IMĀM ḤUSAYN
The Savior of Islam



Compiled by
SAYYID MUHAMMAD RIZVI

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THE SAVIOR OF ISLAM

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Contents

1. **Ḥusayn - The Heir of the Divine Guides** 1
   Sayyid Muhammad Rizvi

2. **The Martyr - An Analysis of the Concept of Martyrdom in Islam** 7
   Murtaḍā Muṭahhari

3. **The Martyrs of Karbala** 41
   Sayyid Saeed Akhtar Rizvi

4. **The Family of Imām Ḥusayn** 52
   Sayyid Saeed Akhtar Rizvi

5. **Hind or Uraynab - A Good Example of Umayyad Propaganda** 56
   Sayyid Saeed Akhtar Rizvi

6. **Selected Sayings and Letters of Imām Ḥusayn** 68
   Sayyid Muhammad Rizvi

7. **Imām al-Ḥusayn bin ʿAli** 74
   Shaykh al-Mufīd

TRANSLITERATION

Symbol	Transliteration
ء	’
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	‘
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w
ه	h
ي	y
ة	ah

Long Vowels

ا	ā
و	ū
ي	ī

Short Vowels

ـَ	a
ـُ	u
ـِ	i

ḤUSAYN
The Heir of the Divine Guides

Sayyid Muhammad Rizvi

Who?

Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAli and Fāṭimah; the grandson of Muḥammad; the brother of Ḥasan; the third rightful successor of the Prophet of Islam.

Ḥusayn, the heir of Adam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsa, ʿĪsa, Muḥammad and ʿAli; the embodiment of the Divine forces against the Satanic forces.[1] Ḥusayn the symbol of true servant of Allāh.

Ḥusayn and his brother Ḥasan have been introduced by the Prophet of Islam as the flowers of the Prophet, the Imāms and leaders of the Muslims whether they fight or make peace (with the enemy), and the leaders of the young men of the Paradise. The Messenger of Allāh said: "Ḥusayn is from me and I am from Ḥusayn."

1 The concept of Imām Ḥusayn being the heir of all the divine guides has been derived from *ziyārat wārithah*, taught by Imām Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq (a.s.) to Ṣafwān. See *Mafātīhu 'l-jinān* of Shaykh ʿAbbās Qummi.

What did he do?

Ḥusayn refused to pledge allegiance to Yazīd.

He left Madinah, his birth-place, the land which has in it the graves of his grandfather, mother and brother; the city where he had lived most of his life; the city to which are attached his memories of happy and sorrowful days.

He went to Mecca. But there also he found no refuge and had to leave on day the of the *ḥajj* ceremony.

But why?! Why leave Mecca in midst of the great ceremony of *ḥajj*?! Mecca was no more secure for Ḥusayn. But who can dare to harm anyone in Mecca?! Does not Allāh say, " ... *and whoever enters it shall be secure*"?[2] Yes, Yazīd dared to do so. Yazīd had sent some mercenaries as pilgrims with the mission to murder Imām Ḥusayn even if they found him inside the Sacred Mosque. The mercenaries carried arms under their *iḥrām*. For the sake of the sacredness of the House of Allāh, Imām Ḥusayn did not like that his blood be spilled there; so he left Mecca.

He went to Karbala - Karbala the arena of the encounter between the person who was representing all the divine messengers of Allāh and the person who was representing Shayṭān and his forces.

On the day of ʻĀshūrah, Ḥusayn preferred martyrdom against a life under a tyrant; he preferred a glorious death against a life in which he could have attained the highest worldly position had he pledged allegiance to Yazīd.

When?

He left Madinah on the 28 Rajab 60 A.H.
He reached Mecca on the 3 Shaʻbān 60 A.H.

2 The Qur'ān 3:97.

He left Mecca on the 8 Dhi 'l-ḥijjah 60/10 September 680.
He reached Karbala on the 2 Muḥarram 61/2 October 680.
He ascended to the highest stage of perfection by attaining martyrdom on the day of ʻĀshūrah, the 10th of Muḥarram 61 A.H./10 October 680.

Against whom?

Against Yazīd. No, not only Yazīd. Yazīd was the heir of Cain, the heir of Nimrod, the heir of Firʻawn, the heir of satanic agents who rejected ʻĪsa, the heir of Abu Lahab, the heir of Abu Sufyān, the heir of Muʻāwiyah. Yazīd was representing the forces of Shayṭān.

Yazīd the son of Muʻāwiyah, the grandson of Abu Sufyān and Hind. Abu Sufyān was the chief of the forces of Meccan polytheists who continuously tried to sabotage the message and the religion brought by Muḥammad (upon whom be peace). Only after the fall of Mecca did Abu Sufyān apparently accept, nay surrender, to Islam. Even after accepting Islam he continued to distort Islam from inside. This can be clearly seen by what he said when ʻUthmān became caliph. He said: "O Children of Umayyah! Now that this kingdom has come to you, play with it as the children play with a ball and pass it from one to another of your clan. This kingdom is a reality; and we do not know whether or not there is any paradise and hell."[3] Then he went to Uḥud and kicked at the grave of Ḥamzah, the uncle of the Prophet, and said: "O Abu Yaʻlā! See that the kingdom for which you were fighting against us has at last come to us."[4]

Yazīd's grandmother Hind was a well-known prostitute of pre-Islamic era; she is famous in Islamic history for her barbarism: In the battle of Uḥud she promised to reward her slave, Wahshi, if he killed Muḥammad or Ḥamzah or ʻAli. Wahshi killed Ḥamzah. When Hind came to know that Ḥamzah has been killed, she came to the body of Ḥamzah, had his liver taken out and chewed it and

3 Ibn ʻAbdi 'l-Barr, *al-Istīʻāb fi maʻrifati 'ṣ-ṣaḥābah*, vol. IV, Cairo (in four volumes) n.d., p. 1679.

4 Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadid, *Sharh Nahju 'l-Balāghah*, vol. 16, Cairo 1959, p. 136.

quenched her thrist for the vengeance of her father who was killed by Ḥamzah in a previous battle known as Badr. She even mutilated Ḥamzah's body by cutting his ears and nose.

Yazīd was bluntly refusing to believe in the Prophet. He clearly stated his belief in his poem as follows: "Banī Hāshim had staged a play to obtain kingdom, actually there was neither any news from God nor any revelation."[5] Neither did he believe in the day of judgement as he said in a poem: "O my beloved! do not believe in meeting me after death, because what they have told you about our being raised after death for judgement is only a fiction which makes the heart forget the pleasures of this real world."[6]

He openly joked about Islamic prayers; showed his disrespect to religion by putting the robes of religious scholars on dogs and monkeys. Gambling and playing with his pets were his favorite pastimes. He spent all his time in drinking anywhere and everywhere without any hesitation; he had no respect for any woman. Even the prohibited degrees like stepmother, sister, aunt and daughter were just like any other woman in his eyes.

With whom?

Ḥusayn went to Karbala with his wives, children, brothers, sisters and nephews; and many friends, some with their families, joined him in the way from Mecca to Karbala. There were around 120 male members, ranging from a child of six months old to an old *mujāhid* of eighty years old, in Ḥusayn's caravan. All of them sacrificed their lives for Islam.

But why take the womenfolk in such a situation? Because it was the sisters of Imām Ḥusayn and the other women of his family who carried his message to all the cities and villages between Kufa and Damascus. They were taken from Karbala to Kufa and from there

5 Sibṭ ibna 'l-Jauzi, *Tadhkirah Khawāṣi 'l-Ummah*, Tehran n.d., p. 261. aṭ-Ṭabari, Ibn Jarīr; *Tārīkhu 'l-Umam wa 'l-Mulūk*, vol. 13, Leiden 1890, p. 2174.
6 Sibṭ ibna 'l-Jauzi, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

to Damascus as prisoners by the mercenaries of Yazīd. If it would not have been for Zaynab, Umm Kulthūm and others, the message of Imām Ḥusayn and his cause would have been buried in Karbala or, at the least, surpressed for a long time, and consequently delaying the results of this supreme sacrifice.

Why?

Could a person like Ḥusayn pledge allegiance to a person like Yazīd?! No! Never! Although every one in the Islamic countries had already pledged allegiance to Yazīd, still the rejection by Ḥusayn was a matter of vital importance even in the eyes of Yazīd. Acceptance of the whole Muslim community was of no value without the acceptance of Ḥusayn. Not just because Ḥusayn was the grandson of the Prophet, but because he, as a vicegerent of Allāh on this earth, represented Ḥasan, ʻAli, Prophet Muḥammad, ʻĪsa, Mūsa, Ibrāhīm, Nūḥ, and Adam. Giving his hand in the hand of Yazīd, that is pledging allegiance to him, would be as if ʻAli pledged allegiance to Muʻāwiyah, Muḥammad pledged allegiance to Abu Sufyān, ʻĪsa pledged allegiance to the Jewish priests, Mūsa pledged allegiance to Firʻawn, Ibrāhīm pledged allegiance to Nimrod ... it would be as if Islam surrendered to *kufr*, and as if the divine forces surrendered to the satanic forces.

By his supreme sacrifice in Karbala, Imām Ḥusayn awakened the concious of the Muslim *ummah*, he made it clear that Yazīd and those like him do not deserve, nay, they do not have any right, to became the caliph, the leader and the ruler of the Muslims. He wrote with his blood on the plain of Karbala that one should not submit himself to anyone but Allāh or to a person who has been appointed by Allāh. Ḥusayn was an embodiment of light, truth, justice, equity; and never could light submit to darkness, or justice to injustice, or equity to inequity.

What did he say?

In Madinah, he said: “We are the house-hold of the prophethood,

the source of messengership, the descending-place of the angels, through us Allāh had began (showering His favours) and with us He has perfected (His favours). Whereas Yazīd is a sinful person, a drunkard, the killer of innocent people and one who openly indulges in sinful acts. A person like me can never pledge allegiance to a person like him ..."[7]

Before leaving Madinah, he wrote: "I have risen (against Yazīd) as I seek to reform the *ummah* (community) of my grandfather. I wish to bid the good and forbid the evil, and follow the way of my grandfather and my father, 'Ali bin Abi Ṭālib."[8]

In Mecca, in answer to the people of Kufa, he wrote: "... for by my life, what is the Imām except one who judges by the Book, one who upholds justice, one who professes the religion of truth, and one who dedicated himself to essence of Allāh."[9]

On his way to Karbala, he said to the army of Ḥurr: "... (The situation is such that) a believer should rightly desire to meet his Lord (by sacrificing his life) - for I do not see death except a bliss, and life with the tyrants a disgusting (thing)."[10]

In Karbala, facing the army of Yazld, he said: "O Men! Verily the Messenger of Allāh has said: 'Anyone who sees a cruel king who permits those things which have been forbidden by Allāh, who disregards his duty, who opposes the way of the Messenger of Allāh, and acts amongst the servants of Allāh sinfully and aggressively - and that person does not do anything, in action or speech, to change the situation, then it would be right for Allāh to place him alongwith the tyrant ruler (on the day of judgement)'."[11]

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7 Sayyid Ibn Ṭā'ūs, *Maqtalu 'l-Ḥusayn*, pp. 10-11.
8 al-Khatīb al-Khuwārazmi, *Maqtalu 'l-Ḥusayn*, vol. I, p. 88.
9 Shaykh al-Mufid, *Kitābu 'l-Irshād*, (translated by Dr. I. K. Howard), p. 305.
10 Sayyid Ibn Ṭā'ūs, *op. cit*., pp. 32-33.
11 Ibnu 'l-Kathīr, *al-Kāmil fi 't-Tārīkh*, vol. 4, 1385 A.H., p. 48.

THE MARTYR

An Analysis of the Concept of Martyrdom in Islam

MURTAḌA MUṬAHHARI

translated by
Sayyid Muhammad Rizvi

The Sanctity of the Word 'Martyr'

In the linguistic traditions of all the people of the world, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, there exist some words which carry a sense of dignity, and sometimes, sanctity. The words like scholar, philosopher, inventor, hero, reformer, teacher, student in general usage; and the words like *nabī*, *imām*, *mujtahid*, *mujāhid*, worshipper, believer, ascetic, truthful, saint, *muhājir*, preacher and advisor in Islamic usage are some of those words which are associated with dignity, respect and sanctity.

Obviously a word, *in se*, has no sanctity; it derives its sanctity from its meaning. Sacredness and sanctity of some of the meanings and concepts which exist, more or less, in all human societies is related to the psychological approach of those societies in evaluating the

metaphysical concepts. This itself is a profound philosophical subject.

In Islam also there is a word which is engulfed in a peculiar sanctity. Anyone who is familiar with Islamic thoughts and comprehends that word in the Islamic usage, he will certainly feel that it is engulfed in divine light - and that word is *shahīd*, martyr. In all its usage, by Muslims and non-Muslims alike, this word is surrounded by sanctity; the only difference exists in the values and standards of different societies that use it. Presently we are not concerned with the use of this word in non-Islamic circles.

According to Islam, anyone who achieves the honour of martyrdom has reached to one of the most high positions which a man can possibly attain in his ascend towards perfection. Of course, his martyrdom must be according to the standards fixed by Islam - to be killed for the high causes of Islam with the aim of defending true human values. The reason behind the sanctity of the word martyr can be understood from the Qur'ān and the *aḥādīth*.

The Martyr's Proximity to Allāh

A *shahīd's* proximity to Allāh is explained in the Qur'ān as follows: *Do not think of those who are slain in the way of Allāh as dead. Nay, they are alive with their Lord and are provided sustenance (by Him)*. (3:169)

When Islam wants to elevate the position of a person or a deed, it compares that person or deed with the position of a *shahīd*. For example, to show the importance of seeking knowledge, a *ḥadīth* says that if someone becomes a student with the intention of finding the truth and serving his Lord (and not for material gains) and then dies while studying, he is considered a *shahīd*. This expression manifests the sanctity and excellence of a student. Likewise, a *ḥadīth*, praising a person who strives hard to provide the sustenance for his family, says: The one who strives hard for his family is like a fighter in the way of Allāh.

The Right of a Martyr

All those who have served the human society, in one way or another, have a right on the human society. This service to humanity does not make any difference whether it was by the way of knowledge, philosophy, technology, invention, or ethics, etc. But no one has so much right on human society like that of the martyrs, and this is the reason underlying the extraordinary sentimental appreciation which people show in regard to the martyrs.

Why and for what the right of the martyrs is more than the other servants of humanity? All the other servants of humanity are indebted to the martyrs but the martyrs are not indebted to others. And if they are indebted to others, it is to a lesser degree. The scholar in his study, the philosopher in his philosophy, the inventor in his invention and the teacher of ethics in his teaching, need a peaceful and free atmosphere so that they could do their work. And it is the martyr who provides such an atmosphere for others by self-denial, sacrifice and death. The parable of a *shahīd* is like that of a candle whose function is to burn out and shed light so that others could easily do their work on the expense of its extinction. The martyrs also are the candles of human society, they sacrificed themselves but enlightened the world. If the world would have remained dark, no one could have possibly served the human society.

The relationship of a martyr with other servants of human society is similar to the story of a candle and an on-looker which has been written by Parvin (a famous Iranian poetess):

The on-looker said to the candle:
Tonight I have decorated my room.
Last night I didn't sleep with excitement
I sewed the dress and put it on.
I stitched the pearls on the design,
I decorated it with flowers.

You can't even reach to the dust of my art,
For I have sacrificed my mind and body for it.
The candle laughed and said:
I was the one who saved you from darkness.
For letting you stitch the pearls on the dress,
I have filled my lap with pearl-like tears.
I cried like the rain-clouds of spring,
And thus watered the flowers on your dress.
I am happy with my burning out,
For I am enlighting your house.
Although there is no hope for me,
I illuminated your walls and created hope for you.
For the manifestation of your beauty,
I have strengthened my heart.
The fruits of my life have burnt out,
but I provided the fruits of your delight.
The works you described to me,
you didn't do them, I did them.

When man works in the daytime under the light of the sun and in the night by the light of the bulbs or the candles, he is aware of everything except the source which is providing light for him. If that light did not exist, all the activities and movements would stop. In the same way, martyrs are the source of light for human societies; but for their light during the darkness of tyrannies and deprivations, human society could not have taken a single step forward.

The Qur'ān has an interesting description for the Prophet. It has described him as an illuminating lamp; in this way, the Qur'ān has explained the concept of sheding light on darkness by self-extinction and self-denial. It says: *O the Prophet! We have verily sent you as a witness, a bearer of good news, a warner and a guide towards Allāh by His permission and as an illuminating lamp.* (33:45-46)

However, the word *shahīd*, in Islamic concepts and in the mind of those who are familiar with Islamic culture, is an enlightening concept and a sacred word.

The Body of the Martyr

Islam is a wise religion, it has no law which might be without any social wisdom or purpose. One of the Islamic laws is that when a Muslim dies, it is obligatory on others to wash his body in a prescribed manner, to clothe him in a shroud, pray on him and bury him. All these laws have reasons and purposes which cannot be explained here. But this law has one exception; and that exception is in regard to the martyr's body. It is only obligatory to pray on him and bury him; but there is no need to purify him by washing his body in the prescribed manner or to take out his clothes and dress him in a shroud.

This exception itself has a reason behind it. It shows that the soul and personality of a martyr is so pure and exalted that it has affected his body, his blood, and even his clothes. Body of a martyr is a "body with soul", it is not to be treated as a *maytah*, and thus there is no need to purify it. Even his clothes are affected by the rules regarding his body. The body and clothes of a martyr have achieved sanctity from his soul, his thought and from his inclination to the truth. A martyr who has been killed in the battle-field can be buried in the same clothes without washing him or changing his clothes.

The Source of Martyrdom's Sanctity

From where does martyrdom derive its sanctity? Obviously, martyrdom is not sacred just because it means being killed. Many ways of death are regarded "waste of life," sometimes, it is even a disgrace.

It seems necessary to elaborate this point more clearly.

Death can be of many kinds:

a) Natural death: A person completes the normal span of life and dies naturally. This type of death is obviously regarded as an usual thing, there is no pride in it nor any disgrace, it is not even followed with much grief or sorrow. These types of death are not even regarded "waste of life".
b) Accidental death: Death caused by epidemic disease like small-pox, etc., or caused by natural disasters such as earthquake, flood, etc. There types of deaths also have no pride or disgrace in them; but they are counted as "waste of life", and thus it is regrettable.
c) Homicide: The death in which a crime is involved. The death in which there was no temptation on the part of the victim. The murderer, on his own will, considered the victim as an obstacle in the way of his interests, and killed him. The examples of these types of death can be seen in daily newspapers. A person, for instance, murders a woman just because he was not successful in gaining her attention towards himself.

In such deaths, there is crime and wickedness on the part of the killer; and his action is considered abhorent. On the part of the slain person, - who had no active part in instigating this murder, who was a victim of terror, whose life has been wasted - his death creates sorrow and sympathy in others. Obviously these deaths are not considered a pride or honour although they create sorrow and sympathy in others, because the victim had no part, whatsoever, in it. It was the envy, enmity and inferiority complex on the part of the killer which caused the victim's aimless death.

d) Sucide: The death which itself is a crime. This type of death is nothing but a waste of life, and a way of wasting oneself in the worst manner. Those who are killed in the automobile accident in which they themselves are at fault, their death also comes under this category. Likewise, those who are killed while committing a crime.
e) Martyrdom (*sahādat*): Martyrdom means that a person, fully aware of the certain or the probable danger, approaches it just for a sacred cause which is expressed in the Qur'ān as "in the

way of Allāh". Martyrdom has two basic elements: Firstly, it must be "in the way of Allāh," the cause must be sacred and the person must be wishing to sacrifice his life for it. Secondly, it must take place knowingly and with awareness.

Usually in martyrdom, the criminal aspect is also present. On the part of the victim, it is martyrdom and sacred; on part of the murderer, it is crime and wickedness. Martyrdom is a pride, honour and a heroic deed, because it is done knowingly and voluntarily, for a sacred cause and it is free from any shadow of selfishness. Among all the types of deaths, only martyrdom is a death which is more sacred, greater and holier than life itself.

It must be mentioned here, with much regret, that although most of the preachers of the commorative gatherings for Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him) speak of him as a "martyr" and "the leader of the martyrs," they do not have an analytical grasp of this concept and thus they consider the death of Imām Ḥusayn only as a murder and homicide, a category of death which is a waste of life. Many of our people mourn on just the innocence of, and the unjust treatment meted out to, Imām Ḥusayn. They are sorry that Imām Ḥusayn, just like a small child, became a victim of an ambitious ruler. If it is so, then Imām Ḥusayn would be considered an innocent victim of terror just like the people who are killed by others in homicide. But then, the Imām would not be a martyr, let alone "the leader of the martyrs."

