mudhrī bin Mushma’il [al-Asadī] report:

“After we finished the pilgrimage, there was no concern more important to us than to join al-Ḥusain (‘a) on the way, so that we may see how his affair develops. So we speedily set off on our camels until we joined him at Zarūd.³

¹ Al-Lakhamī took up the judgeship in Kūfah after al-Sha’bī, and died in 136 H at the age of hundred and three, as reported in *Mizān al-I’tidāl* (1:151) and *Tahdhīb al-Asmā’* (pg.309).

² Zarūd is located between al-Khuzaimiyyah and al-Tha’labiyyah on the way to Kūfah. See *Mu’jam al-Buldān* (4:327).

³ This report is inconsistent with what has been narrated from them earlier about their meeting Farazdaq at Ṣifāḥ, which is several stations before Zarūd; for according to this report they joined al-Ḥusain (‘a) at Zarūd and not before that. It was, however, not possible for them to join him at Ṣifāḥ if they were to complete their *ḥajj*, for Ṣifāḥ is situated in the beginning of the way [to Kūfah] while the Imam (‘a) had left [Makkah] on the Day of Tarwiyah. Therefore, if they had joined him at Ṣifāḥ, [then] they could not have completed their *ḥajj*. [And since they left Makkah after the completion of *ḥajj*, then this implies that they joined him at Zarūd]. What is surprising here is that the narrators of both the reports were they themselves, but neither Abū Janāb, nor Abū Mikhnaf, nor Ṭabarī could realize the contrariety in the

As we neared him, we saw a man from Kūfah who changed his way when he saw al-Ḥusain ('a). Al-Ḥusain ('a) had stopped as if he wanted [to speak] to him, but then he ignored him and went on. One of us said to the other: 'Come with us to ask this man. If he has news of Kūfah, we will get to know it.'

We went to him and said: 'Peace be upon you.'

He replied: 'Peace and mercy of Allah be on you [too].'

Then we asked him: 'Which tribe do you come from?'

He said: '[I am] an Asadī.'

We said: 'We are from the Banū Asad as well. What is your name?'

He said: 'I am Bukair bin al-Matha'bah.' We [also] told him our lineage.

Then we asked him: 'Tell us about the people you have left behind you.'

He answered: 'I only left Kūfah after Muslim bin 'Aqīl and Hāni' bin 'Urwah had been killed. I saw them being dragged by their legs in the market.'

[Ibn Salīm and Mushma'il] continue: "We went on to al-Ḥusain ('a) and we were travelling close to him until he stopped.

reports. Unless we reconcile between the two reports by saying that they met al-Ḥusain ('a) at Ṣifāḥ before the *ḥajj* and then joined him at Zarūd after the pilgrimage.

[Tha'labiyyah¹]

He stopped at al-Tha'labiyyah in the evening. So we approached him when he stopped and greeted him. He returned our greeting. Then we said to him: 'May Allah have mercy on you, we have a news. If you wish, we can say it publicly, and if you wish, in privacy.'

Al-Ḥusain ('a) looked at his companions and said: 'Nothing is to be concealed from these [people].'

We said to him: 'Did you see that rider who you confronted yesterday evening?'

He replied: 'Yes, I wanted to inquire from him.'

We said: 'We have collected for you the news that he had and spared you [the trouble of] questioning him. He was a man from the Asad, our [tribe], of sound judgement, truthful, of merit and intelligence. He told us that he had only left Kūfah after Muslim bin 'Aqīl and Hānī bin 'Urwah had been killed, and he had seen them being dragged by their legs in the market!'

[Hearing this,] he said: 'Indeed, we belong to Allah and to him do we indeed return'. May Allah's mercy be on them both!' He repeated this several times.²

¹ It comes after al-Shuqūq for one traveling to Makkah from Kūfah. It has been named after a man from the Banū Asad known as Tha'labah. See *Mu'jam al-Buldān*.

² What is apparent from this narration is that the news of Muslim's martyrdom had already spread by the time [the Imam ('a)] reached this point. But as we shall see later, the Imam ('a) informed his companions about this through a letter he read out to the people at Zubālah. Accordingly, it is highly probable that by his statement [at Tha'labiyyah]: "...Nothing is to be concealed

Then we said to him: 'We implore you before Allah for your own life and for your family members that you should go back [right] from this point; for you have [now] no any helper or follower in Kūfah. We are afraid that the [people of the] city will be against you!'

On hearing this, the sons of 'Aqīl bin Abī Ṭālib¹ sprung up and said: 'Nay, by Allah! We shall not leave until we have taken our vengeance, or have tasted what our brothers have tasted!'²

They continue with their report and say: "Al-Ḥusain ('a) then looked at us and said; 'There is no good in life after these [men].'

So we knew that he is determined to continue with his journey. We said [to him]: 'May Allah choose the best for you.'

He replied: 'May Allah have mercy on you both.'

from these people", the Imam ('a) meant to say that "Apart from these people who are present, the news must be kept secret". Hence, it was not disclosed till at Zubālah. But according to al-Ya'qūbī (2:230; Najaf edition), the news of Muslim's martyrdom reached the Imam ['a] at Qūṭqūṭānah.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:397): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Abū Janāb al-Kalbī related to me on the authority of 'Adiyy bin Ḥarmalah al-Asadī, from 'Abdullah that...' *Al-Irshād* (pg.222; Najaf edition) says: "Abdullah bin Sulaimān reported that..."

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:397): "Abū Mikhnaf says: "Umar bin Khālid narrated to me on the authority of Zayd bin 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain, from Dāwūd bin 'Alī bin 'Abdullah bin 'Abbās who said that the sons of 'Aqīl reported that..." See also *al-Irshād* (pg.222), *Murūj al-Dhahab* (3:70) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.245; Najaf edition).

Then he waited till dawn when he told his young men and servants: 'Take plenty of water.' So they drew water and stored it in large quantities. Then they set out and went on until they reached Zubālah.

[Zubālah^{1,2}]

There he received the news of the martyrdom of his foster brother, 'Abdullah bin Yuqṭur. So he read out a written statement to the people and announced:

'In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Shocking news has reached us! The martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Aqil, Hānī bin 'Urwah and 'Abdullah bin Yuqṭur. Our followers³ have indeed deserted us. So any of you who like to leave, may leave; we have freed him of all obligations.'

The people began to disperse from him to right and left until there remained with him only those of his companions who had come with him from Madīnah.

¹ According to *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Zubālah comes before al-Shuqūq for one traveling to Makkah from Kūfah. It contains fortresses and a large mosque belonging to the Banū Asad. Zubālah is, in fact, the name of a lady from the 'Amāliqah.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:398): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'I narrate on the authority of Abū Janāb al-Kalbī from 'Adiyy bin Ḥarmalah who related from 'Abdullah bin Salīm that..." See also *al-Irshād* (pg.222; Najaf edition).

³ This is a clear assertion from the Imam ['a] that his followers in Kūfah have betrayed him. This is the first announcement of the news about Kūfah and the martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Aqil ('a), though he had already received the news before this at Zarūd, but it apparently remained disclosed -by the order of the Imam ['a]- for other than those who were present around him at the time, until he announced it to them at this point.

He did that because the Bedouins who had followed him were thinking that he was going to a city where he was being steadfastly obeyed. And he disliked them to accompany him without being [fully] aware of what they were getting into. He well knew that if they were informed [of the reality], none would accompany him except he who is determined to help him and die beside him!¹

At dawn he ordered his young men [to get prepared], so they drew water and stored it in large quantities. Then he set out until he passed by Baṭn al-‘Aqabah.

[Baṭn al-‘Aqabah²]

He stopped at this point³ [and a man from the Banū ‘Ikrimah told him saying:] ‘I beseech you in the name Allah that you should return; for -by Allah- you are only advancing toward the points of spears and the edges of swords. If those who sent for you had spared you [the trouble of] fighting and had prepared the ground for you, and then you had gone to them, [then] that would be reasonable. But in this situation that you are describing, I do not think that you ought to do so.’

[Al-Ḥusain (‘a)] said to him: ‘O servant of Allah! This [i.e. wise decision] is not hidden from me. Your opinion is the

¹ This is the most complete answer as to why the Imam (‘a) allowed them to leave him, and it suffices from all other answers.

² It is a station after Wāqīṣah and before al-Qā’ on the way to Makkah.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:398): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Abū ‘Alī al-Anṣārī narrated to me from Bakr bin Muṣ’ab al-Muzniyy that...” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.222; Najaf edition).

[right] opinion. But Allah is never defeated in His affair.’¹
Thereafter, he set out from there.²

[Sharāf]

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) went on till he stopped at Sharāf. At dawn he ordered his young men [to get prepared], so they took enough water with them and then left the place. They sped in their journey in the early hours of the day until it was midday. [Suddenly,] a man [from his followers] exclaimed: ‘Allah is the greatest!’

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) said: ‘[Indeed,] Allah is greatest! [But] why did you say the *takbīr*?’

He replied: ‘I saw palm trees.’

[‘Abdullah bin Salīm and Mudhrī bin Mushma’il] the two men from the Banū Asad said to him: ‘This is a place in which we never see a palm-tree.’

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) said: ‘In your opinion what did he see

¹ According to *al-Irshād* (pg.223), the Imam (‘a) then continued: “By Allah, they will not leave me until they take this beating [heart] out of my body. If they do so, then Allah will establish over them who will humiliate them until they become the most disgraced people of all nations.” The same has been reported in *A’lām al-Warā* (pg.232) also.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:399): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Laudhān -one of the Banū ‘Ikrimah- related to me that one of his uncles narrated to him that...’”

³ Sharāf is two miles from Wāqīṣah and is situated before [one reaches] Iraq. Sa’d bin Abī Waqqāṣ had stopped here before he reached al-Qādisiyyah. Sharāf is named after a person who was known by this name and had discovered a spring in the area. Later several huge wells producing sweet drinking water were dug in the area. See *Mu’jam al-Buldān*.

[then]?’

They replied: ‘We think he has seen the heads of horses.’

The [man] responded: ‘By Allah, I think so too.’

[Dhū Ḥusam¹]

Here al-Ḥusain (‘a) said: ‘Is not there any shelter we can seek refuge to and put it at our rear, so that we can face the people in one direction [i.e. so that we are not surrounded]?’”

We said to him: ‘Yes, there is [the hill of] Dhū Ḥusam on your side. Turn left to go towards it. If you reach it before them, it will be [in] just [the position] you want.’”

So he veered left towards it and we went in that direction with him. We tried to get there before them and we managed to do so. When they saw that we had moved off the road, they [also] moved off towards us. Al-Ḥusain (‘a) halted there and ordered for his tents and they were erected.

It was not long before the heads of their horses appeared to us. Their flags looked like the wings of birds. They were one thousand men led by Ḥurr bin Yazīd al-Tamīmī al-

¹ According to *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, it is the name of a hill where Nu’mān used to go for hunting. It is 33 miles from ‘Udhaib al-Hijānāt on the way to Kūfah as reported by *al-Ṭabarī*. Ibn al-Jawzī relates in *al-Maqtal* (pg.245; Najaf edition) from [some] scholars of history that the Imam (‘a) did not know about what had befell Muslim bin ‘Aqīl until when he was three miles from al-Qādisiyyah, where he met Ḥurr bin Yazīd al-Riyāḥī who informed him of the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aqīl and Hānī’ bin ‘Urwah and also about Ibn Ziyād’s arrival in Kūfah and his preparation against him, and [then] asked him to return.

Yarbū'ī. He and his cavalry stood facing al-Ḥusain ('a) under the midday heat, while al-Ḥusain ('a) and his companions were in turbans and with their swords.

Al-Ḥusain ('a) ordered his young men: 'Provide water to these men and quench their thirst and give some (*tarshīf*) to the horses [also].'

So the young men served them water till they quenched their thirst. [Then] they began filling their jugs, vessels and bowls and take them near [their] horses. When a horse had drunk three or four or five draughts¹, it was taken away from it and provided to another one until they had all been watered."^{2 3 1}

¹ Drinking a few draughts of water is what exactly *tarshīf* means.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:400) says: "I have been informed on the authority of Hishām who related from Abū Mikhnaf who said: 'Abū Janāb narrated to me on the authority of 'Adiyy bin Ḥarmalah from 'Abdullah bin Salīm and al-Mudhrī that...'" See also *al-Irshād* (pg.223) and *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.73) of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:401) says: "Hishām said: 'Laqīt narrated to me from 'Alī bin al-Ṭa'ān al-Muḥāribī that: 'I was together with Ḥurr bin Yazīd [al-Riyāḥī] and I was among the last of his companions [in the army] to arrive at Dhū Ḥusam. When al-Ḥusain ('a) saw how thirsty my horse and I were, he said: 'Make the horse (*rāwiyah*) kneel.' I thought that by *rāwiyah* he meant 'the waterskin'. [But when he saw that I misunderstood him] he said: 'O cousin! Make your camel kneel.' So I made him kneel. Then he said: 'Drink!' So I started drinking but whenever I tried to do so the water used to spill on the ground from the waterskin. So al-Ḥusain ['a] told me: 'Fold (*ikhnith*) the waterskin', but al-Muḥāribī says I did not know how to do that! So al-Ḥusain ['a] stood up and folded it for me; so I drank myself and watered my horse also.'" See *al-Irshād* (pg.224) and *al-Maqtal* of al-Khwārazmī (pg.230).

The time for the *ẓuhr* prayer set in and al-Ḥusain ('a) ordered Ḥajjāj bin Masrūq al-Ju'fī to make the call to prayer and he did so. When it was time for the *iqāmah*, al-Ḥusain ('a) came out [before the people] dressed in a waist-cloth (*izār*), a cloak (*ridā'*) and slippers. He praised and glorified Allah, then he said:

“O people! This is [my] excuse before Allah and you: I did not come to you until your letters came to me and your messengers [saying]: ‘Come to us, for we have no leader (*imām*); perhaps Allah shall unite us under guidance through you.’ [Now] if you are still on the [same stance], then I have come to you. If you give me promises and pledges that assure me [of your support], I will come to your city. But if you will not and are averse to my coming, I will leave you [and go back] to the place from which I came to you.”

They were silent before him. They said to the caller to prayer (*mu'adhhin*): “Make the *iqāmah*”, and he did so.

Al-Ḥusain ('a) said to Ḥurr: “Do you want to lead your followers in prayer?”

He replied: “No, you pray and we will pray [following the lead of] your prayer.”

Al-Ḥusain ('a) thus led them in prayers. Then he entered [his tent] and his followers gathered around him.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:401): “From here Abū Mikhnaf’s chain of reports misses a link. So we had no choice to make up for what was missing except by bringing in the account of Hishām al-Kalbī from Laqīt, who narrated from ‘Alī bin Ta’ān al-Muḥāribī. See also *al-Irshād* (pg.224) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.231).”

Ḥurr also went back to his place and entered the tent which had been erected for him. Some of his followers gathered around him while the rest returned to their ranks which they had been in and which now they went back to. Each one of them held the reins of his mount and sat in the shade [of its body].

At the time of *'aṣr*, al-Ḥusain ('a) ordered [his companions] to prepare for departure. He then came out and ordered his *muadhhin* [to make the call for prayers], and he made the call for the *'aṣr* prayers and the *iqāmah*. Al-Ḥusain ('a) came forward and led the people in prayer. After saying the final greeting [of the prayer], he turned his face towards the people. He praised and glorified Allah and then said:

“O people! Verily, if you fear Allah and recognize the rights of those who have rights then that is more pleasing for Allah. We, the People of the House (*ahl al-bait*), are more entitled to the authority (*wilāyah*) of this affair [i.e. the caliphate] over you than those who claim what does not belong to them and who rule amidst you with injustice and oppression! But if you dislike us and do not know our right, and your view is now other than what came in your letters and was brought by your messengers, then I will go away from you!”

So Ḥurr bin Yazīd said to him: “By Allah! We do not know of these letters that you are talking about!”

Al-Ḥusain ('a) said: “O 'Uqbah bin Sim'ān! Bring out the two saddle-bags which contain their letters to me.”¹ So he

¹ *Khirjain* is the dual form of *khirj*. According to *Majma' al-Bahrain*, it is a sack with two straps. Later, we shall see the report by Ibn al-Jawzī in *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.251) that

brought out two saddle-bags full of letters and spread it before them.

So Ḥurr said: “[But] we are not among those who wrote [them] to you. We have only been ordered that when we meet you we should not leave you until we have brought you to ‘Ubaidullah Ibn Ziyād!”

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) said: “Death is closer to you than doing such a thing!” Then he said to his companions: “Rise and get on your mounts!” So they all mounted and waited until their women had been mounted.

When they set out to leave, the people [with Ḥurr] prevented them from going. So al-Ḥusain (‘a) said to Ḥurr: “May your mother mourn for your death! What do you want?!”

He replied: “By Allah! If any of the Arabs other than you were to say that to me even though he were in the same situation as you, I would not leave him without mentioning his mother being deprived of him, whoever he might be. But -by Allah- there is no way for me to mention your mother except by [saying] the best things possible!”¹

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) said to him: “What is it that you want?”

when the Imam [‘a] addressed his opponents on the day of ‘Āshūrā’ and appealed to them that they were the ones to write to him, they responded saying: “We do not know what you are saying.” So Ḥurr said: “Indeed -by Allah- we had written to you and we are the ones who invited you to come [to our city]. May Allah eliminate falsehood and its followers! By Allah, I shall not prefer this world over the hereafter.” He then stroke his horse and joined the camp of al-Ḥusain (‘a).

¹ See also *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.74; Najaf edition) of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, who narrated it from Abū Mikhnaf.

Ḥurr replied: "By Allah, I want to go with you to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād!"

Al-Ḥusain ('a) said: "Then by Allah I will not follow you!"

Ḥurr said: "Then by Allah I will not leave you!"

When the conversation between them became lengthy, Ḥurr said to him: "I have not been ordered to fight you. I have only been instructed not to leave you until I take you to Kūfah. If you refuse [to do that], then take any road which will not bring you into Kūfah, nor take you back to Madīnah, let that be a compromise between us until I write to Ibn Ziyād [and await further instructions]. And if you wish, you can write to Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah, or if you want to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād. Perhaps Allah will cause something to happen by then which will relieve me from having to do anything against you. So take this [road] here and bear to the left of the road to al-'Udhaib and al-Qādisiyyah."

[All this happened while they were still at Dhū Ḥusam] which is situated at 38 miles from 'Udhaib. Al-Ḥusain ('a) moved with his companions while Ḥurr [and his army] set out travelling close by him.¹]

[Baiḍah²]

At al-Baiḍah, al-Ḥusain ('a) addressed his companions and those of Ḥurr. He praised and glorified Allah and then said:

¹ Here comes to an end what *al-Ṭabarī* reported from Hishām to fill up the missing link in Abū Mikhnaf's report. See also: *al-Irshād* (pg.225) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.232).

² According to *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, this point is situated between Wāqīṣah and 'Udhaib al-Hajānāt.

“O people! The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) has said: ‘Whoever sees a tyrannical ruler making lawful what Allah has forbidden, breaking the covenant of Allah, opposing the *sunnah* of the Messenger of Allah and behaving sinfully and unjustly with the servants of Allah, but does not [rise to] change the situation neither by his action nor his word, then it is binding on Allah to make him enter where the tyrant shall enter.’”

Indeed these people have clung to the obedience of *shaitān* and have forsaken obeying the All-Merciful. They openly indulge in corruption and have stopped the enforcement of *hudūd*.¹ They have appropriated for themselves the spoils of war, they have made lawful what Allah has forbidden and have prohibited that which Allah has made lawful. And I am more entitled to bring changes than anyone else.

Your letters reached me and your messengers had come to me with your allegiance that you will not surrender me [to the enemy] nor desert me. [Now] if you are still on your pledge, [then] you have shown sound judgement; for I am Ḥusain, son of ‘Alī, and son of Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ). I am with you [i.e. living amidst you] and my family members with your families; you have an example (*uswah*) in me.

[But] if you do not [do so] and break your pledge and free yourselves from [the] allegiance [you paid me], then I swear by my life that this is not unexpected of you. You did the same to my father, my brother and my cousin, Muslim [bin ‘Aqīl]! A deceived is he who has been deceived by you. You have lost your felicity and wasted your share [in the

¹ The legal punishment prescribed by the Shari’ah. [Editor]

hereafter]. ‘So whoever breaks his oath, breaks it only to his own detriment.’¹ And Allah will avail [me] against you. Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you.”²

Ḥurr said to him as he moved along with him: “O Ḥusain! I implore you for the sake of Allah to save your life. I bear witness that if you fight [these people], you will definitely be killed. And if they fight you, then I think you will surely be destroyed!”

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) said to him: “Do you seek to frighten me with death? Are you going to kill me just because the war has been waged [against me]?! I do not know what to tell you? I can only tell you what the man from the [Banū] Aws said to his fellow tribesman when he met him as he was intending to support the Prophet of Allah (ṣ). [His tribesman] told him: ‘Where are you going? You are indeed going to be killed.’ He said [in reply]:

I will advance, for death is not a shame upon a young man,

When he intends the truth and fights as a Muslim.

And when he consoles the righteous by [sacrificing] his self,

And parts with the sinful who is a deceiver and whose nose shall be rubbed onto the ground.”³

¹ Qur’an, 48:10.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:403): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘[I narrate] from ‘Uqbah bin Abī al-‘Ayzār...’”

³ Both Ibn al-Athīr in *al-Kāmil* and al-Mufīd in *al-Irshād* have narrated these verses but with the following addition: “If I live, I will do so without regret and if I die, I shall not be blamed, suffices you as humiliation that you live while your nose is

When Ḥurr heard this [he understood that he is ready to die but not to accept humiliation], so he drew away from him. He and his followers travelled on one side [of the road] while al-Ḥusain ('a) travelled on the other side, until they reached 'Udhaib al-Hijānāt.

['Udhaib al-Hijānāt']

[When the caravan of al-Ḥusain ('a) reached this point] there appeared, all of a sudden, four people who came from Kūfah on their mounts and had the horse of Nāfi' bin Hilāl with them, accompanied by their guide, Ṭirimmāḥ bin 'Adiyy, who was riding on a horse. When they reached al-Ḥusain ('a), they recited him the following verses:

O my camel, do not get terrified by my swift drive,

And get ready [to take me quickly] before the break of dawn.

With the best of riders and in the best of journeys,

Till you get adorned by [being in the presence of] the noble in lineage [i.e. al-Ḥusain ('a)].

A praiseworthy, free and generous man,

Whom Allah has sent to carry out the best mission.

rubbed onto the ground.”

¹ Gramatically 'udhaib is a diminutive noun of 'adhīb. 'Udhaib al-Hijānāt was a valley owned by the Banū Tamīm situated on the border of Iraq (*al-sawād*). A military base of the Persians was [also] situated in the area. It is six miles from al-Qādisiyyah. The horses of Nu'mān, king of Ḥīrah, used to graze there, thus the area came to be known as 'Udhaib al-Hijānāt as *al-hijānāt* is the plural of *al-hajīn* meaning an animal with mixed blood (i.e. a hybrid).

May He preserve him forever!

[Al-Ḥusain ('a)] said: "Indeed by Allah; I hope that Allah has decreed for us the best, whether we are killed or become victorious!"

Ḥurr bin Yazīd came forward and said: "These people who have come from Kūfah are not among those who came with you [from Madīnah]. I will arrest them or send them back."

Al-Ḥusain ('a) said to him: "I will indeed defend them against that which I defend myself. These people are my helpers and supporters. You had given me [promise] not to confront me in any matter until after you receive letter from Ibn Ziyād."

Ḥurr said: "Yes, but they did not come with you."

[Al-Ḥusain ('a)] retorted: "They are my companions. They enjoy the same position as those who have come with me. If you stand by the word agreed upon between you and me, [then well and good]. otherwise I will fight you!"

Thus, Ḥurr desisted [from arresting them].

Then al-Ḥusain ('a) asked them: "Tell me the news of the people you have left behind."

Mujamma' bin 'Abdullah al-'Ā'idhī -one of the four men who had just come to him¹- said: "As for the noblemen, they have been heavily bribed and their pockets filled. Their hearts have been won and their loyalty secured for them. So

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:446): "They were probably Jābir bin al-Ḥārith al-Salmānī, 'Umar bin Khālid al-Ṣaidāwī and Sa'd, the servant of al-Ṣaidāwī, about whom Abū Mikhnaf says that they fought together in the beginning of the battle and were killed at one place."

they are [now] all united against you! With regard to the rest of the people, their hearts are inclined towards you, but tomorrow their swords shall be drawn against you!”

[Al-Ḥusain (‘a)] said: “Tell me, did my messenger come to you?”

They asked: “Who was he?”

He replied: “Qais bin Musahhar al-Ṣaidāwī.”

They said: “Yes. Ḥuṣain bin Tamīm had arrested him and sent him to Ibn Ziyād. [Ibn Ziyād] instructed him to curse you and your father, but he instead invoked [Allah’s] blessings on you and your father, and cursed Ibn Ziyād and his father. He invited [people] to support you and informed them of your coming. So Ibn Ziyād ordered him to be thrown [to the ground] from the top of the palace.”

The eyes of al-Ḥusain (‘a) filled with tears and he could not restrain his tears. Then he said: ‘Of them are some who have fulfilled their pledge, and of them are some who still wait.’¹ O Allah grant them and us the heaven as an abode, and gather us all under your mercy and your desired reward which is reserved [for the believers].”²

Then Ṭirimmāḥ bin ‘Adiyy drew closer to al-Ḥusain (‘a) and said to him: “By Allah, I see that there is no one to support you. If only these people whom I see following you [i.e. Ḥurr and his army] were to fight you, they will be enough [to defeat you]. A day before I left Kūfah, I saw at

¹ Qur’an, 33:23.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:403): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘... and ‘Uqbah bin Abī ‘Ayzār has reported that...’ See also *al-Irshād* (pg.225; Najaf edition).

the back side of the Kūfah and I found there [a crowd of] people such that my eyes had never seen a gathering bigger than that at one place. So I inquired about them and was told: 'They have gathered [here] to be inspected and then they are going to be sent against al-Ḥusain ('a).' I implore you not to move towards them even a span if you can! And if you wish to stay in a town through which Allah would protect you until you have considered [the matter] and it has become clear for you what [exactly] you are going to do, then come with me and I will take you to an impenetrable hill which belongs to us and is called *Aja*'.¹ Then I will accompany you until [we] halt at *al-qurayyah*."²

[Al-Ḥusain ('a)] replied him: "May Allah reward you and your kinsmen with the best of rewards. There has been an agreement between us and these people, so we cannot leave. And we do not know how will this matter come to an end between us and them!"

Ṭirimmāḥ bin 'Adiyy [continues with his report and] says: "So I bade him farewell and said: may Allah avert from you the mischief of the jinn and the mankind."³

¹ *Aja* is a noun and its grammatical form is *fa-'a-l*. It is the name of a person after who the hill of Ṭay' has been named. It is situated in the west of this area and on the left of the hill of Sumairā'.

² *Qurayyah* is the diminutive noun of *qaryah*. It is one of the areas in Ṭay'.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:406): "Abū Mikhnaf reports: 'Jamīl bin Murīd related to me from Ṭirimmāḥ that...' The complete report is as follows: [Ṭirimmāḥ said to al-Ḥusain ('a):] "I have prepared some provision for my family from Kūfah and I am carrying their expenditure with me. So I am going to leave the things with them and then I will proceed towards you, if Allah wills. If I happened

Al-Ḥusain ('a) set out until he reached Qaşr Banī Muqātil.

[Qaşr Banī Muqātil']

He halted [at this point] and there a tent had [already] been erected.² He said: "Whose tent is this?" "It belongs to 'Ubaidullah bin al-Ḥurr al-Ju'fī"³, he was answered.

He said: "Ask him to come to me" and send [a messenger] to him. When the messenger came to him he said: "Ḥusain bin 'Ali is calling you."

'Ubaidullah replied: "Indeed, we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return! By Allah, I only left Kūfah out of dislike that al-Husain would enter it while I am there. By Allah, I do not want to see him nor him to see me."

The messenger returned to him and informed him. So he put on his slippers, stood up and went to see him. He entered [his tent], greeted him and sat down. Then he asked him to accompany him, but Ibn al-Ḥurr repeated the [same] words [he had said to the messenger]!

[Al-Ḥusain ('a)] said to him: "If you are not going to help

to join you, then I shall be -by Allah- among your helpers." Al-Ḥusain ['a] said: "If you are determined to do so then hasten! May Allah shower his mercy on you." [Ṭirimmāḥ] says: "When I reached my family I gave them what was of help to them and made my will and informed them of my intentions. Then I set out [to join al-Ḥusain], but when I neared 'Udhaib al-Hijānāt', Samā'ah bin Badr approached me and gave me the news of his martyrdom, and so I returned."

¹ According to *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, this point is situated between Qurayyāt, Quṭquṭānah and 'Ain al-Tamr.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:407): "Abū Mikhnaf reports..."

³ His biography will follow towards the end of this book.

us, then fear Allah in that you should be of those who fight us. For by Allah, one who hears our cry but does not come to our help will [indeed] be destroyed!" Then he rose from him.¹

'Uqbah bin Sim'ān says: "At the final hours of the night al-Ḥusain ['a] ordered [us] to get provisions of water. Then he ordered us to [continue] the journey and we did so. An hour after we left Qaṣr Banī Muqātil al-Ḥusain ['a] dropped his head drowsily and then woke up saying: "Verily, we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return. All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the worlds." He repeated this twice or three times.

His son, 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain ['a] approached him [while he was] on his horse and said: "Indeed, we belong to Allah and to Him shall we return, and all praise is due to Allah, the Lord of the worlds. O my father! May I be sacrificed for you. Why have you praised Allah and [pronounced] the verse of returning (*istirjā'*)?"

He replied: "O my son! I nodded off and a horseman appeared to me, riding a horse, and he said: "The people are advancing and death is advancing towards them!" So I understood that it is our own souls announcing our deaths to us."

He said to him: "O father! May Allah never let you see evil! Are not we on the right?"

He replied: "Indeed [we are], by Him to Whom all his

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:407): "Abū Mikhnaf says: 'Mujālid bin Sa'id narrated to me from 'Āmir al-Sha'bī that...' See also *al-Irshād* (pg.226).

servants will return.”

He then said: “O father! Then we need have no concern. We will die righteously.”

He said to him: “May Allah reward you with the best of what he has rewarded a son on account of his father.”

He stopped in the morning and offered the Morning Prayer. Then he hurried to remount and began veering to the left with his companions, with the intention of separating from [the army of Ḥurr]. So Ḥurr bin Yazīd came to him, driving them back. When he [tried] to forcefully turn them towards Kūfah, they resisted him, so they desisted from doing that, but still accompanied them until they reached Nainawā.

[Nainawā¹]

This is a place where al-Ḥusain [‘a] halted. There appeared, suddenly, a rider who was on a horse of a noble breed, carrying weapon with a bow on his shoulder, coming from Kūfah. They all stopped, waiting for him. When he reached them, he greeted Ḥurr bin Yazīd and his followers but did not greet al-Ḥusain [‘a] and his companions. He handed a letter from ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād to Ḥurr. It read:

“When this letter reaches you and my messenger comes to you, make al-Ḥusain come to a halt. But only let him stop in an open place, with no shelter and water. I have ordered my messenger to stay with you and not to leave you until he brings me [news of] your carrying out my instructions. That is all.”

¹ Nainawā was a village on the bank of the Euphrates which was inhabited until the end of the 2nd century H.

When he had read the letter, Ḥurr told them: "This is the letter of the governor, 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād. He has ordered me to stop you at a point I received his letter. This is his messenger and he has ordered him not to leave me until I carry out his order."

[Abū] al-Sha'thā' Yazīd bin Ziyād al-Muhāṣar al-Kindī al-Bahdalī¹ looked at the messenger of 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziyād], stood in front of him and said: "Are you Mālik bin al-Nusair al-Baddī² [from the tribe of Kindah]?"

¹ He was an archer in al-Ḥusain's army and was among the first ones to be martyred. He shot [about] a hundred arrows and then stood up and said: "Only five arrows of these [hundred] fell on the ground and so I have come to know that I have certainly killed five men." Abū Mikhnaf has narrated from Fuḍail bin Khudaij al-Kindī that: "Yazīd bin Ziyād was with 'Umar bin Sa'd in the beginning. But when ['Umar bin Sa'd and his army] refused to make peace as proposed by al-Ḥusain ('a), Yazīd bin Ziyād got inclined towards him and fought on his side until he was martyred." However, this account is not in consistence with the report mentioned in this text.

² *Al-Ṭabari*: Mālik bin al-Nusair from the Banū Baddā'. Ṭabari narrates on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf that he was present in Karbalā' and had struck the head of Imam al-Ḥusain ('a) with his sword, cutting his hood and thus causing bleeding. The Imam ('a) said to him: "May you never eat or drink with your hand, and may Allah resurrect you with the oppressors." After the Imam's martyrdom Mālik had snatched his cap from him and as a result he lived a life of poverty till his death. (5:448)

It has been narrated also that 'Abdullah bin Dabbās had pointed out for Mukhtār a number of men who had killed al-Ḥusain ('a) and among them was Mālik bin al-Nusair al-Baddī. So Mukhtār sent to them Mālik bin 'Amru al-Nahdī who met them at al-Qādisiyyah. Mālik arrested and took them to Mukhtār one evening. Mukhtār said to al-Baddī: 'Are you the one who took his cap?' 'Abdullah bin Kāmil said: 'Yes! He is the one.' Mukhtār

He answered: "Yes."