Imām Ḥusayn was not only a victim of an ambitious ruler. There is no doubt that this tragedy, when ascribed to the killers, is a crime, a selfish and ambitious act; but, when ascribed to the Imām himself, it is a martyrdom which means a conscious confrontation and a courageous resistance for a sacred cause. Yazīd wanted a pledge of allegiance from him, and he, fully aware of all the consequences, did not accept. Moreover, he was very critical of them; silence in that situation was regarded a great sin by him. The biography and the sayings of Imām Ḥusayn are a clear proof of this.

In conclusion, we can say that martyrdom derives its sacredness from the conscious sacrifice of oneself for a sacred cause.

Jihād
The Responsibility of the Martyr

In Islam, the concept which leads to martyrdom - a conscious death for a sacred cause - has emerged as a principle known as *jihād*. Here we cannot explain the nature of this principle whether it has a defensive nature or offensive; and if defensive, is it limited to the defence of individual rights or, at the most the national rights, or whether or not does it also include the defence of human rights in general like freedom and justice? Is the belief in unity of God a human right or not? Or is the principle of *jihād* contrary to the right of freedom? These are interesting and useful discussions which should be propounded in its appropriate place. Here we can only say that Islam is not a religion which says that if one slaps on your right cheek, present him the left one. It is not a religion which says pay to God what is His, and to Ceasar what is his. It is not a religion without a sacred social ideal, or a religion which does not defend or try to spread that ideal.

The Qur'ān has mentioned three sacred concepts jointly in many of its verses. These three concepts are: faith (*imān*); migration (*hijrah*); and holy war (*jihād*). Man, according to the Qur'ān, is a being related to faith and align to everything else. This creature who is related to faith, migrates for the protection of his faith; wages holy war for defending the faith of the society which actually means defending the society itself from the arms of a faithless ruler. If we wished to mention the verses of the Qur'ān or the traditions which we have on this subject, the discussions will be prolonged. Here, we shall confine ourselves to the explanation of a few sentences from a sermon of *Nahju 'l-Balāghah*:

Imām 'Ali says: "Now then, surely *jihād* is one of the doors of Paradise, which Allāh has opened for His distinctive friends."

It is not a door which is opened for everyone; not all have the qualifications to get through the door of *jihād*. Allāh has opened that door for his distinctive friends. The *mujāhidīn* are not only "the friends of Allāh," they are "the distinctive friends of Allāh."

The Qur'ān says that there are eight doors to Paradise. Why? Is it for preventing the rush of the people? We know that the world here-after is not a world of rush, just as Allāh has said that He will take the account of all the human beings in a moment - "and He is quick in reckoning." There is no problem for Allāh to make the people enter from one single door at the same time, there will be no line-up. Then why does the Paradise have eight doors? It is just for formality? Is it so that the VIPs will enter from one door and the others from another? Again we know that such distinctions do not exist there. Or will the doors be divided according to the occupations of all the different people? We know that any occupation is of no value unless it is combined with faith, piety and good deeds. Then why eight doors? In the hereafter, there will be degrees and grades, but no classes. Everyone having faith, good deeds and piety will have a grade. Everyone will be on one of the grades of faith, piety and good deeds. Everyone has ascended the stairs of perfection to a certain stage; and accordingly, a door of similar grade will open for him. That world is a heavenly manifestation of this world. The door through which the martyrs will enter the paradise is the door of the distinctive friends of Allāh.

Imām 'Ali continues his sermon by saying: "It (*jihād*) is the dress of piety." In the fifth chapter (verse 93), the Qur'ān has mentioned the "dress of piety," and 'Ali says the *jihād* is the dress of piety. Piety (*taqwa*) means the real cleanliness and purity. Purity from what? From uncleanliness. What are the roots of the spiritual uncleanliness and ethical impurity? Selfishness, egoism. Therefore, a true *mujāhid* is the most pious of the pious people, as there can be different types of pious people: one is pure from envy, the other from haughtiness, the third from greed, the fourth from miserliness. But the *mujāhid* is the purest of the pure ones, because

he has sacrificed his own life and existence. And so, the door which will be opened for him will be different from the door which will be opened for other pious people.

The difference in the grades of purity and piety can also be inferred from the Qur'ān: *There is no blame on those who believe and do good deeds for what they eat, as long as they are careful of their duty, believe and do good deeds, then again they are careful of their duty and believe, and they are careful of their duty and do good to others. And Allāh loves the good.* (5:93) This verse has explained two very profound teachings of Islam. First: The stages and degrees of belief and piety. Second: The aim of life and rights of man. The verse wants to imply that the blessings of Allāh are for human beings and human beings are for belief, piety and good deeds. A man is allowed to benefit from the blessings of God only when he walks on the path of perfection for which he has been created. And that path of perfection is belief, piety and good deeds.

Under the inspiration of this verse, the Islamic scholars have divided the grades of piety into three: 1. The lower degree of piety; 2. The higher degree of piety; 3. The highest degree of piety. The piety of the *mujāhidīn* is purest and highest form of piety; the martyrs have sincerely sacrificed everything for the cause of Allāh. They have donned the dress of the purest type of piety.

In the same sermon, Imām 'Ali continues to say: "(It is) the protective armour of Allāh and the trustworthy shield." If a Muslim nation has the spirit of *jihād* and is armoured in the armour of Allāh, no attack by others can harm it. An armour is a dress, made of inter-linked rings or overlapping scales, which the soldiers used to put on at the time of battle; whereas, a shield is an instrument which they used to hold in their hands and defended themselves by it. The shield was for preventing the blow of the enemy's sword, etc; whereas the armour was for neutralizing the effect of the enemy's blow. Apparently Imām 'Ali has compared *jihād* with both the armour and the shield, because some *jihād* are

for repelling the offence of the enemy whereas other *jihād* are for neutralizing the effects of the attack.

Then the Imām says: "Whoever abandons it, Allāh covers him with the dress of disgrace and the clothes of distress. He is kicked with contempt and scorn, and his heart is veiled with screens (of neglect). Truth is taken away from him because of missing *jihād*. He has to suffer ignominy and justice is denied to him." The person who neglects *jihād* because of his indifferance to it, (and not because of the situation in which he does not consider that time is right for *jihād*), will suffer the consequences mentioned in the above saying of Imām 'Ali. This part of the Imām's saying is quite different from last three parts quoted above. The former were describing the positive effects of *jihād*, whereas the last quotation is describing the negative effects-the effects of neglecting it.

The negative effects, described above, are of collective nature, they are not of individual nature. In other words, they are related to society in general, and not to an individual in particular. The negative effects are as follows:-

1. Disgrace: The nation which neglects *jihād* will surely be disgraced.
2. Distress: Disgrace, in contrary to what many people think, is followed by distress and many problems.
3. Spiritual inferiority.
4. Lossing the insight of truth : It a surprising point that 'Ali considers the insight and light of heart to be dependant on fulfilling *jihād*. In Islamic thoughts it has clearly been mentioned that a spiritual insight of the truth is a result of good deeds, but no where has it been mentioned so clearly that a social deed like *jihād* is one of the pillars of spiritual ascendance and a way towards Allāh, and that its negligence will cause the heart to be covered by veils.
5. By neglecting the duty of *jihād*, they will be deprived from the true Islamic government. They will no more deserve to be the propagator of Islam.

6. They will be deprived from justice of others. It means that as long as a nation is *mujāhid*, others will take it into consideration and unwillingly behave justly with it. But a nation which has lost the spirit of *jihād*, others will not take it into consideration and will deal unjustly with it.

All these disgraces, insults and retreats (in social and economic grounds) are the consequence of lossing the spirit of *jihād*. The Prophet said: "All goodness is under the sword and under the shadow of the sword." He also said: "Verily Allāh has honoured my *ummah* by the hoofs of its horses and the positions of their spears." It means, the Islamic *ummah* is tantamont to a strong and powerful nation. Islam is a religion of strength and power. Islam is a religion which trains *mujāhids*. Will Durant, in his the *Story of Civilization*, says: "No religion has called its followers towards strength and power like Islam."

There is another interesting *ḥadīth* of the Prophet which says: "The one who has not fought (in the way of Allāh) and has not even thought about it in his own mind, he shall die with a (hidden) type of hypocrisy." It means that Islam can not be separated from *jihād* or at the least from a wish to fight in the way of Allāh. The true faith of a Muslim can be recognised by this standard, i.e., longing to fight in the way of Allāh. In another *ḥadīth*, the Prophet was asked: "Why the *shahīd* is not questioned in the grave?" The Prophet said: "The lightening of the sword over his (*shahīd's*) head is sufficient for his trial (or questioning)." The martyr has manifested his true faith by his sacrifice, and so, there remains no motive for questioning him in the grave.

Zeal of the Martyr

One of the peculiarities which can been seen in the early history of Islam is the special spirit which existed in many Muslim of those days. I do not know what to name this spirit. I think the most descriptive expression would be to call it "the zeal for martyrdom."

The first in the list of these people is Imām ʻAli (upon whom be peace). The Imām said: When the verse "*Do men think that they will be left alone on saying, we believe, and not be tried?*" was revealed, I came to know that as long as the Prophet is among us the Muslims will not have to face any ordeal. I asked the Prophet: What is the ordeal which has been mentioned in the verse? He said: O ʻAli, it is an ordeal which my *ummah* will face after me. I said: On the day of (the battle of) of Uḥud when many Muslims had attained the honour of martyrdom and I was not able to attain that honour and was sad because of it, didn't you give me good-tidings about my martyrdom in future? The Prophet said : Yes, it is as I said, you will be martyred in future. So now, tell me how will you bear it? I said: O the Messenger of Allāh, (at the time of martyrdom) it is not the time for patience, it is the time of thanking and praising (Allāh for giving me such an opportunity)! Then the Prophet explained the details of the ordeal which will take place after him.

This is the meaning of "the zeal for martyrdom". ʻAli was alive for attaining martyrdom; if this cause and hope had been taken away from him, he would find no use in being alive, life would have become meaningless for him. We take the name of ʻAli on our lips too much. If everything had been perfect just by uttering some words, then no one is more Shīʻah than us. But if Shīʻaism is a reality, which of course it is, and if Shīʻaism means to be like ʻAli - then the task of being a Shīʻah would be very difficult one. The example given above is just one that ʻAli had the zeal for martyrdom and so his followers (Shīʻah) also must have the same spirit.

Apart from ʻAli we also find other persons, in Islamic history, who also had the "zeal for martyrdom". They had a wish in their hearts that would Allāh bestow them the glory of martyrdom. One of the usual prayers of the Muslims of early Islamic history was for seeking the glory of martyrdom. This tendency can be seen even in the invocations that have reached us from the Imāms of Ahlu 'l-bayt. In one of the invocations for the month of Ramaḍān,

we pray: "O Allāh! By Your mercy include us among the righteous people, and raise us upto the uppermost heaven, and help us in attaining martyrdom in Your way with Your friend." In early Islamic history we see this zeal in the young, the old, the black, the white and in all of them. They used to come to the Prophet and say: "I eagerly wish to die in the way of Allāh, so please pray that Allāh may bestow us with martyrdom in His way."

In *Safinatu 'l-Bihār*, there is a story of a man named Khaythamah or Khuthaymah. It describes how a father and his son were arguing with each other for going to *jihād* and attaining martyrdom. The writer says that when the time of the battle of Badr came, this father and son were arguing with each other. The son was saying to the father, "I will go to *jihād* and you remain home with the family." The father was saying, "No, you stay with the family, I will go to *jihād*." The father and son, both were saying that they want to go and attain martyrdom. At last they agreed on casting a lot. The lot came for the son and he went to *jihād* and was martyred. After sometime, the father saw in dream that his son has attained the loftiest heights. The son said to his father: "Whatever my Lord has promised (as a reward the faith and martyrdom) was true." The old father came to the Prophet and said: "O the Messenger of Allāh, although I have become old I dearly wish to attain the glory of martyrdom. Please pray for me so that Allāh be bless me with this honour." The Prophet prayed for him. One year after that, the old man was martyred in the battle of Uḥud.

There was another man known as ʻAmr bin Jumuūḥ who was a lame. According to the *sharīʻah* laws about *jihād*, such a person is excused from the duty of fighting in the way of Allāh - "there is no blame on the lame". At the time of the battle of Uḥud, sons of ʻAmr prepared themselves for going with the Prophet. He said he also wants to go. His sons prevented him from doing so. Even the elders of the family tried to explain to him that he should remain home with the family, but he still insisted on going to *jihād*. At last, ʻAmr went to the Propet and said: O the Messenger of Allāh, why are

my sons preventing me from participating in the holy war? If martyrdom is good, then it is good also for me. The Prophet told his sons to leave him alone and said that the holy war is not obligatory on him, but neither is it prohibited for him. So ‘Amr the lame, also prepared for the holy war and went to Uḥud. During the battle, one of his sons was always with him to defend him; but ‘Amr himself penetrated the enemy’s ranks without any fear, and was at last martyred. One of his sons had also been killed.

When the news reached Madinah that the Muslims were lossing the battle after winning it, many men and women started to come to Uḥud which was not very far from the city. Among those men and women was the wife of ‘Amr bin Jumūḥ. She went to Uḥud and found the bodies of her husband, son and brother. She placed all the three corpses on a camel and started to return back to Madinah with the intention of burying the bodies of her beloveds in the grave-yard of Madinah. In the way, she noticed that the camel was not willing to go towards Madinah. At that time some women, who were coming from Madinah, met her. ‘Āishah, who was women, asked her that what was she carrying on the camel. She replied that she was carrying the corpses of her husband, son and brother. Then ‘Āishah asked about the battle; she answered that all went well, *al-ḥamdu lil-lāh*, because the Prophet’s life has been saved; everything else is immaterial.

Then she explained the unusual behaviour of her camel; and said that when I turn him towards the city it does not take a step willingly, but when I turn it towards Uḥud it moves fast. They advised her to accompany them back to Uḥud and ask the Prophet. When the Prophet was approached with this problem, he asked the wife of ‘Amr that did her husband say something when he was coming out of the house. She answered: Yes, he said one sentence. The Prophet asked what was it. She said: When my husband came out of the house, he raised his hands and prayed that O God, do not make me come back to this house. The Prophet said that his prayer has been accepted, so do not take his body to Madinah; leave your husband’s body here to be buried with other martyrs.

Imām ʻAli (peace be upon him) says: "Verily, a thousand strokes of sword are more dearer to me than dying on a bed." When Imām Ḥusayn was going to Karbala, he was reciting some verses of a poem (which, according to some narrations, were even recited by his father). The poem is as follows:

If the world is regarded a precious thing,
Then the house of rewards of Alliih is loftier and more magnificent.
If the wealth is gathered for becoming a legacy,
Then why be mean in giving it away as charity.
If the human body has been made for death,
Then death by a sword in the way of Allāh is loftier.

The Logic of the Martyr

Every person and every group has a peculiar way of thinking. Everyone has a set of values and standards by which he judges the various deeds and actions. The martyr also has a logic and a way of thinking which is peculiar to himself. The logic of a martyr cannot be compared to the logic of other people. His logic is of loftier heights. It is a combination of two logics: On the one hand, the logic of a sincere reformer, and, on the other hand, the logic of a gnostic who is longing to meet his Lord, constitute the logic of a martyr.

This can also be seen in the biography of Imām Ḥusayn. When the Imām decided to go to Kufa, some prominent member of his clan advised him against it. They said to him that this is not a logical step. And, of course, according to their way of thinking they were right. Their logic was that of an ordinary person which revolves on personal interests and which is the logic of politicians. And so they thought that it was not logical for Imām Ḥusayn to go to Kufa in that situation. But Imām Ḥusayn had a completely different way of thinking - the logic of a martyr.

ʻAbdullah bin ʻAbbas and Muḥammad bin Ḥanafiyyah were not

ordinary persons; they were far-sighted politicians; according to their way of thinking - the political way of thinking, the logic based on personal interests - the step taken by Imām Ḥusayn was illogical. Ibn ʻAbbas proposed a clever political move which is usually used by those who manipulate the masses to achieve their aims: they put the public in the front and keep themselves in the background; if the masses succeed, they would reap the harvest and if the public is defeated, they lose nothing. Ibn ʻAbbas said to Imām Ḥusayn that write a letter to the people of Kufa asking them to remove the representatives of Yazīd from the city and get in control of its affairs. They will either do as you asked them to do or they won't. If they follow your orders, you can go to Kufa and take the charge in your hands. If they do not do as you asked them to do, you won't be in any trouble.

But Ḥusayn did not heed to this proposal, he said: "I will go to Kufa." They said: "You will be killed." He said: "If I am killed, I am killed (I do not care about death)." They said: "One who goes to be killed does not take his women and children with himself." He said: "I have to take them also."

The logic of a martyr is a unusual and peculiar logic; his logic revolves around burning out and enlightening; it is the logic of melting into the society for its revival. It is the logic of giving life to the dead human values. It is a far-sighted logic. And this is the reason that the word *shahīd*, among all the sacred words, has a peculiar sacredness. A martyr is a super-champion, he is a super-reformer, he is superior than everyone. No other word can take the place of *shahīd*.

The Blood of the Martyr

What does a martyr do? Martyr's work is not only to stand in front of the enemy; defeat the enemy or be defeated by him. If his work had been only that then we might say that his blood was shed for nothing. No, the blood of a martyr is not wasted, his blood does

not spill on the earth - every drop of the martyr's blood becomes hundreds and thousands drops, it takes the form of a sea and enters the veins of society. The Prophet said: "No drop of anything is more beloved in the view of Allāh than the drop of blood which has been spilled in the way of Allāh." It means that no drop of anything is more valuable than the drop of the Martyr's blood. Martyrdom means injecting the blood to the veins of society. The martyrs are the ones who donate new and lively blood to the body of society, in particular the society which has heavily lost its blood.

Enthusiaism of the Martyr

Martyr is a source of enthusiaism. The most distinctive feature of a martyr is his ability of creating enthusiaism. It is the martyr who creates enthusiaism in the nation which has lost its enthusiaism, in particular its divine enthusiaism. And so, Islam always needs martyrs, because it always needs enthusiaism.

The Immortality of the Martyr

A scholar serves his society by his knowledge, in other words, his relationship with the society is through his knowledge. His individuality merges with the society through his knowledge like a drop of water merges with the sea. In reality, the scholar gives immortality to his knowledge by merging it with the society. An inventor is related to the society by his invention. He makes himself immortal by merging his invention to the society. In the same way, an artist makes himself immortal by his art. A teacher of ethics makes himself immortal by teaching the society.

In the same way, the martyr makes himself immortal by his blood. He injects immortal blood in the veins of society. In other words, one gives immortality to his knowledge and thoughts, and that is the scholar; the other makes himself immortal by his invention or art, and that is the inventor and the artist; and still other makes himself immortal by his ethical teachings, and that is the ethic

master. But a martyr makes himself immoral by his blood and by his whole existence, he injects immortal blood into the veins of society. In reality, every other group of the servants of humanity become immortal just through a part of their existence, whereas the martyr becomes immortal by sacrificing everything which he owns. The Prophet has said: "There is a goodness above and over every good deed except the death in the way of Allāh. When one is killed in the way of Allāh, then there is no goodness above it."

The Intercession of the Martyr

A *ḥadīth* says that Allāh will accept the intercession of three groups on the day of judgement: 1. The Prophets. 2. The divine scholars. (In this *ḥadīth*, narrated from our Imāms, the word "successors of the Prophet" has not been used and so it can be understood that the term "scholars" means "divine scholars" which includes, in the first place, the Imāms and then the religious scholars who are their true followers.) 3. The martyrs. So we see that after the prophets, the Imāms and the divine scholars, the martyrs will be the intercessors on the day of judgement.

This intercession of the martyrs is a "intercession of guidance;" it is a materialization of the reality which has taken place in the world. After the prophets, the Imāms and the divine scholars, the martyrs are the one who lead the people from darkness towards light. Imām ʻAli says that Allāh will present the martyrs on the day of judgement with such a glorified prestige and light that if the prophets were to pass in front of them on their horses, they would get down from their horses for the respect of the martyrs.

Lamenting on the Martyr

In the early period of Islam, the martyr who became most famous was Ḥamzah bin ʻAbdu 'l-Muṭṭalib, the uncle of the Prophet. He was martyred in Uḥud and came to be known as *sayyidu 'sh-shuhadā'* (the leader of the martyrs). Those who have

visited Madinah must have also visited the grave of Ḥamzah in Uḥud.

When Ḥamzah migrated from Mecca to Madinah, none of his family-members were with him. When the Prophet returned from the battle-field of Uḥud, he saw that there were mourners in house of every martyr except Ḥamzah's. He said, "But Ḥamzah, he has no one to lament for him." When the companions heard this from the Prophet, they went to their homes and said that the Prophet was grieved to see that there was no one to mourn for Ḥamzah. On hearing this, the woman who were lamenting for their sons, brothers or husbands went to the house of Ḥamzah and lamented for him. After this incident, whenever anyone wanted to lament for a martyr he would first go to the house of Ḥamzah and lament for him.