So Yazīd bin Ziyād said to him: "May your mother mourn you! What an affair you have come to?!"

He replied: "I have not done so! I have [only] obeyed my leader (*imāmi*) and remained faithful to my pledge of allegiance."

Abū al-Sha'thā' said: "You have been disobedient to your Lord and have obeyed your leader to your own destruction. You have earned shame and hell fire! Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, says: 'We made them leaders who invite to the fire, and on the Day of Resurrection they will not receive any help.'¹ Such [a person] is your leader!"

Ḥurr bin Yazīd [al-Riyāḥī] began to make the people halt at that place which was without water and where there was no village.²

then said: 'Cut off his hands and legs and then leave him to writhe till he dies.' So was done to him and he bled to death. He died in the year 66 H." (6:57)

¹ Qur'an, 28:41.

² This indicates that Karbalā' was not the name of a village, rather a name of an area known as Kūr Bābil, i.e. the villages of Bābil, as reported in *Kitāb al-Dalāil wa al-Masāil* of Sayyid Hibah al-Dīn al-Shahristānī. Ibn al-Jawzī reports in his *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.250; Najaf edition): "... Al-Ḥusain ['a] then said: 'What is this land called?' They replied: 'Karbalā'. It is also called Nainawā which is a village in it.' [Hearing this,] al-Ḥusain wept and said: 'Karb wa Balā' [i.e. grief and tribulation]. He then said: 'Umm Salamah informed me that: '[One day] Jibrāil was with the Messenger of Allah [‘ṣ] and you [i.e. al-Ḥusain] were with me. You happened to cry, so the Messenger of Allah [‘ṣ] said: 'Leave my son alone', so I left you alone. He then lifted you and placed you on his lap. So Jibrāil said: 'Do you love

So they said: "Allow us to stop at this village –meaning Nainawā, or that one –meaning al-Ghādiriyyah¹, or that one –

him?' He replied: 'Yes.' Jibrāil then said: 'Your nation will [one day] kill him. And if you wish I can show you the earth of the place where he shall be killed.' So he said: 'Yes! [Show it to me].' So Jibrāil spread his wing on the land of Karbalā' and showed it to him.' [After relating this] al-Ḥusain [(‘a) took in his hands the sand of this place and] smelled it and said: 'By Allah! This is the land about which Jibrā'il informed the Messenger of Allah, [the land] I shall indeed be killed in.'" Ibn al-Jawzī continues and says: "Ibn Sa'd has mentioned something similar in meaning to this report in his *al-Ṭabaqāt* from al-Wāqidī." Ibn al-Jawzī then says: "Ibn Sa'd has also reported [the following incident] from al-Sha'bī who said: 'When 'Alī ('a) passed by Karbalā' on his way to Ṣiffīn and stood opposite Nainawā –a village on the Euphrates, he stopped and called upon the one who carried water for ablution and said: 'O Abā 'Abdillah, tell me what is this land called?' 'Karbalā', he replied. So he wept till the place [where he was standing] became wet with his tears. He then said: '[One day] I went to see the Prophet of Allah (ṣ) and saw him weeping. So I asked him: 'What has made you to weep?' He said: 'Jibrāil was with me a moment ago and he informed me that my son, al-Ḥusain, shall be killed by the bank of the Euphrates, at a place called Karbalā'.' Jibrāil then took a handful of sand [of that land] and made me smell it, so I could not hold my tears."

Ibn al-Jawzī says: "Ḥasan bin Kathīr and 'Abd Khair have said: 'When 'Alī ('a) reached Karbalā', he stopped [there] and wept and then said: 'May my father be sacrificed for the young men who shall be killed here. This [land] shall be the resting place of their mounts. This is [the land] where they shall camp. This [land] shall be the battleground of the [young] men.' [Saying this] he wept [even] more." Ibn Muzāḥim has narrated this report through four [different] chains of narration in *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* (pg.140-142; Hārūn publications).

¹Al-Ghādiriyyah is named after Ghādirah which belong to the Banū Asad and which are in fact lands around the grave of 'Aun which are now a *farsakh* from Karbalā'. There stand the ruins of a



meaning Shafiyyah¹.”

He replied: “No! By Allah I cannot do that. This man has been sent to me as a spy.”

Zuhair bin al-Qain said to [al-Ḥusain (‘a)]: “O son of the Messenger of Allah! Fighting these people [now] is easier than fighting those who will come against us after them. By my life, after these there will come against us such [a number] that we will not have the power to face them.”

Al-Ḥusain [‘a] said to him: “I will not begin to fight against them.”

Zuhair bin al-Qain said to him: “Let us go to this village and halt there, for it is secured and is situated on the bank of the Euphrates. If they stopped us, we will fight them, as it is easier for us to fight these [men] than to fight those who will come after them.”

So al-Ḥusain [‘a] said: “Which village is it?”

He replied: “Al-‘Aqr.”²

Al-Ḥusain [‘a] said: “O Allah! I seek refuge with you from ‘*aqr* (destruction).” Then he stopped. This was on Thursday, second of Muḥarram 61 H.

On the next day, ‘Umar bin Sa‘d bin Abī Waqqāṣ³ arrived from Kūfah with four thousand soldiers

fortress which is today known as the fortress of the Banū Asad.

¹ These were wells owned by the Banū Asad situated near Karbalā’.

² This was a place where the way station of Nubūkhadh Naṣr from Kūr Bābil was located. Kūr Bābil was later misspelt and came to be pronounced as Karbalā’.

³ We have given his biography earlier.

THE EVENTS FROM THE 3RD TO THE 8TH OF MUḤARRAM

[The Coming Out of Ibn Sa'd Against al-Ḥusain ('a)]

The reason why Ibn Sa'd came against al-Ḥusain ('a) was that 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād had dispatched him with four thousand men from Kūfah to Dastbay.¹ This was at a time when the people of Dailam had attacked Dastbay and seized control of it. So Ibn Ziyād wrote [a letter of] appointment to him, appointing him over Rayy, and ordered him to set out [to that place].

Ibn Sa'd left Kūfah and assembled his army [outside the city] at [a point called] Ḥammām A'yan.² [But] when the issue of al-Ḥusain ('a) came up and he set out for Kūfah, Ibn Ziyād summoned 'Umar bin Sa'd and said: "Go to al-Ḥusain. You can continue with your mission after we have settled the matter between us and him."

'Umar bin Sa'd said: "If you deem it right to exempt me from this task, then do so. May Allah have mercy on you."

'Ubaidullah said to him: "Yes! With the condition that you return to us the [letter of your] appointment."

¹ Known in Persian as Dashtbeh, it is a sizeable district situated between Hamadān and Rayy. It was later annexed to Qazwīn as reported in *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (4:58). *Dastbay* is an Arabicised form of the Persian word *Dashtbeh* which means a beautiful oasis.

² According to *al-Qamqām* (pg.486), it was one of the districts of Kūfah which contained a public bath owned by 'Umar bin Sa'd, runned by his servant A'yan after whom the area was named.

When he told him that, ‘Umar bin Sa‘d said: “Give me a day so that I may consider [the matter].”

‘Umar bin Sa‘d left [the court] and began taking counsel from his advisers. There was none he took advice from except that he stopped him [from accepting the mission].

Ḥamzah bin Mughīrah bin Shu‘bah¹, [Ibn Sa‘d’s] nephew from his sister’s side, came to him and said: “I implore you by Allah -O my uncle- not to advance against al-Ḥusain lest you disobey your Lord and sever relations with your near ones! By Allah! If you were to leave the [riches of the] world and the kingdom of the earth -if you had ever possessed them, [then] that would be better for you than meeting Allah with the blood of al-Ḥusain [on your hands]!”

‘Umar bin Sa‘d said to him: “I will do so, if Allah wills.”²

[According to what has been recorded in al-Ṭabarī, there is some discontinuity here in the report of Abū Mikhnaf as he

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf al-Thaqafī had appointed him over Hamadān in 77 H (5:284), while his brother, Muṭarrāf bin Mughīrah, was the governor of Madāin. Muṭarrāf later revolted against Ḥajjāj and was secretly supported by Ḥamzah with funds and weapons (5:292). Ḥajjāj then sent a letter to Qais bin Sa‘d al-‘Ajālī -who was then Ḥamzah’s head of bodyguards- appointing him as the next governor of Hamadān and [also] instructed him to fetter Ḥamzah bin Mughīrah with chains and imprison him and he did so (5:294).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:407): “Abū Mikhnaf says: “Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab narrated to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim‘ān that...” Abū Faraj al-Iṣfahānī has mentioned this report with the same chain of narration in his *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.74) with the difference that instead of ‘Uqbah he records ‘Utbah bin Sim‘ān al-Kalbī! See also *al-Irshād* (pg.226).

leaves off here and picks up again at Ibn Sa'd's arrival in Karbalā'. Accordingly Ṭabarī fills up this gap by bringing in the report of 'Awānah bin al-Ḥakam which we have no choice but to mention it here in order to create a link between the reports.]

Hishām says: “Awānah bin al-Ḥakam related to me on the authority of ‘Ammār bin ‘Abdullah bin Yasār al-Juhani from his father who said:

“I went to see ‘Umar bin Sa’d after he had been ordered to go to al-Ḥusain (‘a). So he told me: ‘The governor has ordered me to go to al-Ḥusain but I refused him.’ So I said to him: “May Allah guide you and show you the right path. Do not accept. Do not do that and do not go to him!”

[‘Abdullah bin Yasār] says: “I left his presence [and as I came out] a man came to me and said: “Umar bin Sa’d is inviting people to [go to war with] al-Ḥusain.”

[‘Abdullah] says: “I went to him [again] and saw him sitting. When he saw me, he turned his face away. So I understood that he is determined to set out against [al-Ḥusain]. So I left his presence.”

He says: “Umar bin Sa’d then went to Ibn Ziyad and said: ‘May Allah guide you! You have entrusted me with this task and have written for me the [letter of] appointment, about which the people [also] have come to know. [He meant his appointment over Rayy]. If you are [still] of the opinion to enforce it for me, then do so, and send to al-Ḥusain, with this army, someone from the noblemen of Kūfah, who I am not more brave and powerful than him in warfare.’ Then he proposed some names to him.

Ibn Ziyād said to him: ‘Do not teach me of the noblemen of

Kūfah! I have not commissioned you to advice me who I should send. If you go with our army [then that is it], otherwise give us [back] the [letter of your] appointment!

‘I will go’, he said, when he saw how obstinate he was.”

[Ibn Sa‘d’s Arrival in Karbalā’]

[‘Abdullah] says: “He set out with [an army of] four thousand¹ men until he reached where al-Ḥusain [had camped], on the following day of his arrival in Nainawā.”

He says: “Umar bin Sa‘d asked ‘Azarah bin Qais al-Aḥmasī² to go to al-Ḥusain (‘a). He told him: ‘Go to him and ask him what has brought him [here] and what does he want?’ ‘Azarah was one of those who had written to al-Ḥusain (‘a),

¹ See also *al-Irshād* (pg.227). He says as follows regarding the martyrdom Muḥammad bin Abī Ṭālib: “Ibn Ziyād dispatched Ibn Sa‘d towards al-Ḥusain with 9,000 men and later Yazīd bin Rikāb al-Kalbī with an army of 2,000 soldiers. He also sent Ḥusain bin Tamīm al-Sakūnī with 4,000 men, Fulān al-Māzanī with 3,000 and Naṣr bin Fulān with 2,000 soldiers. This summed up to 20,000 riders and foot soldiers. In *Maṭālib al-Sa‘ūl* al-Shāfi‘ī mentions that they were 22,000 men altogether. Shaikh al-Ṣadūq narrates in his *Amāli* (pg.101; Beirut edition) with his chain of narration from Imam al-Ṣādiq (‘a) that they numbered 30,000 men. Ibn al-Jawzī relates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.247; Najaf edition) from Muḥammad bin Sīrīn that the latter used to say: “In this matter the nobility of ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib (‘a) becomes evident; for he had once met ‘Umar bin Sa‘d while he was still young and said to him: ‘Woe onto you O son of Sa‘d! Just imagine in which state you will be the day you will given to choose between the heaven and the hell fire, and you shall go for the hell fire?!”

² Al-Mufīd mentions him in *al-Irshād* as ‘Urwah bin Qais. His biography has already been given when mentioning the hypocrites and the Umayyads from among the people of Kūfah who wrote letters to the Imam (‘a).

so he was ashamed to go to him.”

[‘Abdullah] says: “Umar bin Sa‘d then made the same proposal to those leaders who had written to him, but all of them refused it and expressed their dislike for that.”

[‘Abdullah] says: “Kathīr bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha‘bī¹ -a brave knight who never turned his face away from anything- stood up and said: ‘I will go to him. By Allah, if you wish I can [even] assassinate him.’

‘Umar bin Sa‘d said: ‘I do not want him to be assassinated. But go to him and ask him what has brought him?’

So he went to him. When Abū Thumāmah al-Ṣaidī saw him, he said to al-Ḥusain (‘a): ‘May Allah guide you, O Abā ‘Abdillah! The most vicious man on this earth, the most daring in [shedding] blood and the deadliest of them has come to you.’ [Abū Thumāmah] went to him and said: ‘Put down your sword!’

[Kathīr] said: ‘No! By Allah, [there is going to be] no advantage to you. I am only a messenger. If you listen to me, I will tell you the message which I have been sent to bring to you. If you refuse, I will go [away].’

So [Abū Thumāmah] said to him: ‘I will take the hilt of your sword and you can say what you need to.’

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Kathīr was present when al-Ḥusain (‘a) was martyred and he also narrated the speech given by Zuhair bin al-Qain (5:426). He is the one who killed Zuhair in association with Muhājir bin Aws (5:441). And he was the one who followed Ḍaḥḥāk bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqī al-Hamdānī with the intention of killing him. But when he came to know that Ḍaḥḥāk was from Hamdān, he said: “This is our cousin” and so he left him (5:445).

He said: 'No! By Allah, you will not touch it.'

[Abū Thumāmah] then told him: 'Tell me what you have brought and I will convey it to him. For I will not let you go near him, as you are a corrupt man.' They both [stood there and] cursed each other. Then he went back to 'Umar bin Sa'd and told him the news."

['Abdullah] says: "'Umar bin Sa'd summoned Qurrah bin Qais al-Ḥanzalī and said to him: 'Woe onto you, O Qurrah! Go to al-Ḥusain and ask him what has brought him and what he wants?'"

['Abdullah] says: "So Qurrah bin Qais went to him. When al-Ḥusain ('a) saw him coming, he said: 'Do you know this man?' Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir¹ said: 'Yes! He is from the Ḥanzalah, [a clan] of [the Banu] Tamīm. He is the son of our sister. I used to know him as a man of sound judgement. I never thought that he would be present at this scene."²

¹ This is the first time that his name appears in the reports of Karbalā' in this text, though it has not been specified how he reached there. We have already given his biography when discussing the Shīite leaders who had written to the Imam ('a) from Kūfah. Some [other] aspects of his life will follow in the reports of his martyrdom.

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: Qurrah bin Qais was with Ḥurr bin Yazīd al-Riyāḥī. 'Adiyy bin Ḥarmalah al-Asadī relates that he used to say: "By Allah! Had Ḥurr informed me of what he intended, I would have [indeed] gone with him to al-Ḥusain ('a) (5:427). Abū Zuhair al-'Abasī relates from him his report about the passing of the women of the household of al-Ḥusain ('a) through the place where [al-Ḥusain ('a)] and the members of his household were martyred, and also [his report on] the lamentation of Lady Zainab on her brother ('a) (5:456).

Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir had invited Qurrah to come to the help of the

[‘Abdullah] says: “He came and greeted al-Ḥusain [‘a] and conveyed to him the message of ‘Umar bin Sa’d.

Al-Ḥusain [‘a] said: ‘The people of your town wrote to me that I should come. But if they [now] dislike me, I will leave them [and return].”

[‘Abdullah] says: “The messenger went back to ‘Umar bin Sa’d and gave him the report. ‘Umar bin Sa’d told him: ‘I hope that Allah will spare me from making war on him and fighting against him.’ [Then he wrote to Ibn Ziyād about all this].”

[This is the end of the supplementary reports that were from other than Abū Mikhnaf].

[Ibn Sa’d’s First Letter to Ibn Ziyād]

The letter of ‘Umar bin Sa’d reached Ibn Ziyād and it read:

“In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. When I reached the place where al-Ḥusain had stationed, I sent to him my messenger. He asked him what brought him and what he wants and he replied: ‘The people of this city wrote to me and their messengers came to me asking me to come, so I came. But if they [now] dislike me and [the position] now appears different to them from what their messengers brought to me, [then] I will go away from them.”

Imam (‘a) and that he should not return back to the oppressors. So Qurrah replied him: “[At the moment,] I am going back to my comrade with the answer to his message, thereafter I will make a decision.” But he went to ‘Umar bin Sa’d and did not come back to al-Ḥusain until the Imam (‘a) was martyred (5:411). See also *al-Irshād* (pg.228).

When the letter was read for Ibn Ziyād he recited the following verse:

Now when our claws cling to him, he hopes for delivery but there is no time to escape!

[Ibn Ziyād's Response to Ibn Sa'd]

He wrote to Ibn Sa'd:

“In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Your letter has reached me and I have understood what you mentioned. Offer al-Ḥusain [the opportunity] of him and all his companions pledging allegiance to Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah. If he does that, we will then see what our judgement will be. That is all.”

When the letter reached Ibn Sa'd, he said: “I had anticipated that Ibn Ziyād would not spare me [fighting al-Ḥusain].”¹

[Ibn Sa'd's Meeting With al-Ḥusain ('a)]

Al-Ḥusain ('a) sent 'Amru bin Qurzah bin Ka'b al-Anṣārī² to Ibn Sa'd [saying]: “Meet me at night somewhere between the two armies.” So [at night] 'Umar bin Sa'd came out with around twenty horsemen and so did al-Ḥusain ['a]. When

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:411): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Naḍr bin Ṣālih bin Ḥabīb bin Zuhair al-'Abasī narrated to me from Ḥassān bin Fā'id bin Bukair al-'Abasī who said: ‘I bear witness that the letter of 'Umar bin Sa'd came...’ See also *al-Irshād* (pg.228).

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was with al-Ḥusain ('a) while his brother 'Alī bin Qurzah was with 'Umar bin Sa'd. When 'Amru was martyred 'Alī bin Qurzah put it on the companions of al-Ḥusain ('a) in order to avenge for the blood of his brother. But he got stabbed by Nāfi' bin Hilāl al-Murādī and fell to the ground. His colleagues carried him away and he was then treated and recovered (5:434).

they met each other, al-Ḥusain [‘a] ordered his companions to move away from him and so did ‘Umar bin Sa’d. Then they started talking and their conversation took long such that part of the night lapsed. Then each of the two returned to his camp with his companions.

People started making assumptions about what transpired between the two. They were presuming that al-Ḥusain (‘a) told ‘Umar bin Sa’d: “Come along with me to Yazīd bin Mu’āwiyah and let us leave the two armies.” ‘Umar said: “In that case my house will be demolished.” “I will rebuild it for you”, he replied. So [Ibn Sa’d] said: “My estate will be confiscated.” So he said: “In that case I shall give you what is better than that from my wealth in Ḥijāz.” But ‘Umar did not like that.

The people were busy talking about this and rumours spread without [them] having heard or known anything of the conversation [between the two].¹

[Among other assumptions they made were that] they said: “Al-Ḥusain said: ‘Accept any three of my requests:

1. I should either return to where I came from [i.e.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:413): “[Abū Mikhnaf says:] ‘Abū Janāb related to me from Hāni’ bin Thubait al-Ḥaḍramī...” Hāni’ was in the camp of ‘Umar bin Sa’d at the time of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain [‘a]. It becomes evident from this very report that he was among the twenty horsemen who had accompanied ‘Umar bin Sa’d at night to meet the Imam (‘a). Al-Ḥaḍramī reports: “We moved away from the two such that we could neither hear their voices nor what they said.” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.229). According to Ibn al-Jawzī in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.248; Najaf edition): “It was ‘Umar who sent for [al-Ḥusain (‘a)] requesting a meeting with him, and they met in privacy.”

Madīnah].

2. Or I should put my hand in the hand of Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah and then he should decide on the matter [which is] between him and I.

3. Or take me to any of the border outposts of the Islamic land you like, so that I may become one of them, with the same rights and duties as them."¹

'Uqbah bin Sim'ān says: "I accompanied al-Ḥusain ('a) and came out with him from Madīnah to Makkah, and from Makkah to Iraq, and I did not separate from him until he was martyred. There is not even a word from what he said to the people in Madīnah, or in Makkah, or on the way [to Kūfah], or in Iraq or [even] in his camp until the day he was [martyred], that I may have not heard. By Allah! He did not offer them what people are talking and assuming of, [like] paying allegiance to Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah, or that he should be taken to a frontier among the frontiers of the Islamic land. Rather, he said: "Allow me to go wherever I like in this spacious land until we see how the people's attitude to the affair develops."²

[Ibn Sa'd's Second Letter to Ibn Ziyād]

'Umar bin Sa'd wrote [a second] letter to Ibn Ziyād

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:413): "This is what a group of *muḥaddithūn* have recorded and has [also] been narrated to us by al-Mujālid bin Saī'd, Ṣaq'ab bin Zuhair al-Azdī and others who said ..." See also *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.75; Najaf edition).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:413): "As for 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab, he related to me from 'Uqbah bin Sim'ān who said: ..." See also *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.248) who has mentioned the report in brief.

[saying]:

“Indeed, Allah has put out the fire [of war], united [the people] in one opinion, and set right the affairs of the community. Al-Ḥusain has given me a promise that he will return to the place which he came from, or he will go to one of the border outposts and become like any other of the Muslims, with the same rights and duties as them; or he will go to Yazīd, the commander of the faithful, and offer him his hand and see [if the difference] between them [can be reconciled]. In this [offer] you will be pleased and there is good for the *ummah*.”

When ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād read the letter he said: “This is the letter of a man who is sincere to his governor and anxious for his community. Yes, I accept that.”

Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan¹ stood up and said: “Are you going to accept this from him [i.e. al-Ḥusain] when he has encamped on your land nearby! By Allah, if he leaves your city without putting his hand on yours, then he will gain more strength and might and you will become weaker and helpless [in your position]. Do not give him this opportunity; for that is [a mark of] weakness. Rather, let him submit to your authority,² he and his companions. Then if you punish them, you will be the [person] most appropriate to do so, and if you forgive them, then you have the right to do so. By Allah, I have heard that al-Ḥusain and

¹ We have given his biography under the reports about the noblemen of Kūfah who were with Ibn Ziyād.

² Ibn al-Jawzī has briefly narrated this in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.248) and adds that [Ibn Sa’d] wrote the following verse at the end of his letter: “Now that he is caught in our trap, he hopes for delivery but there is no longer time for escape.”

‘Umar bin Sa‘d have been sitting between the two armies engaged in conversation the whole night!”

Ibn Ziyād said: “Your opinion is excellent. Your view is the correct view.”¹

[Ibn Ziyād’s Second Response to Ibn Sa‘d]

‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād thus wrote to ‘Umar bin Sa‘d:

“I did not send you to al-Ḥusain for you to restrain yourself from [fighting] him, nor to idle the time away with him, nor to promise him peace and preservation [of his life], nor to be an intercessor on his behalf with me. Look now, if al-Ḥusain and his companions submit to [our] authority and surrender, then send them to me as captives. But if they refuse, then march against them until you kill them. Treat them in a manner that it should serve as a lesson for others, for they indeed deserve that! When al-Ḥusain is killed, make the horses trample on his chest and back; for he is disobedient and an opponent, an oppressor and one who is set to sever [all] relations. I do not consider that this [i.e. trampling his body] will be in any way wrong after death. But I have promised myself that I would do this to him if I killed him! If you carry out our command with respect to him, we will reward you the reward of one who is obedient. [But] if you refuse, then leave our service and army and hand it over to Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan; for we have given him our instructions. That is all.”²

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:414): “Al-Mujālid bin Sa‘id al-Hamdānī and Ṣaq‘ab bin Zuhair have narrated to me that...” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.229).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:415): “Abū Janāb al-Kalbī has related to me

‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād then summoned Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan and said to him: “Take this letter to ‘Umar bin Sa‘d and let him propose to al-Ḥusain and his companions to submit to my authority. If they did so, then he should send them to me as prisoners. And if they refused, then he should fight them. If he does [what I have said], then listen to him and obey him. [But] if he refuses, then you [take up the authority and] fight them, as you will be [then] the commander of the people; and attack [Ibn Sa‘d], cut off his head and send it to me.”¹

After Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan took the letter, as he and ‘Abdullah bin Abī al-Maḥall bin Ḥizām [al-Kilābī] stood up to leave, ‘Abdullah said: “May Allah preserve the governor! The sons of our sister [Umm al-Banīn: ‘Abbās, ‘Abdullah, Ja‘far and ‘Uthmān] are with al-Ḥusain. If you deem it right to grant them protection (*amān*), then [please] do so.”

[Ibn Ziyād] replied: “Yes, with pleasure.” He then ordered his scribe to write a guarantee of security for them and sent it through ‘Abdullah bin Abī al-Maḥall [bin Ḥizām al-Kilābī] and his servant Kuzmān.

[Shamir Brings the Letter to Ibn Sa‘d]

Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan set out with the letter of ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād to ‘Umar bin Sa‘d. When he arrived and read it to him ‘Umar said: “Woe onto you! What is wrong with you? May Allah never show favour to your house. May Allah make abominable what you have brought

that...” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.229) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.248).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:414): “Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid has related to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim that...” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.229).

to me. By Allah! I suspect you to have dissuaded him from accepting what I wrote to him. You ruined for us a matter which we had hoped to set right. By Allah, al-Ḥusain will not surrender. An unsubmitive soul exists within him!”

Shamir said to him: “Tell me what you are going to do. Are you going to carry out the instructions of your governor and kill his enemy? Otherwise leave the command of the army to me.”

[Ibn Sa‘d] replied: “No! There is no honour for you! I will carry that out. Here you are! Take control of the foot soldiers!”

[The Safe-Conduct of Ibn Ziyād for ‘Abbās and His Brothers]

Then Shamir went and stopped near the companions of al-Ḥusain (‘a) and said: “Where are the sons of our sister?” So ‘Abbās, Ja‘far and ‘Uthmān, the sons of ‘Alī (‘a), came forward and said: “What is the matter and what do you want?”

He said: “You are guaranteed security, O sons of my sister!”

The young men replied him: “May Allah curse you -even if you be our uncle- and curse your security. You offer us protection while the son of the Prophet of Allah (‘ṣ) remains without protection!”

[Hearing this,] Kuzmān, the servant of ‘Abdullah bin Abī al-Maḥall [bin Ḥizām al-Kilābī] called them out and said: “This is the security which your uncle has sent it to you.”

So the young men said: “Convey our salutations to our uncle and tell him: ‘We do not need your security. The protection of Allah is better than that of the son of

Sumayyah!’”¹

[Obstructing the Imam (‘a) and His Companions from Reaching the Water]

‘Umar bin Sa‘d received a letter from ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād which read [as follows]:

“Prevent al-Ḥusain and his companions from reaching water. They should not taste [even] a drop of it as was done to the commander of the faithful, ‘Uthmān bin ‘Affān, the pious, the chaste and the oppressed!”

So ‘Umar bin Sa‘d dispatched ‘Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj² with five hundred horsemen who halted at the banks of the Euphrates and prevented al-Ḥusain (‘a) and his companions from drinking [even] a drop from it. This was three days before al-Ḥusain’s martyrdom.

When the thirst became unbearable for al-Ḥusain [‘a] and his companions, he called his brother ‘Abbās bin ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib and sent him along with thirty horsemen and twenty foot soldiers with whom he sent twenty waterskins. They advanced and neared the water at night with Nāfi’ bin Hilāl al-Jamalī³

¹ See also *al-Irshad* (pg.230) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.249).

² We have given his biography under the reports about the noblemen of Kūfah who were with Ibn Ziyād.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He had sent his horse with the four men from Kūfah towards the Imam (‘a) alongwith Ṭirimmāḥ bin ‘Adiyy [as a guide]. This is the first report from which it is known that Nāfi’ reached the Imam (‘a) at Karbalā’. And he is the one who had stabbed ‘Alī bin Qurzah al-Anṣārī -the brother of ‘Amru bin Qurzah- who was with ‘Umar bin Sa‘d (5:434). Nāfi’ had written his name on top of his arrows and killed with them twelve men from the enemy until finally both his arms were broken and Shamir took him as a captive and later killed him after taking him

leading the way with the standard.

[As they approached] ‘Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaidī said: “Who is that?”

[He said: “Nāfi’ bin Hilāl].

‘Amru asked: “Why have you come?”

Nāfi’ replied: “We have come to drink from this water which you obstructed us from.”

[‘Amru] said: “Drink and enjoy.”

“Nay by Allah, I shall not have a drop from it while al-Ḥusain is thirsty and these of his companions”, said [Nāfi’ while he pointed to them]. So they all appeared before him.

He said: “There is no way these people can drink, as we have been placed here only to prevent them from reaching the water.”

When [the foot soldiers from among the] companions of Nāfi’ drew near him, he [told them]: “Fill your waterskins!” So they forced their way and filled their waterskins.

[Seeing this] ‘Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj and his companions rushed towards them, but ‘Abbās bin ‘Alī and Nāfi’ bin Hilāl attacked them and stopped them [from reaching the foot soldiers]. Then both of them went to the foot soldiers and told them: “[You] move [ahead]” while they were protecting them. [In the meanwhile,] ‘Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj and his army came back and chased them for a while. The companions of al-Ḥusain [‘a] managed to return to him with the waterskins.

[That night] Nāfi' bin Hilāl had stabbed one of the companions of 'Amru bin Ḥajjāj' such that the wound later festered and he died of it.¹ [Accordingly, this is the first person to have been killed from Ibn Sa'd's army after he sustained injuries on that night.]

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:412): "Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid has narrated to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim al-Azdī that ..." See also *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.78) [who related the report] from Abū Mikhnaf through the same chain of narration; and *al-Irshād* (pg.228) from Humaid bin Muslim.

THE EVENTS OF THE 9TH OF MUḤARRAM

[Ibn Sa'd Advances Against al-Ḥusain ('a)]

[Ḥārith bin Ḥaṣīrah] reports: "Ibn Sa'd announced after the 'aṣr prayers [saying]: "O soldiers of Allah! Get on your mounts and receive the good tidings [of Heaven]!" The soldiers mounted and advanced against [al-Ḥusain ('a) and his companions].

Al-Ḥusain ['a] was [at that time] sitting in front of his tent with his sword on his lap and his head on his knees having a short sleep. His sister, Zainab, heard the clamour [of the approaching soldiers] so she went near her brother and said: "O my brother! Do you not hear the noises that have drawn nearer?!"

So al-Ḥusain ['a] raised his head and said: "I have just seen the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) in my sleep and he said to me: 'You are coming to us [soon].'" So his sister struck her face and cried out [in grief]: "Woe onto me!" So he said to her: "May you not see any distress O sister. Keep calm, may the All-merciful have mercy on you!"

'Abbās bin 'Alī ['a] said: "O my brother! The army has come!" So al-Ḥusain ['a] got up and said: "O 'Abbās! Get on your mount, may I be sacrificed for you -O brother, and go to meet them and ask them: 'What is the matter with you? What has appeared [appropriate] to you? And what has brought them?'"

So 'Abbās went to meet them with about twenty horsemen, among whom were Zuhair bin al-Qain and Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir. 'Abbās said to them: "What has appeared to you?"

What do you want?"

They replied: "We have received an order from the governor that we should offer you [an opportunity] to submit to his authority, or else we should force you to do so."

He said: "Do not hurry until I have gone back to Abū 'Abdillah and told him what you have said."

So they stopped and said: "Go to him and inform him, and tell us what he says to you."

'Abbās went galloping back to al-Ḥusain ['a] to give him the information. His companions stood [by the enemy] addressing the people. Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir¹ said to Zuhair bin al-Qain: "Talk to this people if you like, or else I shall speak to them." So Zuhair said to him: "You came up with this [idea], so you be the one to talk to them."

Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir told him: "By Allah, the most wretched of the people before Allah tomorrow are a people who shall meet Him while they are guilty of having killed the children, progeny and household of His Prophet (ṣ), and the devout men of this city who strive [in worship] at dawn and who remember Allah much." [He said this to Zuhair bin al-Qain such that the army could hear him, and among those who heard was 'Azarah bin Qais].

'Azarah bin Qais² said to him: "You are asserting purity for yourself!"

So Zuhair replied him: "O 'Azarah! Allah has indeed

¹ We mentioned him when discussing those among the followers of the Imam ('a) who wrote to him from Kūfah.

² We have given his biography when mentioning those among the hypocrites of Kūfah who had written to the Imam ('a).

purified and guided his soul. Fear Allah O 'Azarah; I am [sincerely] advising you. I beseech you by Allah, O 'Azarah, not to be of those who help the misled in killing the pure souls!"

'Azarah said: "O Zuhair! We had never been -in our opinion- among the followers of the people of this House. Rather, you were a partisan of 'Uthmān (*'uthmānī*)." ¹

Zuhair answered: "Have you still not come to know -after seeing my stand- that I am one of them! By Allah! I never wrote to [al-Ḥusain], nor did I send to him any messenger, nor did I promise him my support. But it was the way that brought us together. When I saw [al-Ḥusain], he made me recall the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and his position to him. So I knew the enemy he is going to face, that is your party. So I decided to help him and be in his party and lay down my life for him, in defence of those rights of Allah and His Prophet (ṣ) which have been violated by you."