This episode shows that although Islam does not encourage the lamenting for a dead person, it encourages the people to lament for the martyr because the martyr has created enthusiaism, and weeping on the martyr is participating in that enthusiaism, harmonizing with his spirit, and moving on the same path.

After the tragedy of 'Āshūrā' and the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn which over-shadowed all the previous martyrdoms, the title of *sayyidu 'sh-shuhadā'* (the leader of the martyrs) was given to Imām Ḥusayn. Ḥamzah is still known as *sayyidu 'sh-shuhadā'* but whenever the title "leader of the martyrs" is used generally (without any particular name), it refers to Imām Ḥusayn. In other words, Ḥamzah is the "leader of the martyrs" of his own time; but Imām Ḥusayn is the "leader of the martyrs" of all times. Just as the virgin Maryam is "the leader of the women" of her own time whereas Fāṭimah is "the leader of the women" of all times.

Prior to the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn, the martyr Ḥamzah was the symbol of lamenting for the martyr; after the martyrdom of the Imām, this status was given to him.

The Rationale of Lamenting for the Martyr

I feel it necessary to explain the rationale behind the lamentation for the martyr. In our age many people, even some religious youngsters, object to the lamentation for Imām Ḥusayn. I myself have been the target of objections many times. Some people have bluntly stated that this is a wrong thing. They claim that lamentation is result of a wrong idea and that it is a negative perception of martyrdom. They even claim that lamentation has some bad social results, it causes weakness and backwardness in society, and causes fall of the nation which practices it.

During my student life in Qum, I remember reading a book written by Muḥammad Mas'ūd, a famous writer of those days. In that book, the writer had discussed about the lamentation of the Shī'ahs for Imām Ḥusayn and had compared it with the Christians' approach to the martyrdom (of course, according to their beliefs) of 'Īsa. (As we know, the Christians celebrate the day 'Īsa was "martyred", they do not lament or mourn for him.) Muḥammad Mas'ūd had written that one nation is lamenting for its martyr because it considers martyrdom a defeat, an unacceptable and sorrowful thing; whereas another nation celebrates the day its martyr was killed because it considers martyrdom a success, an acceptable thing and a honour. A nation which laments for its martyr for a thousand years will naturally be a helpless and coward nation. But the nation which celebrates the martyrdom of its martyr for two thousand years will surely be a strong and self-denying nation. One nation considers martyrdom a defeat and thus laments for it and which, altogether, brings weakness and cowardliness. But the other nation considers martyrdom a success and thus it celebrates, and this brings about a high morale and strength. This is the summary of the arguments of all those who object against lamentation for the martyr.

I intend to analyse this problem and prove that the reality is completely the opposite of what they have said. Celebrating for martyrdom of a martyr is a result of the individualistic approach

of Christianity; whereas lamenting for the martyr is a result of the social approach of Islam. Of course, I do not want to justify the acts of the general public against which I have objected myself. Here I intend to explain the reason why our Imāms have emphasized so much on lamentation for Imām Ḥusayn.

First, let us study the concept of death and martyrdom from the individualistic point of view. Is death, *in se*, an acceptable thing for an individual? Is it regarded as a success? Should the others regard a martyr's death as a success and a heroic deed?

We know that they were some schools of thought, and still might be, which believed that the relationship of man with the world (in other words, the relationship of soul with body) is similar to the relationship of a prisoner with a prison, or of a bird with a cage. Naturally, in the view of these schools of thought, death is tantamount to freedom and so, even suicide is allowed. Such a point of view is even ascribed to Māni who claimed to be a prophet. On bases of these views, death has a positive value, it should be acceptable for everyone, it should not be followed by sorrow and lamentation. Freedom from a prison and a cage are the cases of celebration not sorrow.

A second point of view says that death means non-existence, nothingness, and cessation of existence. Whereas life is existence. Naturally, a person having such a point of view will prefer life over death. Life in whatever form will be preferred to death. According to this point of view, death has a negative value.

A third point of view says that death does not mean "non-existence", death is just a transfer from this world to another. And the relationship of man with the world (or soul with the body) is not like the relationship of a prisoner with a prison or a bird with a cage; rather it is like the relationship of a student with his school or a farmer with his farm. It is true that a student has to spend many years far from his home, family and friends to

complete his education in a college or university. But this is the only way by which he can spend the rest of his life respectfully in his society. Again, it is true that a farmer has to spend much of his time in his farm; but it is the farm and its products which provide the sustenance for him and his family.

Those who have this last point of view can be of two types:

1. Their lives have been spent in useless works or in such works for which they might be punished in the world hereafter. It is natural for such people to fear death. Actually they fear the outcome of their own deeds.

2. Their lives have been spent in good works, and so they do not fear death; they are always ready and even longing for death. Their relationship with this world and the world here-after is like the relationship of a student with his college and home. The student who is still studying, wishes to go back home, longs to see his family; but even then he will not leave his studies incomplete, he will suppress his desire to see his family because he knows that the only chance of increasing his knowledge (which will help him in the future life) is by studying now. The friends of Allāh are just like this student; they long for the transfer to the next world - which can be accomplished only through death. Imām ‘Ali says, “If there wasn’t the specified period (of life) which Allāh has ordained for them, their souls would not have remained in their bodies even for a winking of an eye, longing for the reward and fearing the punishment.” (*Nahju ’l-Balāghah*, sermon 193) But at the same time, the friends of Allāh suppress the desire for death because they know that the only chance for work and spiritual development (which will be fruitful in the next eternal world) is during the life of this world and so they pray to Allāh for a long life.

From this point of view, we see that longing for death is not contrary to wishing for long life.

The Qur'ān says to the Jews (who claimed to be the only friends of Allāh) that if you truly are the friends of Allāh then death should be a desireable thing for you. Then the Qur'ān goes on to say that these Jews will never wish to die because of their bad deeds; they know what is awaiting them in the next world.

The friends of Allāh surpress their desire for long life only under two circumstances: First, when they feel that they have reached to the highest degree of perfection beyond which they can not go; at a level where they feel that continuation of life may cause their degradation. Imām 'Ali bin Ḥusayn says, "O My Lord! Make me live as long as my life is in Your humble obedience; but if it is the hotbed for Shayṭān, then make me die and take me towards Yourself." Second, martyrdom. The friends of Allāh will accept death in form of martyrdom without any condition. Because martyrdom combines in itself two desires of the friends of Allāh: 1. It is a good deed and perfection beyond which there no good deed. 2. The transfer to the next world which is always the wish of the friends of Allāh. This is the reason behind the happiness of 'Ali when he comes to know that his death will take place in form of martyrdom. During the time between his being wounded and his death, many sayings have been heard from 'Ali. In one of those saying, he says, "By Allāh, nothing has befallen upon me by death which I did not like nor anything has happened which I disliked. I am just like one who was looking for water in a desert and came upon a spring or one who was looking for something which he found it." At the dawn of 19th Ramaḍān when Ibn Muljim struck his sword on the head of 'Ali (who was in the state of prostration), the first two words which were heard from 'Ali were: "By the Lord of the Ka'bah, I have succeeded!"

Thus, we can conclude that from the individualistic point of view martyrdom is a success for the martyr, rather the best success and the most desireable wish. Imām Ḥusayn said: "My grandfather said to me that, 'You have a high position with Allāh which you cannot achieve but by martyrdom'." So martyrdom was the most desireable wish and the utmost perfection for Imām Ḥusayn.

Upto now we have talked about the individualistic point of view about death and martyrdom and we came to the conclusion that death in form of martyrdom (which is surely a success for the martyr) should be followed by celebration and merry-making. For the same reason we find Sayyid Ibn Ṭā'ūs, a famous Shī'ite scholar, saying that, "Had it not been for the instructions (we have from the Imāms about lamentation for the martyrs), I would have celebrated on the anniversaries of our Imāms' martyrdom." It is from this point of view that we think the Christians have a right to celebrate for the "martyrdom" of Jesus. Islam also fully agrees that martyrdom is nothing but a total success for the martyr.

From the Islamic point of view, we should also have a look at the other side of the coin. We should even study the martyrdom from the social point of view, i.e., martyrdom is a result of certain social circumstances and which also gives rise of some events itself. The reaction which the society shows in regard to the martyr is not only related to the martyr himself. In other words, in studying the social reaction we do not only consider the point that the martyrdom was a success for the martyr or not. The reaction which the society shows is actually the attitude of the society towards the cause of the martyr and towards those who were against him.

The relationship of a martyr with the society is of two types: 1. His relationship with the people - if he had been alive, they would have benefitted from him; but at present they have been deprived of this opportunity. 2. His relationship to those who had caused the corruption of the society and against whom he had taken stand and was at last killed by them.

Naturally the friends of the martyr, who have been deprived of his person, will consider the martyrdom as a sorrowful thing. By lamenting for the martyr they are actually feeling sorry for themselves. But for these same people, when they consider the circumstances which caused the martyrdom, martyrdom is a desirable thing. In this case, it is just like a successful operation or like amputation of a limb for preserving the whole body.

The lesson which the people should learn from martyrdom is that they should not let those circumstances take place again. In this aspect, martyrdom is described as an undesirable thing which should not have happened; and so they grieve and lament for the martyr. This aspect (that martyrdom should not have taken place) is also helpful in training the people not to be like those who brought about those circumstances. This can be seen in those people who have been brought up under the influence of the principle of lamenting for Imām Ḥusayn - they never like to behave, in their speech and deeds, like Yazīd or Ibn Ziyād.

Another lesson which the society has to learn from martyrdom is that such circumstances will probably take place again. And thus, martyrdom should be described as a heroic deed (which was performed voluntarily) so as to create the same spirit of the martyr in the people. In this aspect, we say that lamenting for the martyr means participating in his enthusiaism, harmonizing with his spirit and moving in his direction. It is from this aspect that we should study whether celebration, merry-making, dancing, drinking, etc are the means of participating in the enthusiasim of the martyr or lamenting for him?

People usually misunderstand the phenomenon of weeping. They think that weeping is always the result of pain and uneasiness; and that weeping and lamentation is an undesirable act. Laughter and weeping are apparently two peculiarities of human beings. There are the most apparent expressions of our feelings. There are many types of laughter and lamentation. I do not want to go into this discussion. Lamentation and weeping is always accompanied with tenderness, sympathy and agitation. Everyone is familiar with the tears of joy and happiness. In the state of weeping, one feels more united with his beloved. Laughter and merry-making mostly have a personal and individual aspect. Whereas weeping and lamentation mostly have an aspect of self-denial and uniting with the beloved one. In other words, laughter is like sexual passion whereas weeping is like love.

By his great personality and heroic martyrdom Imām Ḥusayn has become the ruler of the hearts and feelings of millions of people. If someone, particularly the religious leaders, use this great source of feelings and harmonize the feeling of the people with the spirit of Imām Ḥusayn - the world could easily be reformed.

The secret of the immortality of Imām Ḥusayn is that his heroic deed is being sustained from the logical side (as it had a reason and logic behind it) as well as from the deep feelings of the people. The Imāms who emphasized so much on lamenting for Imām Ḥusayn have actually given a very wise order. It is this lamentation which makes the people imbibe the revolution of Imām Ḥusayn into their hearts. Of course, provided the orators of the commomrative gatherings for Imām Ḥusayn make good use of this source.

The Grave of the Martyr

When her father taught her the method of performing *tasbīḥ*, Fāṭimah went to the grave of her uncle, Ḥamzah bin ‘Abdu ’l-Muṭṭalib, and made a rosary from the earth of the martyr’s grave. This itself has a significance. (*tasbīḥ* is a glorification of Allāh by saying *Allāhu akbar* 34 times, *al-ḥamdu lil-lāh* 33 times and *subḥān allāh* 33 times. We recite the *tasbīḥ* after every prayers and at the time of going to bed.)

What is its significance? The earth of a martyr’s grave is sacred. To recite some words of praising for Allāh, one needs a rosary; and it doesn’t make any difference whether the beads of a rosary is made of stone, wood or earth. But we make the rosary from the earth of the martyr’s grave. This is a tribute to the martyr and martyrdom, it is a symbol of recognising the sacredness of martyrdom. After the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn, whenever someone wanted the earth of a martyr’s grave, he would go to the grave of Imām Ḥusayn bin ‘Ali (peace be upon them).

When we want to pray, we are told that it is not permitted to do

sajdah (prostration) on anything but earth or those things which grow from the earth (and are not used as food or clothes). So we usually carry a tablet made of earth with us. Now that we have to carry a tablet made of earth for performing *sajdah*, our leaders have said that it is preferable to have a tablet made from the earth of a martyr's grave. Here also the preference goes to the earth of Karbala. It means that while praying you have to place your forehead on earth; your prayers will be correct by place your forehead on any earth whatsoever. But by placing your forehead on the earth which is related to a martyr and which is mixed with the blood of a martyr, the reward of your prayers will increase manifold.

There is a *ḥadīth* from our Imām that "do *sajdah* on (the tablet made from the earth of) my grandfather Ḥusayn bin ʻAli's grave as the prayer in which you performed *sajdah* on that sacred earth will penetrate the seven veils (towards the Heaven)."

The Eve of ʻĀshūrah

The Eve of the Martyrs

For what have we gathered here tonight? To whom is this night related? Tonight, the eve of ʻĀshūrah, is the night of the martyrs of Karbala. In these days, it is a normal practice to name a day for some people or some group; for example, we have mother's day, teacher's day, etc. But no nation has specified a day as martyr's day. In Islam we have a day which is known as the martyr's day; and that day is the day of ʻĀshūrah. And tonight, which is the eve of ʻĀshūrah, is the night of the martyrs.

I have already mentioned that the logic of a martyr is a combination of the logics of a reformer and a gnostic. Combination of two personalities, a gnostic and a reformer, gives birth to a martyr like Muslim bin ʻAwsajah, Ḥabīb bin Maẓāhir, Zuhayr bin Qayn. Of course, the martyrs also have different ranks, not all of them are on the same level.

The Martyrs of Karbala

From Ḥusayn's Point of View

In the eve of ʻĀshūrah, Imām Ḥusayn made a statement which shows the great prestige and high rank of the martyrs of Karbala. The martyrs are distinguished among all the good and pious servants of Allāh, and the martyrs of Karbala are distinguished among all the martyrs. Some of those people who had joined Imām Ḥusayn between Mecca and Karbala, left the Imām before the 9th of Muḥarram. Now only the faithful and steadfast companions remained with him. In the eve of ʻĀshūrah, Imām Ḥusayn decided to test his remaining companions for the last time. And all of them were successful in this test.

In the evening, he gathered all his companions in a tent. He gave a very profound and lucid speech. The speech was related to the event which had taken place that same evening. As you all know that in the evening of the 9th of Muḥarram (which is known as the day of Tāsūʻā) the army of Yazīd started to advance towards the camps of Imām Ḥusayn. The Imām sent his companions to see what was the matter with Yazīd's army. On coming to know that they had orders from Kufa to commence attack on Ḥusayn's small caravan, the Imām asked them to give a respite for one night so that they could worship their Lord. So when the Imām had gathered his companions, it was clear in everyone's mind that tomorrow will be the day of confrontation and sacrifice.

Imām Zaynu 'l-ʻĀbidīn says that I was in the camp which was next to the tent in which my father had gathered his companions. Then my father said: "I praise Allāh with the best praise and thank Him in the moments of happiness and distress. O my Lord! I thank you for blessing us with prophethood, teaching us the Qur'ān and making us knowledgeable in religion." The one who steps on the right path is thankful to Allāh in all the circumstances. As long as he is able to perform his duty, no distress or hardship is

unbearable for him. When Imām Ḥusayn was coming towards Karbala he met the famous poet Farazdaq. The Imām asked him about the situation of Kuta. When Farazdaq explained the situation of Kufa to the Imām, he said, "If the decreed affairs are in our favour, we thank Allāh for his blessings and ask Him to help us in thanking Him. And if the decreed affairs are not as we hoped, then still the one whose intentions are right and who is a pious man, he does not lose anything."

By saying, "I thank Allāh in the moments of happiness and distress," the Imām wants to say that I have seen many happy days in my life, like the days when as a child I used to sit on the lap, and on the shoulders, of the Prophet. Those were the happiest moments of my childhood. I thank Allāh for those days and I also thank Him for these days which are full of distress; because as long as I am able to perform my duty, I do not see any distress in them.

Then Imām Ḥusayn gave the important testimony about his family and friends. He said, "I do not know of any companions better or more faithful than my companions, nor do I know of any family-member more righteous, more aware of family ties and better than my family." The Imām wants to say that his companions were even better than the martyred companions of the Prophet; better than those companions of Imām 'Ali who were martyred in the battles of Jamal, Ṣiffin and Nahrwān - because the circumstances under which the companions of Imām Ḥusayn sacrificied their lives for him were more significant and also dangerous than the circumstances under which the companions of the Prophet and Imām 'Ali gave their lives. This was the tribute which Imām Ḥusayn paid to his companions and family-members.

Then he said: I clearly declare to my companions and family-members that these people (i.e., Yazīd's army) do not have anything against any one of you. They want me to pledge allegiance to Yazīd. They do not want anything from you. So now I declare to you, who have pledged allegiance to me, that I lift the

obligation which you have to me as an Imām; the enemy is not preventing you from leaving this place and I also have lifted the obligation which you had to me, so now you are free. Any one who wants to leave may do so." Then he faced the companions and said, "Each one of you may take a member of my family with himself."

This is the time to see the perfection which the companions of Ḥusayn had achieved. By leaving Imām Ḥusayn they faced no danger from the enemies and the obligation which they had towards the Imām had also been lifted. Now they were completely free. But we see that none of them left the Imām and each one of the family-members and the companions declared their loyalty to the Imām in the most elegant way.

Two Sources of Pride for Imām Ḥusayn

In the eve and on the day of ʻĀshūrah, Imām Ḥusayn had two reasons for pride and happiness: 1. His family-members, ranging from the children to the elders, had stood by his side upto the last moment. 2. His faithful companions who had no defect whatsoever. The Imām was sure that no one will desert him; and truly none of them left Ḥusayn and joined the enemies, rather many soldiers of Yazīd's army deserted during the eve and the day of ʻĀshūrah and joined Imām Ḥusayn. Ḥurr bin Yazīd ar-Riyāḥi was one of them; about thirty soldiers had deserted the enemy during the eve of ʻĀshūrah alone. These were the causes for Ḥusayn's pride and happiness.

In the eve of ʻĀshūrah when Imām Ḥusayn had lifted the obligation of his family and companions to him, all of them declared their loyalty to him and refused to leave him. They said, "O our master! Are you permitting us to leave you alone among these enemies? Can we leave you alone?! No! By Allāh, we will never leave you." One of them said, "If they kill me, burn my corpse, blow my ashes in air and then I am raised again from death and again I am killed in your cause, and this goes on for seventy times - still I will not

desert you; whereas I know that I have to die once only." The other said, "I wished I had thousands lives and I would have sacrificied all of them for you."

The first person who declared his loyalty was the Imām's brother, 'Abbās. The others followed him and used almost the same expressions to declare their loyalty to the Imām.