When 'Abbās bin 'Alī came to al-Ḥusain ['a] with the proposal of 'Umar bin Sa'd, he said to ['Abbās]: "Go back to them and if you can, delay them until the morning and keep them away from us this evening. Perhaps we may [be able to] spend the night praying to our Lord, supplicating to him and seeking his forgiveness; for he knows that I have always loved praying to Him, reciting His Book, [making]

¹ This is the first report related to the events of Karbalā' in which this title has been attributed to Zuhair bin al-Qain. This is the first title that caused disunity among the Muslims in their differences about whether 'Uthmān was on the right or wrong. Accordingly, one who followed 'Alī ('a) was called *'alawī* or *shī'ī*, while the one who followed 'Uthmān and believed that he was on the right and was killed unjustly, came to be known as *'uthmānī*.

many invocations and seeking His forgiveness.”

So ‘Abbās bin ‘Alī (‘a) galloped his horse and went back to them and said: “O people! Abū ‘Abdillah is requesting you to grant him respite for tonight, so that he may consider the matter; for there has not taken place any discussion [so far] between you and him concerning this [proposal]. So we shall now meet in the morning, if Allah wills. [Either] we would give consent to it and do what you want from us and are insisting upon; or we would dislike it and therefore reject it.”

By doing so [al-Ḥusain (‘a)] intended to keep them away that night so that he might [have the opportunity to] give his instructions and make his will to his family.

‘Umar bin Sa‘d said: “O Shamir! What do you think?”

He said: “It is up to you. You are the commander and the decision lies with you.”

[‘Umar] said: “I wish I had not been there!” He then turned to his army and said: “What is your opinion?”

‘Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj bin Salamah al-Zubaidī said: “Glory be to Allah! By Allah! [Even] if they were from Dailam and had asked from you such [a thing], it would have been incumbent on you to grant them their demand.”

Qais bin Ash’ath¹ said: “Grant them their request. I swear

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: On the day of ‘Āshūrā’ he was leading the quarter of Kindah and Rabī’ah (5:422). He was the one who plundered the Imam’s silken cloak and came to be known after that as ‘Qais of the cloak’ (5:453). He was with Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan, ‘Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj and ‘Azarah bin Qais in carrying the heads of the companions of the Imam (‘a) to Ibn Ziyād in Kūfah (5:456).

by my life that they are definitely going to fight you tomorrow morning!”

[Ibn Sa’d] said: “By Allah, if I knew that they are going to do so, I would not have left them for tonight.”¹

‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a) says: “Then a messenger came to us from ‘Umar bin Sa’d and stood at a point where he could be heard. He said: ‘We have granted you a day until tomorrow. If you surrendered, we will send you to our governor, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād. But if you refused to do so, then we are not going to leave you!’”²

He was leading the Kindah who were carrying thirteen of these heads (5:468). Ibn al-Ash’ath is the brother of Muḥammad bin Ash’ath -the assassin of Muslim, and the brother of Ja’dah -the killer of al-Ḥasan (‘a).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:415): “[I narrate] on the authority of Ḥārith bin Ḥaṣīrah, from Sharīk al-Āmirī who said...” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.230).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:417): “Ḥārith bin Ḥaṣīrah has related to me from ‘Abdullah bin Sharīk al-Āmirī, who reported from ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain (‘a) that...”

THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT OF 'ĀSHŪRĀ'

[The Speech of al-Ḥusain ('a) on the Night of 'Āshūrā']

'Alī bin al-Ḥusain ('a) says: "Al-Ḥusain gathered his companions after 'Umar bin Sa'd went back, and this was just before the sunset. So I went near to hear him [even though] I was sick. I heard my father say to his companions:

"I praise Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted, with the best of praises. I praise him in ease and difficulty. O Allah, I praise You for honouring us with the prophethood (*nubuwwah*), teaching us the Qur'an and making us comprehend your religion. You gave us [the faculties of] hearing, sight and the hearts; and you did not make us among the idolaters.

I know of no companions more loyal and more virtuous than my companions, nor of any household more righteous and more close-knit than my household. May Allah reward you all the best of rewards on my behalf.

Indeed, I think tomorrow is the day of our [encounter] with these enemies. I deem appropriate that you should all freely leave [me]. I have exempted you of your obligations towards me. Here is the night which has drawn its veil on you, so take it as a mount [and leave].¹ Let each one of you hold the hand of one of my family members and get

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:418): "Ḥārith bin Ḥaṣīrah has narrated to me from 'Abdullah bin Sharīk al-Āmirī, who narrated from 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain ('a) that..." See also *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.74) and *al-Irshād* (pg.231) from Imam 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain ('a).

scattered to your [respective] residences and cities so that may Allah deliver [you]; for these people are after me only, and if they get hold of me they will not be concerned about the rest.”

[The Stand of the Hashimites]

‘Abbās bin ‘Alī (‘a) was the first to talk. He said to him: “Why should we do [that]? Just in order to remain alive after you?! May Allah never show us that [day]!”

Then his brothers and the sons [of al-Ḥusain (‘a)] and the sons of his brother [al-Ḥasan (‘a)], and the two sons of ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far [Muḥammad and ‘Abdullah], all spoke in similar vein.

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) then said: “O sons of ‘Aqīl, the martyrdom of Muslim is a sacrifice sufficient on your part. Go as I permit you [to leave].”

They answered: “What will the people say! They will say that we deserted our master, our leader and the sons of our uncles, who was the best of the uncles; that we did not [even] shoot an arrow alongside them, nor did we stab with the spears and strike with the swords with them, nor did we know what they did. Nay, by Allah! We will never do [such a thing]. Rather we will ransom you with our lives, our wealth and our children. We will fight by your side until we enter the place you shall enter! May Allah make life abominable [for us] after your [death]!”¹

¹ See *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.74), *al-Irshād* (pg.231) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.249).

[The Stand of His Companions]

Muslim bin 'Awsajah al-Asadī¹ then stood up and said: "If we leave you alone, what excuse would we give to Allah for not fulfilling your rights [on us]? By Allah! [I will fight] till I break my spear in their chests. I will strike them with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand. I will not leave you. If I have no weapon to fight them with, I will throw stones at them in your defence until I die with you!"

[After Ibn 'Awsajah] Sa'id bin 'Abdullah al-Ḥanafī said: "By Allah we will not leave you until Allah knows that we have preserved through you [the company of] the Prophet of Allah (ṣ) in his absence. By Allah! If I knew that I would be killed and then be revived and then be burnt alive and then scattered, and that would be done to me seventy times, I would [still] not leave you until I met my death [fighting] on your behalf! Why should I not do so when it is only [a matter of] getting killed once? Then, it is an everlasting honour."

Zuhair bin al-Qain said: "By Allah! I wish I would be killed and then revived and again be killed until I get killed like this a thousand times, so that Allah should avert death from you and from these youths of your household!"

A group among his companions [then rose] and said: "By Allah! We will not part with you; may our souls be sacrificed for you. We will protect you with our throats,

¹ We have given his biography along with other Shi'ite noblemen of Kūfah who were with Muslim bin 'Aqīl. This is the first report among the reports of Karbalā' in which his name has appeared, without there being any mention in the books of history about how he got there.

foreheads and hands. If we get killed, then we would have fulfilled and performed what lies on us.”

[Another] group among his companions [also stood] and spoke words to the same effect.¹

[The Imam (‘ā) on the Night of ‘Āshūrā’]

‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain bin ‘Alī (‘a) says: “I was sitting on the night before the morning of the day in which my father was martyred, and my aunt Zainab was looking after me, when my father distanced himself [from us] to a tent erected for him together with his companions. Ḥuwayy², the slave of Abū Dharr al-Ghaffārī, was by his side preparing his sword and putting it right, while my father recited the following verses:

O Time! Shame on you as a friend!

At the days dawning and the sun’s setting,

How many a companion or seeker [of yours] will be a corpse!

Time will not be satisfied with any substitute.

Indeed the matter will rest with the Mighty One,

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:418): “‘Abdullah bin ‘Āṣim al-Fāishī has related to me from Ḍaḥḥāk bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqī al-Hamdānī who said...” See also *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.74; Najaf edition), *Tārīkh al-Ya’qūbī* (2:231) and *al-Irshād* (pg.231).

² *Al-Irshād* (pg.232) names him as Juwain, while *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.75) refers to him as Jaun, and so has *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahrāshūb (2:218), *al-Tadhkirah* of Ibn al-Jawzī (2:19) and *al-Maqtal* of al-Khwārazmī (1:237). *Al-Ṭabarī* does not mention anything about him, neither before this nor after this. Nor does he say anything about his martyrdom alongside the Imam (‘a).

And every living creature will have to journey along my path.

He repeated it twice or three times. I understood it and realized what he meant. Tears choked me and I pushed them back and kept silent, as I knew that tribulation had come upon us. As for my aunt, she heard what I heard, [but since] she was a woman -and tenderness and grief are part of a woman- she could not control herself. She jumped up and went near [al-Ḥusain], while her clothes dragged on the ground and her head was uncovered. She cried out: "What a bereavement! If only death would deprive me of life! [There was] a day when my mother, Fāṭimah, died and [then] my father, 'Alī and [then] al-Ḥasan, my brother. Only you have remained O the successor and the surviving of those who have gone!"¹

So al-Ḥusain ('a) looked at her and said: "O sister, do not let Shaiṭān take away your forbearance."

[My aunt] said: "May my father and mother be your ransom, O Abā 'Abdillah! Are you ready to die? May my life be sacrificed for you!"

[Here my father] swallowed his grief and his eyes filled with tears and he said: "[Remember] if the sandgrouse are left [alone] at night, they will sleep [i.e. had these people left me on my own, I would not have come here]."

[At this] she lamented: "O my grief! Is your life going to be

¹ This has appeared in *al-Irshād* (pg.232) also, but with a slight literal difference in the wordings of the last statement. Ibn al-Jawzī also brings this report in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.250; Najaf edition) with the following addition: "...and she then struck her face."

violently wrenched from you?! This is too wounding to my heart and harsher to my soul”, and then she struck her face and grabbed the upper part of her garment and [began to] tear it and fell down in a faint.

So al-Ḥusain [‘a] got up and sprinkled water on to her face and consoled her [saying]: “O sister, fear Allah and take comfort in the consolation of Allah. Know that the people on the earth are [all] going to die and the inhabitants of heaven will not live [forever]. Everything is going to perish except the face of Allah who created the earth by His power, sends forth creatures and [ultimately] they [all] return [back to him]. He is unique and alone. [O my sister,] my father was better than me, my mother was better than me and my brother was better than me. They and I and every Muslim have an ideal model in the Prophet of Allah (ṣ).”

[Al-Ḥusain (‘a)] tried to console her by this and the like and then said to her: “Sister! I swear to you -and I [always] keep my oaths- that you must not tear your clothes, nor scratch your face, nor cry out in grief and loss when I die.”

[Al-Ḥusain (‘a)] then brought her and made her sit with me.

He [then] went to his companions and ordered them to bring their tents closer together and to make the tent-pegs come within the area of each other’s tents. [He also asked them] to remain between the tents except the side from which the enemy could come against them.¹

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:420): “Ḥārith bin Ka’b and Abū al-Ḍaḥḥāk have related to me from ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain that...” See also *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.75; Najaf edition), *al-Ya’qūbī* (2:230) and *al-Irshād* (pg.232; Najaf edition), all of whom narrated this report from Imam al-Sajjād (‘a).

Al-Ḥusain ('a) then gathered stalks and firewood to a sunken place –which was similar to a canal- behind their tents. They dug it at some hour of the night and turned it into something like a ditch. Then they filled it with those firewood and reed and said: “When they attack and fight us, we will set it on fire, so that we are not attacked from the rear and we would fight them from one side.”¹

[Al-Ḥusain ('a) and His Companions on the Night of 'Āshūrā']

When the night entered al-Ḥusain ('a) and his companions spent the whole night in performing prayers, seeking forgiveness and making supplications.

[Ḍaḥḥāk bin 'Abdullah al-Mushriqī al-Hamdānī, the one among the companions of al-Ḥusain ('a) who was saved from being killed reports:]

“A group of their horsemen passed us keeping watch over us, while al-Ḥusain ['a] was reciting: ‘Let the faithless not suppose that the respite that We grant them is good for their souls; We give them respite only that they may increase in sin, and there is a humiliating punishment for them. Allah will not leave the faithful in your present state, until he has separated the bad ones from the good.’² So a man from among those horsemen –who were keeping watch over us- heard that and said: ‘By the Lord of the Ka’bah, we are pure and have been distinguished from you.’”

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:421): “[I relate] on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Āsim from Ḍaḥḥāk bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqī who said...” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.233) who narrated it from Ḍaḥḥāk bin ‘Abdullah.

² Qur’an, 3:178-179.

[Daḥḥāk says:] “I recognized the person and said to Burair bin Ḥudhair [al-Hamdānī]¹: ‘Do you know who this man is?’ He said: ‘No.’ I said: ‘He is Abū Ḥarb al-Sabī’ī al-Hamdānī ‘Abdullah bin Shahr. He is a joker and an idle [person], [though] a noble, brave, and a killer whom Sa’id bin Qais² had –as if– once imprisoned for a crime!’

¹ The predominant view about his father’s name is what has appeared in *al-Irshād* (pg.233) and other works (i.e. Ḥudair). The above narration is the first among the narrations of Karbalā’ in which his name has appeared, without there being any mention of how he joined the Imam (‘a). *Al-Ṭabariī*: Burair was the best reciter of the Qur’an in Kūfah (5:431) and a devout man. He was the first person who stood up to fight in the beginning of the battle [on the day of ‘Āshūrā’], but the Imam (‘a) ordered him to sit down (5:429). Burair is the one who said to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin ‘Abdi Rabbih al-Anṣārī: “By Allah, my people know that I never loved falsehood both as a youth and as an old man. But -by Allah- I am happy with what we are going to achieve! By Allah, there is nothing between us and the *ḥūr al-‘ain* [as a barrier] except that these people should strike us with their swords. And I wish that they would do so” (5:423). Burair used to say that ‘Uthmān bin ‘Affān was an extravagant [personality] and that Mu’āwiyah bin Abī Sufyān was a person who went astray and misled others, and that the leader of the truth and guidance was ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib (‘a). He challenged a man from the army of ‘Umar bin Sa’d called Yazīd bin Ma’qil about the truth of the aforementioned beliefs and prayed that the one who is right among the two should kill the one who is on the wrong. He then fought him and killed him (5:431).

² *Al-Ṭabariī*: Sa’id bin Qais al-Hamdānī was the governor of Hamadān and was later dismissed from the post by Sa’id bin al-‘Āṣ al-Ashraq, the governor of Kūfah, who then appointed him over Rayy in 33 H (5:330). ‘Alī (‘a), the Commander of the Faithful, had sent Ibn Qais together with Shabath bin Rib’ī and Bashīr bin ‘Amru before the battle [of Ṣiffīn] to Mu’āwiyah, inviting him to obedience and to [join] the community [of the

So Burair bin Huḍair said to him: 'O sinner! Has Allah made you among the pure ones?!

He said: 'Who are you?'

[Burair] replied: 'I am Burair bin Huḍair.'

[Abū Ḥarb] said: 'Verily, we belong to Allah! How painful it is for me. By Allah, You are destroyed. By Allah, you are destroyed O Burair!'

[Burair] said: 'O Abā Ḥarb! Is there any way for you to repent for your great sins?! For by Allah, we are the ones who are indeed the pure, while you people are, indeed, the impure ones!'

[Abū Ḥarb mockingly] said: 'And I bear witness to that!'

So I [i.e. Ḍaḥḥāk] said to him: 'Woe onto you! Did your knowledge not benefit you?!'

[Abū Ḥarb scornfully] said: 'May I be sacrificed for you. Who will then carouse with Yazīd bin 'Adharah al-Anzī who is here with me?!'

[Burair] said: 'May Allah make your opinion vile! You are

believers] (4:573). Sa'id was fighting along side 'Alī in Ṣiffīn (4:574). He was among the first people to carry out the instructions of the Commander of the Faithful ('a) (5:79). Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('a) had dispatched him to chase Sufyān bin 'Auf after the latter's raid on al-Anbār and al-Hait. So he came out in pursuit of them until he passed al-Hait but could not reach them (5:134). There is no mention of him after this report, or any trace of him in [the books of] history. [In any case,] his imprisonment of Abū Ḥarb al-Sabī'i was, perhaps, during his governorship over Hamadān or Rayy during the time of 'Uthmān.

in any way a fool!' [Hearing this,] he went away."¹

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:421): "Abū Mikhnaf says: '[I relate] from Ḍaḥḥāk bin 'Abdullah al-Mushriqī on the authority of 'Abdullah bin 'Āṣim ...'"

THE DAY OF 'ĀSHŪRĀ'

On the day of 'Āshūrā' –which fell on Saturday- 'Umar bin Sa'd offered the morning prayers and then came out with his men.¹

'Abdullah bin Zuhair al-Azdī² was at the time leading the quarter of the people of Madīnah. The quarter of Madhḥij and Asad was led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Abī Sabrah al-Ju'fī³, while Qais bin al-Ash'ath bin Qais [al-Kindī] was in charge of the group of Rabī'ah and Kindah. Ḥurr bin Yazīd al-Riyāḥī [al-Tamīmī al-Yarbū'ī] was leading the quarter of Tamīm and Hamdān.

'Umar bin Sa'd put 'Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaidiyy on his right wing and Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan al-Ḍabbābī al-Kilābī on his left wing. 'Azarah bin Qais al-Aḥmasī was given the command of the cavalry and Shabath bin Rib'ī al-Riyāḥī [al-Tamīmī] of the foot soldiers. He gave the

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:421-422): "Abū Mikhnaf reports: '[I narrate] on the authority of 'Abdullah bin 'Āṣim from Ḍaḥḥāk bin 'Abdullah al-Mushriqī...'"

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was on the right wing of 'Adiyy bin Wattād –the leader of the pilgrims from Rayy- during his battle with Muṭarrāf bin al-Mughīrah bin Shu'bah in Iṣfahān (6:296). The last thing we read about him in *al-Ṭabarī* is that he was among the guards of al-Saghd in 102 H and sustained many injuries therein, such that he became like a porcupine as a result of the arrows that struck his body (6:613). There is no mention of him before Karbalā' [in the books of history].

³ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He is the one whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against Ḥujr bin 'Adiyy in the year 51 H (5:270). He was leading the foot soldiers from the Madhḥij and Asad. Shamir had incited him to slaughter (*dhibḥ*) al-Ḥusain ('a) but he refused and cursed him (5:450).

standard to Dhuwaid, his retainer.¹

When the cavalry approached al-Ḥusain [‘a] in the morning, he raised his hands and said: “O Allah, it is You in whom I trust amid all grief. You are my hope amid all difficulties. You are my trust and provision in everything that happens to me. How many a calamity in which the heart may seem to weaken and trickery may seem to diminish and the friend may seem to desert [me] and the enemy may seem to rejoice, [but] I brought [it] before You and complained to You of it; that was because of my turning away from [all] other than You; and You averted it and warded it off. You are the Master of all blessings, the Possessor of all goodness and the Ultimate Resort of all desire.”²

[Ḍaḥḥāk bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqī, the one among the companions of al-Ḥusain (‘a) who survived on the day of ‘Āshūrā’] reports:

“When they approached us and saw the fire burning the firewood and cane -which we had set on fire behind our tents to prevent them from attacking us from the rear- one of them came towards us galloping [his horse] while he was fully armed. He did not speak to us but just passed by our tents and had a look at them, but he saw nothing except the

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:422): “Fudail bin Fadīj al-Kindī has narrated to me on the authority of Muḥammad bin Bishr from ‘Amru al-Ḥaḍramī that...”

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:423): “[I relate this] on the authority of some of the companions [of Abū Mikhnaf] who reported from Abū Khālid al-Kāhili...” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.233) who narrated it from ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain [‘a]. Since Abū Khālid is among the companions of Imam al-Sajjād (‘a), he must be relating the report from him, though *al-Ṭabarī* does not explicitly mention this.

firewood that was ablaze. So he returned and called out at the top of his voice: 'O Ḥusain! Are you hurrying to the fire before the Day of Resurrection?'

Al-Ḥusain ('a) said: 'Who is that? [It sounds] like Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan?'

His companions said: 'Yes, may Allah guide you. It is him.'

[Al-Ḥusain] then said: 'Son of a goat-herdess! You deserve most to be burnt therein!'

So Muslim bin 'Awsajah said to him: 'O son of the Messenger of Allah! May I be your ransom, should I not shoot him with an arrow? He is within my range and I never miss the target. This vicious man is one of the great tyrants.'

[But] al-Ḥusain ['a] said to him: 'Do not shoot at him, for I dislike to begin [fighting] against them.'¹

[The First Speech of the Imam ('a)]

When the enemy had neared him, he [called] for his mount and mounted it. He then called out at the top of his voice which was heard by most of the people [and said]:

"O people! Listen to my words and do not hurry [to attack me] so that I may remind you of the duties you have towards me, so that I may free myself from any blame for coming to you. If you accept my excuse, believe in what I say and give me justice, you will become happier through that and you will have no reason to fight against me. [But] if

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:423): "Abdullah bin 'Āṣim has related to me saying: 'Ḍaḥḥāk al-Mushriqī narrated to me...' See *al-Irshād* (pg.234).

you do not accept my excuse and do not give me justice of your own accord, 'So conspire together, along with your partners, leaving nothing vague in your plan, then carry it out against me without giving me any respite.'¹ 'My guardian is indeed Allah who sent down the Book, and He takes care of the righteous.'²

When his sisters heard what he said, they screamed and lamented. His daughters also [began] weeping and their voices rose. So [al-Ḥusain ('a)] sent to them his brother, 'Abbās bin 'Alī, and his son, 'Alī, and told them: "Make them silent. For by my life, they are going to weep even more."

When the women became quite, he praised Allah and extolled Him and mentioned what He is entitled to. He called for blessings on Muḥammad (ṣ) and on the angels and the prophets.

[Here the reporter says:] "By Allah, I have never heard a speaker before or after him more eloquent in his speech than he was."

He then said: "Trace back my lineage and consider who I am?! Then look back at yourselves and remonstrate with yourselves. Then consider whether it is right for you to kill me and to violate my sanctity. Am I not the son of the daughter of your Prophet, and the son of his successor and cousin, the first of the believers in Allah and the one who believed [first] in what the Messenger brought from his Lord? Was not Ḥamzah, the lord of the martyrs, the uncle of my father?! Was not Ja'far, the martyr, the one who flies [in

¹ Qur'an, 10:71.

² Qur'an, 7:196.

Heaven] and the one with two wings, my uncle?! Have you not heard the words common amidst you that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said to me and my brother: 'These [two] are the lords of the youths of Paradise?'

If you believe in what I am saying, [then know that] it is the truth, for, by Allah, I never thought of lying since I learnt that Allah hated the liars and that he punishes the one who lies. [But] if you regard it as a lie, then there are among you those who, if you asked them about it, would inform you [that the Prophet (ﷺ) had said so]. Ask Jābir bin 'Abdillah al-Anṣārī¹, or Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī², or Sahl bin Sa'd al-Sā'idī³, or Zayd bin Arqam¹,

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Jābir bin 'Abdillah al-Anṣārī refused to pay allegiance to Mu'āwiyah at the hands of Busr bin Artāt in the year 40 H, that was before the martyrdom of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī ('a). Jābir maintained that this was an allegiance to falsehood. But he came under pressure from Busr and had to give allegiance out of fear for his life (5:139). In the year 50 H, when Mu'āwiyah went on pilgrimage and was intending to move the pulpit and the staff of the Prophet of Allah [ﷺ] to Shām, Jābir stopped him and he desisted [from doing that] (5:239). In the year 74 H when Ḥajjāj entered Madīnah on the orders of 'Abd al-Malik, he treated the companions of the Prophet [ﷺ] contemptuously and branded their necks, among them was Jābir bin 'Abdillah al-Anṣārī (6:195).

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: When the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) was examining his companions for the battle of Uḥud, he rejected Abū Sa'īd because of being too young (2:505). Abū Sa'īd used to relate traditions from the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) on the merits of 'Alī ('a) (3:149). However, he was one of those who refused to pay allegiance to 'Alī ('a) after the murder of 'Uthmān and was among his partisans ('uthmānī) (4:430).

³ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He used to relate traditions from the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) on the merits of 'Alī ('a) (3:409). He also reported that 'Āishah

or Anas bin Mālik² and they will inform you that they have heard this statement from the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) concerning myself and my brother. Is there not [sufficient] in this to prevent you shedding my blood?!”

Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan said: “Whoever understands what you are saying is [indeed] worshipping Allah on the fringe.”³

had ordered ‘Uthmān bin Ḥunaif to be killed and later to be imprisoned (4:468). He has also narrated reports about ‘Alī (‘a) (4:547). In the year 74 H when Ḥajjāj entered Madīnah on the orders of ‘Abd al-Malik, he treated the companions of the Prophet [ﷺ] contemptuously and branded their necks, among them was Sahl bin Sa’d. Ḥajjāj had accused him of betraying ‘Uthmān (6:195).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He used to narrate the merits of ‘Alī (‘a) (2:310). Zayd is the one who informed the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) of the words of ‘Abdullah bin Ubayy bin Salūl, the hypocrite (2:605). He was [also] the one who objected to Ibn Ziyād and stopped him from hitting the lips of Abū ‘Abdillah (‘a) (5:456). Zayd passed away in the year 68 H, as reported in *A’lām al-Warā* (4:188).

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: It was by the assistance of Anas bin Mālik that ‘Umar [bin al-Khaṭṭāb] could appoint Abū Mūsā al-Ash’arī over Baṣrah in 17 H (4:71). He participated in the conquest of Tustar (4:86). He was among those who aroused people in Baṣrah to help ‘Uthmān in the year 35 H (4:352). He was [also] among those in Baṣrah from whom Ziyād bin Abīh had asked for help in 45 H (5:224). Anas was in Baṣrah on the day of ‘Āshūrā’. After Ibn Ziyād was killed in 64 H, Ibn al-Zubair appointed him as the governor of Baṣrah. He led the people in prayers for 40 days (5:528). When Ḥajjāj took over Madīnah in 64 H for ‘Abd al-Malik and was treating contemptuously the companions of the Prophet [ﷺ] and branding them by their necks, he [also] branded Anas with the intention of humiliating him on account of his acceptance of the governorship for Ibn al-Zubair (6:195).

³ See also *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.252; Najaf edition).

So Ḥabīb bin Muẓāhir said to him: "By Allah, I think you are worshipping Allah on seventy edges. I testify that you are right, you do not understand what he is saying; for indeed Allah has sealed your heart [from the truth]."

Al-Ḥusain [‘a] then told them: "If you are in any doubt about this, then are you going to doubt what I am going to say after this? Am I not the son of the daughter of your Prophet? By Allah, there is no son of the daughter of a prophet, between the East and the West, other than me; neither from among you, nor from other than you. I, only, am the son of the daughter of your Prophet. Now tell me, are you seeking retribution from me for one of your dead whom I have killed, or for property [of yours] which I expropriated, or are you seeking retaliation for a wound [which I have inflicted on one of you]?"

[They remained silent and] did not say anything to him.

Then he called out: "O Shabath bin Rib’ī, O Ḥajjār bin Abjar, O Qais bin al-Ash’ath, O Yazīd bin Ḥārith! Did you not write to me [saying]: ‘The fruits have ripened, the gardens have grown green and the water spots have been filled. You are only coming to an army which has been prepared for you. So come’?"

They replied: "We did not!"¹

So he said [with amazement]: "Glory be to Allah! Indeed,

¹ Ibn al-Jawzī writes in *al-Tadkhirah* (pg.251): "They said: ‘We do not know what you are talking about. Ḥurr bin Yazīd al-Yarbū’ī was one of their chiefs, so he said: ‘Yes, by Allah, we have written to you and we are the ones who have invited you to come. May Allah distance the falsehood and its followers. By Allah, I will not choose this world over the hereafter.’"

by Allah you did so.” Then he said: “O people! [Now] that you dislike me, let me go away from you to a secured place on this earth.”

So Qais bin al-Ash’ath said to him: “Will you not submit to the authority of the sons of your uncle [i.e. the Banū Umayyah]?! They will only treat you the way you wish and nothing detestful will touch you from them!”

Al-Ḥusain [‘a] said: “You are the brother of your brother [i.e. Muḥammad bin al-Ash’ath]. Do you want the Banū Hāshim to seek [retribution] from you for more than the blood of Muslim bin ‘Aqīl?! Nay by Allah, I will not give them my hand like one who has been humiliated, nor will I submit [to their demands] like the submission (*iqrār*) of the slaves!¹ O servants of Allah! ‘I seek the protection of my Lord and your Lord, lest you should stone me.’² ‘Indeed I seek the protection of my Lord and your Lord from every arrogant one who does not believe in the Day of

¹ Both al-Mufīd in *al-Irshād* (pg.235) and after him Ibn Namā in *Muthīr al-Aḥzān* (pg.26) have recorded this statement of the Imam (‘a) in the following manner: “And I will not flee like a slave.” Al-Muqarram has preferred [in *al-Maqtal*] this version [to the one which appears in this text]. However, the more suitable statement [among these two] as an answer to Ibn Ash’ath’s question is [that which contains the concept of] ‘submission’ (*iqrār*), and not ‘fleeing’ (*firār*); because what Ibn al-Ash’ath proposed to the Imam (‘a) was submission [to the authority of the Banū Umayyah], not to flee [to some secured place]. Although al-Muqarram attests the validity of his preference by citing the following statement of Imam ‘Alī (‘a) regarding Maṣqalah bin Hubairah: ‘And he fled like the fleeing of a slave’, but that action of Maṣqalah does not, in any way, conform with the circumstances al-Ḥusain (‘a) was in, as it is very obvious.

² Qur’an, 44:20.

Reckoning.'"¹

Then, [he returned to (his tent)] and made his mount kneel and ordered 'Uqbah bin Sim'ān to tie it up and he did so.²

[The Speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain]

Zuhair bin al-Qain then went out on his thick-tailed (*dhanūb*) horse [while he was] fully armed. He said to them:

“O People of Kūfah! Beware of the punishment of Allah, beware! Indeed a Muslim is obliged to admonish his fellow Muslim brother. So long as the sword does not separate us, we are [all] brothers, following the same religion, members of the same nation and [in that case] you are worthy of our advice. But when the sword comes [inbetween us], the bond [of brotherhood] will get severed. We will become a community and you will become a [different] community.

Allah has put you and us into test through the children of his Prophet, Muḥammad (ṣ), so that He may see what we and you are going to do in their right. We are inviting you to support them and to abandon the tyrant, 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād; for, indeed, you have only seen evil throughout their rule. They gouged your eyes, severed your hands and legs, mutilated your bodies and crucified you on date palms. They killed the exemplary personalities among you and the reciters of the Qur'an like Ḥujr bin 'Adiyy³ and his

¹ Qur'an, 40:27.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:423-426): “Abu Mikhnaf says: “Abdullah bin 'Āṣim has narrated to me that Ḍaḥḥāk al-Mushriqī said...”

³ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Ḥujr was in the reinforcement troops sent from Yemen to the battle of al-Qādisiyyah in 16 H (4:27). He was among the first people from Kūfah to answer to the call of 'Alī ('a) for the battle of Jamal (5:485). He was one of those who had

companions, Hāni' bin 'Urwah and his likes.”

[Hearing this,] they started abusing him and praising 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād and prayed for him. They said: “By Allah, we will not leave [this place] until after we have killed your master and those with him, or send him and his companions to the governor, 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād as captives!”

Zuhair said: “O Servants of Allah, the children of Fāṭimah, may Allah's pleasure be with her, are more entitled to [your] love and help than the son of Sumayyah.¹ If you are

risen against 'Uthmān (4:488). Ḥujr was the head of the Madhḥij and the Ash'ariyyīn, who were from Yemen residing in Kūfah (4:500). He was with 'Alī ('a) at Ṣiffīn and participated in the battle (4:574). He was among the witnesses to the agreed document for [choosing] the two arbitrators at Ṣiffīn (5:54). He was on the command of the right wing of 'Alī ('a) in the battle of Nahrawān against the Khawārij (5:85). In the year 39 H, 'Alī ('a) dispatched him with 4000 men from Kūfah to encounter the raid of Ḍaḥḥāk bin Qais who had come with 3000 soldiers. Ḥujr met Ḍaḥḥāk at Tadmur in the Syrian border. He had killed twenty men from Ḍaḥḥāk's army when the night set in and Ḍaḥḥāk fled, so Ḥujr returned (5:135). When Mu'āwiyah came to Kūfah in the Year of Unity, he appointed Mughīrah bin Shu'bah over the city. Mughīrah used to abuse 'Alī ('a) and Ḥujr used to strongly refute him. This continued until Mughīrah died. When Ziyād bin Abīh was appointed by Mu'āwiyah to replace Mughīrah [and he continued with the same practice of abusing 'Alī ('a),] Ḥujr once again stood against him in defence of 'Alī ('a). Ziyād thus arrested him and sent him to Mu'āwiyah who killed him (5:270).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Sumayyah was the adulteress slave. She was among those prostitutes who had banners [on top of their houses reflecting their identity] during the days of Ignorance (*jāhiliyyah*). Six men from Quraish had slept with her and as a result she gave birth to Ziyād. The six men contended for the child but his actual father could not be known. He thus came to be

known as Ziyād bin Abih, or Ziyād bin 'Ubaid, or Ziyād bin Sumayyah. Later, Mu'āwiyah claimed him as the son of his father, Abū Sufyān, thus he also came to be known as Ziyād bin Abī Sufyān.