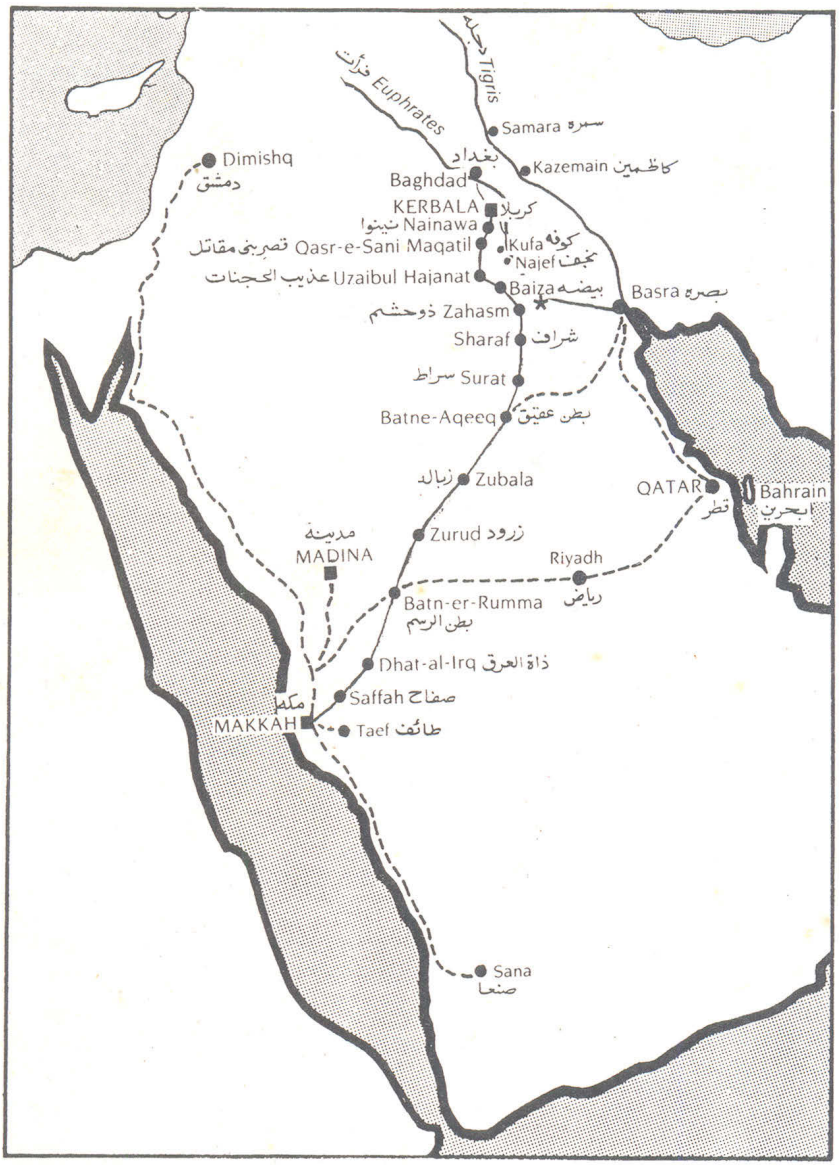
This was the last time that Imām Ḥusayn had put the loyalty of his companions and family-members to test. After they all had declared their loyalty, the Imām uncovered the realities of the next day. He said, "All of you are going to be martyred tomorrow." All of them said, "Praise be to Allāh the Lord of the universe."

If someone looks at this event without grasping the logic of the martyr, he will say, "Now that Imām Ḥusayn is to be killed then why should these people also remain with him to be killed. Why did they stay with the Imām? Why did the Imām allow them to stay with him? Why didn't he order them to leave him alone?" If a person without the logic of a martyr had been in place of Imām Ḥusayn he would surely have said that there is no benefit in your remaining here, so it is *wājib* for you to leave. But the Imām did not do so because the way of thinking of a marytr is different from an ordinary person. Sometimes, the martyr has to sacrifice his life for creating divine enthusiaism in the people, for injecting blood to the veins of the dead society, for enlightening the human beings and for giving life to humanity. And the case of the martyrs of the Karbala was the same.

Martyrdom is not only for defeating the enemy; it also takes place for creating zeal in the people. If the martyrs of Karbala had not sacrificed their lives, how would it have been possible to see the religious zeal and enthusiaism which we see today? Although the nucleus of the martyrdom of Karbala was Imām Ḥusayn himself, but the martyrdom of the companions glorified the martyrdom of Ḥusayn even more. If they had not sacrificed their lives, the

martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn would not have had such significance, glory and honour which keeps it alive for thousands of years for the people to gather together, commorate it, learn from it, and move in the same direction.

ROUTE TAKEN BY IMĀM ḤUSAYN FROM MAKKAH TO KARBALA



MAP COURTESY OF MUHAMMADI TRUST OF U.K.

THE MARTYRS OF KARBALA

Sayyid Saeed Akhtar Rizvi

This article, giving list of, and some details about, the martyrs of Karbala, is based on *Ibṣāru 'l-'Āin* of Shaykh Muḥammad as-Samāwi, *Biḥāru 'l-Anwār* of 'Allāmah Majlisi, *Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr 'Ashūb and *Muntaha 'l-'Āmal* of Shaykh 'Abbās Qummi. This list includes those martyrs also who sacrificed their lives for Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him) in Kūfa and Baṣrah shortly before or after the tragedy of Karbala.

I. Banū Hāshim: All the martyrs of Banū Hāshim should more correctly be called Banū Abī Ṭālib, because it was only the descendants of Abū Ṭālib who gave their lives on the alter of Islam in Karbala; no other family from Banū Hāshim participated

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in that supreme sacrifice (*dhibḥ ʻaẓīm*). Various narratives put their number from seventeen to thirty. A more reliable list would be as follows:

A) Children of Amīru ʾl-Muʿminīn ʿAli (a.s.):

1. Imām Ḥusayn (a.s.).
2. ʿAbbās.
3. ʿUthmān.
4. Jaʿfar.
5. ʿAbdullāh.
6. Ibrāhīm.
7. ʿUmār. (His case is doubtful.)
8. Muḥammad al-Aṣghar. (Another tradition says that he was sick and was not martyred.)

B) Children of Imām Ḥasan (a.s.):

1. Aḥmad (Abū Bakr).
2. ʿAbdullāh.
3. Qāsim.
4. Ḥasan Muthanna was seriously wounded but later recovered.

C) Children of Imām Ḥusayn (a.s.):

1. ʿAli al-Akbar.
2. ʿAli al-Aṣghar (ʿAbdullāh ar-Raḍī').

D) Children and grandchildren of ʿAqīl:

1. Muslim bin ʿAqīl (martyred at Kūfa).
2. Jaʿfar bin ʿAqīl.
3. ʿAbdu ʾr-Raḥmān bin ʿAqīl.
4. Muḥammad (or Abu ʿUbaydullāh) bin Muslim bin ʿAqīl.
5. ʿAbullāh bin Muslim.
6. Jaʿfar bin Muḥammad bin ʿAqīl.
7. Muḥammad bin Abi Saʿīd bin ʿAqīl.

Other two children of Muslim bin ʿAqīl were martyred at Kūfa one

year after Karbala; and no one remained alive from the progeny of ʿAqīl.

E) Grandchildren of Jaʿfar aṭ-Ṭayyār:

1. ʿAwn bin ʿAbdullāh bin Jaʿfar.
2. Muḥammad bin ʿAbdullāh bin Jaʿfar.
3. ʿUbaydullāh bin ʿAbdullāh bin Jaʿfar. (His case is doubtful.)

II. *Ṣaḥābah:* Five companions (*ṣaḥābah*) of the Holy Prophet sacrificed their lives to help Imām Ḥusayn (a.s.). They are:

1. Anas bin Ḥarth al-Kāhili.
2. Ḥabīb bin Muẓāhir.
3. Muslim bin ʿAwsajah.
4. Hāni bin ʿUrwah al-Murādi, (age: more than 80 years; martyred at Kūfa).
5. ʿAbdullāh bin Yaqṭur, (a foster-brother of Imām Ḥusayn; martyred at Kūfa).

III. Slaves: Sixteen slaves or ex-slaves attained the glory of martyrdom with Imām Ḥusayn (a.s.). Their names are:

1. Naṣr bin Abi Naizar (ex-slave of Imām ʿAli).
2. Saʿd bin Ḥarth (ex-slave of Imām ʿAli).
3. Munjiḥ bin Sahm (ex-slave of Imām Ḥasan).
4. Aslam bin ʿAmr (ex-slave of Imām Ḥusayn).
5. Qārib bin ʿAbdullāh Duʿali (ex-slave of Imām Ḥusayn).
6. Ḥarth bin Nabhān (ex-slave of Ḥamzah).
7. John bin Huwai (ex-slave of Abu Dharr al-Ghifāri).
8. Saʿīd or Saʿd (slave of ʿUmar bin Khālid aṣ-Ṣaidāwi).
9. Nāfiʿ or Rāfiʿ (slave of Muslim Azdi).
10. Sālim (slave of Banī Madaniyyah al-Kalbi).
11. Sālim (slave of ʿĀmir al-ʿAbdi).
12. Shawdhab (ex-slave of Shabīb ash-Shākiri).
13. Shabīb (slave of Ḥarth Jābiri).
14. Wāḍiḥ (slave of Ḥarth Salmāmi).
15. Sulaymān (ex-slave of Imām Ḥusayn. He was martyred in Baṣrah.)

16. Zāhir bin ‘Amr (ex-slave of ‘Amr bin al-Ḥumuq al-Khuzā‘i).

IV. Martyred after Imām Ḥusayn: Four persons were martyred in Karbala after the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn (a.s.). They were:

1. Suwayd bin ‘Amr bin Abi ’l-Muṭā‘. He was unconscious having been fatally wounded at Karbala. When the din of jubiliations of Yazīd’s army, mingled with the cries of the family of Imām Ḥusayn reached his ears, he regained consciousness. He had hidden a knife in his socks. With it he attacked the enemy and was killed.
2. Muḥammad bin Abi Sa‘īd bin ‘Aqīl. This innocent child was a nephew of Muslim bin ‘Aqīl. After the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn when he saw the the women crying, he took a stick in his hand and came out of the tent, looking to right and left nervously. Laqīṭ al-Juhani mercilessly killed him then and there. His name has already been mentioned in I.
3. Sa‘d bin Ḥarth;
4. and his brother ‘Abdu ’l-Ḥatūff. They were in the army of Yazīd. When the Imām was beheaded and they heard the anguished cries of the family of the Imām, suddenly the spark of faith came to life in their hearts and they attacked their own army. They fought bravely and were killed.

V. Wounded and Died Afterwards: Three helpers of the Imām were seriously wounded and afterwards succumbed to death. They were:

1. Sawwār bin Mun‘im Abi ‘Umayr an-Nahm. He was seriously wounded in the first attack and died as a result of those wounds within six months.
2. Muwaqqa‘ bin Thamāmah. He was also wounded seriously and then arrested. He died by end of the year.
3. ‘Amr bin ‘Abdullāh al-Hamadāni al-Jundu‘iy. He fell on the ground seriously wounded, again was struck on head by a sword. His tribemen took him away but he could not recover and died by end of the year.

VI. With Family: Apart from the Banū Hāshim, only three companions of Imām Ḥusayn had come to Karbala with their families:

1. Junādah bin Ḥarth Salmāni: He and his family remained with the Imām. When he was martyred, his widow told her child, ʻAmr, to go and sacrifice his life for the Imām. The Imām refused to allow him to fight, saying: "His father has just been killed in this battle; his mother, perhaps, would not like to part with her son also." The child answered: "But it is my mother who has sent me to fight." In the end, he also laid his life in the way of Allāh.
2. Wahab bin ʻAbdullāh al-Kalbi. He had accompanied the Imām from Biʻr Jud. His mother and wife were with him. When he was fighting, his mother was there to exhort him to do his best. When he was killed, his wife went to his side and she was also killed. She was the only woman martyr of Karbala.
3. Muslim bin ʻAwsajah. He also came to the Imām with his family. When he was martyred, his maid rushed out from the tent, crying "Oh Muslim!" (See II)

VII. Fathers and Sons: Five martyrs were killed in Karbala together with their sons:

1. Imām Ḥusayn (a.s.) with his sons, ʻAli al-Akbar and ʻAli al-Aṣghar (ʻAbdullāh). (See I)
2. Junādah bin Ḥarth Salmāni with his son, ʻAmr. (See VI)
3. Zayd (or Yazīd) bin Thubayt al-Qaysi al-Baṣri, with his sons, ʻAbdullāh and ʻUbaydullāh.
4. ʻAbdullāh al-ʻĀʼidhi with his son, Mujammaʻ.
5. Masʻūd bin Ḥajjāj with his son, ʻAbdu ʼr-Raḥmān.
6. ʻAmr bin Khālid aṣ-Ṣaydāwi with his son, Khālid.

There was one martyr whose father had sacrificed his life helping the father of Imām Ḥusayn. He was ʻAmmār son of Ḥassan bin Shurayḥ aṭ-Ṭāʻī. His father was among the martyr of Ṣiffīn.

There were also two martyrs whose father was martyred in Kūfa in the cause of Imām Ḥusayn. They were ʻAbdullāh and Muḥammad, sons of Muslim bin ʻAqīl. (Muslim's two other sons were arrested after Karbala and were killed one year later.)

VIII. Brothers: There were many martyrs in Karbala who were killed with their brothers:

1-7. Imām Ḥusayn and his six brothers: ʻAbbās, ʻUthmān, Jaʻfar, ʻAbdullāh al-Akbar, Muḥammad (who is known as Abu Bakr) and Ibrāhīm.

8-9. ʻAli al-Akbar and ʻAli al-Aṣghar (ʻAbdullāh), sons of Imām Ḥusayn.

10-12. Qāsim and his two brothers, Aḥmad (Abū Bakr) and ʻAbdullāh, sons of Imām Ḥasan.

13-15. Muslim and his two brothers, ʻAbdu 'r-Raḥmān and Jaʻfar, sons of ʻAqīl.

16-17. ʻAwn and Muḥammad, sons of ʻAbdullāh bin Jaʻfar. (All the above names were mentioned in I.)

18-20. Qāṣiṭ, Kurdus (or Karsh) and Muqṣiṭ, sons of Zahīr (or Zuhayr) at-Taghlibi.

21-22. ʻAbdullāh and ʻUbaydullāh, sons Zayd (or Yazīd) bin Thubayt al-Qaysi. (See VII)

23-24. ʻAbdullāh and ʻAbdu 'r-Raḥmān, sons of ʻUrwah bin Ḥirāq al-Ghifāri.

25-26. Nuʻmān and Julās (or Ḥulās), sons of ʻAmr ar-Rāsibi.

27-28. Saʻd and his brother ʻAbdu 'l-Ḥatūff, sons of Ḥarth al-Anṣāri. (See IV)

29-30. Mālik and Sayf Jābiri. (There were half-brothers.)

IX. Other Martyrs: So far, names of about eighty martyrs have been enumerated. Now, the names of remaining martyrs are given in order of the Arabic alphabets. This list is based on *ziyāratu 'n-nāḥiyah* and other traditions:-

1. Aslam bin Kuthayr al-Azdi.
2. Bishr bin ʻUmar al-Ḥaḍrami.

3. Jabalah bin ʻAli ash-Shaybāni.
4. Jundab bin Ḥijr al-Khawlāni.
5. Ḥubāb bin Ḥārith as-Salmāni al-Azdi.
6. Ḥajjāj bin Masrūq al-Juʻfi.
7. Ḥajjāj bin Zayd Saʻdi.
8. Ḥur bin Yazīd ar-Riyāḥi.
9. Ḥanḍalah bin Saʻd (or Asʻad) ash-Shābāmi (or ash-Shaybāni).
10. Ḥuwai bin Mālik aḍ-Ḍabuʻi.
11. Zuhayr bin Bishr al-Khathʻami.
12. Zuhayr bin Sulaym al-Azdi.
13. Zuhayr bin Qayn al-Bajalli.
14. Zayd bin Maʻqil al-Juʻfi.
15. Saʻd bin ʻAbdullāh al-Ḥanafi.
16. Sayf bin ʻAbdullāh bin Mālik.
17. Shabīb bin al-Ḥārith bin Sarī'.
18. Shabīb bin ʻAbdullāh an-Nahshali.
19. Dirghāmah bin Mālik.
20. ʻĀbis bin Abi Shabīb ash-Shākiri.
21. ʻĀmir bin Muslim.
22. ʻAbdu 'r-Raḥmān bin ʻAbdullāh bin al-Kudar al-Arḥabi.
23. ʻAbdullāh bin ʻUmayr al-Kalbi.
24. ʻAmmār bin Abi Salāmah al-Hamdāni.
25. ʻAmmār bin Ḥassan bin Shurayḥ aṭ-Ṭāʻī.
26. ʻAmr bin Ḍubaiʻah Ḍubu'i.
27. ʻAmr bin Qaraẓah al-Anṣāri.
28. ʻAmr bin Khālid aṣ-Ṣaydāwi.
29. ʻUmar bin Jundab al-Ḥaḍrami.
30. (Abu Thamāmah) ʻUmar bin ʻAbdullāh aṣ-Ṣā'idi (aṣ-Ṣaydāwi).
31. ʻImrān bin Ka'b bin Ḥārith al-Ashjaʻī.
32. Qāsim bin Ḥabīb al-Azdi.
33. Qaʻnab bin ʻAmr at-Tamri.
34. Qays bin Mushir aṣ-Ṣaydāwi (martyred at Baṣrah).
35. Kanānah bin ʻAtīq.
36. Mālik bin ʻAbd bin Sarī'.

37. Nāfi‘ bin Hilāl bin Nāfi‘ al-Bajalli (or al-Jamali).
38. Nu‘mān bin ‘Ajlān al-Anṣāri.
39. Yazīd bin Ḥaṣīn al-Hamdāni.
40. Yazīd bin Ziyād bin Muhāṣir al-Kindi.
41. Adham bin Umayyah.
42. Umayyah bin Sa‘d aṭ-Ṭā‘ī.
43. Bakr bin Ḥai at-Taymi.
44. Ḥajjāj bin Badr Baṣri.
45. Sayf bin ‘Abdullāh al-‘Abdi.
46. ‘Abdullāh bin Bishr.

In this way we get a golden roll of about 120 martyrs who sacrificed their lives "in the way of Allāh", in the battle of Karbala or shortly before or after that supreme encounter between *īmān* and *kufr*.

Their sacrifice is unique in the history; their devotion to Islam and their loyalty to Imām Ḥusayn (a.s.) were unparalleled. Our words cannot do justice to their pristine faith and sincere deeds. It was left to Imām Ḥusayn to appreciate their faith and loyalty in these words: "By Allāh, I do not find a family of any prophet or his successor having more filial piety than my family-members; nor companions of any prophet or his successor more loyal than my companions."

With humility and reverence, we salute them, as we have been taught by our Imāms:-

Peace be upon you, O saints of Allāh and His beloved ones;
Peace be upon you, O chosen ones of Allāh, and His dear ones;
Peace be upon you, O helpers of the religion of Allāh;
Peace be upon you, O helpers of the Messenger of Allāh;
Peace be upon you, O helpers of the Commander of the faithfuls;
Peace be upon you, O helpers of Fāṭimah az-Zahrā', the lady of the woman of the worlds;
Peace be upon you, O helpers of Abu Muḥammad, Ḥasan bin 'Ali, the friend of Allāh, the pure, the sincere;
Peace be upon you, O helpers of Abu 'Abdillāh (al-Ḥusayn);
May my father and mother be your ransom;

Pure and clean were you, and pure and clean became the earth wherein you are buried;
You achieved the great success;
Would Allāh I had been with you to share the success with you.

Now we would like to mention two things which may be of interest to our readers.

The Martyrs of the First Attack

The following companions of Imām Ḥusayn (a.s.) were martyred when the army of Yazīd, sometime after the encounter had began, attacked with full force, abandoning the Arab custom of individual encounters:-

1. Adham bin Umayyah.
2. Aslam bin ʻAmr.
3. Umayyah bin Saʻd aṭ-Ṭāʻī.
4. Bishr bin ʻUmar al-Ḥaḍrami.
5. Bakr bin Ḥai at-Taymi.
6. Jabalah bin ʻAli ash-Shaybāni.
7. Julās (or Ḥulās) bin ʻAmr ar-Rāsibi.
8. Junadah bin Kaʻb (see VI)
9. Jundab bin Ḥijr (or Ḥujayr) al-Khawlāni.
10. Juwayn bin Mālik at-Taymi (or Ḍabuʻi?).
11. Habāb bin ʻAmir at-Taymi (?).
12. Ḥajjāj bin Badr Baṣri.
13. Ḥubāb bin Ḥārith
14. Ḥanḍalah bin ʻAmr (or Saʻd) ash-Shābāmi.
15. Zāhir bin ʻAmr.
16. Zāhir, slave of ʻAmr bin al-Ḥumuq al-Khuzāʻi.
17. Zuhayr bin Bishr (or Bashīr) al-Khathʻami.
18. Zuhayr bin Sulaym.
19. Sālim bin ʻAmr.

20. Sa‘d bin Ḥarth.
21. Sayf bin ‘Abdullāh al-‘Abdi.
22. Sulaymān.
23. Sawwār bin Abī ‘Umayr an-Nahmi; (according to other traditions he was wounded and died within six months). See V.
24. Sayf bin Mālik an-Namīri.
25. Ḍirghāmah bin Mālik at-Taghlabi.
26. ‘Amir bin Muslim al-‘Abdi.
27. ‘Abdu ’r-Raḥmān al-Arḥabi.
28. ‘Abdullāh bin Zayd (or Yazīd) al-Baṣri.
29. ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Urwah al-Ghifāri.
30. ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Umayr.
31. ‘Āyidh bin Mujamma’ bin ‘Abdullāh al-‘Āyidhi (doubtful).
32. ‘Abdu ’r-Raḥmān bin Mas‘ūd bin Ḥajjāj at-Taymi.
33. ‘Abdullāh bin Bishr.
34. ‘Amr bin Ḍubī‘a bin Qays Ḍubu’i.
35. ‘Ubaydullāh bin Zayd (or Yazīd) al-Baṣri.
36. ‘Ammār bin Abi Salmah ad-Dalāni.
37. ‘Ammār bin Ḥassān bin Shurayḥ aṭ-Ṭā‘ī.
38. ‘Amr Junda‘i.
39. ‘Amr bin Mushi‘a.
40. ‘Imrān bin Ka‘b bin Ḥārith Ashja‘i.
41. Qārib bin ‘Abdullāh.
42. Qāsim bin Ḥabīb al-Azdi.
43. Qa‘nab bin ‘Amr an-Namri.
44. Qāṣit bin Ẓahīr (or Zuhayr).
45. Kanānah bin ‘Atīq at-Taghlibi.
46. Mujamma’ ‘Ā’idhi.
47. Mas‘ūd bin Ḥajjāj.
48. Muslim bin Kathīr.