When Mu'āwiyah appointed him over Kūfah, he arrested Ḥujr and gathered witnesses against him. When Ziyād saw the name of Shaddād bin Bazī'ah among the witnesses, he said: "Has he not a father to be attributed to him! Take him off from the witnesses." So it was said to him: "He is the brother of al-Ḥuṣain, son of Ibn al-Mundhir." Ziyād said: "Then attribute him to his father." So his name was recorded together with that of his father. When Shaddād heard about this incident he retorted: "Woe onto the son of the adulteress! Is not his mother much known than his father is?! By Allah, [Ziyād] has not been attributed but to his mother, Sumayyah!" (5:270).

Yazīd bin Mufarragh al-Ḥimyarī was with 'Abbād bin Ziyād, the brother of 'Ubaidullah, during the wars on Sajistān. They happened to be under constraint when Ibn Mufarragh swore at 'Abbād by reciting the following verses:

When Mu'āwiyah bin Ḥarb perishes, know that the base of your bowl has broken.

Be witness that your mother did not sleep with Abū Sufyān as a chaste woman.

It was a dubious affair surrounded by great apprehension and dismay.

He also said:

Has not the parcel from the man from Yemen reached Mu'āwiyah bin Ḥarb,

Do you get angry when it is said that your father is chaste, but are pleased when it is said that your father is a fornicator?

Know that your kinship with Ziyād is like the relationship of an elephant with the young of a she donkey.

A man from descendants of Ziyād called al-Ṣughdā bin Salam bin Ḥarb came to see Maḥdī, the Abbasid caliph, while he was looking into public complaints. So he asked him: "Who are you?"

The man replied: "Your cousin." "Which cousin of mine are you?" asked Maḥdī. So the man traced back his lineage to Ziyād!

So Maḥdī said to him: "Son of Sumayyah, the adulteress! When

did you become my cousin?" He then ordered him to be beaten and taken out.

Mahdī then turned towards those who were present and said: "Who has knowledge about the family of Ziyād?" But no one of them knew anything. Later, one of those who were present in the court of Mahdī called Īsā bin Mūsā, or Mūsā bin Īsā, happened to meet Abū 'Alī Sulaimān and requested him to write for him all he has been saying about Ziyād and his family, so that he could take it to Mahdī. So Abū 'Alī wrote and sent it to the caliph through Īsā bin Mūsā.

Hārūn al-Rashīd was at that time the governor of Baṣrah for Mahdī. So Mahdī wrote a letter to Hārūn al-Rashīd instructing him to remove the names of the members of the family of Ziyād from the account books of the treasury (*dīwān*) of the Quraish and the Arabs. Some of what he wrote to him is as follows:

"The decision of Mu'āwiyah bin Abī Sufyān in claiming Ziyād - son of 'Ubaid who was a slave of the family of 'Alāj, from the tribe of Thaqīf- as the son of Abū Sufyān was rejected by the community of the Muslims after the death of Mu'āwiyah. This decision was not accepted even during his lifetime by many personalities known for their contentment, merits, piety and knowledge; that was because they knew well [the personality of] Ziyād, his father and mother.

Mu'āwiyah had not done that out of piety or guidance, or because of following an upright tradition, or due to the authority he received from the past rightful leaders; rather, he did that [for several reasons:] out of desire to destroy his religion and the hereafter, his determination to oppose the Book and the Sunnah, taking pride in the extension of his kinsmen and influence, and [finally] because he expected him to support and assist him on [the path of] falsehood he was inclined to, from his evil deeds to his evil conduct. [All this on one side,] while the Prophet of Allah (ṣ) has said: 'The child belongs to the husband (*firāsh*) [i.e. the husband of the woman who committed adultery], and the adulterer (*'āhir*) gets the stone [i.e. the man who committed adultery with the married woman gets nothing].' He also said: 'Whoever is named behind other than his father, or traces back his origin to other than those who are related to him, then the

curse of Allah, [His] angels and of the mankind is upon him. Allah will not accept from him repentance or [any] ransom.'

By my life, Ziyād was neither born in the lap of Abū Sufyān [i.e. under his guardianship], nor in his bed [i.e. as a result of his sleeping with Sumayyah]. Nor 'Uбайд was his slave, nor was Sumayyah his maid. Neither of the two were part of his possession, nor did they become part his property through any means. Therefore, by claiming Ziyād as the son of Abū Sufyān, Mu'āwiyah went against the ruling of Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, and against the orders of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ). He followed in that his own desire [because he] disliked the truth and wanted to move away from it. Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, says: 'And who is more astray than him who follows his desires without any guidance from Allah? Indeed Allah does not guide the wrongdoing lot' [Qur'an, 28:50]. And Allah tells [Prophet] Dāwūd ('a), whom he had granted wisdom, prophethood and wealth: 'O Dāwūd! Indeed We have made you a vicegerent on the earth. So judge between people with justice' [Qur'an, 38:26].

In a similar incident known to the people who preserve the narrations, when Mu'āwiyah was speaking to the associates of the Banū Mughīrah from the Makhzūm, who intended to claim Naṣr bin Ḥajjāj al-Salamī as one of their family members, he threw at them a stone which he had prepared for that beneath his bed – following the words of the Holy Prophet: '...And the adulterer deserves the stone'. So the Banū Mughīrah retorted: 'Should we let you do what you did in the case of Ziyād, but you are not ready to accept what we have done in the case of our companion [i.e. Naṣr]? So Mu'āwiyah replied: 'The ruling of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) is better for you than the judgement of Mu'āwiyah!' (8:131).

It is known from here that though Zuhair bin al-Qain was a follower of 'Uthmān before he was guided aright and he answered the call of the Imam ('a), he was angry on Mu'āwiyah [right from those days]; because of his claiming Ziyād as his family member and killing Ḥujr bin 'Adiyy. This shows that, in reality, Zuhair was prepared from within to leave the side of 'Uthmān and to show his resentment for Mu'āwiyah, his son Yazīd, and their

not willing to help them, then I seek refuge for you with Allah that you should kill them. Leave this man [alone] with his cousin, Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah. For by my life, Yazīd will consider you obedient even if you do not kill al-Ḥusain ('a)."

[Here] Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan shot an arrow at him and said: "Quite! May Allah silence your voice. You have wearied us by your prattle!"

So Zuhair said to him: "O Son of the one who used to urinate on the heels of his feet. I am not speaking to you; you are, indeed, an animal! By Allah, I do not think that you can read properly even two verses from the Book of Allah! Humiliation and a painful punishment is awaiting you on the Day of Resurrection!"

Shamir said to him: "Allah is soon going to kill you and your master!"

[Zuhair] said: "Do you threaten me with death? By Allah, it is dearer for me to die with him than to live with you [people] forever!" He then turned to the people raising his voice and said:

"Servants of Allah! This rude and rough man and his likes should not deceive you with regard to your religion; for by Allah the intercession of Muḥammad (ṣ) shall not reach those who spill the blood of his offspring and household, and kill those who helped them and defended their sanctity!"

A man called out [Zuhair] and said: "Abū 'Abdillah is

governers, as he was equally ready to answer the call of the Imam ('a) for rising against them.

saying [to you]: "Come back. By my life, if the believing man from among the people of Fir'aun¹ had admonished his people and did his best in inviting them [to the right path], you also have admonished these people and done your best, if only admonition and invitation was of benefit to them."²

[The Return of Ḥurr al-Riyāḥī]

When 'Umar bin Sa'd began to march [against al-Ḥusain], Ḥurr bin Yazīd said to him: "May Allah guide you! Are you going to fight this man?!"

He said: "Yes, by Allah! I am going to fight him a battle the least part of which will be heads falling and severed hands flying."

[Ḥurr] said: "Is not any of the options he proposed to you acceptable?"

'Umar bin Sa'd said: "By Allah, if the matter rested with me, I would have [considered it]. But your governor has refused [any alternative]."

So Ḥurr went and stood apart from the people. With him was a man from his tribe called Qurrah bin Qais.³ [Ḥurr]

¹ The Imam ('a) likens him to the believer from the people of Fir'aun because Zuhair was previously a partisan of 'Uthmān. So it is as if he was from among the Banū Umayyah [who later changed his stance and joined the camp of truth].

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:426): "Alī bin Ḥanzalah bin As'ad al-Shāmī has narrated to me from a man from his tribe called Kathīr bin 'Abdullah al-Sha'bī -who witnessed the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain-that: 'When we advanced against al-Ḥusain, Zuhair bin al-Qain came out to us...'" This speech has also been related by al-Ya'qūbī (2:230; Najaf edition).

³ We have given his biography under the reports which discuss

said: "Qurrah! Have you watered your horse today?"

He replied: "No."

[Ḥurr] asked: "Do you want to water it?"

[Here Qurrah] says that: "By Allah, I thought that (Ḥurr) intended to leave the battle so that he may not witness it, but was unwilling to be seen by me when he left lest I should report against him. So I asked him: 'I have not watered it, but I am [just] going to water it.' Then I left the point where he was. By Allah, had he told me what he was intending to do, I would have gone with him to al-Ḥusain ['a]."

[In the meanwhile,] Ḥurr gradually began to move closer to al-Ḥusain ['a]. A man from among his tribe called Muhājir bin Aws¹ asked him: "What do you want to do, O son of Yazīd? Do you want to attack [them]?"

[Ḥurr] remained silent and [instead] a great shudder came over him. So the man said: "Son of Yazīd! By Allah, the state you are in makes me suspicious. By Allah, I have never seen in you something like this before. If I was asked who was the bravest [man] from the people of Kūfah, I would not neglect to mention you. So what is this I see in you [today]?"

[Ḥurr] said: "By Allah, I see myself between Heaven and the fire [of hell]. By Allah, I will not choose anything before

the arrival of the Imam ('a) at Karbalā'. Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir had invited him to help the Imam ('a) and he promised him to think about this, but he did not come back. It seems that he is relating this report and claiming it.

¹ He, together with al-Sha'bī, were the killers of Zuhair bin al-Qain.

Heaven, even though I am cut to pieces and burnt.” [With that] he whipped his horse and joined al-Ḥusain [‘a].

[When he saw al-Ḥusain (‘a)] he said to him: “May I be your ransom, O son of the Messenger of Allah! I was your companion who stopped you from returning. I accompanied you along the road and made you stop in this place. By Allah beside whom there is no diety, I did not think that the people would refuse to respond to what you have offered them and that they would ever come to this position [which they have now come to] with regard to you. Thus I said to myself: I am not concerned if I obey the people in some of the matters, so that they may not think that I no longer obey them. [I told myself] that these people will accept the offer al-Ḥusain has made to them. By Allah, if I had known that they would not accept that from you, I would not have done what I did with you. [But now] I have come to you repenting to my Lord for what I have committed and [I now intend] to support you until I die before you. Are you going to accept this as repentance?”

The [Imam (‘a)] said: “Yes, Allah will accept your repentance and forgive you. What is your name?”

He replied: “I am Ḥurr bin Yazīd.”¹

[Al-Ḥusain] said: “You are indeed a freeman (*ḥurr*) as your mother named you. You are free, by the will of Allah, in this world and the hereafter. Get down.”

[Ḥurr] said: “You will have no horseman better than me. I will fight with them on my horse for sometime and when I come

¹ Perhaps Ḥurr was armed to the teeth and his head bowed in shame that the Imam (‘a) could not recognize him, and so he had to inquire about his identity. Otherwise, he knew him from before.

down, [then] that will be my end.”

Al-Husain (‘a) said: “Do as you deem fine.”

[The Speech of Ḥurr]

So [Ḥurr] advanced in front of [al-Husain’s] companions and said [addressing the army of Ibn Sa‘d]: “O people! Are you not going to accept from al-Husain what he has offered you so that may Allah save you from having to go to war with him and fight him?”

They replied: “Here is the commander, ‘Umar bin Sa‘d. Talk to him.” So [Ḥurr] told him all that he had told him and his army before this.

‘Umar [bin Sa‘d] replied: “I have done all that I could. If I had a way to that, I would have certainly considered [his offer].”

[Ḥurr then turned towards the people and] said: “O people of Kūfah! May destruction befall your mothers! For you summoned him [to come to you], [now] when he has come to you, you have handed him over [to his enemies]! You claimed to fight with your own lives for him, [but] you have begun to attack him in order to kill him. You have laid hold of his life and seized his throat. You have encircled him on every side in order to prevent him from going to the broad land of Allah so that he and his family might be safe. He has become like a captive in your hands; he has no longer the power over his profit or loss. You have prevented him, his womenfolk, his children, and his companions from [drinking] the water of the Euphrates which Jews, Christians and Majians may drink, and in which the pigs and the dogs of Sawād wallow. Here are the [family of al-Husain] who have been overcome by thirst. How wickedly you have treated the offspring left by Muḥammad after him! May Allah not give you water to drink on the Day of Thirst if you do

not repent and desist from this stand of your's on this day and at this moment."¹

Some of the foot-soldiers attacked him by shooting arrows at him. So he went and stood in front of al-Ḥusain ('a).²

One of the people who had advanced [from Kūfah] with 'Umar bin Sa'd against al-Ḥusain was Yazīd bin Ziyād bin Muhāşir. When they rejected the conditions [and the offer] of al-Ḥusain ('a), Yazīd got inclined to [al-Ḥusain ('a) and joined him].³ [Therefore, he was among those who were guided on the day of 'Āshūrā' by the speech of Ḥurr al-Riyāḥī].

¹ See also *al-Irshād* (pg.235) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāşş* (pg.252).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:427): "[Abū Mikhnaf says: 'I relate on the authority of Abū Janāb al-Kalbī from 'Adiyy bin Ḥarmalah who said...' See also *al-Irshād* (pg.235).

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:445): "Fuḍail bun Khudaij al-Kindī has narrated to me that Yazīd bin Ziyād, who is Abū al-Sha'shā' al-Kindī, from the Banū Bahdalah..."

THE BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE

'Umar bin Sa'd advanced towards [the camp of al-Ḥusain ('a)] and called out: "Dhuwaid!¹ Bring your standard closer!" So he brought it nearer. [Ibn Sa'd] then put an arrow in his bow and let it fly. He said: "Be witnesses that I was the first [person] to shoot."² When 'Umar bin Sa'd came closer and shot an arrow, the people began to shoot at each other.

Then Yasār, the retainer of Ziyād bin Abī Sufyān, and Sālīm, the retainer of 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād, came forward and said: "Who is ready to combat us? Let some of you come forward."

So Ḥabīb bin Muẓāhir and Burair bin Ḥudair jumped up [to go to meet them], but al-Ḥusain ('a) said to them: "Sit down."

Then 'Abdullah bin 'Umair al-Kalbī³ stood and said: "O

¹ Al-Mufīd refers to him in *al-Irshād* (pg.233&236; Najaf edition) as 'Duraid'.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:429): "[Abū Mikhnaf says: 'I narrate on the authority of Ṣaq'ab bin Zuhair and Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid, from Ḥumaid bin Muslim..." See also *al-Irshād* (pg.236).

³ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He had come to Kūfah and took up residence near Bi'r al-Ju'd where people of the tribe of Hamdān used to live. He saw the people being examined at al-Nukhailah in order to be sent against al-Ḥusain ('a). So he inquired about them and was told: 'They are going to be sent against Ḥusain bin Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ).' Al-Kalbī said: 'By Allah, I was [very] eager to participate in the *jihād* against the idolaters. I hope that the *jihād* against these people, who are going to fight the son of the daughter of their Prophet, is not lesser in reward

Abā ‘Abdillah –may Allah have mercy on you, allow me to go and meet them.” Al-Ḥusain (‘a) found him to be tall, strong and with broad shoulders. Al-Ḥusain (‘a) said: “I think he can kill his peers! Go if you wish.” So he went out to meet them.

The two [men] said to him: “Who are you.” So he gave them his lineage. They said: “We do not know you. Let Zuhair bin al-Qain or Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir or Burair bin Ḥudair come out against us!”

Yasār, [the retainer of Ziyād], was ready for combat before Sālim [the retainer of ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād]. So al-Kalbī said to [Yasār]: “O son of adulteress! It seems you do not like to combat with any one who comes forward. [Know that] no one is going to come to fight you except that he is better than you.” With that he attacked him and struck him with his sword until he died.

While [al-Kalbī] was occupied striking [Yasār] with his sword, Sālim [the retainer of ‘Ubaidullah] attacked him. [Al-Ḥusain’s companions] cried out [in warning]: “The [other] servant is closing in on you.” [Al-Kalbī] did not pay attention to him until [Sālim] was upon him and gave him an unexpected blow. [Ibn al-Kalbī] warded off his blow with his left arm but the fingers of his left hand were cut

before Allah than the reward he would have given me for fighting the *mushrikīn!*’ (5:429)

He had a wife called Umm Wahab. He went to his wife and informed her of what he heard and of what he intended to do. She said: ‘You are right. May Allah guide you to the most correct of your affairs. Do so and take me with you!’ So he left [Kūfah] at night together with her until he joined al-Ḥusain [‘a] and stayed with him.

off. Then he turned on [Sālim] and struck him and killed him.

After having killed them both, he recited the following as he was returning:

If you do not know me, I am the son of Kalbī. It is sufficient for me as a noble descent that my family is from the Banū ‘Ulaim.

I am a man of bitterness and anger, I am not a weakling in the face of disaster.

I guarantee you O Umm Wahab, I will stab and strike them and make my way ahead.

The blow of a young man who believes in the Lord.

Umm Wahab, his wife [who was witnessing the combat of al-Kalbī], took up the post [of a tent] and began going towards her husband while she said to him: “May my father and mother be your ransom. Fight for the pure ones, the children of Muḥammad!” [Seeing this] al-Kalbī tried to send her back where the women were, but she held on to his clothes, pulling it back and forth. She said: “I will never leave you until I die along with you!”

So al-Ḥusain (‘a) called her and said: “May you be rewarded the best on behalf of [my] family. Go back to the women – may Allah have mercy on you - and sit with them; for women have no obligation to fight.”

Umm Wahab then returned to the [place where the] women [had gathered].

[The First Attack]

‘Amru bin Ḥajjāj, who had the command of the right wing

of the people, launched an attack on the right wing of [al-Ḥusain ('a)]. When he [and his forces] drew near to al-Ḥusain ('a), [the followers of al-Ḥusain ('a)] knelt down and pointed their spears at them. Hence, the horses [of the attackers] could not come forward against the spears and began to retreat. The [companions of al-Ḥusain ('a)] began to shoot arrows at them, killing some of them and wounding others.¹

[A Miracle and Guidance]

A man from the Banū Tamīm called 'Abdullah bin Ḥawzah [came forward and] stopped in front of al-Ḥusain ('a) and said: "Ḥusain! Ḥusain!"

Al-Ḥusain ['a] said: "What do you want?"

He said: "Know that you are going to enter the hell [fire]!"

[Al-Ḥusain ('a)] said: "Never! I am advancing to a merciful Lord and an intercessor who is listened to [i.e. the Prophet]. Who is that?"

His companions said to him: "This is Ibn Ḥawzah."

[Al-Ḥusain ('a)] said: "O Lord, drive him into the fire!"

With that his horse upset him in a creek and he fell in it, [such that] his leg was stuck in the stirrups and he fell to the ground headfirst. The horse galloped off [dragging] him [along] while his head struck every stone and tree until he died!²

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:429): "[Abū Mikhnaḥ says:] 'Abū Janāb has related to me [saying]..." See also *al-Irshād* (pg.236; Najaf edition).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:430): "[Abū Mikhnaḥ says:] 'Abū Ja'far Ḥusain

Masrūq bin Wāil says: "I was at the front of the cavalry that was advancing towards [the camp of] al-Ḥusain ['a]. I said to myself: let me be at the front. The head of al-Ḥusain might fall in my hands and by that I will gain status before 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād. When we reached al-Ḥusain ['a], a man from the [army of Ibn Sa'd] called Ibn Ḥawzah came forward and said: "Is al-Ḥusain amidst you?"

Al-Ḥusain ('a) kept silent. He said that for a second time, but al-Ḥusain did not reply. When he said it the third time, al-Ḥusain ['a] said: "Tell him: yes, al-Ḥusain is here. What do you want?"

The man said: "O Ḥusain! Know that you are going to enter the hell [fire]!"

[Al-Ḥusain ('a)] retorted: "You are lying. I am advancing to a forgiving Lord and an intercessor who is listened to. Who are you?"

He replied: "Ibn Ḥawzah."

Al-Ḥusain ['a] then raised both his hands -such that we could see the whiteness of his armpits through his clothes- and prayed: "O Allah, take him away from us and throw him into the hell fire."

Ibn Ḥawzah became angry and wanted to attack [al-Ḥusain ('a)] with his horse. A brook ran between them. [As he was mounting his horse] his leg got stuck in the stirrups. The horse started moving and he [was upset by that] and fell to the ground. His foot, calf and thigh were severed and were left hanging on the stirrups.

narrated to me saying..."

‘Abd al-Jabbār bin Wā’il al-Ḥaḍramī narrates: “Masrūq left the cavalry behind him and came back. So I asked him what had happened and he said: ‘Indeed, I have seen from the people of this House [i.e. of the Prophet (ṣ)] something that I will never fight them!’¹

[The Malediction of Burair and His Martyrdom]

Yazīd bin Ma’qil came forward from the army of ‘Umar bin Sa’d and said: “Burair bin Ḥuḍair! Do you not see what Allah has done to you?!”

He replied: “By Allah, He has done good to me and evil to you!”

[Ibn Ma’qil] said: “You are lying. You were not a liar before this! Do you remember –[one day] as I was walking with you in the area of Banū Laudhān– you were saying: ‘Uthmān bin ‘Affān was indeed extravagant, and that Mu’āwiyah bin Abī Sufyān was a person who went astray (*dāll*) and misled others (*muḍill*), and that the leader of the truth and guidance was ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib?!’”

Burair said to him: “I testify that this is my opinion and my statement!”

Yazīd bin Ma’qil said: “I bear witness that you are among those who have gone astray.”

So Burair bin Ḥuḍair said to him: “Are you ready for invoking a curse [upon the the one who is on the wrong among us]? Let us pray to Allah to curse the liar and that

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:421): “[I narrate] on the authority of ‘Aṭā bin Sāib from ‘Abd al-Jabbār bin Wā’il al-Ḥaḍramī, who was relating from his brother, Masrūq bin Wā’il, that...”

the one [who is] on the falsehood should be killed. [After that] come forward so that I can combat you!”

So both of them came forward and raised their hands towards Allah beseeching him to send down his curse on the liar [among the two] and that the one who is on the right should kill the one who is on the wrong.

Thereafter, each of them began attacking the other. They exchanged two blows, Yazīd bin Ma'qil struck Burair bin Ḥudair with a light blow of no avail. Burair gave him [in return] a blow that penetrated [his] helmet and reached the brain. [Yazīd] fell down as if he fell from [high] above, while Burair's sword was still [stuck] in his head. [Ibn Abī al-Akhnas says: “I still remember the event and] it is as if I am seeing [Burair] wrenching his sword off [Yazīd's] head.”

Raḍiyy bin Munqidh al-‘Abdī [from the army of ‘Umar bin Sa‘d] attacked on [Burair] and grappled with him. They fought one another for sometime before Burair sat on his chest. Raḍiyy called out: “Where are the fighters and the defenders?!”

[At this] Ka‘b bin Jābir al-Azdī attacked Burair with a spear and stabbed him in [his] back. When [Burair] felt the penetration of the spear, he knelt on [the body of Raḍiyy bin Munqidh al-‘Abdī] and bit off his nose and severed part of it. Ka‘b bin Jābir [again] stabbed him and took him off [al-‘Abdī]. The spearhead had pierced deep into [Burair's] back. Ka‘b then began striking him with his sword until he killed him. [May Allah's mercy be upon him¹].¹

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:431): “Yūsuf bin Yazīd has narrated to me from

Thereafter, ‘Amru bin Qarazah al-Anṣārī came forward fighting in defense of al-Ḥusain [‘a]. He was saying:

The group of Anṣār certainly knows, that I am going to defend [its] honour.

[With] the blow of a young man who does not turn away from the enemy; [I will sacrifice] my life and my household for al-Ḥusain.²

He was then killed. [May Allah have mercy on him].

His brother, ‘Alī [bin Qarazah] was with ‘Umar bin Sa‘d. He called out: “O Ḥusain! O liar son of the liar! You misled my brother, deceived him and then killed him.”

[Al-Ḥusain (‘a)] replied: “Indeed Allah did not mislead your brother. Rather, he guided your brother and misled you!”

[Ibn Qarazah] said: “May Allah kill me if I do not kill you or die in the way of destroying you.” [With that] he launched an attack on [the Imam (‘a)].

Nāfi’ bin Hilāl al-Murādī obstructed him and stabbed him, throwing him [to the ground]. [Ibn Qarazah’s] companions

‘Afīf bin Zuhair bin Abī al-Akhnas -who had witnessed the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (‘a)...” The remaining part of the report follows in footnote no. 2.

¹ When Ka’b bin Jābir al-Azdī returned [home after the event of Karbalā’], his wife or his sister, called Nawwār bint Jābir, said to him: “You assisted [the people] against the son of Fāṭimah and killed the chief of the reciters [of the Qur’an]?! You have indeed committed a heinous deed! By Allah, I will never speak a word to you!”

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:433): “[Abū Mikhnaf says:] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab narrated to me that...”

attacked [Nāfi'] and rescued him.¹

[The situation was such that] the people were moving here and there and fighting each other. Ḥurr bin Yazīd [al-Riyāḥī] was one of them. He attacked the [army of Ibn Sa'd] saying: "With my charger's neck and breast thrust forward I will launch myself at them again and again until [I am] clothed in blood."² His horse was struck at its ears and forehead and it was bleeding.

Yazīd bin Sufyān [al-Tamīmī was saying]: "By Allah, if I happen to see Ḥurr bin Yazīd coming out, I will throw a spear at him!" Ḥuşain bin Tamīm³ said to him: "Here is Ḥurr bin Yazīd the one you wished [to see]!" He said: "Yes." He then went towards him and said: "O Ḥurr bin Yazīd, are you ready for a single combat?" Ḥurr said: "Yes, I want it." Ḥurr then went out to meet him. It was as though [Yazīd's] soul was in the hands [of Ḥurr]. It did not take long before Ḥurr went out to him and killed him.⁴

Nāfi' bin Hilāl al-Murādī al-Jamalī was [also] fighting [the enemy] saying: "I am the Jamalī. I follow the religion of 'Alī."

A man called Muzāḥim bin Ḥuraith came forward against him and said: "I believe in the religion of 'Uthmān!"

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:434): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'I narrate from Thābit bin Hubairah...'"

² These are the words of 'Antarah.

³ He was the head of the bodyguards of 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād. He had sent him with 'Umar bin Sa'd against al-Ḥusain ('a) and put him in command of the armoured soldiers.

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:434): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Abū Zuhair Naḍr bin Sāliḥ al-'Abasī related to me that...'"

Nāfi' said to him: "You are on the religion of Shaitān." [Saying this,] he attacked him and killed him.

[So] 'Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj [al-Zubaidiyy] shouted [at his men]: "O fools! Do you know who are you fighting with?! [These] knights of the town are people who are seeking death. Do not let any of you go forward to fight them in single combat. They are only few and they are hardly going to remain [in this state]. By Allah, if you only threw stones at them, you would kill them."

'Umar bin Sa'd said: "True, you have come to the right conclusion." He then sent [the message] to his army that: "None of you should fight any of them in single combat."¹

[The Second Attack]

'Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj drew closer to al-Ḥusain's companions while he was saying: "O people of Kūfah! Keep to your obedience and stay united. Do not doubt in killing one who has renounced the religion and has gone against the leader [i.e. Yazīd]!"

Al-Ḥusain ('a) said to him: "'Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj! Are you inciting the people against me?! We are the ones who have renounced [the religion], while you have remained firm on it?! By Allah, you will come to know -when your souls will be taken and you will die on these actions- that who among us deviated from the religion and who deserves most to enter the hell [fire]!"

Thereafter, 'Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj launched an attack against

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:435): "[Abū Mikhnaf reports:] 'Yaḥyā bin Hāni' bin 'Umar al-Murādī has related to me that...'"

al-Ḥusain [‘a] from the right wing of ‘Umar bin Sa’d’s [army], from the direction of the Euphrates. The two armies clashed for some time [and a number of al-Ḥusain’s companions] fell [to the ground].

[The Martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Awsajah’]

‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bajalī and Muslim bin ‘Abdillāh al-Ḍabbābī [were the ones from the companions of ‘Amru bin

¹ This report says: “Then Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al-Asadī fell to the ground, being the first among al-Ḥusain’s companions to be martyred,” whereas Burair and Ibn Qarazah were martyred before this. Taking into consideration that the single combat were stopped [at a stage by the command of Ibn Sa’d] and instead the general attacks began, Ibn ‘Awsajah was, accordingly, the first to be killed in the first attacks [after the single combat ceased]. *Al-Ṭabarī*: [Ibn ‘Awsajah] was receiving allegiance from the people for al-Ḥusain (‘a). It was through him that Ma’qil [the spy of Ibn Ziyād] could see Muslim bin ‘Aqil (5:362). Muslim bin ‘Aqil had made him in charge of the Madhḥij and Asad [during his attempted rise in Kūfah] (5:369).

He is the one who stood up after the address of the Imam (‘a) on the night of ‘Āshūrā’ and said: “If we leave you alone, what excuse would we give to Allah for not fulfilling your rights [on us]? By Allah! [I will fight] till I break my spear in their chests. I will strike them with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand. I will not part with you. If I remain without any weapon to fight them, I will throw stones at them in your defence until I die along with you!” (5:419). He was the one who asked for permission from al-Ḥusain (‘a) to shoot at Shamir and said: “O son of the Messenger of Allah! May I be your ransom, should I not shoot him with an arrow? He is among the great tyrants.” Al-Ḥusain (‘a) replied: “Do not shoot at him, for I indeed dislike beginning [the fight]” (5:424). It is not known how Ibn ‘Awsajah joined al-Ḥusain (‘a) from Kūfah, as history has mentioned nothing about this.

al-Ḥajjāj who killed Ibn ‘Awsajah]. The companions of ‘Amru shouted: “We have killed Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al-Asadī! [Hearing this,] ‘Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj and his companions withdrew, leaving a cloud of dust. [When the dust settled] al-Ḥusain’s companions found Muslim stretched out dying.

Al-Ḥusain [‘a] walked towards him and he was on the point of death. He said: “May your Lord have mercy on you, O Muslim bin ‘Awsajah. ‘Of them are some who have fulfilled their pledge, and of them are some who still wait, and they have not changed in the least.’”¹

Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir went closer to him and said: “O Muslim, your death is hard for me to bear. Receive the good news of Heaven.”

“May Allah bring you good news too”, replied Muslim in a weak voice.

Ḥabīb said to him: “Had it not been that I would follow you at this very moment, I would like you to make your will to me regarding what concerns you, so that I may have carried it out as was deserving to you by virtue of [our] kinship and religion.”

[Muslim] said as he pointed towards al-Ḥusain with his hand: “I enjoin you [not to leave] this man, may Allah bless you, and to die for him.”

[Ḥabīb] said: “By the Lord of Ka’bah, I will [do so].”

It was not long before he died in their hands. [May Allah have mercy on him]. [At this,] a slave girl of his screamed:

¹ Qur’an, 33:23.

“O Ibn ‘Awsajah! O my master!”¹

[The Third Attack]

Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan launched an attack with his left wing on the left wing [of al-Ḥusain’s companions]. They stood firm against him and forced him and his companions away. Then Hānī bin Thubait al-Ḥaḍramī and Bukair bin Ḥayy al-Tamīmī attacked [‘Abdullah bin ‘Umair] al-Kalbī and killed him. [May Allah bless him].²

[The Attacks of the Companions of al-Ḥusain (‘a)]

The companions of al-Ḥusain (‘a) fought a severe battle. Their cavalry –which consisted of thirty-two horsemen³–

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:436): At this the companions of ‘Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj chanted to one another saying: ‘We have killed Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al-Asadī!’ Shabath bin Rib’ī al-Tamīmī said to those around him among his colleagues: ‘May your mothers mourn you! You are only killing yourselves with your own hands and humiliating yourselves for others’ sake. You are happy that someone like Muslim bin ‘Awsajah has been killed! I swear by the one to who I have submitted! How often I have seen him doing a noble deed amidst the Muslims! I have seen him on the highlands of Ādharbāijān killing six idolaters even before the cavalry of the Muslims took its position. You are rejoicing when such a man has been killed from among you?!’

² It has appeared in this report that: “And he was the second martyr from among the companions of al-Ḥusain.” But it is no more than a delusion.

³ Perhaps this was the number of the remaining horsemen from [al-Ḥusain’s] companions. Otherwise, according to al-Mas’ūdī: “[Al-Ḥusain (‘a)] diverted [his way] to Karbalā’ with around 500 horsemen from among his family members and companions, and with around 100 foot soldiers.” He further says: “The total number of those killed alongside al-Ḥusain on the day of

began to launch attacks. They did not attack any side of the Kūfan army without putting it to flight.

When ‘Azarah bin Qais [al-Tamīmī], the commander of the Kūfan cavalry, saw that his forces were dispersing from every side, he sent ‘Abd al-Rahmān bin Ḥiḍn to tell ‘Umar bin Sa‘d: “Do you not see what my cavalry is receiving today from this small number [of men]! Send the foot soldiers and archers against them!”

‘Umar bin Sa‘d said to Shabath bin Rib‘ī [al-Tamīmī]: “Will you not go [to help them]?” He said: “Glory be to Allah! Do you approach the leader (*shaikh*) of the Muḍar and the people for leading the archers! Did you not find anyone else other than me who could get this task done for you?!”

‘Umar bin Sa‘d summoned Ḥuṣain bin Tamīmī and dispatched him with [a group of] the armour-clad soldiers and five hundred archers. They advanced and as they got closer to al-Ḥusain and his companions, they showered them with arrows and lamed their horses. [Then] they [all turned to become] foot soldiers.¹

[The horse of Ḥurr bin Yazīd al-Riyāḥī was lamed]. It was not long before his horse trembeled and became upset and

‘Āshūrā’ in Karbalā was 87 men” (*Murūj al-Dhahab*:3:70&71). Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs narrates in *al-Malhūf* (pg.88) from Imam al-Bāqir (‘a) that: “There were 45 horsemen and 100 foot soldiers.” The same has been reported by Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī in *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.246&251). But what is amazing [here] is that Ibn al-Jawzī quotes al-Mas’ūdī saying that their total number was 1000 men, whereas this is not found in *Murūj al-Dhahab*!

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:435-436): “[Abū Mikhnaf says:] ‘Ḥusain bin ‘Uqbah al-Murādī has related to me that al-Zubaidiyy said...”

fell to the ground. So Ḥurr jumped from it as though he was a lion. His sword was in his hands, while he was saying:

Even if you lame my [horse], I am the son of free man [ḥurr], braver than a maned lion.¹

[The followers of al-Ḥusain ('a)] continued to fight them fiercely until it was midday. [The enemy] could not advance against them except from one side, due to their tents being closer together. When 'Umar bin Sa'd saw this, he sent [his] men to strike [their] tents from the right and left sides, so that they might surround them. So three or four men from al-Ḥusain's companions positioned themselves between the tents. They would attack [any] one who was striking [the tents], kill him, shoot at him and lame [his horse].

At this point 'Umar bin Sa'd ordered [his men] saying: "Set the tents on fire."

Al-Ḥusain ['a]: "Leave them alone. Let them burn [the tents]. If they do so, they will not be able to cross over to you." And it happened to be so. [Accordingly, the enemy] could not fight them except from one direction.

¹ The above verse says: "I am the son of Ḥurr", while it has been said by Ḥurr himself. None of Abū Mikhnaf, al-Kalbī, Ṭabarī, or others have mentioned [any other verse] as a completion to the above mentioned verse. Those who believe that the son of Ḥurr was also present in Karbalā', and that he had repented and then martyred alongside al-Ḥusain ('a), are likely to have developed this opinion as a result of the above verse. However, it is also probable that 'Ḥurr' was the name of his grandfather, or one among his great grandfathers, or he might have intended from the word ḥurr its literal meaning [i.e. a free man]. The above verse has also been recorded by al-Mufīd in *al-Irshād* (pg.237), but he has not mentioned any other verse as a completion to the above one.

[The Fourth Attack]

Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan, among the others, launched an attack and struck the tents of al-Ḥusain [‘a] with his spear and shouted: “Bring me fire so that I may burn down this house on its inhabitants!” [At this,] the women started screaming and came out of the tents.

Al-Ḥusain [‘a] shouted at him: “O son of Dhī al-Jaushan! You are asking for fire to burn down my house on its dwellers?! May Allah burn you with the fire!”¹

Ḥumaid bin Muslim [al-Azdī] says: “I said to Shamir: Glory be to Allah! This does not suit you. Do you want to bear upon yourself two things: to punish [the creatures] with the punishment of Allah and to kill the children and women! By Allah, by killing these men you can [only] please your governor.”²

Shabath bin Rib’ī [al-Tamīmī also] came to Shamir and said: “I have not seen a word worst than what you have said, nor a standing more wicked than that of yours. Have you [now] turned to become one who frightens the women?!”

Zuhair bin al-Qain attacked Shamir with ten of his colleagues. They fought Shamir and his followers fiercely. They drove them away from the tents until they moved away.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:437): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Numair bin Wā’lah has narrated to me that Ayyūb bin Mashrakh al-Khayawānī used to say...’”

² [Shamir] said: “Who are you?” But I was afraid that if he recognizes me, he would complain to the governor about me. So I replied: “I will not tell you who I am.”

Thereafter, the [enemy] turned against the [followers of al-Ḥusain ('a)] in large number. The number of the killed from al-Ḥusain's companions continued to grow. [Even] if one or two among their men were killed, it would be apparent [due to the fewness of their number], while it was not so apparent among the [enemy] because of their great number.

[Preparation for the Noon (ẓuhr) Prayers]

When Abū Thumāmah 'Amru bin 'Abdillah al-Ṣāidī¹ saw this, he said to al-Ḥusain ['a]: "O Abā 'Abdillah, my life be sacrificed for you! I see these people getting closer to you. By Allah, you will not be killed until I am killed defending you, if Allah wills. I wish to meet my Lord while I have offered this prayer (*ṣalāt*) whose time has now entered."

Al-Ḥusain ['a] raised his head and said: "You have remembered the prayers. May Allah make you among those who establish prayers and remember [Him]. Yes, this is the beginning of its time." He then said: "Ask them to cease [fighting] so that we can pray."

Ḥuṣain bin Tamīm said to [al-Ḥusain's companions]: "They will not be accepted!"

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Al-Ṣāidī al-Hamdānī. He was in Kūfah collecting funds to help the followers of Muslim bin 'Aqīl and purchase them weapons on the instructions of Muslim (5:364). Ibn 'Aqīl had given him the banner over the Tamīm and Hamdān the day he rose (5:369). Abū Thumāmah was the one who introduced the messenger of 'Umar bin Sa'd [i.e. 'Azarah bin al-Aḥmasī] to the Imam ('a) in Karbalā' by saying: "O Abā 'Abdillah, the most vicious and the most daring in killing and the deadliest of the people on this earth has come to see you", and did not allow him to see the Imam ('a) lest he should harm him (5:410).

So Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir retorted: “Do you think that the prayers of the family of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) will not be accepted, but they will be accepted from you, O donkey?!”

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE COMPANIONS OF AL-ḤUSAIN ('A)

[The Martyrdom of Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir¹]

[Incensed at Ḥabīb's comments,] Ḥuṣain bin Tamīm [al-

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Ḥabīb was one of those who had written to the Imam ('a) from among the Shiite leaders in Kūfah (5:352). He answered Muslim bin 'Aqīl's invitation for paying allegiance to the Imam ('a) saying: "By Allah beside whom there is no other deity, I believe in what this man believes in, pointing towards 'Ābis bin Abī Shabīb al-Shākiri (5:355). [Ḥabīb] had said to Qurrah bin Qais al-Ḥanzalī al-Tamīmī, 'Umar bin Sa'd's messenger to al-Ḥusain ('a) in Karbalā': "Woe onto you Qurrah bin Qais! How can you return to the unjust people? Help this man [i.e. al-Ḥusain], through whose ancestors Allah supported you and us with his grace (5:411). When Ibn Sa'd moved towards al-Ḥusain ('a) in the evening of the ninth of Muḥarram and proceeded against him after the 'aṣr prayers, 'Abbās bin 'Alī ('a) went to see him alongwith around twenty horsemen, among them being Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir. While 'Abbās had gone to the Imam ('a) to inform him about the situation, some of the companions remained [with the enemy] admonishing them. Among them was Ḥabīb who said: "By Allah, the most wretched of the people before Allah tomorrow are a people who shall meet him while they are guilty of having killed the children, progeny and household of His Prophet (ṣ), and the devout men of this city who strive [in worship] at dawn and who remember Allah much (5:416). The Imam ('a) had given him the command of his left wing (5:422). When [Ḥabīb] went to the help of Muslim bin 'Awsajah, the latter advised him to help the Imam ('a), to which he replied: "By the Lord of Ka'bah, I will do that" (5:436). Ḥuṣain bin Tamīm boasted of killing [Ḥabīb] and hung his head on the chest of his horse. His son, Qāsim bin Ḥabīb, avenged his father's assassin, Budail bin Ṣuraim al-Tamīmī, as they were in the army of Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair during the battle of Bājmīrā.

Tamīmī] mounted an attack against them. Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir [al-Asadī] went out to meet him. He struck the face of his horse with [his] sword. The horse reared up and [Ḥuṣayn] fell from it. His companions carried him away and rescued him.

Ḥabīb then started saying:

I am Ḥabīb and my father is Muḏāhir, a furious cavalier [amidst] a burning battle.

You are more prepared and greater in number [than us], [but] we are more loyal and patient [than you].

We are the best proof and our being on the truth is more apparent, we are more pious than you and have better excuse [than you do].

He also used to say:

I swear had we been equal to you in number or half of you, you would have turned your backs to us in large numbers.

O most wicked of people in deeds and lineage!

[Ḥabīb] fought a fierce battle. A man from the Banū Tamīm called Budail bin Ṣuraim attacked him and stabbed him and he fell [to the ground]. As he tried to get up, Ḥuṣayn bin Tamīm [al-Tamīmī] struck him on his head with the sword and he [again] fell [down]. The man from the [Banū] Tamīm then went to him and beheaded him.^{1, 2}

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:438-439): “[Abū Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid has narrated to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim that...’”

² [At this] Ḥuṣayn said to Budail: “I have a share in killing him.” Budail retorted: “By Allah, no one other than me has killed him!” So Ḥuṣayn said: “Give me [his head] and I will hang it on the

Al-Ḥusain was broken by the the martyrdom of Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir. He said: "I anticipate a reward from Allah for myself and [my] supporters from among my companions."

[The Martyrdom of Ḥurr bin Yazīd al-Riyāḥī]

Thereafter, Ḥurr went out. He began reciting these verses:

I am Ḥurr, [whose house] is renowned for its hospitality, I will strike in their midst with my sword.

chest of my horse, so that people may see that and come to know that I participated in killing him. You can take it after that and go to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād. I do not need the reward he is going to give you for killing him." Budail did not accept this, but his colleagues mediated between the two to resolve the issue. Eventually, Budail gave him the head of Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir. So [Ḥuṣain] went round the army with the head, while he hung it on the neck of his horse. He later gave it to Budail. When they returned back to Kūfah [after the event of Karbalā'], Budail took the head of Ḥabīb and hung it on the chest of his horse and proceeded to the palace of Ibn Ziyād.

Qāsim bin Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir, who was then a young man, happened to see him [with his father's head]. So he followed him closely. Budail became suspicious and said: "Why are you following me, O my son?" Qāsim replied: "This head which is with you is the head of my father. Give it back to me so that I can bury it." Budail said: "My son! The governor will not give consent that it should be buried. And I want the governor to reward me handsomely for killing him." The young man thus told him: "But Allah is not going to reward you for that except the worst of the rewards. By Allah, you have killed one who was better than yourself", and he began to weep.

When Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair invaded Bājmīrā, Qāsim bin Ḥabīb had happened to join Muṣ'ab's army. There he found his father's assassin in one of the tents. He entered upon him at midday while he was resting. He struck him with the sword until he died (5:440).

[In defence] of the best of those who have been in Minā and al-Khaif, [I will strike them, and I do not see any wrong [in doing so].

He also said:

I have sworn that I will not be killed until after I have killed, and I will not be struck today except while facing [them].

I give them a cutting blow with [my] sword, neither will I desist from them nor will I get frightened.

Zuhair bin Qain [also] came out with him. They both fought a fierce battle. If one of them launched an attack and was surrounded [by the enemy], the other would [come to his help by] attacking them and free him. They continued [to combat] in this way for sometime until the foot soldiers [of the enemy] intensified [their attacks] on Ḥurr bin Yazīd and he was killed. [May Allah shower his mercy on him.]

[The Noon (ḡuhr) Prayers]

Al-Ḥusain [‘a] then led them for the prayers of those in fear (*ṣalāt al-khawf*).¹ [Sa’īd bin ‘Abdullah al-Ḥanafī] stood in front of him. He thus became their target and [the enemy] began shooting arrows at him left and right. He continued to be shot at as he remained standing in front of [al-Ḥusain (‘a)], until he fell to the ground. [May Allah have mercy on him].

¹ It is also probable that he did not offer *ṣalāt al-khawf*, rather he shortened the prayers (*qaṣr*). The offering of the prayers on the noon of ‘Āshūrā’ has been related also in *al-Irshād* (pg.238) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.252 & 256).

[The Martyrdom of Zuhair bin al-Qain]

[Then Zuhair bin Qain came forward]. He began tapping the shoulder of al-Ḥusain [‘a] while he recited:

Be firm, you have been guided, the guide and the guided;
today you will meet your grandfather, the Prophet.

And Ḥasan and ‘Alī, the chosen one; and the one with the
two wings [Ja’far], the brave martyr.

And the Lion of Allah [i.e. Ḥamzah], the living martyr.

He fought severely as he said:

I am Zuhair and I am the son of al-Qain, I will drive you
away from the family of al-Ḥusain with my sword.¹

Kathīr bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bī and Muhājir bin Aws
attacked him and killed him. [May Allah have mercy on
him].

¹ See also *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.253; Najaf edition).

[The Martyrdom of Nāfi' bin Hilāl al-Jamalī']

Nāfi' bin Hilāl al-Jamalī had written his name on the head of his arrows. He began to shoot [the enemy] with the marked arrows saying: "I am Jamalī, I follow the religion of 'Alī." He killed twelve [men] from among the followers of 'Umar bin Sa'd, apart from those who were injured.

Nāfi' [was injured during the fight] and his arms were broken. Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan and his followers took him as a captive and carried him to 'Umar bin Sa'd as blood flowed down his beard.

'Umar bin Sa'd said to him: "Woe onto you O Nāfi! What led you to do [all] this with yourself?"

Nāfi' replied: "My Lord knows what I intended. By Allah, I have killed twelve among your [men] apart from those I wounded. I do not blame myself for the trouble [I am in]. Had I been left with only an arm, you would not have taken me as a captive!"

Shamir said to [Ibn Sa'd]: "Kill him, may Allah guide you!"

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was the one who sent his horse with Ṭirimmāḥ bin 'Adiyy to the Imam ('a) when he was on his way to Kūfah (5:405). When thirst became unbearable on the Imam ('a) and his companions, he called upon his brother, 'Abbās bin 'Alī ('a), and sent him with thirty horsemen and twenty foot soldiers [to bring water]. Nāfi' bin Hilāl was moving ahead of them and was welcomed by 'Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj [from the enemy's army]. 'Amru said to him: "Drink and enjoy", and he replied: "Nay by Allah, I will not drink a drop from it while al-Ḥusain is thirsty" (5:412). When 'Alī bin Qarazah, the brother of 'Amru bin Qarazah al-Anṣārī, attacked al-Ḥusain ('a), Nāfi' bin Hilāl al-Murādī obstructed him, stabbed him and grappled with him (5:434).

He replied: "You can kill him, if you wish."

Shamir unsheathed his sword. So Nāfi' said to him: "By Allah, were you a Muslim, it would have been distressing for you to meet Allah with our blood [on your hands]! All praise is due to Allah who put our death in the hands of the wicked among his creatures."

Shamir then killed him. [May Allah have mercy on him].

[The Martyrdom of the Two Brothers from Ghifār]

When the companions of al-Ḥusain ['a] realized that they were unable to defend al-Ḥusain and themselves [from the enemy], they began vying [with each other] to be killed in his presence.

'Abdullah and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the [two] sons of 'Azarah al-Ghifārī came to him and said: "O Abā 'Abdillah! Peace be on you. The enemy is gaining control over us. We would like to be killed before you, defending and protecting you."

[Al-Ḥusain ('a)] said: "You are [all] welcomed. Get closer to me." So they came closer to him. Thereafter, they started fighting while one of them was reciting:

Banū Ghifār have well known, and so has Khindaf and Banū Nizār.

[That] we shall strike the community of the wicked [people], with the sharp and cutting sword.

O people defend the sons of the free men, with strong swords and dangerous lances.

[Then they fought before him a furious battle until they were killed. [May Allah have mercy on them].

[The Martyrdom of the Two Young Men from Jābir]

Thereafter, the two young men from the Banū Jābir, Saif bin al-Ḥārith bin Suray' and Mālik bin 'Abd bin Suray' –who were cousins from their father's side and also half brothers, came to al-Ḥusain ['a] and got closer to him weeping.

[Al-Ḥusain ('a)] said: "O sons of my brother, what makes you weep? For I hope, by Allah, that you are soon going to be delighted."

They replied: "May Allah make us your ransom! Nay by Allah, we are not weeping on ourselves, rather we are crying for you. We see that you have been encircled [with the enemy] while we are not able to defend you."

He said: "O sons of my brother, may Allah reward you for your grief at that and for helping me with your persons, with the best of the reward of the pious ones."

Then, the two young men began advancing [towards the battlefield], while they kept looking back over their shoulders at al-Ḥusain ['a] and saying: "Peace be upon you, O son of the Prophet of Allah!" [Al-Ḥusain ('a)] replied: "Peace and mercy of Allah be upon you."

They fought until they were killed. [May Allah have mercy on them].

[The Martyrdom of Ḥanẓalah bin As'ad al-Shabāmī]

Ḥanẓalah bin As'ad al-Shabāmī came forward and stood in front of al-Ḥusain ['a] and began addressing [the army of Ibn Sa'd]:

"O my people! Indeed I fear for you a day like the day of

the [heathen] factions; like the case of the people of Nūḥ, of ‘Ād and Thamūd, and those who were after them, and Allah does not desire any wrong for [His] servants. O my people! Indeed I fear for you a day of mutual distress calls, a day when you will turn back [to flee], not having anyone to protect you from Allah, and whomever Allah leads astray has no guide.”¹ O people, do not kill al-Ḥusain, lest Allah should annihilate you with [his] punishment. ‘Whoever fabricates lies certainly fails’.”²

Al-Ḥusain [‘a] said to him: “O son of As’ad! May Allah have mercy on you! These people have [already] been entitled to the punishment [from Allah] when they rejected your call to the truth and rose to destroy you and your colleagues. Let alone now that they have already killed your righteous brothers.”

He said: “You have said the truth, may I be your ransom! You are more learned than me and you are worthier for that [too]. Are we not going to proceed to the hereafter (*ākhirah*) and join our brothers [i.e. has not the time come for us to join them]?”

[Al-Ḥusain (‘a)] replied: “Advance to [the abode] which is better than this world and all it contains. [Depart] to the kingdom which never perishes.”

[Ḥanzalah] then said: “Peace be on you, O Abā ‘Abdillah. May Allah bless you and your family. May Allah introduce us to each other in his Heaven.”

[Al-Ḥusain (‘a)] said: “*Āmīn, āmīn.*”

¹ Qur’an, 40:30-33.

² Qur’an, 20:61.

[Ḥanzalah al-Shabāmī] then went out and fought until he was killed. [May Allah have mercy on him].

[The Martyrdom of 'Ābis bin Abī Shabīb and His Retainer¹]

'Ābis bin Abī Shabīb al-Shākirī came forward together with his Shaudhab, his retainer, and asked him: "O Shaudhab, what are you intending to do?"

[Shaudhab] replied: "What should I do? I will fight along with you in defence of the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) until I am killed."

['Ābis] said: "That is what [I] expected of you. If you are not going to leave [him], then go forward and fight before Abī 'Abdillah, so that he may anticipate a reward from Allah in the hereafter because of your [martyrdom] as he did with regard to his other companions. I also will [have the opportunity to] do the same; for if I had anyone, at this

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: When Muslim bin 'Aqīl read the letter of the Imam ('a) to the people of Kūfah, 'Ābis stood up and said, after praising Allah and extolling him: "Indeed I am not informing you about the people, nor do I know what is there in their hearts. I am not trying to deceive you of their condition either. By Allah! I am going to tell you about what I have prepared myself for. By Allah! I will answer you when you call. I will certainly be with you to fight your enemies. I will be striking [the enemy] with my sword in defence of you until I meet Allah. I want nothing from that except that which lies with Allah." So Ḥabīb bin Muḏāhir said to him: "May Allah have mercy on you. You have said what was in your heart by your brief talk" (5:355).

When Muslim bin 'Aqīl moved to the house of Hānī bin 'Urwah and 18,000 men paid allegiance to him, he sent 'Ābis bin Abī Shabīb al-Shākirī with a letter to al-Ḥusain ('a) telling him: "Come quickly [to Kūfah]" (5:375).

moment, on whom I had a greater claim than I have on you, I would have been happy if he would go to fight before me, so that I may anticipate [from Allah] a reward for that. This is the day in which we should seek the reward [of Allah] through whatever means possible. Indeed there is no [room for performing] deeds after today, all that remains is the reckoning (*ḥisāb*).”

Shaudhab then came forward and greeted al-Ḥusain [‘a]. [He sought his permission and] thereafter went [to the battlefield]. He fought until he was killed. [May Allah have mercy on him].

‘Ābis bin Abī Shabīb then said: “O Abā ‘Abdillah! By Allah, there is no one on the face of this earth, from among [my] kin or distant ones, who is more beloved and dearer to me than you are. If I was able to ward off oppression and death from you with something dearer to me than my life and blood, I would have done so. Peace be upon you, O Abā ‘Abdillah. I take Allah as a witness that I am on your path and the path of your father.”

He then walked towards [the enemy] with the sword drawn. It was with it that he was struck on his forehead.¹

Rabī’ bin Tamīm [al-Hamdānī] says: “When I saw him coming, I recognized him. So I said: ‘O people! This is the black lion. This is Ibn Abī Shabīb. No one among you should come out to face him!’

[‘Ābis] began calling out: ‘Is not there anyone to fight me

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:444): “Numair bin Wa’lah related to me from a man from the Banū ‘Abd of Hamdān, who happened to witness that day...”

man to man?!'

'Umar bin Sa'd cried out: 'Bring him to his knees by stoning him!'

So he was pelted from all sides. When 'Ābis saw this, he threw aside his armour and helmet and attacked the people furiously."

[Rabī' says:] "I swear by Allah, I saw him driving back more than two hundred [men] from the [enemy]! Thereafter, they surrounded him from all sides and he was killed. [May Allah have mercy on him]."^{1, 2}

[The Martyrdom of Yazīd ibn Ziyād, Abū Sha'thā' al-Kindī]

Yazīd bin Ziyād bin Muhāşir, Abū Sha'thā' al-Kindī, was among those who had come out with 'Umar bin Sa'd against al-Ḥusain ['a]. When [the people] rejected the conditions [and the offer] of al-Ḥusain ['a], he got inclined to him [and then joined him]. He fought alongside al-Ḥusain ['a] while he recited [the following verses] on that day:

I am Yazīd and my father is Muhāşir, braver than a lion who is asleep in the thicket.

O Lord I am a helper to al-Ḥusain, I have abandoned Ibn

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:440): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Muḥammad bin Qais narrated to me saying that...'"

² [Rabī' says:] "I saw his head in the hands of a number of men, each of whom claimed to have killed him. So they came to 'Umar bin Sa'd [to settle the matter] and he said: 'Do not quarrel. This man has not been killed by a single spear [head]!' This is how he settled the issue between them."

Sa'd and parted [from him].¹

[Yazīd] was an archer. He knelt down before al-Ḥusain ['a] and shot a hundred arrows [towards the enemy]. Only five of those [who were struck with the arrows] fell to the ground. Whenever he shot [an arrow], he would say: "I am the son of Bahdalah, the knight of [the day of] 'Arjalah", while al-Ḥusain ['a] would pray: "O Allah, direct his shooting and make Heaven his reward."

He then fought until he was killed. [May Allah have mercy on him].

¹ This narration is from Fuḍail bin Khudaij al-Kindī. [This report of Fuḍail indicates that Abū al-Sha'thā' was with 'Umar bin Sa'd before he left him to join the Imam ('a)]. It is probable that it was from the above verses that Fuḍail concluded that Abū al-Sha'thā' abandoned Ibn Sa'd and came to the help of the Imam ('a) after the former rejected the Imam's proposal. [In contrary, the earlier report from 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab contradicts the report of Fuḍail]. The report is as follows: 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab relates from 'Uqbah bin Sim'ān that: "The messenger of Ibn Ziyād who brought his letter to Ḥurr al-Riyāḥī in Karbalā' was Mālik bin al-Nusair al-Baddī al-Kindī. So Abu al-Sha'thā' said to him: 'May your mother be deprived of you! What kind of mission have you embarked upon? Mālik replied: "I have not done so! I have [only] obeyed my leader and fulfilled my allegiance to him." Abū al-Sha'thā' said: "You have disobeyed your Lord and have obeyed your leader to your own destruction. You have earned [but] shame and hell fire! Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, says: 'And We made them leaders who invite [people] to the fire, and on the day of judgment they shall not receive any help.' [Such] is your leader!" (*al-Ṭabarī*:5:408). Now this report implies that Abū al-Sha'thā' was with the Imam ('a) before his arrival in Karbalā', rather even before he met Ḥurr al-Riyāḥī. And this point has remained unnoticed by both, Abū Mikhnaf and Ṭabarī.

[The Martyrdom of the Four Men]

[Then the four men who had come with Ṭirimmāḥ bin 'Adiyy to al-Ḥusain ('a):] Jābir bin Ḥārith al-Salmānī, Mujammi' bin 'Abdillah al-'Ā'idhī¹, 'Umar bin Khālid al-Ṣaidāwī and Sa'd, the retainer of 'Umar bin Khālid, went out attacking the people with their swords. After they penetrated [the army], the people surrounded them, having the upper hand over them and cutting them off from their companions.

So 'Abbās bin 'Alī attacked [the enemy] and saved them. Then they [again] launched an attack and fought until they were [all] killed at the same point.² [May Allah have mercy on them].

[The Martyrdom of Suwaid al-Khath'amī and Bashīr al-Ḥaḍramī]

The last to remain with al-Ḥusain ['a] from among his companions were Suwaid bin 'Amru bin Abī Muṭā' al-Khath'amī³ and Bashīr bin 'Amru al-Ḥaḍramī. [With regard to Bashīr, he went out and fought until he was killed]. [May Allah have mercy on him].

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:405): He is the one who informed al-Ḥusain ('a) at 'Udhaib al-Hijānāt about the situation in Kūfah saying: "As for the noblemen, they have been heavily bribed and their pockets filled. Their hearts have been won and their loyalty secured for them. [Now] they are all united against you! With regard to the rest of the people, their hearts are inclined towards you, but tomorrow their swords shall be drawn against you!"

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:445): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Fuḍail bin Khudaij al-Kindī has related to me that..."

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:446): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Zuhair bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Zuhair al-Khath'amī narrated to me that..."

As for Suwaid, he [also] went out and fought till he was exhausted and collapsed [unconscious].¹ He fell amidst the bodies of those killed [in the battle] and his sword was snatched away.

When al-Ḥusain [‘a] was killed and he heard them saying: ‘Al-Ḥusain has been killed!’, he regained consciousness. He had a knife with him, so he [got up and] fought them with his knife for a while until Zayd bin Ruqād al-Janabī² and ‘Urwah bin Baṭṭār al-Taghlabī killed him.

He was the last person [from among al-Ḥusain’s companions] to be killed.^{3,4}

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:444): “[Abū Mikhnaf says:] ‘Abdullah bin ‘Āṣim has related to me from Ḍaḥḥāk bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqī that...’”

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: He is the assassin of ‘Abbās bin ‘Alī (‘a) (5:468). He shot ‘Abdullah bin Muslim bin ‘Aqīl with an arrow. Regarding this he used to say: “I shot a young man from among them with an arrow [on his forehead]. He tried to protect himself by putting his hand on his forehead, but I fixed his hand to his forehead such that he was unable to take it off from it!” He then shot another arrow at the young man and killed him. On that he used to say: “He was dead when I got to him. I had to wrench the arrow off his forehead. I managed to take it off but its arrowhead was stuck on his forehead such that I was unable to take it out.”

Mukhtār had dispatched ‘Abdullah bin Kāmil al-Shākiri to pursue him. The latter came to his house and surrounded it. His men forced their way [into the house] and al-Janabī came out with his sword drawn. Ibn Kāmil said: “Shower him with arrows and stone him.” They did so until he fell to the ground. Ibn Kāmil then ordered for fire and burnt him while he was still alive (6:64). Al-Janab was from the Banū Janab (6:64). In other books of history apart from *al-Ṭabarī*, he is referred to as al-Juhanī or al-Ḥanafī.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:453): “[Abū Mikhnaf says:] ‘Zuhair bin ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khath’amī has related to me that...’”

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī*: “Abū Mikhnaf says: “Abdullah bin ‘Āṣim related to me

from Ḍaḥḥāk bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqī who said: ‘When I saw that [all] the companions of al-Husain [‘a] had been killed and that they had displayed their loyalty to him and his household, and that there remained no one with him except Suwaid bin ‘Amru bin Abī al-Muṭā’ al-Khath’amī and Bishr bin ‘Amru al-Ḥaḍramī, I moved to [take] my horse -whom I had kept in one of the tents of our companions when I saw their horses being lamed [by the enemy]. Then I came out to fight on foot. I managed to kill two men in the presence of al-Husain [‘a] and cut off the hand of another. Al-Husain (‘a) was repeatedly telling me at that time: ‘May you not be crippled. May Allah not sever your hand. May Allah reward you the best on behalf of the household of your Prophet (ṣ)!’ So I said to him: ‘O son of the Messenger of Allah! Do you remember what was agreed between us, I had told you that I will fight defending you so long as there are others fighting [alongside me]. But if I do not see any other fighter [apart from myself], then I am free to go [and leave you]. And you had accepted this from me. So al-Husain [‘a] said: ‘That is true, but how are you going to escape?! If you are able to do so, then you are free to go.’”

[Ḍaḥḥāk says:] “When he granted me the permission, I brought out my horse from the tent and mounted it. I sat firmly on it and whipped it. When it reared up, I charged with it against the people and they opened up [the way] for me. Fifteen men from the [army] began to chase me until I reached Shufayyah, a village near the bank of the Euphrates. When they caught me there, I aroused their sympathy for me. [Here] Kathīr bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bī, Ayyūb bin Mushriḥ al-Khayawānī and Qais bin ‘Abdullah al-Ṣaidāwī recognized me and said: ‘This is Ḍaḥḥāk bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqī. He is our cousin. We beseech you for the sake of Allah to leave him!’ Three men from the Banū Tamīm who were with them said: ‘By Allah, we will indeed respond to our brothers who call on us to free their companion.’”

[Ḍaḥḥāk says:] “When the men from the Tamīm agreed with [the request of my] clansmen, the rest [of them] held back. Thus, Allah saved me” (5:445).

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE FAMILY MEMBERS OF AL-HUSAIN ('A)

[The Martyrdom of 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain al-Akbar (‘a)]

‘Alī al-Akbar bin al-Ḥusain bin ‘Alī [‘a]¹ was the first to be killed on that day from the Banū Abī Ṭālib. His mother was Lailā, daughter of Abū Murrah bin Mas’ūd al-Thaqafī.² He

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: In his narration on the authority of Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid from Ḥumaid bin Ziyād, Abū Mikhnaf describes Imam al-Sajjād [‘a] as ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain al-Aṣghar [i.e. the younger ‘Alī] (5:454). He names the other child of the Imam (‘a) who was killed in his lap as ‘Abdullah bin al-Ḥusain, through the same chain of narration (5:448). In his book *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg.630; Dār al-Ma’ārif publications), Ṭabarī says: “As for ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain al-Akbar [the older], he was killed along with his father by the river [Euphrates] in Karbalā’. He did not have any offspring. ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain al-Aṣghar was present at Karbalā with his father and he was 23 years of age. He was ill, confined to the bed. ‘Alī [al-Aṣghar] says: ‘When I was taken before Ibn Ziyād, he asked me: ‘What is your name?’ I replied: ‘‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain’. He said: ‘Has not Allah killed ‘Alī?’ I said: ‘I had a brother called ‘Alī al-Akbar who was older than me and was killed by the people.’ He said: ‘Nay, Allah killed him.’ I said: ‘Allah takes the souls at the time their death.” [Qur’an, 39:42]. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī has related the above incident in *al-Maqātil* (pg.80; Najaf edition) also. Al-Ya’qūbī (2:233; Najaf edition) also refers to ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain as *al-akbar* and to Imam al-Sajjād (‘a) as *al-aṣghar*. And so has been done by al-Mas’ūdī in *Murūj al-Dhahab* (3:71) and by Ibn al-Jawzī in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.225). Al-Mufīd mentions ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain in *al-Irshād* (pg.238) but without referring to him as *al-akbar*.

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: In the 6th year of Hijrah ‘Urwah bin Mas’ūd fled from the Banū Thaqīf in Ṭāif and went to Makkah. There he came in alliance with the Quraish, together with his family and his

followers. When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) visited Makkah in the year of Ḥudaibiyyah with his companions for the *'umrah* and Budail bin Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī informed them of what the Prophet [ṣ] said [regarding the peace treaty], 'Urwah stood up and said to the wise men of the Quraish: "This man has proposed a sensible thing to you. Accept it and allow me to go to see him." They said: "You can go." Thus, ['Urwah] went to see the Prophet (ṣ) and talked to him. The Prophet [ṣ] told him the like of what he had told Budail, that is: "We have not come to fight anyone. We have only come to perform the *'umrah*. The Quraish have been worn out by war and they have been harmed by it. [Accordingly,] if they wish to accept what [other] people have accepted [i.e. make a peace treaty with us], they should do so. [Otherwise, they should know that the Muslims] have [today] grown in number. [But] if they reject [our proposal], then I swear by the one in whose hand is my soul, I will fight them on this issue [i.e. Islām] until I am killed or Allah enforces his affair."