49. Munjiḥ bin Sahm.
50. Muqisṭ bin Zuhayr at-Taghlabi.
51. Naṣr bin Abi Naizar.
52. Nu'mān bin 'Amr ar-Rāsibi.
53. Nu'aym bin 'Ajlān al-Anṣari.
54. Yazīd bin Thubayt.
55. (Abu 'Amr) Ziyād bin Gharīb al-Hanẓali.

56-61. Six slaves of Imām Ḥusayn (a.s.).

Heads of the Martyrs

'Umar bin Sa'd, the commander of Yazīd's army, sent the head of Imām Ḥusayn (a.s.) to Kūfa the day of 'Āshūrah with Khawli and Ḥamīd bin Muslim. Then other martyrs were beheaded and the heads were sent with Shimr bin Dhi 'l-Jawshan.

According to Muḥammad bin Abi Ṭālib, the heads were divided among various tribes in the army of Yazīd, so that they might get rewards and appreciation from Ibn Ziyād and Yazīd. So far as it is known, the following tribes got the heads as follows : Kinda (13); Hawāzin (12 or 20); Tamīm (17 or 19); Asad (16 or 9); Madhḥij (7); other tribes (13).

The author of *Ibṣāru 'l-'Āin* says that heads of all the martyrs were severed, except the head of the infant child of the Imām, because the Imām had buried him in a grave dug by his sword; also, the body of Ḥurr was not beheaded because his tribemen (Banū Tamīm) objected and removed his body far from other martyrs.

The heads of Muslim bin 'Aqīl and Hāni bin 'Urwah were sent to Syria before the heads of the martyrs of Karbala reached Kūfa.

* * * * * *

THE FAMILY OF IMĀM ḤUSAYN

Sayyid Saeed Akhtar Rizvi

Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him) had married five times. Here is a short life-sketch of his wives.

1. Shahr Bānu

Shahr Bānu was a daughter of Yazd Gurd, the last emperor of Iran. She and her sister, Gayhān Bānu, were sent to Arabia by Ḥurayth bin Jābir, governor of Persia in the time of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn 'Ali. Shahr Bānu was married to Imām Ḥusayn and Gayhan Bānu to Muḥmmmad bin Abi Bakr, who was brought up by 'Ali (peace be upon him).

Imām Zaynu 'l-'Ābidīn (peace be upon him) was Shahr Bānu's son. He was born in the year 38 A.H., in Kūfa, and Shahr Bānu

died within ten days of the birth of Imām Zaynu 'l-'Ābidīn. He was brought up by a maid of Imām Ḥusayn whom he addressed as 'mother'. The stories in which Shahr Bānu is shown present in Karbala have no basis at all.

Gayhān Bānu gave birth to Qāsim, whose daughter, Umm Farwah, was married to Imām Muḥammad Bāqir (peace be upon him) and she was the mother of Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (peace be upon him).

2. Rubāb

Rubāb was a daughter of Imra'u 'l-Qays who was the chief of the tribe of Kinda. One of her elder sisters, Mahyat, was married to Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn 'Ali (peace be upon him) and died in the life of Imām 'Ali.

Rubāb was mother of Sakīnah and 'Abdullāh (known as 'Ali al-Aṣghar). Imām was very fond of Sakīnah (whose real name was Āminah or Amīmah).

Rubāb was present in Karbala and suffered all the agonies undergone by the family of the Prophet. She was arrested and imprisoned together with other members of the family. After returning to Madinah, she would sit under hot sun, never seeking any shelter. Thus mourning the deaths of her dear ones, she died after one year.

3. Lailā

Lailā was daughter of Abu Murra, son of 'Urwah bin Mas'ūd ath-Thaqafi. Her mother was Maymūnah, daughter of Abu Sufyān. Thus she was a cousin of Yazīd. Her aunt Umm Sa'īd, daughter of 'Urwah, was one of the wives of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn 'Ali. Lailā was mother of 'Ali Akbar. Her name has not been mentioned in the old books written about Karbala. Add to this the fact that her name was never mentioned in the court of Yazīd and nobody blamed him that he had imprisoned his own cousin. Also, we hear that 'Ali

Akbar was brought up by Zaynab, the sister of Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him). From these pointers, the scholars have concluded that Lailā was not alive at the time of the tragedy of Karbala.

4. Umm Isḥāq

Umm Isḥāq was daughter of Ṭalḥah bin ʻUbaydullāh Taimi. She was first married to Imām Ḥasan and she gave birth to two sons and one daughter. When Imām Ḥasan was poisoned, he told Imām Ḥusayn to marry Umm Isḥāq. Thus, some time after the death of Imām Ḥasan, she was married to Imām Ḥusayn, and gave birth to Fāṭimah Kubrā.

When Ḥasan Muthanna, the second son of Imām Ḥasan, approached Imām Ḥusayn so that the Imām might arrange his marriage, the Imām told him: "My son select either of my daughters, Fāṭimah or Sakīnah." Ḥasan Muthanna blushed and could not answer. So the Imām said: "I select Fāṭimah Kubrā for you, because she resembles my mother, Fāṭimah." Thus Fāṭimah Kubrā was married to Ḥasan Muthanna and gave birth to three sons and two daughters. One of their sons, ʻAbdullāh, and two grandsons, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, are well-known in Islamic history; they fought Manṣūr, the ʻAbbāside king, and were killed. The tortures inflicted upon the descendents of Imām Ḥasan, owing to this opposition, are well-known to the students of Islamic history.

Ḥasan Muthanna was present in Karbala. He was seriously wounded and was put among the bodies of the martyrs. After the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn, when sound of drums and the cries of rejoicings reached his ears, he regained consciousness. He found a broken sword in the battle-field and tried to fight the enemy again. But the loss of blood had made him so weak that the enemy overpowered him and he was arrested. Asmā' bin Khārijah, a man from the tribe of his mother, rescued him from his fellow-mercenaries of Yazīd. He later recovered from the injuries and returned to Madinah. After about fifteen years, when Ḥasan Muthanna died in Madinah, Fāṭimah Kubrā erected a tent on his

grave in Jannatu ’l-Baqī’, and remained there for exactly one year. Then she returned to her house.

These historical facts leave no room for the myth of marriage, on the day of ‘Āshūrah, between Qāsim bin Ḥasan and Fāṭimah Kubrā. As Shaykh ‘Abbās Qummi wrote in *Muntaha ’l-‘Āmal*, the story-tellers, before reciting that story, should find out a daughter for Imām Ḥusayn whom he could give in marriage to Qāsim, in Karbala.

5. Quḍā’īyah

She was from the tribe of Quḍā’ah. Her name is not known. She gave birth to one child, Ja‘far, who died in childhood.

Children

All historians agree about these six children: 1) Imām Zaynu ’l-‘Ābidīn. 2) ‘Ali al-Akbar. 3) ‘Ali al-Aṣghar. 4) Ja‘far. 5) Fāṭimah; and 6) Sakīnah.

Some historians, however, have added some more names. Kamālu ’d-dīn Muḥammad bin Ṭalḥah ash-Shāfi‘i in his book, *Maṭālibu ’s-Su’ūl*, counts ‘Abdullāh and ‘Ali al-Aṣghar as two sons and adds the names of one more son, Muḥammad, and one more daughter, Zaynab.

Add to this the daughter who died in the prison of Yazīd in Damascus, whose name, as written on the tomb, was Ruqaiyyah. Also, some unauthentic narratives mention one daughter, Fāṭimah Ṣughrā, who, it is said, was left in Madinah because she was ill when Imām Ḥusayn left Madinah for Mecca. Thus we get the names of six sons (two of which are doubtful) and five daughters (two or three of which are doubtful).

Only Imām Zaynu ’l-‘Ābidīn and Fāṭimah Kubrā had any children.

HIND OR URAYNAB

A Good Example of Umayyad Propaganda

Sayyid Saeed Akhtar Rizvi

Mu‘āwiyah had established a full-fledged department of propaganda. It was their duty to invent virtues and excellence (*faḍā‘il*) of Banū Umayyah and their partisans; and forge and publish bad things about the Hāshimites in general and Imām ‘Ali in particular. The activities of this department are well-known; no particular reference is needed for those who have studied Islamic history. Some of the orders given to this department during Mu‘āwiyah’s reign are quoted below from *al-Iḥtijāj* of aṭ-Ṭabrasi for further information:-

“The announcer of Mu‘āwiyah announced: I have removed my protection from him who narrates any tradition of the Prophet concerning the virtues of ‘Ali and the superiority of his family

members (Ahlu 'l-bayt) ... And Mu'āwiyah wrote (a circular) to all his governors in all the towns: Do not accept evidence of any Shī'ah of 'Ali and Ahlu 'l-bayt; and find out among you the partisans of 'Uthmān and those who love his family-members and friends, and those who believe in his superiority and virtues ... seat them near you and honour them; and note down the name and tribe of him who narrates his virtues. They did so; until the stories and tales about 'Uthmān became numerous, and they had forged them ... Then he wrote to his governors: Verily the traditions about 'Uthmān have increased and spread in every town. Now ask the people to narrate about Mu'āwiyah, his superiority and precedence, because this is dearer to our heart ...

"And worst of all in this respect were the reciters (*qurrā'* of the Qur'ān) who showed piety and reverence (of religion); and they lied, forged and invented tales. By this they carried favour with governors and judges, who made them seat near themselves; in this manner, they collected riches, properties and buildings. This continued till their tales became "fact" and "truth" in the eyes of public. Thus they narrated those invented tales and traditions, accepted them, learnt them and taught them; they loved those who accepted them and hated those who rejected those traditions or had any doubt about them. Therefore, the whole group accepted, and agreed upon, those traditions; and they reached in the hands of pious people, who did not think it lawful to forge traditions; yet such persons accepted those traditions believing them to be true. And if they had known their falsity and believed that they were forged, they would certainly have discarded them ... "

The above narration gives us a glimpse of the function of this department during the reign of Mu'āwiyah. Those people forged a tradition in praise of Ibn Muljim (the assassin of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn 'Ali) on payment of one hundred thousand dirham, and made the people believe that the Banū Umayyah were the true successors and heirs of the Holy Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him), and that 'Ali (peace be upon him) was, God forbid, an enemy of the Messenger of Allāh.

The department continued to function with devilish efficiency even after Mu‘āwiyah. When Yazīd murdered Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him), and the public became restless on knowing who was murdered, the orators and preachers under this department started to slander Imām Ḥusayn and his family from the pulpits.

Later, some stories were invented to mar the altruistic nature of Imām Ḥusayn’s sacrifice, and to rob it of its spiritual value. Some said that the underlying factor of this battle was the family feud of the Hāshimites and the Umayyads. Others said that the reason was a personal rivalry between Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him) and Yazīd. Those story-tellers cleverly put in their stories some unsavoury details about Mu‘āwiyah and Yazīd, thus camouflaging their real aim. They knew that the Shī‘ahs would eagerly accept any “tradition” provided it contained some unfavourable items about the enemies of the Ahlu ’l-bayt; they would gladly go on copying such traditions without putting them to academic test, and without realising that the real purpose of such stories was to turn the *jihād* of Karbala into personal or family vendetta. Those propagandists succeeded to a certain extent; many Shī‘ahs unwittingly wrote those stories in their books, although “if they had known their falsity and believed that they were forged, they would certainly have discarded them.”

One such “tradition” is the story of Uraynab, which is translated here (in short) from the Persian translation of *Zahru ’r-Rabī‘*, pp. 353-354:
Uraynab daughter of Isḥāq was married to ‘Abdullāh bin Salam, who was governor of Iraq on behalf of Mu‘āwiyah. Uraynab had no peer in beauty, manners and riches. Yazīd heard about her beauty and was enchanted by it. After some time he could not control his feelings. When Mu‘āwiyah learned about it, he sent him a message advising him to keep his love a secret, so that Mu‘āwiyah could try to get Uraynab for him. Yazīd obediently kept quite.

Then Mu‘āwiyah called ‘Abdullāh bin Salam and showed him

much love and respect. One day he told Abu Hurayrah and Abu Dardā' (two companions of the Prophet, who had attached themselves to Muʿāwiyah) that he had a daughter of marriageable age and wanted to give her in marriage to ʿAbdullāh bin Salam, as he was a very virtuous and attractive person. He asked them to give ʿAbdullāh a hint of this proposal. When ʿAbdullāh approached Muʿāwiyah for his daughter, Muʿāwiyah said that it was appropriate to get the consent of the girl. On the other hand, he advised his daughter: "If anyone comes to you with the message of ʿAbdullāh b. Salam, tell him that ʿAbdullāh is a noble person, but he is already married to Uraynab. If he wants to marry the caliph's daughter, he should divorce Uraynab."

When Abu Hurayrah and Abu Dardā' asked the girl her opinion, she replied as she had been taught. ʿAbdullāh, when informed of this snag, at once divorced Uraynab, keeping the two companions as witnessess. Muʿāwiyah heard the news of the divorce and pretended to be shocked by it. Then the two companions, on Muʿāwiyah's advice, brought the news of divorce to Muʿāwiyah's daughter; and asked her to give her consent to ʿAbdullāh's proposal. She asked for some time so that she might enquire about her suitor's character and antecedents. In the meanwhile, the news of the divorce spread in the town, and also it became known that Yazīd wanted to marry the divorcee, Uraynab. When finally the two companions talked with Muʿāwiyah on behalf of ʿAbdullāh, he replied: "I have made enquires about ʿAbdullāh and am not very satisfied of his way of life." Informed of this reply, ʿAbdullāh realised the trick played upon him by Muʿāwiyah, but now it was too late. He only said: Would that these people too fail in their plan.

When the waiting period (*ʿiddah*) of Uraynab expired, Muʿāwiyah sent Abu Dardā' to Iraq to pass Yazīd's message to her. On reaching Iraq, Abu Dardā' found that Imām Ḥusayn was there. He thought it improper to begin his assignment before visiting Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him).

When the Imām came to know of his errand, he said: "I too wanted to marry her and was about to send someone to her with my proposal. Now that you are here, better take to her my message also, and I shall give her the same dower (*mahr*) which Mu'āwiyah has offered." Abu Dardā' took the two proposals to Uraynab, who asked him to choose for her the better of the two. Abu Dardā' replied: "The son of the Messenger of Allāh is better in my eyes than Yazīd." Uraynab accepted the proposal of Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him); Abu Dardā' gave her the *mahr* and recited *nikāḥ* (marriage contract) with the Imām.

When Mu'āwiyah heard the news, he was very much annoyed; but what could he do? In anger, he started frustrating 'Abdullāh, till his circumstances became straitened. 'Abdullāh returned to Iraq, almost a pauper, and went to see Imām Ḥusayn. He told the Imām that before going to Damascus, he had given some money to Uraynab. "Please remind her; I do not think that she would deny it or take what is not hers lawfully." Uraynab said that it was true, and that the money was safely kept in a bag with his seal intact. Imām Ḥusayn came out and said to 'Abdullāh: "Your money is here, come and receive it back yourself." Uraynab gave the sealed bag to 'Abdullāh; Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him) left them alone, they remembered their old days and cried in loud voices. Hearing the cries, the Imām went inside and said to Uraynab: "I divorce thee three divorces, with Allāh as my witness. O Allāh! Thou knowest that I had not married her for her riches or her beauty; it was done only to make her lawful for her former husband."

Thus did Imām Ḥusayn divorce Uraynab and he did not take any thing back which he had given her. When her *'iddah* expired, 'Abdullāh married her again, and they lived happily ever after.

Ni'matullāh al-Jazā'iri, the author of *Zahru 'r-Rabī'*, has copied it from the history of Ibn Badrun. Also he says: "It is said that there was enmity, both fundamental and incidental,

between Imām Ḥusayn and Yazīd: the fundamental one was the feud between their forefathers; the incidental was the episode of Uraynab." The reader would see that there no hint whatsoever of any religious differences between them. Anyhow, there are many interesting lapses in this story:-

1. Divorcing without the presence of two just (*'ādil*) witnesses is manifestly against the law of the Qur'ān. Allāh says: *And call to witness two just men from among you*. (65:2) And it is the *madhhab* of the Ahlu 'l-bayt that a divorce without two just witnesses is null and void. And this story wants us to believe that Imām Ḥusayn, in total disregard of the law of the Qur'ān and his own *madhhab*, divorced his wife without two witnesses (just or otherwise), by just calling Allāh to be his witness.

2. The story-teller, because of his ignorance of the *madhhab* of Ahlu 'l-bayt, thought that they too allowed three divorces in one sitting or in one period of cleanliness. He makes Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him) say, "I divorce thee three divorces." Such a divorce too is void in the *madhhab* of Ahlu 'l-bayt; it is such a known rule that there is no need of quoting references from the books of traditions and jurisprudence. These two fact, divorcing thrice at a go and without two just witnesses, clearly show what was the *madhhab* of the person who invented this story.

3. Now about its historical blunders. The forger was not aware that after the agreement between Imām Ḥasan (peace be upon him) and Mu'āwiyah and before the tragedy of Karbala (when Mu'āwiyah had already died), Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him) never went to Kufa or Iraq. But this story says that Abu Dardā' found him in Kūfa! An Urdu writer had tried to stitch this torn fabric by taking Uraynab, after her divorce, back to Madina and sending Abu Dardā' also to that city. That particular writer had detestable habit of altering the quotations to mend the glaring defects therein. Academic world calls it forgery and dishonesty.

4. Now comes the prize nugget of history! Since the foundation of Kūfa upto the end of Yazīd's reign, there never was a governor named 'Abdullāh bin Salam. The names of the governors of Mu'āwiyah's time are given below:-

   a) 'Abdullāh bin 'Amr bin 'Āṣ: He was appointed in 41 A.H. when Mu'āwiyah concluded the agreement with Imām Ḥasan (peace be upon him); but was dismissed before he could go to Kūfa.
   b) Mughīrah bin Shu'bah: 41 A.H. till his death in 50 A.H.
   c) Ziyād bin Sumaiyah: 50 A.H.—53 A.H.
   d) 'Ubaydullāh bin Ziyād bin Sumaiyah: 53 A.H.—56 A.H.
   e) Ḍaḥḥāk bin Qays: 56 A.H.—58 A.H.
   f) 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān bin Ummu 'l-Ḥakam: 58 A.H.—59 A.H.
   g) Nu'mān bin Bashīr: 59 A.H.—60 A.H. He was the governor of Kūfa when Mu'āwiyah died in Rajab, 60 A.H. Yazīd dismissed him when Muslim bin 'Aqīl came to Kūfa on behalf of Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him); in place of Nu'mān, Yazīd appointed 'Ubaydullāh bin Ziyād bin Sumaiyah, who waged war against Muslim bin 'Aqīl, and then against Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him) at Karbala, where the Imām was martyred.

These four points of law and history are more than enough to conclusively prove the falsity of this supposed event. Moreover, the same story has been narrated in so many ways that an impartial reader has but to conclude that it is a pack of lies.

Before going further, it should be made dear that if an event is known to be true, then merely some discrepancies in some details do not make it doubtful. For example, it is known that Imām Ḥusayn's head was severed and taken to Ibn Ziyād and Yazīd. There are different narrations as to what happened to it after that. Was it buried in Damascus, Madina, Najaf or Karbala. This difference cannot be used as an evidence that Imām Ḥusayn was not beheaded at all. But if a story is basically wrong, unaccepted and known to be forged, then the difference in various statements

becomes a further proof, if further proof is needed, that the supposed event never took place.

Now let us look at other statements. The second narration is found in *Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr ‘Ashūb and runs as follows:-

> ... Yazid saw Umm Khālid, daughter of Abu Jandal, wife of ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Amir, and was enchanted by her beauty. He put this problem before his father. When ‘Abdullāh came to see Mu‘āwiyah, he told him: “I appoint you to the governorship of Baṣrah; and had it not been that you already have a wife, I would have married you to (my daughter) Ramlah.” Hearing this, ‘Abdullāh went out and divorced his wife. Mu‘āwiyah sent Abu Hurayrah with the proposal of Yazīd to Umm Khalid, and authorised him to give whatever *mahr* she wanted. Then Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and ‘Abdullāh bin Ja‘far came to know of it and sent their proposals to her. She chose Ḥasan (peace be upon him) and was married to him.