Here 'Urwah said: "O Muḥammad! Tell me, if you are thinking of destroying your people, then have you [ever] heard of any Arab before you who has annihilated his community! I swear that I see different faces and people surrounding you, who will flee and leave you alone if such a thing is going to happen!" With that, he began looking at the companions of the Prophet (ṣ). He then returned to his people and said: "O people! I have, indeed, visited [different] kings. I have visited Choesroe, Caesar and Negus! But I swear that I have never seen any king esteemed by his followers more than Muḥammad. I swear that he does not spit but it falls on the hands of one of them, who would then rub it on his face and skin. When he commands them, they vie with each other to carry out his order. When he performs ablution, they almost fight to obtain the water [he uses]. When they speak in his presence, they lower their voices. They never stare at him out of their respect for him! Such a man has proposed to you a sensible proposal, [you had better] accept." (2:627)

'Urwah was in Jordan during the battle of Ḥunain in the year 8 H, learning the skills of making weaponry and catapults and therefore could not participate in it (3:628).

'Urwah was related to Abu Sufyān as he had married his



began attacking the people while he recited the following:

I am 'Alī, son of Ḥusain bin 'Alī; by the Lord of the House, we are closest to the Prophet.

By Allah! A man born of fornication [i.e. Ibn Ziyād] shall not judge us.¹

daughter, Āminah. Abū Sufyān and Mughīrah bin Shu'bah went to Ṭāif on the day of Ḥunain and there they called out the Banū Thaḳīf: "Grant us protection so that we may speak to you!" So they granted them protection. The two men then invited the women from Quraish [who were in Ṭāif to come with them to Makkah], fearing that they might be taken as prisoners. But they rejected their invitation (3:84).

When the Prophet of Allah (ṣ) left Ṭāif, 'Urwah bin Mas'ūd followed him and met him before the Prophet [ṣ] reached Madīnah. He embraced Islam and asked the Prophet [ṣ] to allow him to return to his people with the message of Islam. Since 'Urwah was a beloved personality among the Thaḳīf and obeyed by them, he began inviting them to Islam, hoping that they would not oppose him because of the position he held between them. But they showered him with arrows from all sides and he was killed. He was asked before he was killed: "How do you find dying?" He replied: "It is an honour bestowed on me by Allah, and a martyrdom driven by Allah towards me. My position is the same as of those martyrs who were killed alongside the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) before he left your [city]. So bury me with them." And they did so. It is reported in *Sīrah Ibn Hishām* (3:97) that the Prophet of Allah [ṣ] said concerning him: "His example in his community is that of the believer [mentioned] in Sūrat Yāsīn" (2:325). The Messenger of Allah [ṣ] repaid his debts and those of his brother, Aswad bin Mas'ūd, from the jewellery of al-Lāt, the idol [worshipped by] the Thaḳīf (3:100).

¹ Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī narrates in *al-Maqātil* (pg.77) that: "['Alī al-Akbar] would attack [the enemy] and then return to his father saying: ' O father, thirst [is overcoming me] ! ' and al-Ḥusain [' a] would say to him: ' Have patience, O love of my

He did that several times. Then Murrah bin Munqidh bin al-Nu'mān al-'Abdī¹ saw him. He said: "May the felonies of the Arabs come on me, if he gets past me doing the same as he has been doing [and] I do not deprive his mother of him."

['Alī bin al-Ḥusain ('a)] continued to attack the people with his sword. Murrah bin Munqidh came against him and stabbed him. He was struck down and the people fell upon him, cutting him with their swords.^{2,3}

Al-Ḥusain ['a] came to [his body] saying: "May Allah kill

heart; for the Messenger of Allah [ṣ] is going to give you a drink with his chalice by this evening.' [According to Ibn al-Jawzī, 'Alī ('a)] did this for several times."

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: His lineage goes back to the Banū 'Abd al-Qais. He was with his father Munqidh bin Nu'mān at Ṣiffin along side ['Alī], the Commander of the Faithful ('a). There Murrah took from his father the standard of the 'Abd al-Qais and it remained with him (4:522). In the year 66 H, Mukhtār sent 'Abdullah bin Kāmil al-Shākirī against him. He surrounded his house and so [Murrah] forced his way out on a fine horse, with a spear in his hand. Ibn Kāmil struck him with [his] sword but he guarded against it with his left hand and escaped. He then [went and] joined Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair, while his hand was paralysed (6:64).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:446): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Zuhair bin 'Abd al-Rahmān bin Zuhair al-Khath'amī narrated to me that..." Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī has related the incident in *al-Maqātil* (pg.76) from Abū Mikhnaf, who narrated it from Zuhair bin 'Abdillah al-Khath'amī. According to another chain of narration: "When 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain ['a] came out to the people, al-Ḥusain ('a) lowered his eyes and wept. He said: 'O Allah, be witness against these people, for [now] a youth has gone out to them who resembles the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) most among all the creatures."

³ Abū al-Faraj says in *al-Maqātil* (pg.77): "[Alī al-Akbar] then called out: 'O father! Peace be upon you. Here is my grandfather, the Messenger of Allah, sending you salutations and saying: come to us quickly.' Then he sighed deeply and [his soul] departed."

[the] people who killed you, my son! How foolhardy they are against the Merciful and in violating the sacredness of the family of the Prophet! There will [only] be dust on the world after you.”

A woman came hurrying out, crying: “O my brother! O my nephew! She came up and threw herself on [his body]. Al-Ḥusain [‘a] came near to her, held her by her hand and led her back to the tent. He then turned towards his young men and said: “Carry your brother [back].” They carried him from the place he was killed and put him before the tent which they had been fighting in front of.¹

[The Martyrdom of Qāsim bin al-Ḥasan (‘a)]

Ḥumaid bin Muslim says: “A young lad came out against us, his face was like the first splinter of the new moon and he carried a sword. He was wearing a shirt and a waistcloth (*izār*), and a pair of sandals, one of whose straps was broken, and I will not forget that it was the [strap of the] left [foot].

‘Amru bin Sa‘d bin Nufail al-Azdī² said to me: ‘By Allah, I am going to attack him.’

I said to him: ‘Glory be to Allah! What do you want to do that for? These people whom you see surrounding him are enough [to kill him]!’

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:446): “[Abū Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid related to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim al-Azdī that...’ See also *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.76&77) through the same chain of narration.

² His name appears in *al-Ṭabarī* (5:468) as Sa‘d bin ‘Amru bin Nufail al-Azdī. Both the names have appeared in the report of Abū Mikhnaf.

[‘Amru] insisted: ‘By Allah, I will attack him.’ So he rushed against him and did not turn back until he had struck his head with his sword. The lad fell face downwards and called out: ‘O uncle!’

[At this,] al-Ḥusain [‘a] showed himself just like the hawk shows itself. He launched into attack like a raging lion and struck ‘Amru with [his] sword. ‘Amru tried to fend off the blow with his arm but his arm was cut off from the elbow. The cavalry [of the enemy] made a move [in order to save him] but they [only] trampled him to death.

[As] the cloud of dust settled, al-Ḥusain [‘a] was seen standing by the head of the young lad. He was rubbing his heels on the ground while al-Ḥusain [‘a] was saying: ‘Away with the people who have killed you, a people against whom your grandfather will complain on the Day of Judgement on your behalf. By Allah, it is hard on your uncle that you called him but he could not answer you, or he answered but could not help you. By Allah, it was a cry whose avengers were many, but whose helpers [at the moment] are few!’¹

Then he carried him [in his arms]. It is just as if I am looking at the two legs of the body making marks [as they trail] on the ground, while al-Ḥusain [‘a] had put the chest [of the lad] on his chest. He took him and put him with his son ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain around whom were [other] bodies of those slain from among his household.”

[Ḥumaid continues with his report and says:] “I asked about the boy and was told that he was al-Qāsim bin al-Ḥasan bin

¹ This statement of the Imam (‘a) means that the cry of Qāsim has many helpers amidst the Banū Hāshim, though they could not be present at Karbalā’ to help him.

‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib [‘a].”¹

[The Martyrdom of ‘Abbās bin ‘Alī (‘a) and His Brothers]

‘Abbās bin ‘Alī (‘a) then said to his brothers on his mother’s side -‘Abdullah, Ja’far and ‘Uthmān: “O sons of my mother! Go forward [and fight] so that I may mourn over you; for you have no children [to grieve over you]!

They did so [and went out and fought a severe battle until] they were killed. [May Allah have mercy on them].^{2,3}

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:447): “[Abū Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid related to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim who said...” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.239).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:448): “Abū Mikhnaf says...”

³ The Martyrdom of ‘Abbās bin ‘Alī (‘a) does not appear in *al-Ṭabarī*. Hence, we mention it from *al-Irshād* of Shaikh al-Mufīd (pg.240; Najaf edition). He says: “The thirst of al-Ḥusain (‘a) became severe. He set off towards the dam, trying to reach the Euphrates. In front of him was his brother, al-‘Abbās. However, the cavalry of Ibn Sa’d, may Allah curse him, blocked his way. Among these was a man from the Banū Dārim, he said [to the cavalry]: ‘Woe upon you! Prevent him from reaching the Euphrates, do not let him get water!’

Al-Ḥusain (‘a) said: ‘O Allah, make him thirsty!’ So the man from Dārim became angry and shot an arrow at him which lodged in his throat. Al-Ḥusain (‘a) pulled out the arrow and held his hand below his throat. He put his hands under his throat, and both his palms were filled with blood which he shook away and said: ‘O Allah, I complain to you about what is being done to the son of the daughter of your Prophet!’ He then returned to his position, while his thirst had become [even more] severe. [Meanwhile,] the people [had] surrounded al-‘Abbās and cut him off from [al-Ḥusain (‘a)]. Single-handed he began to attack them until he was killed, may Allah have mercy on him. The [two] who took part in

[The Martyrdom of the Infant of al-Ḥusain ('a)]

Al-Ḥusain [(‘a) then] sat down and his baby was brought to him. [He was an infant or [a little] older than that] called ‘Abdullah bin al-Ḥusain’¹

and he seated him on his lap.² [The baby] was in his lap as one of the Banū Asad [either Ḥarmalah bin Kāhil or Hāni’ bin Thubait al-Ḥaḍramī] shot an arrow which slaughtered him. Al-Ḥusain [‘a] caught [the child’s] blood [in the palm of his hand]. When his palm was full, he poured it on to the ground and said: “O Lord, if it be so that You have kept the help of Heaven from us, then let it be for something better [according to Your wisdom]. Take vengeance on these oppressors on our behalf.”^{3, 4}

killing him -after he had been covered with wounds and could not move- were Zayd bin Warqā’ al-Ḥanafī* and Ḥakīm bin al-Ṭufail al-Sinbisiyy.

**Al-Ṭabarī* refers to him as Zayd bin Ruqād al-Janabī (5:468). In the same book (6:64), he says: “He was a man from Janab. He is the one who killed ‘Abdullah bin Muslim bin ‘Aqīl and Suwaid bin ‘Amru al-Khath’amī, who were among the companions of al-Ḥusain (‘a). His biography has been given earlier under the reports of the martyrdom of Suwaid. ‘Al-Ḥanafī’ is obviously a phonetic distortion (*taḥrīf*) of the word.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: His mother was Rabāb, daughter of Imru’ al-Qais al-Kalbī (5:468). *Al-Irshād* (pg.240) has also related this incident and says that [‘Abdullah] was a [small] child (*tifl*).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:448): [Abū Mikhnaf reports that:] ‘Uqbah bin Bashīr al-Asadī said: ‘Abū Ja’far Muḥammad bin ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain told me that...”

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:448): “[Abū Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid narrated to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim who said...”

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī* relates on the authority of ‘Ammār al-Duhanī from Imam al-Bāqir (‘a) who said: “And an arrow came and struck his

[The Martyrdom of the Two Sons of 'Abdullah bin Ja'far]

The people encircled them from all sides. 'Abdullah bin Quṭbah al-Nabahānī al-Ṭā'ī attacked 'Aun bin 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Abī Ṭālib and killed him.¹ Then 'Āmir bin

son who was in his lap. [Al-Ḥusain ('a)] began wiping the blood from him and saying: 'O Allah, You judge between us and a people who invited us in order to help us, and now they are killing us" (5:389).

Al-Ya'qūbī writes in his *Tārīkh* (2:232; Najaf edition): "Then [the companions of al-Ḥusain ('a)] came forward one after another. [They fought and were all killed] until he remained alone. There was no one with him from among his family, children or his kinsmen. He was on his horse when a new-born baby, who had just born, was brought to him. He recited the *adhān* in his ear and gave him a bit of chewed dates. Just then an arrow came and struck the throat of the child and slaughtered it. Al-Ḥusain ('a) removed the arrow from [the child's] throat and began to spread the blood on the [child's body] saying: 'By Allah, you are more honourable in the eyes of Allah than the she-camel [of Prophet Ṣāliḥ]. And indeed Muḥammad is more honourable before Allah than [Prophet] Ṣāliḥ.' He then came and put [his body] together with [the bodies of] his son and nephews." Sibṭ al-Jawzī says in his *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.252; Najaf edition): "As al-Ḥusain ['a] looked [around], [he saw] his son crying of thirst. He took him in his arms and said [to his enemies]: 'O people! If you have no mercy on me, then have mercy on this child! [In reply,] a man from among them shot an arrow at [the child] and slaughtered it. [At this] al-Ḥusain ['a] started weeping and saying: 'O Allah, judge between us and a people who invited us in order to help us, and [now] they are killing us.' A cry was heard from the heavens: 'Leave him O Ḥusain! For he has a wet-nurse [who will suckle him] in Heaven."

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:469): "His mother was Jūmānah, daughter of Musayyab bin Najabah al-Ghazārī." Musayyab was one of the heads of the Tawwābūn movement, from among the Shī'ah in

Nahshal al-Taimī attacked Muḥammad bin ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far bin Abī Ṭālib and killed him.¹

[The Martyrdom of the Members from the Household of ‘Aqīl]

‘Uthmān bin Khālid bin Asīr al-Juhanī and Bishr bin Ḥawṭ al-Qābiḍī al-Hamdānī launched an attack on ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, son of ‘Aqīl bin Abī Ṭālib, and killed him.² [Thereafter,] they plundered [his belongings].

‘Abdullah bin ‘Azarah al-Khath’amī³ shot [an arrow] at

Kūfah. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī says in *al-Maqātil* (pg.60; Najaf edition): “‘Aun’s mother was [Lady] Zainab, the wise lady (*al-‘aqīlah*) [of the Banū Hāshim], daughter of ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib (‘a).”

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:469): “His mother was Khawṣā’, daughter of Khaṣafah bin Thaḳīf al-Taimī, from the clan of Bakr bin Wā’il.” So has been narrated by Abū al-Faraj also in *al-Maqātil* (pg.60; Najaf edition). But bin Ibn al-Jawzī mentions her in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.255; Najaf edition) as Ḥawṭ, daughter of Ḥafṣah al-Tamīmī.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (6:59): “Mukhtār had dispatched ‘Abdullah bin Kāmil against them while they were trying to move to al-Jazīrah [i.e. Mosul]. Ibn al-Kāmil and his men chased them up and caught up with them at al-Jabbānah. They [were arrested and] brought before [Ibn Kāmil]. He then took them to a place called Bi’r al-Ja’d. There he beheaded them and burnt their bodies. They were mourned by A’shā’ al-Hamdānī.” However, according to *al-Ṭabarī* (5:469): “The assassin of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin ‘Aqīl was ‘Uthmān bin Khālid al-Juhanī only, without the association of Bishr bin Ḥawṭ al-Hamdānī.” Abū al-Faraj mentions both of them as his assassins in *al-Maqātil* (pg.61; Najaf edition), through the same chain of narration (*sanad*) which has appeared in *al-Ṭabarī*.

³ According to *al-Ṭabarī* (5:469), He was killed by Bishr bin Ḥawṭ al-Hamdānī, whereas in (6:65) he mentions al-Khath’amī saying: “‘Abdullah bin Urwah al-Khath’amī, the one who was pursued by Mukhtār but he escaped and joined Muṣ’ab.” Abū al-

Ja'far, [another] son of 'Aqīl bin Abī Ṭālib and killed him.

Then 'Amru bin Ṣubaih al-Ṣuddā'ī¹ shot an arrow at

Faraj refers to him in *al-Maqātil* (pg.61; Najaf edition) as 'Abdullah bin 'Urwah al-Khath'amī, through the same chain of narration as mentioned in *al-Ṭabarī*.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Mukhtār was chasing him. His men entered upon ['Amru] at night when people were asleep. He was in his bed and did not realize. They arrested him while his sword was beneath his head, so he said regarding this [afterwards]: 'Shame on you O sword. You were very close, yet so far!' He used to say [after his arrest]: 'I have [only] stabbed and wounded some of [the members of the household of the Prophet in Karbalā']. I did not kill anyone of them.' He was brought to Mukhtār who imprisoned him in the palace. The next morning when Mukhtār allowed people to visit him, ['Amru] was brought before him in shackles. He said: 'O the infidels and the wicked! By Allah, had I a sword in my hand, you would have come to know that I do not tremble in front of a sword, nor am I a coward. If I am going to die by being killed, then it is not dear to me to get killed by any of the creatures other than you! For I know that you are the worst of the creatures of Allah! But I still wish that I had a sword in my hand, so that I would have fought with you for a while!' Then he raised his hand and slapped the eye of Ibn Kāmil who was [standing] by his side. Ibn Kāmil laughed [at this] and grabbed his hand, stopping him [from repeating that act]. [Ibn Kāmil] then said [to Mukhtār]: 'He claims to have [only] wounded and stabbed [some] among the family of Muḥammad. So give us your order concerning him.' Mukhtār said: 'Bring me a spear.' So he was brought [a spear]. He then ordered: 'Stab him to death!' and he was stabbed to death" (6:65). *Al-Ṭabarī* reports in (5:469) from Abū Mikhnaf that: "['Amru] is the one who killed 'Abdullah bin 'Aqīl bin Abī Ṭālib ('a)." Whereas in (6:64) he says that: "The one who shot an arrow at 'Abdullah bin Muslim bin 'Aqīl was Zayd bin Ruqād al-Janabī. [Zayd] used to say: 'I shot a young man from among them with an arrow [on his forehead]. He tried to guard against it by putting his hand on his forehead, but I stitched his hand to his forehead such that he was unable to take it

‘Abdullah, son of Muslim bin ‘Aqīl¹, which stitched his hand to his forehead, such that he could no longer move his hand. [‘Amru] then shot another arrow at him which tore his heart.² Labīt bin Yāsir al-Juhanī killed Muḥammad, son of Abī Sa’īd bin ‘Aqīl.³

[The Martyrdom of other Two Sons of al-Ḥasan bin ‘Alī (‘a)]

‘Abdullah bin Uqbah al-Ghanawī⁴ shot an arrow at Abū

off from it! As his hand was stuck to his forehead, [the young man said: ‘O Allah, they have belittled us and humiliated us. O Allah, kill them the way they have killed us.’ [Zayd] then shot another arrow at him which killed him. He used to say about this: ‘He was dead when I got to him. I had to wrench the arrow off his forehead. I managed to take it off but its arrowhead was stuck on his forehead such that I was unable to take it out.’

[Sometime after the event of Karbalā’], Mukhtār dispatched ‘Abdullah bin Kāmil al-Shākiri to pursue him. The latter came to his house and surrounded it. His men forced their way [into the house] and al-Janabī came out with his sword drawn. Ibn Kāmil said: “Shower him with arrows and stone him.” They did so until he fell on the ground. Ibn Kāmil then ordered for fire and burnt him while he was still alive (6:64).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:469): “His mother was Ruqayyah, daughter of ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib (‘a).” See also *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.62; Najaf edition).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:469): “Abū Mikhnaf says...” See also *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.62; Najaf edition).

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:447): “[Abū Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid narrated to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim al-Azdī who said...”

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was among those who had revolted with Mustawrad bin ‘Alafah in Kūfah in the year 43 H, during the governership of Mughīrah bin Shu’bah over the city. Al-Ghanawī was a scribe, so al-Mustawrad instructed him to write [a letter for him] and then take it to Sammāk bin ‘Ubaid, the governer of

Bakr, son of al-Ḥasan¹ bin 'Alī and killed him.² 'Abdullah, [another] son of al-Ḥasan bin Abī Ṭālib, was [also] killed; [that is when] Ḥarmalah bin Kāhil³ shot an arrow at him and

Madāin, inviting him to [pay allegiance to] al-Mustawrad. He did so and then returned to al-Mustawrad. (5:190)

When the followers of al-Mustawrad were killed, al-Ghanawī fled and entered Kūfah [and put up at] Sharīk bin Namlah's [place]. He asked the latter to go to see Mughīrah bin Shu'bah and request him for a safe-conduct for him. [Sharīk] did so and Mughīrah [accepted his request and] said: "I have granted him protection (5:206). After the event of Karbalā', [al-Ghanawī] fled from Mukhtār and joined Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair. Later, he joined 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Muḥammad bin Ash'ath (5:205). Mukhtār tried to pursue him but found him to have escaped, so he demolished his house (6:65).

¹ He was the son of al-Ḥasan ('a) as recorded in *al-Ṭabarī* (5:468). On page 448 of the same volume, his name appears as Abū Bakr, son of al-Husain bin 'Alī, which is incorrect.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:448): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] "Uqbah bin Bashīr al-Asadī reports that 'Abū Ja'far Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain said to me..." Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī has narrated this report in *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.57; Najaf edition) [from two different chains of narration]. [The first chain of narration reads as follows:] "From al-Madāinī who was narrating on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf from Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid..." [While the second one reads:] "From 'Amru bin Shamir who related on the authority of Jābir from Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir ('a)..."

³ Ibn Kāhil as reported by *al-Ṭabarī* (6:65). However, in (5:468) he says Ibn Kāhin, which is [definitely] not correct. [*Al-Ṭabarī*] has not mentioned that Mukhtār was in pursuit of him and the manner in which he [eventually] killed him.

Hishām says: "Abū al-Hudhayl –a man from the Sakūn- related to me saying: 'I saw Hāni' bin Thubait al-Ḥadramī sitting in a gathering of the Hadramis during the time of Khālid bin 'Abdillah, who was an old man at that time. I heard him say: 'I was among those who witnessed the killing of al-Ḥusain. By Allah, I was standing in a group of ten men, all of whom were on

killed him.¹

the horses. The cavalry [of Ibn Sa'd] were moving around and were scattered apart. Suddenly a young boy from the family of al-Ḥusain came out from those tents, with the pillar of a tent in his hands. He was wearing a waist-cloth and a shirt. He seemed frightened and was [repeatedly] looking to his right and left. It is just as if I am looking at the two pearls on his ears swinging as he turns. A man approached him, galloping his horse. As he drew closer to the boy, he bent down from his horse, targeted the boy with the sword and cut him down!" Abū al-Faraj relates this report from al-Madāinī in his *al-Maqātil* (pg.79; Najaf edition). Abū Mikhnaf says: "Ḥasan bin al-Ḥasan and 'Umar bin al-Ḥasan were considered too young by the people and were, therefore, not killed (5:449)."

Among the retainers (*mawālī*) killed in Karbalā' were Sulaimān and Manjah, the retainers of al-Ḥusain ('a) (*al-Ṭabarī*:5:469).

¹ This is as it has been reported in *al-Ṭabarī* (5:468) and *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.58; Najaf edition) from al-Madāinī. However, the predominant view is that he is the one who escaped from the tents to the point where his uncle [al-Ḥusain] had come to the ground, and was killed there, as we shall see later. And this is the version recorded by al-Mufīd in *al-Irshād* (pg.241; Najaf edition).

THE MARTYRDOM OF AL-ḤUSAIN ('A)

[Al-Ḥusain ('a) Advances Towards the Battlefield]

When [only] three or four people had remained with al-Ḥusain ['a], he called for a pair of dazzling Yemeni trousers (*sarāwīl*). He tore them [and put them on], so that he should not have them plundered [after his martyrdom].^{1, 2}

He waited for a good part of the day. Whenever someone from the people came to him, he would go away, disliking to take up the responsibility of killing him and [to shoulder] the great sin.

Mālik bin al-Nusair [al-Baddī al-Kindī]³ came to him and struck his head with [his] sword. It cut through the hood he was wearing and reached his head. He started bleeding and the hood was filled with blood. Al-Ḥusain ['a] said to Mālik: "May you not eat or drink with [your hand]. May Allah resurrect you with the oppressors!"

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:451): "Some of his companions said to him: 'You better wear a *tabbān* (short dress) under [the trouser].' He said: 'That is the garment of humiliation. It does not befit me to wear it.' When he was killed, Baḥr bin Ka'b plundered [the trouser] from him. Abū Mikhnaf says: "Amru bin Shu'aib narrated to me from Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān that the hands of Baḥr bin Ka'b used to sprinkle drops of water in winter, and they would become dry in the summer as if they were sticks."

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:451): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid related to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim that..." See also *al-Irshād* (pg.241).

³ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was the messenger of Ibn Ziyād who brought his letter to Ḥurr bin Yazīd while he was on the way, [instructing him] to force al-Ḥusain ('a) to halt. (5:408)

[Al-Ḥusain ('a)] then threw away the hood and called for a cap. He wore it and surrounded it with a turban.^{1,2}

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:448): The hood was made of silk. Al-Kindī came [to the body of the Imam ('a) and] plundered it. When he went back with it to his family, he started washing off the blood from it. His wife saw him doing that and she understood [the matter]. So she said: 'Do you bring into my house that which you have plundered from the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ)?! Take it out from me!' The friends of Mālik say that he continued to remain poor with it [as a result his action] until he died." Al-Mufīd has also related this report in *al-Irshād* (pg.241). He refers to Mālik as 'Ibn al-Yasr' instead of Ibn al-Nusair. According to *Majma' al-Baḥrain*, the hood (*al-barnas*) was a long cap made of cotton. It was worn by Christian monks and was later adopted by Muslim ascetics during the early period of Islam.

² Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī narrates in *al-Maqātil* (pg.78; Najaf edition) from Abū Mikhnaf who said: "Hishām reports from Qāsim bin al-Aṣḡagh bin Nubātah on the authority of his father, Muḥammad bin Sā'ib, that: 'Someone who happened to see al-Ḥusain ['a] in his camp has related to me that: 'When the army of [al-Ḥusain ('a)] was overpowered, he whipped his horse and set off towards the dam, trying to reach the Euphrates. A man from the Banū Abān bin Dārim said: 'Woe upon you! Prevent him from reaching the water!' So the people chased him and came between him and the Euphrates. The man from the Banū Dārim took an arrow [and shot it at him] which lodged in his throat. Al-Ḥusain pulled out the arrow and held his hand below his throat. Both his palms were filled with blood and then he said: 'O Allah! I complain to you about what is being done to the son of the daughter of your Prophet. O Allah, afflict him with thirst!'"

Qāsim bin Aṣḡagh says: "Indeed I have seen him, by his side there were jugs of milk and pitchers of water. The water was being cooled for him and sweetened with sugar. He would say: 'Woe onto you! Give me water to drink. I am dying of thirst!' So they would give him the jug or the pitcher and he would have some from it. The moment he removed it from his lips and the satisfaction would go away, he would [again] say: 'Woe upon

So he had the cloth tied [over the hood which was made of black silk]. He put on a shirt¹ [or] a cloak of made of silken material, while his hair was dyed. [Al-Husain ('a)] fought like a brave knight, guarding against the [arrows], availing the weak points [of the enemy] and attacking the cavalry fiercely.²

[Meanwhile,] Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan advanced with around ten foot soldiers from among the Kūfan army towards the tent of al-Husain ['a], inside which there was his load and family. [Seeing this, al-Husain ('a) began] walking towards [the tent], but [the people] came between him and the tents. So al-Husain ['a] said: "Woe upon you! If you have no religion and do not fear the Day of Resurrection, then be free men of noble descent in this world! Protect my tent and family from your rabble and ignorant men!"

you! Give me a drink! I am dying of thirst!' By Allah, it was not long before his belly bursted like the bursting of the stomach of a camel."

Al-Ṭabarī (5:449-450): "Hishām says: "Amru bin Shamir related to me from Jābir al-Ju'fī who said: 'Al-Husain ['a] was thirsty. When his thirst became severe, he drew near [the Euphrates] to drink from its water. So Husain bin Tamīm shot an arrow at him which lodged in his mouth. [Al-Husain ('a)] began collecting the blood from his mouth and throwing it to the sky. He said: 'O Allah, take account of them, destroy them entirely and do not leave a single of them on the earth.'(5:449-450). In (5:447-448) [the chain of narration of this report appears as such:] "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid related to me from Humaid bin Muslim that..."

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:452): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Ṣaq'ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from Humaid bin Muslim that..."

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:452): "[Abū Mikhnaf reports] on the authority of al-Hajjāj from 'Abdullah bin 'Ammār al-Bāriqī who said..."

Ibn Dhī al-Jaushan said: “You are granted that O son of Fāṭimah!” and proceeded towards him with the foot soldiers. [At this] al-Ḥusain [‘a] began attacking them and they would disperse from him.¹

‘Abdullah bin ‘Ammār al-Bāriqī² says: “The foot soldiers that were on his right and left side launched an assault on him. He thus attacked those who were on his right such that they were frightened [and retreated]. [He then attacked] those on the left and they [also] were terrified. By Allah, I have never seen a broken [and a wounded] person, whose children, kinsmen and companions had been slain, so tranquil, more resolute and more courageous than him. By Allah, I have not seen his like, neither before him, nor after him. Indeed, the foot soldiers were fleeing from his right and left as goats would flee [and scatter] from a wolf.

As ‘Umar bin Sa‘d drew closer to al-Ḥusain [‘a], his sister Zainab, daughter of Fāṭimah, came out and said: “O ‘Umar bin Sa‘d! Is Abū ‘Abdillah being killed while you [stand by and] watch?! So he turned away his face from her³. It is just as if I am seeing the tears of ‘Umar running down his cheeks and beard!”⁴

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:450): “Abū Mikhnaf reports...” See also *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.79).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:565): He is the person who gave an account of the order of the Commander of the Faithful [‘Alī (‘a)] -as he was advancing towards Ṣiffīn in the year 26 H- that a bridge be built over the Euphrates.

³ See also *al-Irshād* (pg.242; Najaf edition).

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:451): “[Abū Mikhnaf reports] from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin ‘Ammār al-Bāriqī, who narrated from Ḥajjāj that...” Al-Mufīd has narrated the report in *al-Irshād* (pg.241) from Ḥumaid bin Muslim.

[Meanwhile,] al-Ḥusain [‘a] was attacking the cavalry and saying: “Are you inciting one another to kill me! By Allah, you are not going to kill any servant of Allah after me whose killing will incur more wrath upon you than [killing] me. By Allah, I anticipate that Allah shall honour me by disgracing you, and shall take vengeance on you from where you do not perceive¹. By Allah, if you kill me, Allah will cause you to fight one another and to shed your blood. Then he will not leave you until he doubles for you the severe punishment.”²

Thereafter, Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan advanced towards al-Ḥusain [‘a] with the foot soldiers. Among them were Sinān bin Anas al-Nakha’ī, Khauliyy bin Yazīd al-Aṣḥabī³, Ṣāliḥ

¹ The prayer of the Imam (‘a) was answered. Thus came Mukhtār and sent Abū ‘Umrah to ‘Umar bin Sa’d, ordering him to bring Ibn Sa’d to him. Abū ‘Umrah came to ‘Umar and said: “The governor is summoning you.” As ‘Umar stood up, he was tripped by his garment. So Abū ‘Umrah struck him with [his] sword and killed him. Then he put his head under his cloak, [went to Mukhtār,] and placed it before him!

Ḥafṣ bin ‘Umar bin Sa’d was sitting with Mukhtār. So Mukhtār asked him: “Do you know this head?” Ḥafṣ recited the verse: ‘Indeed we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return’, and said: “Yes, and life is worthless after him!” Mukhtār said: “But you [too] are not going to live after him.” He then ordered him to be killed and he was killed. His head was then put with that of his father. (See *al-Ṭabarī*: 6:61).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:452): “[Abū Mikhnaf says:] ‘Ṣāq’ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim that...”

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (6:59): Mukhtār had sent Ma’ādh bin Hāni’ bin ‘Adiyy al-Kindī -the nephew of Ḥujr bin ‘Adiyy, and Abū ‘Amarah -the head of his bodyguards, in pursuit of him. Khauliyy hid himself near the exit [of his house]. So Ma’ādh ordered Abū ‘Amarah to search for him in the house. As they were entering the

bin Wahab al-Yazanī, Qash'am bin Amr al-Ju'fī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ju'fī.¹ Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan began inciting them [against Husein ('a)], so they completely encircled [al-Ḥusain ('a)].

A boy² from among his household came out towards al-Ḥusain ['a]. Al-Ḥusain ['a] said to his sister, Zainab bint 'Alī: "Stop him." So she held him in order to stop him, but he refused [to take notice of her] and determinedly advanced towards al-Ḥusain ['a].

Baḥr bin Ka'b rushed towards al-Ḥusain ['a] with [his] sword. The young lad said [to him]: "O son of an impure woman! Are you [trying to] kill my uncle?!" [Baḥr] struck at him with [his] sword. The boy tried to fend off [the blow] with his arm, but the sword cut through [his arm] to the skin [on the other side]. The boy cried out: "O my mother!"

Al-Ḥusain ['a] took hold of him and embraced him. He said:

house, his wife came out to them. They said to her: "Where is your husband? She replied: "I do not know" and pointed towards the exit. So they entered [the house] and found him [at its exit], with a basket made of date palm leaves on his head. They took him out and burnt him.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was among those who gave witness against Ḥujr bin 'Adiyy al-Kindī (5:270). He was in command of the Madhḥij and Asad in the army of 'Umar bin Sa'd on the day of 'Āshūrā' (5:422).

² According to Shaikh al-Mufīd in *al-Irshād* (pg.241), he was 'Abdullah bin al-Ḥasan. There are indications [also] that support this view. It has been mentioned earlier that Ḥarmalah bin Kāhil was the one who shot an arrow at him which killed him. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī also has narrated this incident -at this particular point of the event of Karbalā'- in *al-Maqātil* (pg.77; Najaf edition), from Abū Mikhnaf who reported from Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid, who related from Ḥumaid bin Muslim.

“My nephew, be patient on what has come to you, and anticipate in this the best [from Allah], for Allah will unite you with your righteous ancestors, the Messenger of Allah, ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib, Ḥamzah and Ḥasan bin ‘Alī.¹ May Allah bless them all. O Allah, withhold rain from them and deprive them of the blessings of the earth. O Allah, if you are going to give them comfort till a time, then divide them into factions and make them sects following different ways. Let their rulers never be pleased with them. They summoned us so that they might support us, [but] they became hostile to us and killed us.”²

He waited for a large part of the day. Had the people wished to kill him, they could have done so. But [they were hesitant in killing him such that] each of them would take refuge in the other and a group among them would wish that the other group may spare it [the great sin]. Then Shamir shouted at the people: “Woe onto you! Why are you waiting for the man?! Kill him! May your mothers be deprived of you!” So he was attacked from every side.

[The Martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (‘a)]

Zur’ah bin Sharīk al-Tamīmī struck him on his palm³ and

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:450): “Abū Mikhnaf says in a report...” See also *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.77; Najaf edition). He narrated it from Ḥumaid bin Muslim on the authority of Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:451): “[Abū Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid has narrated to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim who said...” See *al-Irshād* (pg.241).

³ It was his left shoulder according to *al-Irshād* (pg.242) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.253). ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Muqarram narrates this report in *al-Maqtal* (pg.16) from the book *al-Ithāf bi-Ḥubb al-Ashrāf*.

struck [another blow] on his shoulder. Thus, he would [try to] stand, but would fall prostrate on his noble face. In such a condition, Sinān bin Anas al-Nakha'ī stabbed him with a spear such that he ['a] fell [to the ground]. No one would get closer to al-Ḥusain ['a] except that Sinān bin Anas would charge on him, fearing that the head of [al-Ḥusain ('a)] may fall in the hands of someone else. He then bent down, slaughtered him and separated his head.¹ Thereafter, he handed [the head] to Khauliyy bin Yazīd [al-Aṣbaḥī].

Al-Ḥusain ['a] was plundered of all that was on him. Qais bin al-Ash'ath² took his plush, while Ishāq bin Ḥaiwah al-Ḥaḍramī his shirt³. A man from the Banū Naḥshal took his sword. His slippers were taken by Aswad [al-Audī] and Baḥr bin Ka'b took his trousers⁴, leaving him uncovered.⁵

¹ Ibn al-Jawzī mentions five different views concerning the assassin of the Imam ('a) and [ultimately] prefers that it was Sinān. He then narrates that [one day] Sinān entered upon Ḥajjāj, so he asked him: "Are you the killer of al-Ḥusain?" "Yes", he replied. Ḥajjāj said: "Good news to you, as you will never be with him in the same abode." The people said that Ḥajjāj has never been heard saying a better word than this!" Ibn al-Jawzī further says: "[After the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain ('a)], people counted [the number of wounds] on his body and found that he was stabbed 33 times and 34 sword strikes [were evident on his body]. And they found on his clothes that he was shot 120 arrows."

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:453): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Ṣaq'ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim that...'"

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:455): "[Abū Mikhnaf reports:] 'Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid has related to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim...'"

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:452): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Ṣaq'ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim that...'"

⁵ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:451): "[Abū Mikhnaf reports:] 'Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid related to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim, who said...' Sibṭ al-Jawzī has clearly stated this fact in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.253)

saying: "They plundered all that was on him, even his trousers which was taken by Baḥr bin Ka'b al-Tamīmī." Al-Mufīd mentions this in *al-Irshād* (pg.241&242) adding that: "After this, the two hands of Baḥr bin Ka'b, may Allah curse him, used to become so dry in the summer that they were like sticks, and then soaking wet in the winter such that they sprinkled blood and pus, until Allah destroyed him."

AFTER THE MARTYRDOM OF AL-ḤUSAIN ('A)

[The Looting of the Tents]

The people turned to the womenfolk of al-Ḥusain ['a], plundering them, his belongings and provision, the [Yemeni] dye¹, the garments and the camels. [The people] would wrest the clothes of the women from their backs and take them.²

The people said to Sinān bin Anas: "You have killed Ḥusain bin 'Alī, son of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet of Allah (ṣ). You have killed a person from among the Arabs

¹ *Waras* is a yellow flower similar to saffron with a good fragrance. It used to be brought from Yemen. The Imam ('a) had taken it from the people who were carrying it to Yazīd [bin Mu'āwiyah] at Tan'im, at the beginning of his departure from Makkah. Among those who plundered the dye on the day of 'Āshūrā' were Ziyād bin Mālik al-Ḍabī'i, 'Imrān bin Khālid al-'Anzī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bajalī and 'Abdullah bin Qais al-Khaulānī. When Mukhtār was informed about them, he called them and they came to him. He told them: "O killers of the righteous! Assassins of the lord of the youths in Heaven! Do you not think that Allah has brought you [here] today [to take vengeance on you]?! The dye has, indeed, brought on you an ominous day!" He then took them to the market place and killed them. See *al-Ṭabarī* (6:58).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:453): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Ṣaq'ab bin Zuhair has related to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim who said..." Al-Ya'qūbī says in *al-Tārīkh* (2:232): "They looted his tents and robbed [the belongings of] his womenfolk." Al-Mufīd has also related this report in *al-Irshād* (pg. 242). Sibṭ al-Jawzī says in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.254): "They stripped his womenfolk and daughters of their clothes."

who posed the greatest threat [to the Banū Umayyah]. He had come to these people in order to remove them from the power. So go to your masters and ask your reward from them! Even if they were to give you their treasuries for killing al-Ḥusain, it would [still] be little!”

Sinān, who was a little crazy, came with his horse and stopped at the door of ‘Umar bin Sa‘d’s tent. He shouted at the top of his voice:

Fill my saddles with silver and gold, I have killed the lord of the chosen ones.

I have killed the best of men with regard to his mother and father, the best of them mentioned in lineage.¹

‘Umar bin Sa‘d said: “Bring him to me.” When [Sinān] was brought in, he threw [his] staff at him and then said: “O mad! I testify that you are mad and you have never regained sanity. How dare you speak like this! By Allah, if Ibn Ziyād had heard you [saying this], he would have killed you!”

Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan [attacked] the belongings of al-Ḥusain [‘a] with a group of foot soldiers. Then they came to ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain al-Aṣghar, who was stretched out on a bed. The foot soldiers were saying [to one another]: “Should we not kill this [man]?”

Ḥumaid bin Muslim reports: “[At this] I said: Glory be to Allah! Shall we kill boys [too]?! This is only a boy!”² ‘Umar

¹ See also *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.80; Najaf edition), *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.254; Najaf edition) and *Murūj al-Dhahab* (3:70).

² Ṭabarī writes in his *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg.630; Dār al-Ma‘ārif publications, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm): “‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain al-Aṣghar [i.e. the younger] was present in

bin Sa'd then arrived and said: "No one should disturb this sick boy or enter the tents of these women. Whoever has taken any of their belongings should return it to them." But none of them returned anything.

'Umar bin Sa'd then arrested 'Uqbah bin Sim'an and asked him: "Who are you?" He replied: "I am a slave." So he let him go. He was, thus, the only person among [al-Ḥusain's companion] to be saved.¹

Karbalā' with his father. He was then 23 years of age. He was ill, sleeping on the bed. When al-Ḥusain ['a] was killed, Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan said: 'Kill this [man]!' So a man from among his followers said: 'Glory be to Allah! Will you kill a young man, who is sick and did not fight?' 'Umar bin Sa'd then arrived and said: 'Do not disturb these women nor this sick man.'" *Al-Irshād* (pg.242) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.256&258; Najaf edition) have narrated this in similar vein.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Marqa' bin Thumāmah al-Asadī had spread his arrows on the ground and fighting while he was kneeling. A number of his clansmen came and said to him: "You are safe. Come over to us." So he went to them. When 'Umar bin Sa'd returned to Ibn Ziyād with the army and informed him, among other things, of the case of Marqa', Ibn Ziyād deported him to al-Zārah (5:454). Al-Zārah is a place in Oman, known for its severe heat. Those sentenced to deportation were being sent to this place. We mentioned earlier how Ḍaḥḥāk bin 'Abdullah al-Mushriqī al-Hamdānī left [the battlefield] with the permission of the Imam ('a), in accordance with the conditions he had put before him. [These were those who left the Imam ('a) for one reason or the other]. But as for those who were saved from being killed [on the day of 'Āshūrā'], Abū Mikhnaf says: "Alī bin al-Ḥusain was considered very young [by the enemy] (5:468). Ḥasan bin al-Ḥasan bin 'Alī and 'Umar bin al-Ḥasan bin 'Alī were [also] considered to be very young. So they were spared and were not killed (5:469). As for 'Abdullah bin al-Ḥasan, he was also killed (5:468). According to Abū al-Faraj in *al-Maqātil* (pg.79; Najaf

[The Trampling on al-Ḥusain's Body]

Thereafter, 'Umar bin Sa'd called out to his followers: "Who will volunteer [to go] to al-Ḥusain and make his horse trample on [his body]?" Ten [men] volunteered. Of these, Ishāq bin Ḥaiwah al-Ḥaḍramī and Aḥbash bin Mirthad al-Ḥaḍramī came forward and trampled on [the body of] al-Ḥusain ['a] with their horses until they had crushed his back and chest.¹

'Umar bin Sa'd then performed the funeral prayer for those of his followers who were killed, and buried them. He dispatched on the same day the head of [the Imam ('a)] with Khauliyy bin Yazīd to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād. When Khauliyy approached the palace, he found that the gate of

edition): "Ḥasan bin al-Ḥasan bin 'Alī was covered with wounds and was thus carried [away from the battlefield]."

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:415): Later Ishāq bin Ḥaiwah al-Ḥaḍramī was afflicted by leprosy. I [have also] heard that during another battle after this, Aḥbash bin Mirthad al-Ḥaḍramī was standing when an arrow, whose thrower was not known, came and splitted his heart, leaving him dead. Ibn Sa'd committed this atrocity because of the order of Ibn Ziyād in his letter to 'Umar: "If al-Ḥusain is killed, then make the horses trample his chest and back. For he is disobedient and an opponent; an oppressor and one who is set to sever [all] relations; I do not believe that this action [of trampling the body] after death does any harm [to the dead], but I have promised myself that I would do this to him, if I killed him!" The trampling [of the body of al-Ḥusain ('a)] has been reported also in *al-Maqātil* (pg.79) of Abū al-Faraj, *Murūj al-Dhahab* (3:72) of al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Irshād* (pg.242; Najaf edition) of al-Mufīd and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.254) of Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī. Ibn al-Jawzī further adds: "[After trampling the body,] they found a black spot on his back. So they inquired about it and were told: "He used to carry food on his back at night to the needy people of Madīnah."

the palace was closed. So he went to his house¹ and placed the head beneath a [large] bowl. In the early morning of the next day, he went to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād with the head.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:455): "Hishām reports: 'My father has related to me from Nawwār, daughter of Mālik bin 'Aqrab -who was a Ḥaḍramī, and the wife of Khauliyy, that she said: 'Khauliyy came with the head of al-Ḥusain ['a] and put it under a [large] vessel in the house. He then entered the room and went to sleep. I asked him: 'What are the news? What have you brought?' He replied: 'I have brought you endless wealth. This is the head of al-Ḥusain with you in this house!' So I said: 'Woe onto you! The people have come with gold and silver, and you have come with the head of the son of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ)?! Nay by Allah, I will never live with you [again]!' She further says: 'Then I rose from my bed and went out. I sat down looking [at the vessel]. By Allah, I was continuously seeing [a beam of] light, like a pillar, shining from the heavens down to the vessel. I also saw a white bird fluttering around it.'"

THE HOUSEHOLD OF AL-ḤUSAIN ('A) IN KŪFAH

'Umar bin Sa'd remained [there for the rest of] that day and the next day.¹ He ordered the heads of the remainder [of al-Ḥusain's followers who had been slain] to be cut off. He then sent seventy-two heads² with Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan, Qais bin Ash'ath, 'Amru bin al-Ḥajjāj and 'Azarah bin Qais. They journeyed until they brought them to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād.

['Umar] then ordered Ḥumaid bin Bukair al-Aḥmarī³ to summon the people for the journey to Kūfah. He took with him the daughters and sisters of al-Ḥusain ['a], the children, and 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain who was [still] sick.⁴

Qurrah bin Qais al-Tamīmī reports: "I will not forget Zainab, the daughter of Fāṭimah, when she passed by her brother al-Ḥusain ['a] lying dead. She was crying: 'O Muḥammad! O Muḥammad! The angels from the heavens

¹ See also *al-Irshād* (pg.243).

² See *al-Irshād* (pg.243). Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī says in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.256; Najaf): "There were ninety-two heads." But this is, perhaps, due to the misspelling of seventy (*sab'in*), for he himself asserts on page 259 of the same book: "There were more than seventy heads."

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:368): "He was one of the bodyguards of Ibn Ziyād. Ibn Ziyād had sent him with Shuraiḥ, the chief judge, to monitor [Shuraiḥ] when he sent the latter to see Hāni' and then to inform his clansmen that he was safe. Shuraiḥ later used to say: "I swear by Allah, had he not been with me, I would have conveyed to the followers of Hāni' what he had asked me to tell them."

⁴ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:453-455): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid narrated to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim that...'"

salute you! Here is al-Ḥusain lying in the plains, covered in [his] blood, with his limbs severed from his body. O Muḥammad! And your daughters have become captives, while your offspring have been killed and left for the east wind to blow on them.' By Allah, her wails made every friend and foe weep¹. The women lamented and struck their faces."²

[The Burial of al-Ḥusain ('a) and His Companions]

[Some of] the Banū Asad, who had been staying at al-Ghāḍiriyyah, buried al-Ḥusain ['a] and his followers, a day after they were killed.^{3,4}

[The Head of the Imam ('a) Before Ibn Ziyād]

Ḥumaid bin Muslim narrates: "Umar bin Sa'd summoned me and sent me to his family members to give them the good news of the victory of Allah granted to him and that he was in safety. So I proceeded until I came to his family and informed them about that.

There [I saw] Ibn Ziyād sitting, while the delegation that

¹ See *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.256).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:455): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Abū Zuhair al-'Absī related to me from Qurrah bin Qais al-Tamīmī that....'"

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:453-455): "[Abū Mikhnaf report:] 'Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid has narrated to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim who said...'"

⁴ See *al-Irshād* (pg.243&249) and *Murūj al-Dhahab* (3:72). However, the predominant opinion is [that the burial took place] three days after they were [martyred] and in the presence of Imam al-Sajjād ('a), as the the debate between 'Alī bin Ḥamzah and Imam al-Riḍā ('a) attests to this fact. See *Maqtal al-Ḥusain* (pg.415) of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Muqarram.

brought [the heads] had [just] entered on him. The [people of] Kindah, led by Qais bin al-Ash'ath, came forward with thirteen heads. The [people of] Hauzān, under Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan, came with twenty heads. Seventeen heads were brought by the [men from the] Tamīm. Banū Asad brought six heads. Madhḥij came with seven heads and the rest of the army came [in] with seven heads. This comes up to seventy heads.

[Ibn Ziyād] let them in and granted the [rest of] people the permission to enter. I was one of those who went in. I saw the head of al-Ḥusain ['a] placed in front of him, while he was poking at his front teeth with a staff. When Zayd bin Arqam¹ saw that he would not stop poking [the teeth], he said: 'Take your cane away from those [two] lips. For, by He beside whom there is no deity, I have seen the lips of the Prophet of Allah (ṣ) on those two lips, kissing them!' [With that] the old man broke into tears.

Ibn Ziyād said to him: 'May Allah make your two eyes weep! By Allah, if it was not for the fact that you are an old man who has become silly and your mind has left you, I would cut off your head.'

[Zayd bin Arqam] stood up and went out² saying: 'A slave has appointed [another] slave to rule and he is treating [the people] as his [own] property. O the community of the

¹ Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī narrates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.257) from Ibn Sīrīn on the authority of al-Bukhārī that: "When the head of al-Ḥusain ['a] was placed in front of Ibn Ziyād, it was put in a wash-bowl. [Ibn Ziyād] began striking [al-Ḥusain's] teeth with a cane. Anas bin Mālik was with him and so he started weeping and said: 'He is the most resemblance of them to the Prophet of Allah.'"

² See also *al-Irshād* (pg.243).

Arabs! [Know that] you have become slaves henceforth! You have killed the son of Fāṭimah and taken the son of Marjānah as [your] ruler! He will kill the righteous among you and enslave the wicked. You have thus accepted humiliation! And away from the people who have accepted humiliation!’¹

After he went out, I heard people saying: ‘By Allah, Zayd has said something that if Ibn Ziyād had heard, he would

¹ Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī has narrated this incident in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.257). He further adds: “[Zayd] then said: ‘O Ibn Ziyād! I am indeed going to tell you a word which is harsher for you than this: I have seen the Prophet of Allah (ṣ) seat al-Ḥasan on his right lap and al-Ḥusain on his left. Then he placed his hand on the crown of their heads and said: ‘O Allah, I commend to Your protection both of them and the righteous among the believers!’ So how have you treated the trust of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) with you, O Ibn Ziyād?!” Ibn al-Jawzī then says: “Hishām bin Muḥammad reports: ‘When the head [of al-Ḥusain] was put before Ibn Ziyād, his fortuneteller said to him: ‘Stand up and put your foot on the mouth of your adversary! So he stood and put his foot on [al-Ḥusain’s] mouth. Then he said to Zayd bin Arqam: ‘How do you find this?’ [Zayd] said: ‘By Allah, I have seen the Prophet of Allah (ṣ) keeping his mouth where you have kept your foot.’” Ibn al-Jawzī then writes: “Al-Sha’bī said: ‘Qais bin ‘Abbād was with Ibn Ziyād. So he asked [Qais]: ‘What is your opinion regarding me and al-Ḥusain?’ He said: ‘His grandfather, his father and mother will come and intercede for him on the Day of Judgement, while your grandfather, your father and mother will come and intercede for you!’ [At this,] Ibn Ziyād became angry and asked him to leave the gathering.” Ibn al-Jawzī relates from *al-Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa’d that he said: “Marjānah, the mother of Ibn Ziyād, said to his son [Ibn Ziyād]: ‘O vicious [man]! You have killed the son of the Prophet of Allah! By Allah, you will never see the heaven!” See *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.259). Ibn al-Athīr has also narrated this in *al-Kāmil* (4:265).

have killed him.'

[The Captives in the Court of Ibn Ziyād]

When [al-Ḥusain's] sisters, his womenfolk and children were brought before 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād, Zainab, the daughter of Fāṭimah, put on her mean clothes, pretending not to be herself. Her maids crowded around her and she sat.

'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād said: 'Who is that woman sitting?' She did not answer him. He repeated that three times, but she did not speak.

One of her maids [then] said: 'This is Zainab, daughter of Fāṭimah.'

'Ubaidullah said to her: 'All praise is due to Allah Who has disgraced you, killed you and revealed the false nature of your claims.'

[Zainab] replied: 'Praise be to Allah Who honoured us with Muḥammad (ṣ) and purified us with a thorough purification. It is not the way you have said. Only a sinner is disgraced [by Allah] and [only] the false nature of the wicked is revealed!'

He said: 'How do you consider Allah has treated the members of your household?!'

She replied: 'Death had been decreed for them and they went forward [bravely] to their resting places. Allah will gather you and them, and you will argue against each other and dispute with one another before him.'¹

¹ See *al-Irshād* (pg.243) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.258&259; Najaf edition).

[At this] Ibn Ziyād became enraged and he burnt with anger. He said to her: 'Allah has cured my soul from your tyrant [brother] and the rebellious members of your family!'

[Here] Zainab wept. She then said: 'By my life, you have killed my elders and destroyed my family. [You have] cut my branches and extracted my roots! If this is what cures you, then you have been cured!'

'Ubaidullah said: 'This is a woman who rhymes her speech (*sajjā'ah*).¹ By my life, your father used to speak in rhymed prose and was a poet.'

She answered: 'What has a woman to do with rhythmic construction of statements! I have [things] to distract me from that. But this is the agony of my heart that is flowing on my tongue.'²

Thereafter, 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād looked at 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain and asked him: 'What is your name?'

He replied: 'I am 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain.'

[Ibn Ziyād] said: 'Did Allah not kill 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain?!' [At this, Imam al-Sajjād] remained silent.

So Ibn Ziyād said to him: 'Why are you not speaking?'

[Al-Sajjād] said: 'I had a brother who was also called 'Alī.

¹ The word *sajjā'ah* and *sajā'ah* in the text above have been recorded by Ṭabarī as *shajā'ah* and *shujā'ah* (a brave woman). In *al-Irshād* (pg.244; Najaf edition), al-Mufīd has recorded these words in the same manner as we have brought them in the text, which is more appropriate and suitable as far as the context of the speech is concerned.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:456-457): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid has narrated to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim that...'"

The people killed him.'

Ibn Ziyād said: 'Allah has indeed killed him.' [Again] he remained quiet. So Ibn Ziyād said: 'Why are you not speaking?'

He said: 'Allah takes the souls at the time of their death.'¹
'No soul may die except with Allah's leave.'²

Ibn Ziyād said: 'By Allah, you are one of them [i.e. the rebellious].'
[Then he said to Mariyy bin Ma'ādh al-Aḥmarī:] 'Woe onto you! Kill him.'

His aunt, Zainab, clung on to him and said: 'O Ibn Ziyād! You have had enough of our blood! Have you still not quenched your thirst by our blood?! Is there anyone you have left among us?!' Then she embraced [al-Sajjād] and said: 'I beseech you by Allah -if you are a believer- that if you [intend to] kill him, then kill me with him.'

'Alī [bin al-Ḥusain] called on him: 'If you have a bond of kinship with them [i.e. these women], then ask a pious man to accompany them in a manner worthy of Islam.'

Ibn Ziyād looked at them and said: 'How wonderful is family relationship! By Allah, she likes me to kill her with him, if I were to kill him. Leave the boy.'^{3, 4}

¹ Qur'an, 39:42.

² Qur'an, 3:145.

³ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:457): "[Abū Mikhnaf reports:] 'As for Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid, he related to me from Ḥumaid bin Muslim who said...'"

⁴ Ṭabarī writes in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* that: "'Alī [bin al-Ḥusain al-Aṣghar] said: 'When I was brought before Ibn Ziyād, he asked me: 'What is your name?' I answered: 'Alī bin Husain.' He said: 'Did Allah not kill 'Alī?' I said: 'I had a brother who was older

than me and the people killed him!' He said: 'Rather Allah killed him.' I said: 'Allah takes the souls at the time of their death.' So he ordered me to be killed. Zainab bint 'Alī ['a] then said to him: 'O Ibn Ziyād! You have had enough of our blood! I beseech you by Allah -if you are a believer- that if you [intend to] kill him, then kill me with him.' So he left him." Ṭabarī then relates in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg.630; Dār al-Ma'ārif publications), quoting from *al-Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd (5:211-218), that he narrated from Mālik bin Ismā'il, who was relating from Sahl bin Shu'aib, who reported from his father Shu'aib, that Minhāl bin 'Amru said: "[One day] I went to see 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain ('a). I said to him: 'How are you this morning, may Allah guide you?' He said: 'I have not seen an old man like you in this city, who does not know our condition! But if you are not aware and do not know about it, then I will inform you. [He then said:] 'Our position among our people is that of the children of Israel amidst the people of Fir'aun. 'They were slaying their sons and sparing their women.' Abusing and cursing our master and leader ['Alī bin Abī Ṭālib] from the pulpits has become a means of gaining closeness to our enemy. The Quraish consider themselves superior than the Arabs because Muḥammad was from them, not because of any other reason; while the Arabs are acknowledging that for them. The Arabs [on their part] see themselves to be superior to the non-Arabs because Muḥammad is from them, and they have no other reason for their superiority except this; while the non-Arabs have accepted this from them. [Now], if the claim of the Arabs that they are superior to the non-Arabs is true, and if the claim of the Quraish that they enjoy superiority over the Arabs is [also] true, because [both the sides] argue that Muḥammad is from them, then we, the household of Muḥammad, certainly enjoy superiority over the Quraysh, because Muḥammad was from us. But [unfortunately] they began taking our right and do not acknowledge any right for us! This is our situation, if you do not know what our condition is.'" Ibn Sa'd says: "'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Yūnus narrated to us from Ja'far bin Muḥammad [al-Ṣādiq] on the authority of Sufyān that: "'Alī bin al-Ḥusain died at the age of 58 years.' This implies that 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain was with his father [in Karbalā'] when he was 23 or 24 years old. Therefore, the view

‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād then stuck the head of al-Ḥusain [(‘a) on a spear] and ordered it to be taken round [the city of] Kūfah.”¹

[The Stand of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Afīf]

[After the gathering was over], it was announced: “Offer your prayers in congregation.” So people gathered in the great mosque [of Kūfah]. Ibn Ziyād ascended the pulpit and said:

“Praise be to Allah Who has revealed the truth and the followers [of the truth], and has given victory to the commander of the faithful, Yazīd bin Mu’āwiyah, and his party, and has killed the liar son of the liar: al-Ḥusain bin ‘Alī, and his followers.”

Ibn Ziyād had not yet finished his speech when ‘Abdullah bin ‘Afīf al-Azdī al-Ghāmidī -who was among the Shī‘ah of ‘Alī -[lit.] may Allah honour his face, and who would hardly leave the great mosque as he used to [be busy] praying in it the whole day²- sprung up as he heard [these

that says that he was still a child at that time, who had not grown up, is in no way correct. Rather, he was sick at that time and thus could not fight. Besides this, how can he be a child at that time while Abū Ja’far Muḥammad bin ‘Alī [al-Bāqir] (‘a) had been born to him?” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.244) for the conversation that took place between al-Sajjād and Ibn Ziyād. Ibn al-Jawzī has briefly related the actual report [i.e. the conversation between Ibn Ziyād, Lady Zainab and Imam al-Sajjād] in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.258; Najaf edition).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:459): “Abū Mikhnaf says...”

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:458): “He lost his left eye in the battle of Jamal, fighting alongside ‘Alī (‘a). He was struck on his head in the battle of Ṣiffīn and a second strike on his eyebrow. He thus lost

words from] Ibn Ziyād. He said:

“The liar, son of the liar, is you and your father, and the one who appointed you as the governor [i.e. Yazīd] and his father. O son of Marjānah!¹ You kill the sons of Prophets and speak the speech of the men of truth?!”

Ibn Ziyād said: “Get him for me.”

The soldiers rushed towards him and arrested him. He gave the battle cry of al-Azd [saying]: “O the kind one!” So a number of young men from Azd quickly came forward, freed him and took him to his family.²

his other eye too.” See *al-Irshād* (pg.244) for the actual incident. Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī has also narrated the incident briefly in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.259).

¹ *Marjānah* is an Arabicized version of the Persian word *mehrgān*. She was the mother of Ibn Ziyād, who was a slave girl supposedly from Khuzistān.

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Mikhnaf al-Azdī was sitting. So he said: “Woe onto other than you! You have destroyed yourself and your clan!” (5:459). ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was the uncle of Abu Mikhnaf’s father, for he was the brother of Sa’īd, the grandfather of Abū Mikhnaf. He participated in the battle of Ṣiffīn and had also stood against the raids launched by Mu’āwiyah’s army, as reported in *al-Ṭabarī* (5:133). He was with ‘Abdullah bin al-Muṭī’ al-‘Adawiyy –the governor of Ibn al-Zubair in Kūfah– during the uprising of Mukhtār in 66 H. Al-‘Adawiyy had sent him with some horsemen to the cemetery of the people of Ṣāid (6:18). ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was also among the advisers to al-‘Adawiyy, who advised him to leave Kūfah and go to Ḥijāz (6:31). He disliked rising against Mukhtār, but when they insisted him to do so, he [ultimately] rose against him (6:44). He fought [the followers of Mukhtār [near] the Euphrates. He was covered with wounds and was carried away by the soldiers (6:51). [‘Abd al-Raḥmān] then joined Muṣ’ab bin al-Zubair in Baṣrah, along with those noblemen of Kūfah who had risen [against Mukhtār]

Ibn Ziyād then sent someone who brought [Ibn 'Afif] to him. He killed him and ordered him to be crucified in al-Sabkhah, so he was crucified there.¹

(6:55). Muṣ'ab sent him to Kūfah in 67 H to invite people to pay allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair and to persuade them to go [and join] Muṣ'ab (6:95). He remained with Muṣ'ab throughout his war against Mukhtār (6:104). In the year 74 H, during the rule of 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān, ['Abd al-Raḥmān] fought against the Azāriqah sect of the Khawārij, on the order of Bishr bin Marwān, the governor of Baṣrah (6:197). He pursued them up to Kāzarūn, where they [bravely] fought him. [Most of] his followers were put to flight except for a few of them. 'Abd al-Raḥmān continued to fight until he was killed in the year 75 H (6:212).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:458): "[Abū Mikhnaf relates that:] 'Ḥumaid bin Muslim said..."

THE HOUSEHOLD OF AL-ḤUSAIN ('A) IN SHĀM

Thereafter, Ibn Ziyād summoned Zaḥr bin Qais¹, with whom were Abū Bardah bin 'Auf al-Azdī and Ṭāriq bin Zabyān al-Azdī, and sent them with the head of al-Ḥusain ['a] and those of his companions to Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah.²

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: [Zaḥr bin Qais] al-Ju'fī al-Kindī. He was one of those who testified against Ḥujr bin 'Adiyy al-Kindī (5:270). He was with Ibn al-Muṭī' against Mukhtār in the year 66 H, and was sent against [Mukhtār] with a cavalry to the cemetery of the Kindah (6:18). He fought until he and his son were severely wounded near Furāt (6:51). In the year 67 H, he was with Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair in his battle against Mukhtār, and he was sent with a cavalry to the cemetery of the Murād (6:105). He stopped at a place where the blacksmiths used to work, near a point where animals were given out on hire (6:106). He was among those people of Iraq to whom 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān had written a letter in the year 71 H. [He was asking them to abandon Muṣ'ab and] they answered his call and betrayed him (6:156). In the year 74 H, he was leading the Madhḥij and Asad in the battle against the Khawārij (6:197). In 76 H, Ḥajjāj sent [Zaḥr] with 1,800 horsemen, who were riding on fine horses, to fight Shabīb, the Khārijī. They met and Shabīb fought him [bravely] until he wounded him and he fell to the ground. Zaḥr was then taken to Ḥajjāj while he was wounded (6:242). This is the last information we have about him. May Allah curse him.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:460): "Hishām says: "Abdullah bin Yazīd bin Rauḥ bin Zanbāgh al-Judhāmī related to me from his father, who narrated from al-Ghāz bin Rabī'ah al-Jirshī -who was from the Ḥimyar- that: 'By Allah, I was with Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah in Damascus when Zaḥr bin Qais entered upon Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah. Yazīd said to him: 'Woe upon you! What is behind you? What have you got?' He said: 'O commander of the faithful, I bring good news of Allah's victory and support! Al-Ḥusain bin

He then ordered for the womenfolk of al-Ḥusain and his children, so they got ready. Shackles were put on the neck of 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain ('a) on his order. Then he sent [the caravan] under the command of Muḥaffaz bin Tha'labah al-'Ā'idhī [al-Qarashī]¹ and Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan. So they set out with them [towards Shām] and entered upon Yazīd.²

[In the Court of Yazīd]

When the heads of al-Ḥusain and those of his family members and companions were placed in front of Yazīd, he recited:

The swords have splitted the heads of people who were dear to us, but they were most rebellious and unjust.^{3, 1}

'Alī ['a] came against us with eighteen men of his house and sixty of his followers. We went out to meet them and we asked them to [either] surrender and submit to the authority of the governor, 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād, or to fight. They chose to fight rather than to surrender. We attacked them as the sun rose and surrounded them on every side. Eventually, [our] swords took their toll of the heads of the people until we [killed] the last of them. Their bodies were [left] naked, their clothes were blood-stained and their faces thrown in the dust. The sun is melting their [bodies], the wind is scattering [dust] over them, and their visitors at Qayy Sabsab are eagles and vultures. See also *al-Irshād* (pg.254) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.260).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (3:465-477): Muḥaffaz participated in [different] battles since the year 13 H, including that of al-Qādisiyyah. The events of these battles have been narrated from him. Regarding his going to Shām with the captives, see *al-Irshād* (pg.245).