Biḥāru ’l-Anwār, vol. 10, also quotes it from *Manāqib*. In this narration we see the following differences :-

a) The woman is not Uraynab daughter of Isḥāq, but Umm Khālid daughter of Abu Jandal.
b) Her husband is not ‘Abdullāh bin Salam, but ‘Abdullah bin ‘Amir. (It should be mentioned here that ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Amir bin Kurayz was a commander of renown in the second and third caliphate; he conquered Khorasan, and died in 57 A.H. And he had married another daughter of Mu‘āwiyah, named Hind, in 44 A.H. Vide *Annals of aṭ-Ṭabari*, vol. 7.)
c) Umm Khālid married Imām Ḥasan, not Imām Ḥusayn.
d) This second marriage took place in Madina not Kūfa.
e) The man who took the proposal of Yazīd to her was Abu Hurayrah, not Abu Dardā’.
f) There is no mention of her being divorced, and marrying her first husband.

It is unimaginable that the events of the same pattern happened twice, once with Imām Ḥasan, and then with Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon them). History does not repeat so rapidly!

The third report comes from Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Madā'ini (752·839 A.D.). Majlisi quotes him in *Biḥāru 'l-Anwār*, (vol. 10) as follows:-

> Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Madā'ini has narrated that (Imām) Ḥasan married Hind, daughter of Sahl bin ʻAmr; who once was married to ʻAbdullāh bin ʻAmir bin Kurayz, and he divorced her. So Muʻāwiyah wrote to Abu Hurayrah to take to her the proposal of Yazīd son of Muʻāwiyah. (Imām) Ḥasan told him (i.e. Abu Hurayrah): Take my proposal also to her. Abu Hurayrah went to her and told her the news (of the two messages). She asked him to choose one of them for her. He said: I choose Ḥasan for you. Therefore, she married (Imām) Ḥasan.

In this report, the woman's name is again changed to Hind daugher of Sahl. There is no mention of the trickery of Muʻāwiyah. There is an additional twist that Abu Hurayrah chose Imām Ḥasan against Yazīd. Abu Hurayrah was one of the boot-lickers of Muʻāwiyah, the most active agent of the above-mentioned propaganda department and, for some years, the governor of Muʻāwiyah in Madina. In this background, this report cannot fail to produce an amused smile in historical circles.

The same al-Madā'ini again makes a slight change in the name of her father. He says: Imām Ḥasan married Hind, daughter of Suhayl bin ʻAmr. Anyhow, according to these two statements, Hind daughter of Sahl or Suhayl, was first married to ʻAbdullāh bin ʻAmir bin Kurayz, who divorced her, and then she was married to Imām Ḥasan (peace be upon him), where it may be assumed, she lived happily ever after. In short, Yazīd could not get her.

Now comes the fifth statement. Describing the events of the court of Yazīd, when the family of Imām Ḥusayn was brought there as

captives, it is written: "And came out Hind, daughter of ʻAbdullāh bin ʻAmir bin Kurayz, wife of Yazīd, who was before that married to Ḥusayn; she tore away her veil ... " (*Biḥāru 'l-Anwār*, vol. 10.)

In this statement the same Hind, who was till now a divorced wife of ʻAbdullāh bin ʻAmir bin Kurayz, becomes his daughter. In the third and fourth reports, she was married to Imām Ḥasan; now she is claimed to be a former wife of Imām Ḥusayn. Earlier, it was taken for granted that Yazīd could not get her, now she is placed in his palace as his wife.

And here is the details how she is supposed to reach the palace of Yazīd: Yazīd was enchanted by the stories of the beauty of Hind, daughter of ʻAbdullāh bin ʻAmir bin Kurayz ... She at that time was married to Imām Ḥusayn. First, he requested Imām Ḥusayn himself to divorce her. The Imām refused. Then he told Muʻāwiyah who requested Imām Ḥasan to intervene; Imām Ḥusayn, complying with his elder brother's advice, divorced Hind. But she rejected the message of Yazīd; and sat in her house. Then Yazīd deputed some people to watch her, and once, when she was going to participate in a marriage ceremony in neighbourhood, they abducted her and took her to Yazīd in Damascus.

One is amazed to see the frequent and fundamental changes in the plot of this one story. Compare the first narration of Uraynab with this last one of Hind, and you will never imagine that it is the same story put in a different garb. Those who do not have time or inclination to make a comparative study of all the relevant statements, have narrated the first and the last stories as two completely different events. Let us recapitulate the six stories here:-

The first story says that Yazīd was enamoured by the beauty of Uraynab daughter of Isḥāq, who was married to ʻAbdullāh bin Salam. Muʻāwiyah tricked him to divorce his wife; but the wife married Imām Ḥusayn, instead of Yazīd. (Both proposals were sent through Abu Dardā'.) This second marriage took place in Kūfa.

Later Imām Ḥusayn divorced Uraynab and she was reunited with her first husband.

The second story keeps the plot intact, but all the names are changed. There is Umm Khālid daughter of Abu Jandal, in place of Uraynab daughter of Isḥāq; ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Amir, in place of ‘Abdullāh bin Salam; Abu Hurayrah, in place of Abu Dardā’; she married Imām Ḥasan, and not Imām Ḥusayn. There is no mention whether she got to her first husband or not.

The third story is identical with the second; but the woman becomes Hind daughter of Sahl bin ‘Amr, instead of Uraynab or Umm Khālid.

In the fourth story there is again a great leap forward. Hind, who in previous stories was wife of ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Amir bin Kurayz, becomes his daughter. She does not go to Imām Ḥasan (peace be upon him) by her second marriage, but is married to Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him) presumably in her first marriage. Earlier statements assumed that she remained with Imām Ḥasan till the end; here it says that Imām Ḥusayn divorced her and she somehow got married to Yazīd.

The sixth statement gives the details of the fifth.

If one passionately looks at these versions, one has to conclude that the propaganda department of the Umayyads prepared an outline of the story, and various people coloured it in their own ways and according to their own knowledge (or, lack of knowledge). The resulting pictures were so different from one another that the first seems to have no connection with the last. But neither the first nor the last had any factual basis. I do not claim that Yazīd had no wife named Hind. ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Amir bin Kurayz was a trusted commander and governor of the previous caliphs, as well as of Mu‘āwiyah. Also he was married to Yazīd’s sister. If Hind really was his daughter (by another marriage), she might well have been

married to Yazīd. Also, she might have been a lover of the family of the Prophet (Ahlu 'l-bayt). It was not uncommon in those days for a daughter or wife to have religious views opposed to her father's or husband's. But here the historical possibilities come to their end. What the Umayyads wanted to gain by linking her name with Imām Ḥasan or Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon them) is totally false, and hence unacceptable.

The aim of these stories, as mentioned in the beginning, was to show that the battle of Karbala was not fought for any altruistic purpose; rather it happened because there was deep-rooted enmity between the clans of Hāshim and Umayyah, and that enmity was intensified because of the rivalry between Imām Ḥusayn (peace be upon him) and Yazīd for a woman. But Allāh says: *They desire to put out the Light of Allāh with their mouths; and Allāh will perfect His Light, although the unbelievers may dislike it*. (61:8) Also He says: *They make a scheme; and I make a scheme (to nullify theirs); so give the unbelievers a respite, let them alone for a while.* (86:15-17) Those people thought of a plan, and, accordingly to His scheme, Allāh let them be so enthusiastic that the same plan was implemented in six different stories that one at once thinks of the Persian proverb, "A liar has no memory." Add to it their blunders from historical and legal points of view, and you will see the picture mentioned in the Qur'ān: *They demolished their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers.* (59:2)

* * * * * * *

THE SELECTED SAYINGS AND LETTERS OF IMĀM ḤUSAYN

Sayyid Muhammad Rizvi

1. When Walīd bin ʻUtbah bin Abi Sufyān, the governor of Madinah, informed Imām Ḥusayn that Yazīd demands a pledge of allegiance from him, the Imām politely refused by saving that an allegiance in secret will be of no value, we shall see into this matter tomorrow in public. But then Marwān bin Ḥakam, who was also present in the meeting, told Walīd to force the Imām for pledging allegiance to Yazīd or to kill him and send his head to Damascus. At that time, the Imām said:

> ... We are the household of the prophethood, the source of messengership, the descending-place of the angels, through us Allāh has began (showering His favours) and with us He has perfected (His blessings). Whereas Yazīd is a sinful man, a drankurd, killer of innocent people, and one who openly

indulges in sinful acts. A person like me can never pay allegiance to a person like him ... [1]

2. Before leaving for Mecca, Imām Ḥusayn wrote a will and gave it to his brother Muḥammad al-Ḥanafiyyah:

> In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. This is a will which Ḥusayn bin ʻAli bin Abī Ṭālib makes to his brother Muḥammad al-Ḥanafiyyah: Verily I, Ḥusayn, bear witness that there is no god but Allāh who is One and has no partner, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger who came with the truth from the Truth. (I also bear witness that) the Paradise and the Fire are truth, the time (of resurrection) is surely to come, there is no doubt in it; and that Allāh is going to raise those who are in graves.
>
> I am not rising (against Yazīd) as an insolent, or an arrogant, or a mischief-monger or as a tyrant. I have risen (against Yazīd) as I seek to reform the ummah of my grandfather. I wish to bid the good and forbid the evil, and to follow the way of my grandfather and my father, ʻAli bin Abī Ṭālib.[2]

3. When Imām Ḥusayn was in Mecca the news spread all over the Islamic countries that Ḥusayn has refused to pay allegiance to Yazīd and has left Madinah. The people of Kūfa wrote many letters requesting him to come to their city. At last, the Imām sent Muslim bin ʻAqīl with the following letter:-

> In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful From Ḥusayn bin ʻAli to the leaders of the believers and the Muslims.
>
> Hāni and Saʻīd 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 your great men is: "There is no Imām over us. Therefore come; through you, may God unite us under truth and guidance." I am sending

1 Ibn Ṭā'ūs, *Maqtalu 'l-Ḥusayn*, pp. 10-11.

2 al-Khatīb al-Khuwārazmi, *Maqtalu 'l-Ḥusayn*, vol. I, p. 88.

you my brother, Muslim bin ʻAqīl, who is my cousin and a trustworthy member of my family. If he writes to me that the opinion of your leaders and of the man of wisdom and merit among you is united in the same way as the messenger who have come to me have described and as I have read in your letters, I will come to you speedily, *insha Allāh*. For by my life, what is the Imām except one who judges by the Book, one who upholds justice, one who professes the religion of truth, and the one who dedicates himself to the essence of Allāh. *Was-salām*.[3]

4. In one of his lectures to the army of Ḥurr, Imām Ḥusayn said:

"People are slaves of the world, whereas religion (*dīn*) is what they lick with their tongues—as long as their wealth is flowing copiously they protect it; but when they are put to test, the religious people become very few."[4]

5. Before reaching Karbala, when Ḥurr tried to threaten the Imām by saying, "I advise you to think of your life; for I am sure that you will killed if you fight," Imām Ḥusayn answered that, "Do you think that you can frighten me with death?!" Then he recited the following poem of a companion of the Prophet from the tribe of Aws:-

I will die, but there is no shame in death for a young man
If what he pursues is right and he strives as a Muslim
If he supports the righteous men by sacrificing his life
And if he disengages himself from the condemned and opposes the criminal
If I live, I won't regret and if I die, I won't suffer
Enough is the humiliation for you to live and be reviled.[5]

3 Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, (translated by Dr. I. K. Howard), London, p. 305.
4 Shaykh ʻAbbās Qummi, *Nafasu 'l-Mahmūm*, Tehran 1368 A.H., p. 126.
5 al-Mufīd, *op. cit*., (I have taken the liberty of translating two verses of this poem differently from the translation of Dr. Howard.) p. 338.

6. In one of his lectures, also delivered before reaching Karbala, the Imām said:-

> Verily you see what has befallen upon us. The world has changed and has turned its back to goodness; it opposition is continious. Nothing is left of goodness except a few remnants like the remnants in a vessel, and vile (remnants) like the unhealthy pasture
>
> Don't you see that the truth is not being practised, and the falsehood is not being prevented. (The situation is such that) a believer should rightly desire to meet his Lord (by sacrificing his life for establishing goodness)—for I do not see death except a bliss, and life with the tyrants a disgusting (thing).[6]

7. Facing the army of Yazīd, the Imām said:-

> O Men! Verily the Messenger of Allāh has said: "If someone sees a cruel king who permits those things which have been forbidden by Allāh, who disregards his duty, who opposes the way of the Messenger of Allāh and acts amongst the servants of Allāh sinfully and aggressively, and that person does not do anything, in action or speech, to change that situation, then it would be right for Allāh to place that person (on the day of judgement) alongside the tyrant ruler."[7]

8. During the last moments of his life, the Imām was heard saying:-

> *O God! I left the world altogether for Your love*
> *I orphaned my children so as to see You*
> *Even if You cut me into pieces in way of love*
> *My heart would not incline to anyone but You*.[8]

9. While attacking the right flank of the Yazīdi army, Imām Ḥusayn was saying:

> *Death is better than accepting disgrace*

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6 Ibn Ṭā'ūs, *op. cit*., p. 32-33.
7 Ibnu 'l-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi 't-Tārīkh*, vol. 4, n.p. 1385 A.H., p. 48.
8 'Abbās Qummi, *Muntaha 'l-'Āmāl*, Tehran 1371 A.H., p. 285.

And disgrace is better than entering the Fire.[9]

10. On the day of ʻĀshurah, before the encounter took place, Imām Ḥusayn faced the army of Yazīd and tried to advice them for the last time in the following words:

> (After praising Allāh and praying for the blessings of Allāh on His Messenger, the Imām said:)
>
> O Men! Trace my ancestry, see whom am I and then refer to your own hearts and blame yourselves. See if it is right for you to kill me and to commit sacrilege. Am I not the son of the daughter of your Prophet, son of his successor, son of his cousin and son of the first one among the believers who believed in the truth of the message of the Messenger of Allāh? Is not Ḥamzah, the leader of the martyrs, uncle of my father? Is not Jaʻfar, the one who is flying in the Paradise with his wings, my uncle?
>
> Haven't you heard what the Messenger of Allāh has said about me and my brother that, "These two are the leaders of the youngsters of Paradise"? So if you testify to the truth of what I have said, then it will be a right thing to do. (And, by Allāh, I have never lied because I know that Allāh hates those who lie.) And if you think that I am a liar, then there are some companions of the Prophet still alive among you whom you can ask about what I have said. Go and ask Jābir bin ʻAbdullāh al-Anṣāri, Abu Saʻīd al-Khudari, Sahl bin Saʻd as-Sāʻidi, Zayd bin Arqam and Anas bin Mālik. They will surely tell you that they have heard these sayings about me and my brother from the Messenger of Allāh.
>
> Are not these facts enough to prevent you from shedding my blood?... If you doubt in these words of the Prophet, then do you doubt that I am the son of the daughter of your Prophet. By Allāh, there is no grandson of the Prophet other than me in the East or the West. Woe unto you! Do you want me for a slain person among you whom I have killed? Or for a wealth which I have destroyed? Or for retaliation of an

9 *Ibid*, p. 282.

injury I might have caused to someone among you?

...O Men! If you do not like me, then let me to go a secure place on the earth far from you.

In answer to this request, some of the officers of Yazīd's army said that "we do not know anything about what you said, we only want you to pay allegiance to Yazīd." The Imām answered:

No! By Allāh, I will not give you my hand in allegiance like a humiliated person nor will I run away from this encounter as a slave.[10]

10 'Abbās Qummi, *Nafasu 'l-Mahmūm*, p. 145-146.

THE LIFE OF IMĀM ḤUSAYN

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IMĀM AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʻALĪ

(This is) an account of the Imām after al-Ḥasan b. ʻAlī, peace be on him, (giving) the date of his birth, the evidence of his Imāmate, the age he reached, the period of his succession (*khilāfa*), the time and cause of his death, the place of his grave, the number of his children. (It also provides) a selection from the (historical) reports about him.

The Imām after al-Ḥasan b. ʻAlī was his brother, al-Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī, (who was) the son of Fāṭima, daughter of the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family, through the designation (*naṣṣ*) of his father and grandfather, peace be on them, and the testamentary bequest (*waṣiyya*) of his brother, al-Ḥasan, peace be on him. His kunya was Abū ʻAbd Allāh.

He was born in Medina, on the fifth of Shaʻbān in the year 4 A.H. (626). His mother, Fāṭima, peace be on her, brought him to the Apostle of God. The latter was delighted with him and named him Ḥusayn. He sacrificed a ram on his behalf in the rite of *ʻaqīqa*. On the testament of the Apostle of God, he and his brother are the two lords of the youth of Heaven, and by unanimous agreement, they were the grandsons of the Prophet of Mercy.

Al-Ḥasan b. ʻAlī, peace be on them, was like the Prophet, may God bless Him and His Family, from his head to his chest, while al-Ḥusayn was like him from his chest to his feet. They were the two dear ones of the Apostle of God among all his family and children.

[Zādhān reported on the authority of Salmān, may God be pleased with him:]
I heard the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family, say concerning al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them: "O God, I love both of them. Therefore love them and love whoever loves them:" Then he said: "Whoever loves al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, is one whom I love. Whomever I love, God loves, and whomever

God loves, He will cause to enter Heaven. Whoever hates them, I hate and God hates. Whomever God hates, He will cause to enter the Fire." Then he said: "These two sons of mine are my two plants of sweet basil (to sweeten) the world."

[Zirr b. Ḥubaysh reported on the authority of Ibn Mas'ūd:]
While the Prophet, may God bless Him and His Family, was praying, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn came and stood behind him. When he raised his head, he took them tenderly (into his arms). When he resumed (his prayers), they resumed (theirs). Then when he had finished, he sat one on his right knee and the other on his left knee and said: "Whoever loves me, should love these two. They, peace be on them, are the two proofs (*ḥujjatay God*) of God of His Prophet in the contest of prayer (*mubāhala*). After their father, the Commander of the Faithful, they are the two proofs of God (*ḥujjatay God*) to the community concerning religion (*dīn*) and belief (*milla*)."

[Muḥammad b. 'Umayr has reported on the authority of his teachers (*rijāl*) that Abu 'Abd Allāh (i.e. Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq), peace be on him, said:][1]
Al-Ḥasan, peace be on him, said to his companions: "God has two cities - one in the east and the other in the west - in which God's creatures are never interested in disobeying Him. Yet, by God, God's proof to His creatures, both in those two and between them, is no other than myself and my brother, al-Ḥusayn."

A narration of the same kind is reported from al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, peace be on them, when he said to the followers of Ibn Ziyād on the day of deprivation: "What is the matter with you that makes you help each other against me? Or (don't you see) if you kill me, you kill God's proof to yourselves? No, by God, there is not between Jābilqā and Jabirsā a son of a prophet through whom God provides proof to you other than myself." He meant by Jābilqā and Jabirsā, the two cities which al-Ḥasan, peace be on him, had mentioned.

1 *Al-Kāfī* (Tehran, 1388A.H.) I,462, tradition no. 5. Al-Kulayni's *isnād* has been shortened as has the tradition.

One of the conclusive pieces of evidence (*burhān*) of the perfection of both of them, peace be on them, and the proof of God's special regard for them both, after what we have mentioned of the contest of prayer of the Prophet, may God bless Him and His Family, (in which he used) them both, is the pledge (*bay'a*) which the Apostle of God made, to them, when he never made any (other) pledge to a child. The Qur'ān also brings down the positive statement of the reward of Heaven to them both because of their works, despite the outward state of childhood in which they were. It did not bring down that to any other like them. God said in *Sūrat Hal ātā* (*Insan*) (known also as *Sūrat al-Dahr*) (LXXVI 8-12): *And they give food out of love for Him to the poor and the orphan and the captive. We only feed you for God's sake; we desire from you neither reward nor thanks. Surely we fear from our Lord a stern, distressful day. Therefore God will guard them from the evil of that day and cause them to meet with ease and happiness. And reward them, because they were patient, with garden and silk*. This statement is general to them, peace be on them, with their father and their mother. The tradition contains their assertion of that and their awareness of it; both of which indicate that the illustrious verse was about the two of them and (that) the greatest proof (*ḥujja*) to creatures was through them both. In the same way the report about the Messiah, peace be on him, speaking in the cradle was a proof of his prophethood and God's special regard for him through miraculous acts (*karāma*) which indicated his place and position with God with regard to merit (*faḍl*).

The Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family, had made clear his Imāmate and the Imāmate of his brother before him through designation (naṣṣ) when he said: "These two sons of mine are Imāms who will experience difficulties."

The testamentary bequest (*waṣiyya*) of al-Ḥasan, peace be on him, to him indicated his Imāmate, just as the testamentary bequest of the Commander of the Faithful, peace be on him, to al-Ḥasan, peace be on him, indicated his Imāmate just as the testamentary bequest of the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His

Family, to the Commander of the Faithful, peace be on him, indicated his Imāmate after himself.

According to what we have (just) mentioned the Imāmate of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, was confirmed after the death of his brother al-Ḥasan, peace be on him, and the obedience of all creatures to him was binding, although he did not summon them to (follow) him because of precautionary dissimulation (*taqiyya*) which he was following and because of the truce which existed between him and Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān and the need to fulfil it. In that he followed the same course as his father the Commander of the Faithful, peace be on him, in terms of the establishment of his Imāmate after the Prophet, may God bless Him and His Family, despite (his own) silence (about it), and also of the Imāmate of his brother after the truce despite (his) abstention (from politics) and (his) silence. In that they were acting according to the practices (*sunan*) of the Prophet of God, may God bless Him and His Family, when he was blockaded in al-Shiʿb and when he escaped Mecca as an emigrant by hiding in a cave and he was hidden from his enemies.

*****

When Muʿāwiya died, the period of the truce came to an end. (It was this) which had prevented al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, from calling (people) to (follow) him. Then he made public his (claim to) authority as far as was possible. Time after time he explained his right (to authority) to those who were ignorant of it until followers gathered around him. Then he, peace be on him, urged (them) to take up the struggle (jihād) and prepared for battle.

Then with his children and the people of his house (*ahl baytihi*), he set out from the sanctuary of God (Mecca) and the sanctuary his Apostle (Medina) towards Iraq because of the help that was sought from him by the members of his Shīʿa who had urged him (to come) against the enemies. His paternal cousin, Muslim b. ʿAqīl, may God be pleased with him, had preceded him and had satisfied him of the (sincerity of their) call to God and of (their) pledge of

allegiance to him to take part in the struggle. For the people of Kūfa had pledged their allegiance to him (Muslim) to (do) that, and had promised (to do) it and had guaranteed help and advice to him and had given their trust and contract to him. However it was not long before they broke their pledge, deserted him and handed him over. Then he was killed in their midst without them (trying) to stop it. (Furthermore) they went out to (make) war against al-Ḥusayn. They besieged him, peace be on him, prevented him from returning to God's land (i.e. Mecca) and they used force against him in such a way that he could find no one to help him, and no place of refuge from them. They prevented him from getting water from the Euphrates so that they might gain power over him. Then they killed him. He, peace be on him, died, (a man desperately) thirsty, yet still striving and showing fortitude, (a man) forced to be detained, (a man) oppressed. The pledge of allegiance to him was revoked. The respect due to him was ignored. The covenant to him was not fulfilled nor the responsibility of the agreement made with him honoured. (He died) a martyr as his father and brother, peace be on them, had done before him.

The Account of the Martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn

(This is) a selection of the reports which give the reason for his (putting forward) his call (to follow him), and (which tell) of the pledge of allegiance which the people gave to strive (for him), with a brief account of his affair in setting out and (of) his death.

[What al-Kalbī, al-Madā'inī and other historians (*aṣḥāb al-sīra*) have reported:][2]
When al-Ḥasan, peace be on him, died, the Shī'a in Iraq began to make plans. They wrote to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, about removing Mu'āwiya and giving the pledge of allegiance to him.

2 In fact the account follows Ibn al-Kalbī's account as reported by al-Ṭabarī, II, 216-381. Al-Ṭabarī uses three versions, but al-Mufīd follows the version of Ibn al-Kalbī, only once adopting another reading. In places al-Kalbī's version is summarised by al-Mufīd, parts of it are omitted, but by and large al-Mufīd faithfully follows that version.

However, he refused them and pointed out that there was an agreement and contract between himself and Mu‘āwiya which he could not break until the period (of the contract) came to an end. However, when Mu‘āwiya died, he would examine that (matter).[3]

When Mu‘āwiya did die - and that was halfway through the month of Rajab in the year 60 A.H. (680) - Yazīd wrote to al-Walīd b. ‘Utba b. Abī Sufyān, who was in Medina (acting) on behalf of Mu‘āwiya, instructing him to get al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, to pledge allegiance to him and to allow him no delay in (doing) that. Therefore, al-Walīd sent in the night to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, and summoned him (to attend). Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, was aware of what he wanted and so he called a group of his retainers (*mawāli*) and ordered them to carry arms.

“Al-Walīd has summoned me (to come to him) at this time (of night),” he told them. “I cannot be sure that he might not burden me with a matter I may be unwilling to respond to, he is an unpredictable man, so remain with me. When I go to him, sit at the door. If you hear my voice raised, come in to prevent him from (doing anything to) me.”

Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, went to al-Walīd, and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was with him. Al-Walīd gave him news of the death Mu‘āwiya and al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, replied with the formula: “We belong to God and to Him we will return.” Then (al-Walīd) read out Yazīd’s letter and his order to get the pledge of allegiance from him.

“I do not see that my pledge of allegiance to Yazīd in private would be sufficient,” al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, said. “(Wouldn’t you prefer me) to give it in public so that the people are aware?”
“Indeed,” agreed al-Walīd.
“So see what you think about that in the morning,” suggested al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.

3 This explanation is, rather surprisingly, not included in al-Ṭabarī’s version, for such letters cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, II, 151-2.

“Go, then, in the name of God but come to us when the people gather,” said al-Walīd.
“By God,” interrupted Marwān, “if al-Ḥusayn leaves you now without giving the pledge of allegiance, you will never have the same power over him until there is a great number of slain men between you and him. Imprison the man and don’t let him leave you until he has paid homage (to Yazīd), or you have executed him.”

At that, al-Ḥusayn jumped up and said: “O son of foreign woman, would you or he kill me? By God, you are a liar.” With that he went out and walked away accompanied by his retainers until he reached his house.

“You disobeyed me,” Marwān told al-Walīd. “No, by God, he will never give you the same opportunity over his life.”
“Then blame someone other than yourself, Marwān.” replied al-Walīd. “Indeed, You had chosen for me something which would have involved the destrucion of my own faith. By God, I would not want all the worldly wealth and dominion which the sun rises and sets over, (if it involved) killing al-Ḥusayn. Glory be to God, should I kill al-Ḥusayn because he said ‘I will not swear allegiance’? By God, I do not think that on the Day of Resurrection a man who is (responsible) for the blood of al-Ḥusayn (will weigh) little in the scales of God.”
“If this is your opinion, then you have acted correctly in what you did,” said Marwān, without commending him for his view.

Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, spent that night at his house. It was the night of Saturday (i.e. Friday night) when there were three days left in the month of Rajab, in the year of 680. Al-Walīd b. ‘Utba was occupied with sending to Ibn al-Zubayr about the pledge of allegiance to Yazīd, and with his refusal (to come) to them. Ibn al-Zubayr left Medina at night heading for Mecca. In the morning al-Walīd sent men after him - he sent (a party of) eighty horsemen under the command of a retainer (*mawlā*) of the Banū Umayya. They pursued him but did not catch up with him, so they returned.

Towards the end of Saturday he sent men to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, to bring him to pledge allegiance to al-Walīd on behalf of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya. Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, said to them: "Come in the morning. Then you will (have time to) consider (the situation) and so shall we."

They left him that night without insisting upon him (attending). He, peace be on him, left under (cover of the) night, - it was the night of Sunday (i.e. Saturday night) with two days left in the month of Rajab - and he headed towards Mecca accompanied by his sons, his brother's (al-Ḥasan's) sons and his brothers. There was most of the House except for Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, may God have mercy on him.

When the latter had heard of his decision to leave Medina he did not know where he was intending to go. He said: "My brother, you are the most lovable of people to me and the dearest of them to me. I could not give advice to any creature except to you while you are more entitled to it. Avoid giving your pledge of allegiance to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya and (avoid) the towns while you can. Then send your messengers to the people and summon them to (follow) you. If the people pledge allegiance to you, I praise God; if the people agree upon someone other than you, God 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 the people will differ with each other: a group will be for you and another against you. They will fight 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 family most humiliated."

"Where should I go, brother?" asked al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.
"(Go and) stay at Mecca," he answered, "if that base is secure for you, it will be a means for (gaining power). 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. Your best judgement will be made when you are facing matters directly."

"Brother," replied (al-Ḥusayn), "you have given advice and shown your concern. I hope that your judgement is correct and successful."

Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, set of for Mecca reciting: *Then he left it out of fear while he kept on the lookout. He said: My Lord, save me from the unjust people* (XXVIII 21). He kept to the high road and members of his House suggested: "If you had avoided the high road, like Ibn al-Zubayr did, the search (party) could not follow you."
"No, by God," he replied, "I will not leave it until God judges what He will judge."

When al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, entered Mecca, his entry occurred on the night of Friday (i.e. Thursday), 3rd (of the month) of Sha'bān. As he entered, he recited: *And when he set our towards Madyan, he said: Perhaps my Lord will guide me in the right path* (XXVIII 22).

Then he stayed there and its inhabitants began to visit him frequently, as did those who had to come to make the lesser pilgrimage and (other) people from far and wide. Ibn al-Zubayr had settled himself there, near the Ka'ba, where he used to stand in prayer and perform the circumambulation (*ṭawāf*). He came to visit him, peace be on him, with the (others) who came to visit him. He used to come to him at intervals of two consecutive days, and sometimes between the two-day intervals. He (al-Ḥusayn) was the most troublesome of God's creatures to Ibn al-Zubayr, who realised that the people of Ḥijāz would not pledge allegiance to him as long as al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, was in the land. He was more capable of (commanding) the people's obedience than him, and was more respected.

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The Kūfans learnt of the death of Muʻāwiya, may the pit of Hell be for him, and spread rumours about Yazīd. They (also) came to know of the news of the refusal of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, to give (Yazīd) the pledge of allegiance, (as well as) what the attitude of Ibn al-Zubayr had been, and (how) both of them had left for Mecca. The Shīʻa in Kūfa gathered in the house of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzāʻī. (There) they discussed the death of Muʻāwiya, and praised and glorified God (for that).

"Muʻāwiya is dead." announced Sulaymān b. Ṣurad. "Al-Ḥusayn has withheld giving his pledge of allegiance to the people (i.e. the Umayyads) and has gone to Mecca. You are his Shīʻa and the Shīʻa of his father. If you know (in your hearts) that you will be his helpers and fighters against his enemy, and that our lives will be given on behalf of him, then write to him and tell him of that. But if you fear failure and weakness, do not tempt the man (to risk) his own life."

"No," they declared, "indeed we will fight his enemy and our lives will be given on behalf of him."
"Then write to him," he told them. They wrote to him:

> In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate,
> To al-Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī, peace be on them,
> From Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, al-Musayyib b. Najaba, Rifāʻa b. Shaddād al-Bajalī, Habīb b. Muẓāhir, and the believers and Muslims of his Shīʻa among the Kūfans.
> Greetings, we praise God before you, other than Whom there is no deity. Praise be to God Who has broken your enemy, the obstinate tyrant who had leapt upon this community, stripped it of its authority, plundered its *fay'* (booty for distribution) and seized control of it without its consent. Then he had killed the choice members of it and had preserved the wicked members of it. He had made the property of God a state (divided) among its tyrants and wealthy. He was destroyed as Thamūd were destroyed. (Now) there is no Imām over us. Therefore come; through you, may

your God unite us under truth. Al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr is in the governor’s palace and we do not gather with him for the Friday (service). Nor do we accompany him (out of the mosque) for the festival service. If we learn that you will come to us, we will drive him away until we pursue him to Syria, if God, the Exalted, wills.

They despatched the letter with ‘Abd Allāh b. Musma‘[4] al-Hamdānī and ‘Abd Allāh b. Wālin. They ordered them to go quickly. They hurried off and came to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, at Mecca on the 10th of the month of Ramaḍān. Two days after sending them with the letter, they sent Qays b. Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī and ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān - the two sons of Shaddad al-Arḥabī[5] - and ‘Umāra b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Salūlī[6] to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. With them they took about one hundred and fifty letters,[7] (some written) by one man individually, (others by groups) of two and four. They (the Kūfans) delayed a further two days and then sent Ḥāni’ b. Ḥāni’ al-Sabi‘ī and Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥanafī (with another letter in which) they had written:

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate,
To al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, peace be on them,
From the believers and Muslims of his Shī‘a. Make haste. The people are waiting for you. They have no opinion (of any man) except you.
Therefore, speed, speed! And then again speed, speed!
Greetings.

Shabath b. Rib‘ī, Ḥajjār b. Abjar, Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ruwaym, ‘Urwa b. Qays[8], ‘Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī and Muḥammad b. ‘Amr al-Taymī[9] wrote (a further letter which said):

The dates have grown green; the fruit has ripened. Therefore

4 Sabu‘ in al-Ṭabarī, II, 234.
5 The two sons are one in al-Ṭabarī, II, 234.
6 ‘Ubayd in al-Ṭabarī, II, 234.
7 Thirty-five in al-Ṭabarī, II, 234.
8 ‘Azra in al-Ṭabarī, II, 234.
9 Muḥammad b. ‘Umayr al-Tamīmī in al-Ṭabarī, II, 234.

if you want to, come to an army which has been gathered for you.
Greetings.

When all the messengers gathered together with him, he read the letters and asked the messengers about the people. (Then) he wrote (an answer and sent it) with Ḥāni' b. Ḥāni' al-Sabi'ī and Sa'īd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥanafī, who were the last two messengers.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate,
From al-Ḥusayn b 'Alī,
To the leaders of the believers and the Muslims.
Ḥāni' and Sa'īd 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 your great men is: "There is no Imām over us. Therefore come; through you, may God unite us under truth and guidance." I am sending you my brother, Muslim b. 'Aqīl, who is my cousin and my trustworthy (representative) from my House. If he writes to me that the opinion of your leaders 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, I will come to you speedily, God willing. For by my life, what is the Imām except one who judges by the Book, one who upholds justice, one who professes the religion of truth, and one who dedicates himself to the essence of God.
Greetings.

Al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, summoned Muslim b. 'Aqīl and despatched him with Qays b. Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī and 'Umāra b. 'Abd Allāh al-Salūlī, and 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the sons of Shaddād al-Arḥabī. He enjoined him to be pious before God and to conceal his affair, and to act in a kindly way. If he saw that the people were united and had committed themselves to an agreement, he should speedily inform him of that.

Muslim, the mercy of God be on him, departed until he came to Medina. There he prayed in the Mosque of the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family, and said farewell to the dearest members of his family. Then he hired two guides. These two set out with him, but they missed the way and got lost. Both were struck by severe thirst and were unable to continue the Journey. They indicated the path to him after it again appeared clear to them. Muslim carried on along the path and the two guides died of thirst. Muslim b. ʻAqīl, the mercy of God be on them both, wrote (a letter) from the place known as al-Maḍīq (and sent it) with Qays b. Mushir:

> I set out from Medina with two guides and they missed the way and got lost. Both were overcome by thirst and soon died. But we kept going until we came to water. we were only saved at the last moment of our lives. That water is in a place called al-Maḍīq in a low valley. I have taken this as a bad omen for my mission. If you consider it so, you could relieve me and send another in my place.
> Greetings.

Al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, wrote (back):

> I am afraid that your urging me in the letter to relieve you from the task which I sent you on is only cowardice. Therefore go on with your task which I gave you.
> Greetings.

Muslim read the letter, he said: “It is not for myself that I am afraid.” So he continued (once more) until he came to a well belonging to (the tribe of) Ṭayyi’. He stayed there (the night) then as he rode off (he saw) a man hunting. He saw him shoot a fawn as it came into his sight, and kill it. Muslim said: “(Thus), will we kill our enemies, God Willing.”

He went on until he entered Kūfa. There he stayed in the house of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʻUbayda. which is called today the house of Muslim b. al-Musayyib. The Shīʻa began to come regularly to (see) him. Whenever a group of them gathered together with him, he

would read the letter of al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, and they would weep. The people pledged allegiance to him (on behalf of al-Ḥusayn) to the extent that eighteen thousand men made such a pledge to him. Therefore Muslim wrote to al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, informing him of the pledge of allegiance to him of the eighteen thousand and urging him to come.

The Shīʿa began to visit Muslim b. ʿAqīl so frequently that his place (of residence) became well-known. Al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, who had been Muʿāwiya's governor of Kūfa and had been confirmed in office by Yazīd, knew of his whereabouts. He went up on the pulpit and after praising God said: "Servants of God, fear God and do not rush into rebellion and discord. For in that men will be destroyed, blood will be shed, and property will be plundered. I do not combat anyone who does not combat me, nor do I disturb those of you who remain quiet. I do not oppose you, nor do I apprehend (you merely) on grounds of suspicion, accusation or hearsay. However, if you turn your faces away from me, violate your pledge of allegiance and oppose your Imām, by God, other than Whom there is no deity, I will strike you with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand, even though 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."

ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim b. Rabīʿa[10] al-Ḥaḍramī, an ally of the Banū Umayya stood before him and said: "O governor, 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."

"I would prefer to be one of the weak (while remaining) in obedience to God than to be one of the mighty (while at the same time being) in rebellion against God," answered al-Nuʿmān. Then he went down (from the pulpit).

ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim went out and wrote the (following) letter to

10 Ibn Saʿīd in al-Ṭabarī, II, 238.

Yazīd b. Muʻāwiya:

> Muslim b. ʻAqīl has come to Kūfa and Shīʻa have pledged allegiance to him on behalf of al-Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, peace be on them. If you have any need for Kūfa, then send it a strong man, who will carry out your orders and act in the same way as you would against your enemy. Al-Nuʻmān b. Bashīr is a weak man, or he is acting like a weak man.

ʻUmāra b. ʻUqba wrote to him in a similar vein, as did ʻUmar b. Saʻd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. When the letters reached Yazīd, he summoned Sarjūn, a retainer (*mawlā*) of Muʻāwiya and asked (him): "What is your view (of the fact) that Ḥusayn has sent Muslim b. ʻAqīl to Kūfa to receive pledges of homage on his behalf? I have (also) learnt that Nuʻmān is weak, and had other bad reports of him. Who do you think that I should appoint as governor of Kūfa?"

Now Yazīd was angry with ʻUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād so Sarjūn answered him, "Do you think if Muʻāwiya was alive and advising you, that you would take his advice?"
"Yes," he answered.

Sarjūn produced a (letter of) appointment for ʻUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (as governor) of Kūfa and said: "This is the advice of Muʻāwiya, which he ordered before he died. So join the two cities of Baṣra and Kūfa (under the authority) of ʻUbayd Allāh."
"I'll do that," replied Yazīd. "I'll send the letter of authority (which my father wrote) for ʻUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād to him."

After this he summoned Muslim b. ʻAmr al-Bāhilī and he sent him to ʻUbayd Allāh with the following (letter):

> My Shīʻa among the people of Kūfa have informed me that Ibn ʻAqīl is there gathering units in order to spread rebellion among the Muslims. Therefore, when you read this letter of mine, go to Kūfa and search for Ibn ʻAqīl as if you were looking for a bead until you find him. Then bind him (in chains), kill him or expel him.
> Greetings.

In this way he gave him authority over Kūfa. Muslim b. ʻAmr went to ʻUbayd Allāh at Baṣra and brought him the authorisation and the letter. ʻUbayd Allāh ordered that preparations should be made immediately and that the departure for Kūfa would take place on the next day. He himself left Baṣra after he had made his brother, ʻUthman, his deputy. He took with him Muslim b. ʻAmr, Sharīk b. al-Aʻwar al-Ḥārithi, together with his entourage and household.

When he reached Kūfa, he was wearing a black turban and he was veiled. News of al-Ḥusayn's departure had reached the people and they were expecting his arrival. When they saw ʻUbayd Allāh, they thought that he was al-Ḥusayn. He (i.e. ʻUbayd Allāh) did not pass a group of people without them greeting him. They were saying: "Welcome, son of the Apostle of God, your arrival is a happy (event)."

He saw in their welcoming of al-Ḥusayn something which (greatly) troubled him. Muslim b. ʻAmr said, when their number had become so great (that) they were delaying them: "This is the governor ʻUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād."

He went on so that he was approaching the (governor's) palace at night. With him was (still) a great crowd who had gathered round him and who did not doubt that he was al-Ḥusayn. Al-Nuʻmān b. Bashīr had (the palace) bolted against him and against his entourage. One of those with him called on him to open the door to them. But al-Nuʻmān, still thinking that be was al-Ḥusayn, went up to the balcony and called down: "I invoke God before you, unless you withdraw (from me), by God, I will not hand over my office (*amana*) to you but I have no wish to fight you."