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:459): "Abū Mikhnaf reports..."

³ This is part of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* poems by Ḥuṣain bin Hamām al-Mariyy. See *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah* (1:193).

Yaḥyā bin al-Ḥakam², the brother of Marwān bin al-Ḥakam,

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:460): “[Abū Mikhnaf says:] ‘Ṣaq’ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from Qāsim bin ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, the slave of Yazīd that...’” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.246; Najaf edition), *Murūj al-Dhahab* (3:70) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.262).

Sibt bin al-Jawzī narrates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.261) from al-Zuharī that: “When the heads arrived, Yazīd was in his watch-tower at Jairūn. He recited:

When those litters appeared and those suns shone on the hill of Jairūn,

The crow croaked, so I said: whether you croak or not, I have [already] settled my debt with my adversary!

Ibn al-Jawzī further says: “What has commonly appeared in all narrations regarding what Yazīd said, is that: ‘When the head [of al-Ḥusain] was brought before him, he gathered the people of Shām and began poking at it with a cane as he recited the verses of Ibn al-Zab’arī:

Had my elders at Badr witnessed the anguish of Khazraj at the striking spears.

Indeed we have killed a person from their chiefs, and have equaled by it [the loss at] Badr and so it is equalled.’”

Ibn al-Jawzī says: “And al-Sha’bī has added [the following]:

The Hashimites played with the kingdom, for no news [from Allah] has come nor did revelation descend.

I will not be of the Khunduf, if I do not avenge the sons of Aḥmad for what they have done.”

Then [Ibn al-Jawzī] narrates on the authority of Qādhī Ibn Abī Ya’lā from Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal that he said: “If this is true of Yazīd, then he is indeed a sinner (*fasaqa*).” According to Mujāhid, Ibn Ḥanbal said: “...then he has indeed become a hypocrite (*nāfaqa*).”

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was with his brother, Marwān bin al-Ḥakam, in the battle of Jamal in Baṣrah. He fled defeated [from the battlefield] after he was wounded. He joined Mu’āwiyah in Shām in 37 H (5:535). [Yaḥyā] was the governor of Madīnah for his nephew, ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān, in the year 75 H (5:202). He remained in this position until the year 78 H, when ‘Abd al-Malik sent him on a military expedition (6:321). This is the last

recited [in objection]:

On the bank [of the river] lies a head which is closer in kinship to us than Ibn Ziyād, the slave with a false lineage.

The offspring of Sumayyah has largely increased, while the daughter of the Prophet of Allah remains without offspring!

Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah struck his hand against the chest of Yaḥyā bin al-Ḥakam and said: "Be quiet!"¹

Then he granted permission to the people, so they entered [the court]. The head [of al-Ḥusain] was placed before him. He had a cane with him by which he was poking at the teeth [of al-Ḥusain]. Abū Barazah al-Aslamī², one of the

information we have about him. Hishām bin 'Abd al-Malik had married [Yaḥyā's] daughter called Umm Ḥakam (7:67).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:460): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Abū Ja'far al-'Absī has related to me from Abū 'Amārah al-'Absī that..." See also *al-Irshād* (pg.246; Najaf edition) and *al-Aghānī* (12:74) of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī. Ibn al-Jawzī relates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.262) from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī that: "Yazīd hit the head of al-Ḥusain and the part which the Prophet of Allah (ṣ) used to kiss." Then Ḥasan al-Baṣrī recited:

The offspring of Sumayyah has largely increased, while the daughter of the Prophet of Allah remains without offspring.

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: He was together with the Messenger of Allah [ṣ] during the conquest of Makkah. He helped in killing 'Abdullah bin Khaṭal, the apostate whose blood had been declared by the Prophet of Allah [ṣ] as lawful [i.e. it was allowed for a Muslim to kill him] (3:60). Abū Barazah participated in the conquest of Egypt as well, under [the command of] 'Amru bin al-'Āṣṣ in the year 20 H (4:11). Ṭabarī also has narrated Abū Barazah's objection to Yazīd in his *Tārīkh* (5:390), from Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir ('a) on the authority of 'Ammār al-Duhanī. Al-Mas'ūdī writes in *Murūj al-Dhahab* (3:71) that [Abū Barazah] said: "Keep away [the] cane! By Allah, I have often seen the Prophet of Allah (ṣ)

companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), said:

“You are poking with your cane at the teeth of al-Ḥusain! Indeed you have placed your staff at a point where I have often seen the Prophet of Allah (ṣ) sucking it. O Yazīd! You will indeed come on the Day of Judgment while your intercessor will be Ibn Ziyād, whereas [al-Ḥusain] will come on the Day of Judgement with Muḥammad (ṣ) as his intercessor.” He then stood and went away.

Hind, the daughter of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Āmir bin Kuraiz¹, [the

placing his mouth on his and kissing it.” Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī also has narrated this report. He then quotes al-Balādhari saying: “The person who was present in Yazīd’s [court] and said these words was Anas bin Mālik.” Ibn al-Jawzī comments on this and says: “This is not correct, since Anas was in Kūfah with Ibn Ziyād as we mentioned.” See *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.262; Najaf edition).

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī*: Uthmān had sent him to Kabul from Sajistān and he conquered it in the year 24 H (4:244). He then dismissed him from [Kabul] and appointed him as the governor of Baṣrah in 29 H, after Abū Mūsā al-Ash’arī. [‘Abdullah] was then 25 years old, and he was the son of ‘Uthmān’s maternal uncle (4:264). [While he was the governor of Baṣrah], he [also] conquered Persia (4:265). In the year 31 H, he set out to Khurāsān and conquered Abrashhū, Ṭūs, Abīward, and Nassāhatī. He reached up to Sarakhs and signed a peace treaty with the people of Marw (4:300). He appointed Ziyād bin Sumayyah as his deputy over Baṣrah [while he was away] (4:301). In the year 23 H, Ibn ‘Āmir conquered Marw, Ṭāliqān, Fāryāb, Juzjān and Ṭakhāristān (4:309). He [also] conquered Herāt and Bādghīs (4:314). ‘Uthmān sought his advice in the year 34 H concerning those who revolted against him. Ibn ‘Āmir advised him to send them on military expeditions (4:333). In 35 H, ‘Uthmān wrote to him asking him to mobilize the people of Baṣrah to come to defend him. He read the letter to them and people rushed to his aid. When they reached al-Rabadhah, they received the news that [‘Uthmān] was killed, so they returned [to Baṣrah] (4:368). Ibn ‘Āmir was [still] the

wife of Yazid], heard their conversation. So she put on her veil and came out. She said [addressing Yazid]: “O commander of the faithful! Is this the head of al-Ḥusain, son of Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet of Allah?!”

He said: “Yes! So lament on him and mourn over the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah and the succor of the Quraish! Ibn Ziyād dealt with him hastily and killed him. May Allah kill him!”

governor of Baṣrah when ‘Uthmān was killed in 35 H (4:421). He [later] went to Ḥijāz and met Ṭalḥah, Zubair, Sa’id bin al-‘Āṣṣ, Walid bin ‘Uqbah and the rest of the Banū Umayyah. After long deliberations, they [all] decided to go to Baṣrah. Earlier they were about to go to Shām, but ‘Abdullah said to them: “The man in charge of Shām [i.e. Mu’āwiyah] will take care of that place. Come to Baṣrah, for there are traders in [Baṣrah] who are inclined towards Ṭalḥah.” ‘Āishah and Ḥafṣah [also] accepted their [decision], but ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar prevented the latter [from joining them]. Ibn ‘Āmir told [those who were ready to go with him]: “I have so-and-so much with me, so get yourselves prepared with it” (4:451). He was wounded in the battle of Jamal and fled to Shām (4:536). He was the one sent by Mu’āwiyah to Madāin to sign the peace treaty with al-Ḥasan (‘a) (5:159). Mu’āwiyah reinstated him as the governor of Baṣrah (5:212). Mu’āwiyah married him his daughter, Hind bint Mu’āwiyah. ‘Abdullah [once] debased Ziyād because of his lineage. So Mu’āwiyah became angry on him, but Yazid pleaded with [Mu’āwiyah] on his behalf (5:214). Although Ṭabarī does not mention when [exactly] Yazid married [Ibn ‘Āmir’s] daughter, Hind, it appears that the marriage must have taken place when [Ibn ‘Āmir] took the hand of Yazid’s sister, Hind. [Hind, daughter of Ibn ‘Āmir], bore ‘Abdullah for Yazid. She used to be known as Umm Kulthūm (5:500). In the year 64 H, after Yazid died and Ibn Ziyad fled from Baṣrah, a group from the people of Baṣrah chose [Ibn Amir’s] son, ‘Abd al-Malik bin ‘Abdullah bin ‘Āmir, as their governor. He held the position for a month, before the governorship of Ibn al-Zubair (5:527).

Yaḥyā bin al-Ḥakam said: "You will be distanced from Muḥammad on the Day of Resurrection. I shall never work together with you again." Then he stood up and went away.¹

[Before] Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah took his place, he summoned the noblemen of Shām and seated them around him. Then he called in 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain and the children and womenfolk of al-Ḥusain ['a]. They were brought in, while the people were looking [at them]. They were seated in front of [Yazīd]. When he saw their disheveled state, he said: "May Allah disgrace Ibn Marjānah! If there was any relation or kinship between you and him, he would not have done this to you, nor would he have sent you in this condition!"

Yazīd then said to 'Alī [bin al-Ḥusain ('a)]: "O 'Alī! Your father cut the bond of kinship with me and showed ignorance of my rights and contested my leadership. So Allah treated him in the way you have seen."

'Alī ['a] replied: "No affliction visits the earth or yourselves but it is in a book before We bring it about."²

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:465): "[Abū Mikhnaf says:] 'Abū Ḥamzah al-Thimālī narrated to me from Qāsim bin Bukhait, on the authority of 'Ubaidullah al-Thimālī that..."

² Qur'an, 57:22. Abū al-Faraj relates in *al-Maqātil* (pg.80) the remaining part of the verse also: "...That is indeed easy for Allah, so that you may not grieve for what escapes you, nor exult for what comes your way, and Allah does not like any swaggering braggart." Ibn al-Jawzī has narrated the whole verse and says: "'Alī bin al-Ḥusain and the women were tied up in ropes. So 'Alī called out Yazīd: 'O Yazīd! What will the Prophet of Allah think [of you] if he was to see us [in this state], tied up in ropes and uncovered on the hump of the camels?!' There was no one among the people [who heard this] except that he wept." See *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.262).

So Yazīd said to him: “Whatever affliction that may visit you is because of what your hands have earned, though He excuses many [an offense].”^{1, 2}

Fāṭimah, daughter of ‘Alī³ [‘a] says: “When we were seated before Yazīd bin Mu’āwiyah, a man with a red face from the people of Shām stood up and said: “O commander of the faithful! Give me this one as a gift”, and he meant me. I shuddered and became afraid, thinking that it is allowed for them to do that. So I caught hold of the garment of my sister, Zainab. She was [then] older and more matured than I was, and she knew that that would not happen. She said to [the man]: “You are a liar –by Allah- and have showed your lowliness! Such a thing is neither for you [to decide] nor for him.”

Yazīd was enraged and said [to Zainab]: “By Allah, you are a liar! That is for me [to decide]. If I wish to do that, I can do it!”

She said: “No by Allah! Allah has not given you that [right], unless if you were to leave our faith and profess belief in another religion.”

[Hearing this] Yazīd became distraught with anger and was agitated. He said: “Are you saying this in front of me? It is

¹ Qur’an, 42:30. According to Abū al-Faraj: “Yazīd first recited this verse, and thereafter Imam al-Sajjād (‘a) replied him with the verse 57 of Sūrat al-Ḥadīd [Ch.57].” This seems to be more appropriate.

² *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:461): “Abū Mikhnaf says...” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.246; Najaf edition).

³ This is how it has appeared in the text. However, al-Mufīd in *al-Irshād* (pg.246) and Ibn al-Jawzī in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.264) say: “[Fāṭimah,] daughter of al-Ḥusain...”

your father and brother who have left the religion!”

She said: “It is through the religion of Allah and the religion of my father, brother and my grandfather that you, your father and grandfather have been guided aright.”

Yazid said: “You are lying, O enemy of Allah!”

[Zainab] said: “You are a ruler who holds power, [yet] you vilify unjustly and you have become oppressive with your authority!”

[Yazīd was ashamed and] thus became silent.

The Syrian man repeated [his request] and said: “O commander of the faithful! Give me this slave girl.”

[Yazīd] shouted: “Go away! May Allah grant you death!”¹

He then ordered the women to be lodged in a separate house, with them [he sent] ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusain and [they were provided with] all that they needed. So they came out [of the court] and entered [that house]. There was no woman from the family of Mu’āwiyah except that she came to receive them, weeping and bewailing al-Ḥusain [‘a]. They mourned him for three days.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:390) narrates this report from Imam al-Bāqir (‘a) on the authority of ‘Ammār al-Duhānī.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF AL-ḤUSAIN ('A) IN MADĪNAH

When they intended to return, Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah said: "O Nu'mān bin Bashīr! Prepare for them whatever they need and send a righteous and trustworthy person from among the people of Shām with them. [Also] send some horsemen and helpers with him to guide them towards Madīnah.

[Nu'mān] thus went with them. He used to advance with them at night. [During the journey], the [family of al-Ḥusain ('a)] moved ahead of him so that they should never be out of his sight. When they stopped, he would go aside from them, and he and his followers would separate around them like a group of guards over them. They would keep away from them such that if any person from the [group] wanted to wash or perform a need, he would not be ashamed. He continued to stop [the caravan] on the way in this manner, being kind to them and looking after them until they entered Madīnah.¹

[The Arrival in Madīnah]

When the news of the death of al-Ḥusain ['a] reached the people of Madīnah, Umm Luqmān², the daughter of 'Aqīl

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:461): "[Abū Mikhnaf relates this] from Fāṭimah on the authority of Ḥārith bin Ka'b..." See also *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (pg.80) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.264).

² Shaikh al-Mufīd says in *al-Irshād* (pg.248): "Umm Luqmān, the daughter of 'Aqīl bin Abī Ṭālib, may Allah have mercy on them, came out crying when she heard the news of the death of al-Ḥusain ('a). Her head was uncovered as she came out with her

bin Abī Ṭālib, came out together with the [other] women - while her head was unveiled and she was covering herself with her garment. She recited:

What would you say if the Prophet asked you: What have you done while you are the last of the nations.

With my offspring and my family after my departure? Some of them have become prisoners, and some other stained with blood.¹

When 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Abī Ṭālib² heard about the

sisters: Umm Hānī, Asmā', Ramlah and Zainab, daughters of 'Aqīl bin Abī Ṭālib, may Allah have mercy on them. She wept for her [relatives] slain on the bank [of the Euphrates], saying..." Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī has also related this in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.267) from Zainab bint 'Alī on the authority of al-Wāqidī.

¹ Ṭabarī has related these verses from Imam al-Bāqir ('a) on the authority of 'Ammār al-Duhanī. [Al-Bāqir says:] "He prepared them [for the journey] and took them to Madīnah. When they entered [Madīnah], a woman from the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib came out with dishevelled hair and with the sleeve [of her garment] on her head. She approached them wailing and saying: What will you answer if the Prophet asked you, what have you done, while you were the last of the nations.

To my progeny and household after my death? from them are captives and others are covered with their blood.

This was not the recompense to which I directed you, that after me you deal with my kin with such evil.

² *Al-Ṭabarī*: He is the one who narrated the incident of Ḥalimah al-Sa'diyyah (2:158). In the year 8 H, when the soldiers returned from the battle of Mu'tah [and his father, Ja'far, had been martyred], the Messenger of Allah [ṣ] asked [the family of 'Abdullah to bring him. So they brought him to the Prophet and] he took him in his hands (3:42). 'Abdullah was the one who suggested to 'Alī ('a) to dismiss Qais bin Sa'd from the governorship of Egypt and to appoint over it his half brother from

death of his two sons [Muḥammad and ‘Aun] along with al-Ḥusain [‘a], people [began] coming up to him to condole him. He turned to those sitting around him and said: “All praise is due to Allah -the Almighty and the Majestic- for [every misfortune, even for the] martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (‘a). If my two hands could not assist al-Ḥusain [‘a], then my two sons have [at least] helped him. By Allah, had I been with him, I would have loved not to part from him until I am killed with him. By Allah, what makes me too glad to give up [both of] them and makes easy for me to bear their loss, is [the fact] that they were killed together with my brother and cousin, while they supported him and persevered with him.”^{1, 2}

his mother’s side, Muḥammad bin ‘Abī Bakr. The Imam (‘a) accepted his suggestion (4:36). ‘Abdullah was with ‘Alī (‘a) in Ṣiffīn (5:61). He, together with al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, undertook the arrangement for the burial of Imam ‘Alī (‘a). Then he returned with them to Madīnah (5:165). We have given his biography when we mentioned his letter to al-Ḥusain from Makkah through his [two] sons, Muḥammad and ‘Aun.

¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:466): “[Abū Mikhnaf says that I narrate this] from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin ‘Ubaid Abū al-Kanūd, on the authority of Sulaimān bin Abī Rāshid...”

² Hishām reports: “Awānah bin al-Ḥakam has related to me saying: ‘When ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād killed Ḥusain bin ‘Alī, he summoned ‘Abd al-Malik bin Abī Ḥārith al-Salamī and said: ‘Go to Madīnah and meet ‘Amru bin Sa’id bin al-‘Āṣṣ -who was then the governor of Madīnah- and give him the news of the death of al-Ḥusain. None other than you should inform him of the news. Do not fall ill. If your mount happened to tire, buy another one.’ He [also] gave him some money (*danānīr*). ‘Abd al-Malik says: ‘So I came to Madīnah and went to see ‘Amru bin Sa’id. He said: ‘What is the news?’ I said: ‘That which would please the governor! Al-Ḥusain bin ‘Alī has been killed!’ He said: ‘Then

announce his death!' So I announced it. I had never heard before the like of the wails of the women of the Hashimite from their houses, mourning al-Ḥusain. 'Amru bin Sa'id laughed [at this] and said: The women of the Banū Ziyād raised a great lament like the lamentation of our women, mourning [after the battle] of al-Arnab.* 'Amrū then ascended the pulpit and informed the people about his death." See also *al-Irshād* (pg.247; Najaf edition).

[In another report] Hishām says: "Awānah related to me that: 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyād said to 'Umar bin Sa'd: 'O 'Umar! Where is the letter that I wrote to you [instructing] you to kill al-Ḥusain?' He said: 'I carried out your order, [but] the letter is lost.' 'You must bring it!' insisted Ibn Ziyād. 'It is lost', 'Umar replied. 'By Allah, you must bring it to me,' he repeated. 'Umar said, 'By Allah, it has been left in Madīnah to be read for the olden women of Quraish, as an apology to them! By Allah, I have been sincere [enough] with you with regard to the issue of al-Ḥusain, such that if I had acted with such loyalty to my own father, Sa'd bin Abī Waqqāṣ, I would have discharged my duty towards him.' [Here] 'Uthmān bin Ziyād, the brother of 'Ubaidullah, says: 'By Allah, he has said the truth. I wish I would have seen the mark of slavery on every man of the Banū Ziyād till the Day of Resurrection, but that al-Ḥusain should not have been killed!"

Hishām says: "Amrū bin Ḥaizūm al-Kalbī narrated to me from his father that he heard a voice calling out:

O men who ignorantly killed al-Ḥusain, hear the news of punishment and chastisement.

All the people of heaven, prophets, angels and their likes, are cursing you.

You have been cursed by the tongue of the son of Dāwūd, and [that] of Mūsā and [that] of the bearer of the Injīl.

See also *al-Irshād* (pg.248) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.270; Najaf edition).

* The verse is of 'Umar bin Mu'id Yakrub al-Zubaidī. They had waged a battle against the Banū Ziyād in retaliation to the battle fought by the latter against the Banū Zubaid.

Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī has briefly narrated this report in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.266). He also narrates from al-Sha'bi that: "Marwān bin al-

Ḥakam was in Madīnah. So [Abd al-Malik] took the head [of al-Ḥusain] and placed it before [Marwān]. He touched the tip of his nose and said: 'How excellent is [the touch of] your coldness for the hands, and [the sight] of redness on [your] cheeks!' He then said: "By Allah! It is as if I am looking at the days of 'Uthmān!" Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd writes in his *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (4:72): "The correct version is that: Ubaidullah bin Ziyād wrote to 'Amru bin Sa'id bin al-'Āṣṣ, giving him the good news of al-Ḥusain's death. 'Amru read his letter from the pulpit and recited the verses [mentioned above]. He pointed towards the grave of the Prophet and said: 'Today for the day of Badr.' So a group of Anṣār reproached him for [saying] that." This has also been mentioned by Abū 'Ubaidah in *al-Mathālib*.



THE FIRST VISITOR OF AL-HUSAIN ('A) FROM KūFAH

[After the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain] ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād inquired about the noblemen of Kūfah. He did not see ‘Ubaidullah bin al-Ḥurr [al-Ju’fī]. After a couple of days, Ibn Ḥurr came to Ibn Ziyād. So he asked: “Where were you, O son of Ḥurr?”

He replied: “I was sick.”

[Ibn Ziyād] said: “Sick in soul or in body?!”

He said: “As for my heart, it has not ailed. With regard to my body, Allah has granted me soundness in health!”

Ibn Ziyād said to him: “You are a liar. Rather you were with our enemy.”

He said: “If I was with your enemy, it would have been known. The place of someone like me is never unknown.”

Ibn Ziyād [then] became inattentive of him for a moment. So Ibn Ḥurr [availed the opportunity and] took his way out and mounted his horse. [After sometime] Ibn Ziyād said: “Where is Ibn al-Ḥurr?”

“He has just left”, the people answered.

Ibn Ziyād said: “Get him for me.”

So [his] guards went after him and said to him: “The governor is calling you!”

[Ibn al-Ḥurr] drove his horse and then said: “Tell him that, by Allah, I will never submit to his obedience again!”

Then he left [Kūfah] and went to Karbalā’. He recited in this regard:

A treacherous governor, son of a traitor says: why did you not fight the martyr, son of Fāṭimah?

I regret that I did not help him, a soul which is not rightly directed [always] regrets.

Since I was not among his supporters, I am in a grief that will not part me!

May Allah make the souls -that determinedly helped him- to drink from the everlasting shower [of his mercy].

[Now] that I am standing by their graves and places, I am torn apart from within and my eyes are tearful.

By my life, they were valiant amidst the tumult, hurrying towards the battle and defending [al-Ḥusain] like lions.

[Now] that they have been killed, every pious soul on the earth has become despondent.

None has seen [a people] better than them, at death [they were] like chiefs and blooming flowers.

[O Ibn Ziyād] you kill them unjustly and then expect our love; leave this plan which is not favourable for us.

By my life, you have rubbed our nose in the ground by killing them, what a large number of man and woman from us will take revenge from you.

Many a time I intend to advance with an army against a group which has unjustly deviated from the truth.

So restrain yourselves or else I will drive you away with the support of an army, severer than the [forces] of the

Dailamites.^{1,2}

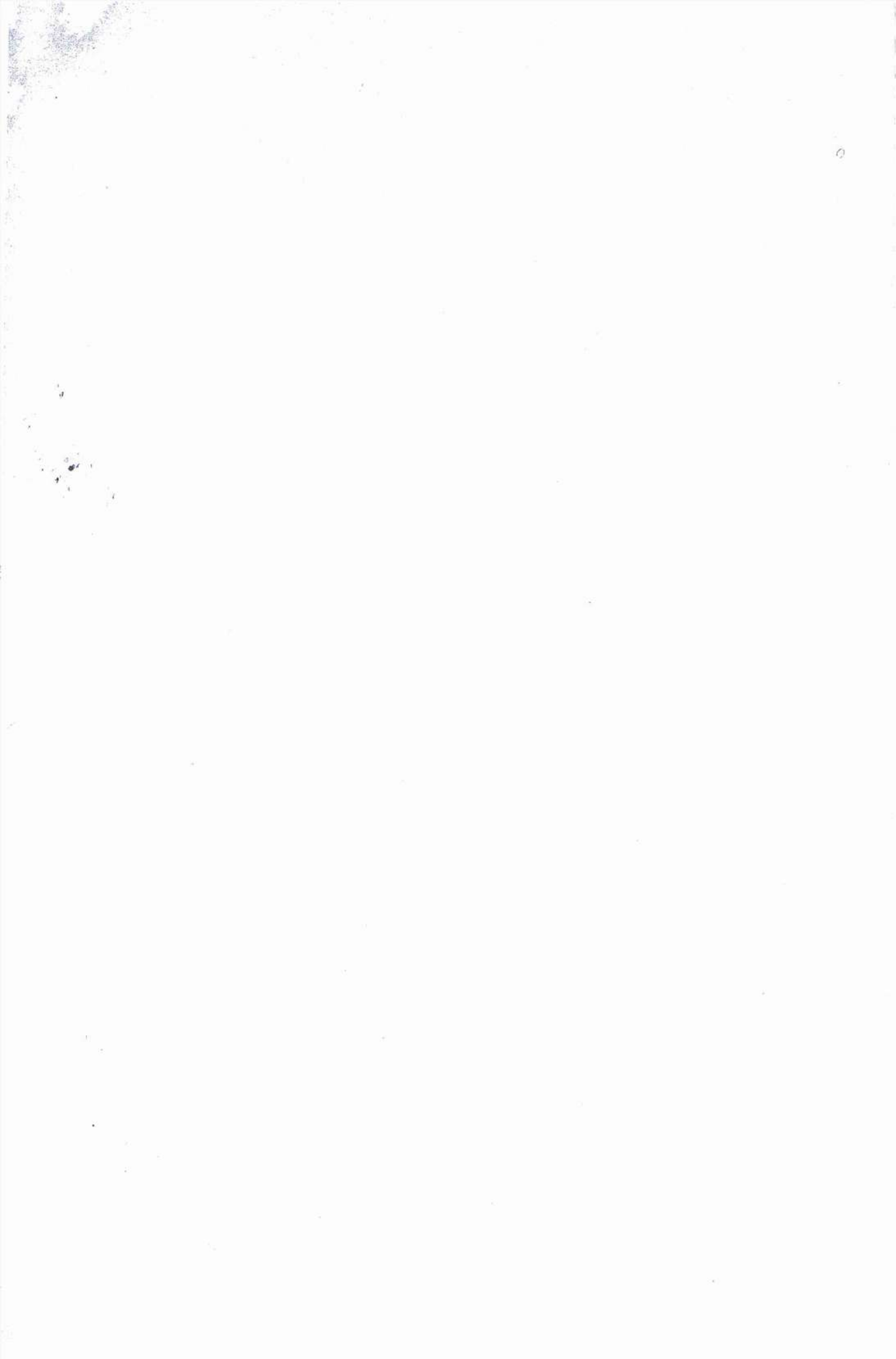
¹ *Al-Ṭabarī* (5:469): “[Abū Mikhnaf says:] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab al-Azdī narrated to me that...”

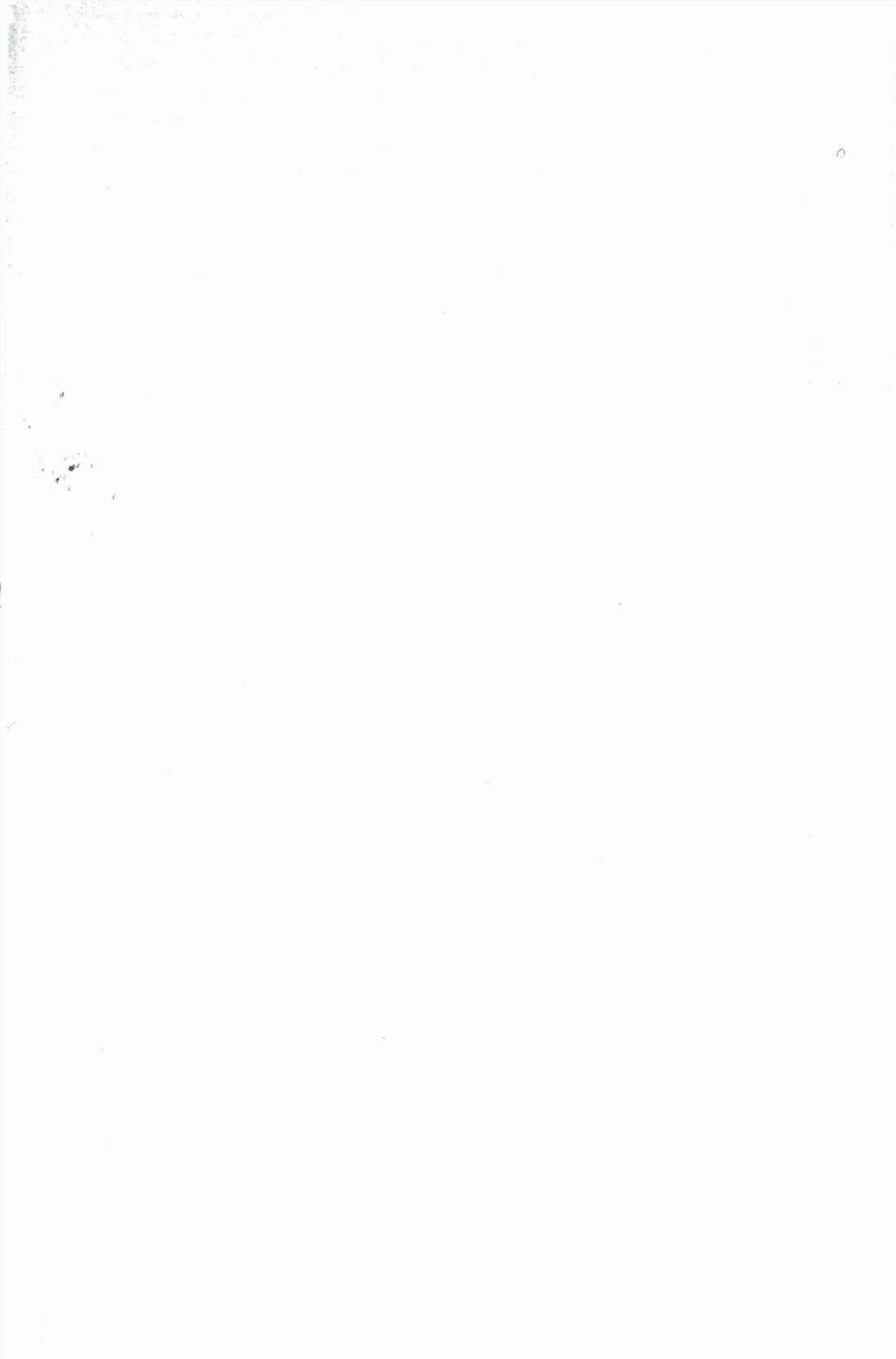
² *Al-Ṭabarī*: The reason Ibn al-Ḥurr brings in the example of the Dailamites is because of the valour they exhibited during the battles of resistance, after the fall of the Sasanid dynasty. He was a follower of ‘Uthmān. When [‘Uthmān] was assassinated, Ibn al-Ḥurr left Kūfah and went to Mu‘āwiyah. He remained there until the [martyrdom] of ‘Alī (‘a) (5:128). Thereafter, he returned to Kūfah. When Ḥujr [bin ‘Adiyy] was arrested, Ibn al-Ḥurr wished that if only five to ten men had helped him, he could have saved Ḥujr and his companions (5:271). When al-Ḥusain (‘a) invited him to join him, he said: “By Allah, I only left Kūfah out of dislike that you may enter it while I am there.” Al-Ḥusain (‘a) said: “If you are not [intending] to help us, then [at least] fear Allah in that you should be among those who fight us; for by Allah, one who hears our call [for help] but does not come to our help, is, indeed, going to perish” (5:407). After the death of Yazīd and the flight of Ibn Ziyād and during the uprising of Mukhtār, Ibn al-Ḥurr went to Madāin with 700 horsemen, collecting money [from the people]. Mukhtār detained his wife in Kūfah and told her: “I am going to kill his companions” (5:129). Ibn al-Ḥurr later joined Muṣ‘ab bin al-Zubair and fought against Mukhtār (5:105). Ibn al-Ḥurr is the one who suggested to Muṣ‘ab, after Mukhtār was killed, to kill the non-Arabs among [Mukhtār’s] followers and leave the Arabs. And Muṣ‘ab did so (5:116). Then, Muṣ‘ab feared him for his own life, so he imprisoned him. A group from the Madhḥij interceded with him on his behalf, so he freed him. Thereafter, [Ibn al-Ḥurr] rose against him (5:131). He later joined ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān. The latter sent him to Kūfah at a time when [the city] was under the governor of Ibn al-Zubair. So [Ibn al-Ḥurr] fought him in the year 68 H and killed him (5:135). We made some mention of his life when giving the account of his meeting with the Imam (‘a) at Qaṣr Banī Muqatil, on the way to Karbalā’.

FINAL REMARKS

With the mercy of Allah, the Most High, we have come to the end of the reports about Imam al-Ḥusain ('a) which have appeared in *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, and which [Ṭabarī narrated] on the authority of Hishām al-Kalbī from Abū Mikhnaf, who in turn related [these reports] from his [chain of] narrators. We also edited the reports, bringing in our comments and remarks. The primary source for our comments happened to be, again, *Tarikh al-Ṭabarī*, except for the information that we could not find in it.

All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the Worlds.





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The Ahl-ul-Bayt (a.s) World Assembly