(Ibn Ziyād) did not answer him. But he went closer while al-Nuʻmān was hanging over the balcony of the palace. Then he began to say to him: "Open, you have not opened yet and you have already had a long night (in which you have slept instead of governing)."[11]

11 Al-Mufīd omits Ibn al-Kalbī's account of ʻUbayd Allāh's entry into Kūfa as given by al-Ṭabarī, II, 242, and gives ʻUmar b. Shabba's cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 243. This suggests that al-Mufīd got his version of Ibn al-Kalbī from al-Ṭabarī.

A man behind him heard this and withdrew to the people from Kūfa who had followed (Ibn Ziyād) (believing) him to be al-Ḥusayn. He said: "O people, it is Ibn Murjāna,[12] by Him other than Whom there is no deity." Al-Nuʿmān opened the door for him and he entered. They slammed the door in the faces of the people and they dispersed.

In the morning the call was made among the people: "*Al-ṣalāt jāmiʿa* (the prayer is a general prayer which all should gather for)." The people gathered and he went out to them. He praised and glorified God and said. "The Commander of the faithful (Yazīd) has appointed me to be in charge of your town and your frontier-station and the distribution of your booty (*fayʾ*). He has ordered me to give justice to the oppressed among you, to be generous to those of you who are deprived, and to treat the obedient among you with generosity like a good father, but to use the whip and the sword against those who abandon my commands and oppose my appointment. Let each man protect himself. True belief (*sidq*) should declare itself on your behalf, not the threat of punishment (*waʿīd*)."

Then he went down, he took the group leaders (*ʿarīfs*) and (some of) the people forcibly and he said: "Write to me about the strangers, those among you who supported the Commander of the Faithful (i.e. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib), those among you who support the Ḥarūriyya (i.e. Khārijites), and the trouble-makers whose concern is discord and turmoil. Whosoever of you makes these lists for us will be free from harm. But those of you who do not write anyone, will have to guarantee that there is no opponent in his group (*ʿirāfa*) who will oppose us, and no wrongdoer who will try to wrong us. Anyone who does not do so, will be denied protection and his blood and his property will be permitted to us. Any group leader (*ʿarīf*) in whose group is found anyone with partisanship for the Commander of the Faithful, who has not been reported to us, will be crucified at the door of his house, and I will abolish the pay (*ʿaṭāʾ*) of that group (*ʿirāfa*)."

12 Reference to Ibn Ziyād by his mother's name.

When Muslim b. ‘Aqīl heard of the coming of ‘Ubayd Allāh to Kūfa, of the speech he had made and his treatment of the *‘arīfs* and (other) people, he left the house of al-Mukhtār and went to the house of Hāni’ b. ‘Urwa and went in (to stay) there. The Shī‘a began to visit Hāni’s house secretly to keep it hidden from ‘Ubayd Allāh and they enjoined that it should be kept secret.

Ibn Ziyād summoned a retainer (*mawlā*) of his called Ma‘qil. “Take three thousand dirhams,” he told him, “and look for Muslim b. ‘Aqīl and search out his followers. If you get hold of one or a group of them, give them these three thousand dirhams. Tell them to use it to help in the war against your enemy. Let them know that you are one of them. For if you give it to them, they will be sure of you and have confidence in you, and they will not keep any of their information from you. So go (looking) for them and continue until you find where Muslim b. ‘Aqīl is staying and you have met him.”

He did that. He came (to a place where) he sat near Muslim b. ‘Awsaja al-Asadī in the great mosque. The latter was praying, and he (Ma‘qil) heard some people saying that this (was one of those who) had pledged allegiance to al-Ḥusayn. He went up and sat right next to him until he had finished praying.

“O servant of God,” he said, “I am a Syrian whom God has blessed with love for the House and love for those who love them.”

He pretended to weep (in front of) him. Then he continued: “I have three thousand dirhams with which I want to meet a man from them (the House) whom I have learnt has come to Kūfa to receive pledges of allegiance on behalf of the son of the daughter of the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family. I have been wanting to meet him but I have not found anyone who will direct me to him and I don’t know the place (where he is staying). While I was sitting (here), I heard a group of the faithful saying that this is a man (i.e. Muslim b. ‘Awsaja) who is acquainted with this House. Therefore I have come to you so that you may take this money from

me and introduce me to your leader (*ṣāḥib*); for I am one of your brethren and someone you can trust. If you wish, you may receive my pledge of allegiance to him before my meeting him."

"I thank God for you meeting me," replied (Muslim) b. ʻAwsaja, "and it gives me great joy to get (you) what you desire, and that God should help the House of His Prophet, peace be on them, through you. Yet the people's knowledge of my (connection) with this affair before it is finished troubles me, because of (my) fear of this tyrant and his severity."

"It would be better (if) you took the pledge of allegiance from me (now)," Maʻqil told him. So he took his pledge of allegiance and testaments heavily supported by oaths that he would be sincere and keep the matter concealed. He (Maʻqil) gave him whatever would make him content in that way.

"Come to visit me at my house for (a few) days," said (Muslim b. ʻAwsaja). "for I will seek permission for you (to visit) your master."

He began to go to visit him frequently with the people (i.e. the other members of the Shīʻa) and sought permission for him (to visit). Permission was given and Muslim b. ʻAqīl received (Maʻqil's) pledge of allegiance. He told Abū Thumāma al-Ṣāʼidī to take the money from him. The latter was the one who collected money from them and what could be used to help each other, and he used to buy their arms. He was a perceptive man and one of the knights (*fāris*) of the Arabs and one of the notables of the Shīʻa.

That man (i.e. Maʻqil) began to visit them regularly. He was the first to enter and the last to leave, in order to become acquainted with (everything of) their affairs which Ibn Ziyād wanted. He used to keep him informed about that at regular intervals.

Hanīʼ b. ʻUrwa began to fear for himself and he stopped attending Ibn Ziyād's assembly (majlis). He pretended to be sick. Ibn Ziyād

asked those who did attend, “Why is it I don’t see Hanī’?”
“He is sick.” they replied.
“If I had been informed of his illness, I would have paid him a sick visit,” said Ibn Ziyād. Then he summoned Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath, Asmā’ b. Khārija and ‘Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī. Ruwayḥa,[13] daughter of ‘Amr was married to Hānī’ b. ‘Urwa; she was the mother of Yaḥyā b. Hānī’.
“What prevents Hānī’ from coming to visit us?” he asked them.
“We don’t know,” they replied, “but it is said that he is sick.”
“I have learnt,” replied (Ibn Ziyād), “that he is better and that he sits at the door of his house. Go and tell him that he should not abandon his duty towards us. For I do not like one of the Arab nobles like him to ill-treat me.”

They went until they stood before his (house) in the evening. He was sitting at his door.
“What is stopping you from seeing the governor?” they asked. “For he has mentioned you and said that if he had been told you were ill, he would have paid you a sick-visit.”
“An illness has stopped me,” he answered.

“He has been informed.” they said. “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.”

He called for his clothes and got dressed. Then he called for a mule and rode (with them). When he got near the palace, he began to feel some apprehension. He said to Ḥassān b. Asmā’ b. Khārija, “Nephew, by God, I fear this man. What do you think?”
“Uncle, by God, I do not fear anything for you. Why do you invent a reason (for blame) against yourself?” he answered, for Ḥassān did not know why ‘Ubayd Allāh had sent for him. (So) Hānī’ went on until he came to ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād. With him was a group (of people).

13 Rua in al-Ṭabarī, II, 250.

When he looked up, ‘Ubayd Allāh said (to himself): “The fool’s legs have brought him to you.” Then, when Hānī’ had drawn near Ibn Ziyād, who had the *qāḍī* Shurayḥ, with him, Ibn Ziyād turned towards him and recited:

> I want is friendship but he wants my death.
> The one who makes excuses to you is one of your own bosom friends from the tribe of Murād.[14]

He was referring to his earlier kindness and gentleness to him (Hānī’).

“What is that, governor?” asked Hānī’.
“Yes, Hānī’, what are these matters which you have been plotting in your house against the Commander of the faithful and the general community of the Muslims?” asked Ibn Ziyād. “You have brought Muslim b. ‘Aqīl and taken him into your house. You have gathered arms and men for him in houses around you. You thought that was hidden from me.”
“I have not done that and Muslim is not with me,” he replied.
“Oh yes (you have),” was the answer.

After the argument between them had gone on for some time and Hānī’ persisted in contradicting and denying (the accusations), Ibn Ziyād summoned that spy, Ma‘qil. He came and stood before him.
“Do you know this man?” (Ibn Ziyād) asked him.
“Yes,” he replied.

At that (moment) Hānī’ realised that he had been a spy against them and had brought (Ibn Ziyād) all their information. For a moment he was bewildered, and then his spirit returned to him.

“Listen to me,” he said. “and believe what I say. I swear by God that I do not lie. By God, I did not summon him to my house. I did not know anything about his business until he came to me asking

14 This verse is also supposed to have been recited by ‘Alī concerning Ibn Muljam.

to stay with me. I was too ashamed to refuse him. As a result of that, the duty of giving (him) protection fell upon me. Therefore I gave him lodging and refuge. Then his affair developed as you have been informed. If you wish, I will give you strongly sworn testaments that I will not do you any harm and danger. And I will come to you and put my hand in your hand. 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. Then he will leave his right of protection."

"You will never leave me unless you bring him," answered Ibn Ziyād.
"No, by God. I will not bring him to you," (the other) declared.

After the argument between them had gone on for some time, Muslim b. ʻAmr al-Bāhilī rose (to speak). There was no other Syrian or Baṣran in Kūfa except him.

"May God make you prosper, governor," he interjected. "(please) leave me with him (for a time) so that I can speak to him." He arose and took him (Hānī') aside from Ibn Ziyād. They were (standing) where he could see them and when they raised their voices, he could hear what they were saying.

"I adjure you before God, Hānī'," said Muslim, "you are killing yourself and bringing tribulation on your clan. By God, I hold you too precious to be killed. This man is the cousin of (your) tribe so they will not fight against him, nor harm him. Therefore give him (i.e. Muslim b. ʻAqīl) to them (the authorities). There will be no shame and failure for you by that for you would only be handing him over to the authorities."

"By God, indeed there would be shame and disgrace for me," answered Hānī', "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; I see well; I have a strong arm and many helpers. By God, if I was the only one without any helper, I would not hand him over until I had died on his behalf."

He began to shout at him saying: "By God, I will never hand him over to him."
Ibn Ziyād heard that. "Bring him to me," he said. They brought him. "Either bring him to me or I will have your head cut off," demanded Ibn Ziyād.
"Then there will be much flashing (of swords) around your house," replied Hānī', thinking that his clan would prevent him (from being killed).

"Come near me," demanded (Ibn Ziyād). He came nearer and Ibn Ziyād struck his face with his cane and went on beating at his nose, forehead and cheeks so that he broke his nose and the blood flowed from it on to his face and beard and the flesh of his forehead and cheeks was sprinkled over his beard. Eventually the cane broke. Hānī' stretched out his hand towards the hill of the sword of one of the armed attendants but the man pulled it away and prevented him.

"You have been behaving like one of the Ḥarūrī (i.e. Khārijites) all day long!" yelled Ibn Ziyād, "so your blood is permitted to us. Take him away!"

They took him and threw him into one of the rooms in the building. They locked the doors on him. He had told them to put guards on him and that (also) was done. However Ḥassān b. Asmā' arose and said: "Are (we) messengers of treachery now? For you told us to bring the man to you. Yet when we brought him to you, you smashed his nose and face, and his blood flowed on his beard. Then you claimed that you would kill him."

"You will be for it here (and now)," cried 'Ubayd Allāh and he ordered him to be struck, shaken and pushed aside.
"We are satisfied with the governor's attitude on our behalf

and against (those of) us (who are wrong): the governor is only punishing (those who are wrong)," declared Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath.

However when it was reported to 'Amr b al-Ḥajjāj and he learnt that Hānī' had been killed, he advanced with Madhḥij and surrounded the palace. He had a great crowd with him.

"I am 'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj" he called out "and these are the knights of Madhḥij, and their leading men. We have not broken away from obedience, nor have we separated from the community."

It had been reported to them that their colleague had been killed and they regarded that as a great crime. 'Ubayd Allāh was told that Madhḥij were at the gate. He told the qāḍī Shurayḥ: "Go in to their colleague, look at him and then go out and inform them that he is still alive and has not been killed."

Shurayḥ went in and looked at him. When Hānī' saw Shurayḥ he said, with blood flowing down his beard: "Oh God! Oh you Muslims! Has my clan been destroyed? Where are the people of religion? Where are the people of the town?" When he heard the tumult at the door of the palace he said: "I think those are the voices of Madhḥij and my group of the Muslims. If ten of them got in, they would be able to rescue me."

After Shurayḥ had listened to what he had to say, he went out to them and told them: "When the governor learnt about your attitude and your statements concerning your colleague, he ordered me to go and see him. I went and I saw him. Then he ordered me to meet you and inform you that he is still alive and that the report that he had been killed was false."
"Praise be to God since he has not been killed," answered 'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj and his colleagues. Then they went away.

'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād went out and went up on the pulpit. (He

had brought) with him the nobles of the people, his bodyguard (*shuraṭ*) and his entourage. He said "O people, seek refuge in obedience to God and your Imāms. Do not cause division, for you will be destroyed, humiliated, killed or harshly treated and deprived. Your brother is he who speaks the truth to you. He who warns is excused."

After he had finished, he was about to go down but had not gone from the pulpit, when the look-outs at the date-sellers' gate of the mosque rushed in yelling: "Muslim b. ʻAqīl has come!"

ʻUbayd Allāh quickly went into the palace and locked the gates.

[ʻAbd Allāh b. Ḥāzim reported:]
By God, I was Ibn ʻAqīl's messenger at the palace to see what was done to Hānī'. When he was beaten and imprisoned I mounted my horse and was the first to enter the house to bring information of him to Muslim b. ʻAqīl. There the women of Murād had gathered and they were crying out; "O tears of grief for him! O bereavement of him!"

I went in to see Muslim and gave him the news of him (Hānī'). He ordered me to summon his supporters. The houses around him were full of them; there were four thousand men there. He told his messengers to cry out: "O victorious, kill!" so I cried out; "O victorious, kill". Then the Kūfans gathered and assembled before him. Muslim, may God have mercy on him, appointed leaders over the quarters, over the tribes of Kinda, Madhḥij, Tamīm, Asad, Muḍar and Hamdān. The people had answered the call and gathered, except for a few who had delayed so that the mosque and the market place were full of people. They were full of enthusiasm until the evening. ʻUbayd Allāh's situation was grim. All his energy was concentrated on holding the door, for he only had thirty members of his bodyguard with him in the palace, twenty nobles of the people, and his family and entourage. The nobles who had not been with him began to come to him through the door which

adjoined the building of the Romans. Then those of the nobles who were with Ibn Ziyād began to look down on them (the people outside). (These) were looking at them, while they hurled stones at them and cursed them and abused ʻUbayd Allāh and his father. Ibn Ziyād summoned Kathīr b. Shihāb and ordered him to go out among those of Madhḥij who obeyed him and to go round Kūfa and make the people desert Ibn ʻAqīl; he should make them afraid of (the possibility of) war and threaten them with the punishment of the authorities. Then he ordered Muḥammad b. al-Ashʻath to go out among those of Kinda and Ḥaḍramawt who obeyed him; he should raise a standard which would guarantee security to those people who came to him. He gave similar instructions to al-Qaʻqāʻ al-Dhuhlī, Shabath b. Ribʻī al-Tamīmī, Ḥajjār b. Abjar al-ʻIjlī and Shamīr b. Dhī al-Jawshan al-ʻĀmirī. He kept the rest of the nobles of the people with him, not wishing to be without them because of the small number of people who were with him. Kathīr b. Shihāb went out (and began) making the people desert Muslim. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʻath went out until he reached the houses of the Banū ʻUmāra. Ibn ʻAqīl sent ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ al-Shibāmī to Muḥammad b. al-Ashʻath from the mosque. When Muḥammad b. al-Ashʻath saw the great number of those who had come to him (Muslim), he lingered where he was (i.e. he did not carry out Ibn Ziyād's instructions). Then he - Muḥammad b. al-Ashʻath - Kathīr b. Shihāb, al-Qaʻqāʻ al-Dhuhlī and Shabath b. Ribʻī began to make the people withdraw from their close adherence to Muslim for they made them afraid of the authorities so that a great number of their tribesmen and others gathered to them and they went to Ibn Ziyād through the house of the Romans. The tribesmen went in with them.

"May God make the governor prosperous," said Kathīr b. Shihāb, "you have many of the nobles of the people with you, (as well as) your bodyguard, family and servants. Let us go out against them."

ʻUbayd Allāh refused but he gave Shabath b. Ribʻī a standard and he sent him out. The people with Ibn ʻAqīl remained numerous until evening.

Their situation became strong. ʻUbayd Allāh sent for the nobles and he assembled them. They (went up to the roof to) look down on the people. They offered additional (money) and kind treatment to those who would obey and they terrified the disobedient with (threats of) dispossession and (dire) punishment. They told them that the army from Syria was coming against them. Kathīr b. Shihāb spoke until the sun was about to set. He said: "O people, stay with your families. Do not hurry into evil actions. Do not expose yourselves to death. These are the soldiers of the Commander of the faithful Yazīd, who are approaching. The governor has given God 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 a) state allotment of money (*ʻata'*) and he will scatter your solders in Syrian campaigns. He will make 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 (other) nobles spoke in a similar vein. After the people had heard what they had to say, they began to disperse. Women began to 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 Syrians will come against you. What are you doing causing war and evil? Come away." Thus (a man) would be taken away or would leave. They continued to disperse so that by the time evening came and Muslim b. ʻAqīl prayed the evening prayer, he had only thirty men with him in the mosque. When he saw that it was evening and he only had that group with him, he left the mosque and headed for the gates of Kinda. He reached the gates with only ten of them (left) with him. When he left the gate, there was no one with him to guide him. He looked around but could see no one to guide him along the road, to show him to his house and to give him personal support if an enemy appeared before him.

He wandered amid the lanes of Kūfa without knowing where he was going until he came to the houses or the Banū Jabala of Kinda. He went on until he came to a door (at which was) a woman called Ṭaw'a. She had been a slave-wife (*umm walad*) of al-Ash'ath b. Qays and he had freed her. She had, then, married Usayd al-Ḥaḍramī and had borne him (a son called) Bilāl. Bilāl had gone out with the people and his mother was standing al the door waiting for him.

Ibn 'Aqīl greeted her and she returned the greeting.
"Servant of God, give me water to drink," he asked her. She gave him a drink and he sat down. She took the vessel inside and then came out again.

"Servant of God, haven't you had your drink?" she asked.
"Yes," was the answer.
"Then go to your people," she said. But he was silent. She repeated it but he was still silent. A third time she said: "Glory be to God, servant of God. get up - may God give you health - (and go) to your people. For it is not right for you to sit at my door and I will not permit you to do it."

(At this) he got up and said: "Servant of God, I have neither house nor clan in this town. Would you (show) me some generosity and kindness? Perhaps I will be able to repay it later on."

"What is it, Servant of God?" she asked.
"I am Muslim b 'Aqīl" he replied. "These people have lied to me, incited me (to action) and then abandoned me."
"You are Muslim," she repeated.
"Yes," he answered.
"Come in," she said and he was taken 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 could not eat.

Soon her son returned. He saw her going frequently to and fro

between the rooms and exclaimed: “By God, the number of times which you have gone into and come out of that room this evening, makes me suspect that you have something important (there).”
“My young son, forget about this,” she answered.
“By God, tell me,” he replied.
“Get on with your own business and don’t ask me about anything,” she retorted. However he persisted until she said: “My young son, don’t tell any of the people anything about what I am going to tell you.”
“Indeed.” he answered and she made him take an oath. When he swore (not to do) that, she told him. He went to bed without saying anything.

After the people had deserted Muslim b. ‘Aqīl, a long time passed for Ibn Ziyād without him hearing the voices of the supporters of Ibn ‘Aqīl as he had heard them before. He told his followers to look down at them and see whether they could see any of them. They looked down and did not see anyone. Then he told them to see whether they were in the shadow and were lying in ambush for them. They removed the (bamboo) roof covers of the mosque and began to lower the torches of fire in their hands, and to look. Sometimes the torches gave light for them and sometimes they did not give (as much) light for them as they would have wished. 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 (place 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 opened the gateway which (went) into the mosque. He came out and went up on the pulpit. His followers had come out with him. He told them to sit for a little while before the night prayer. He ordered ‘Amr b. Nafī‘ to call out that there would be no guarantees of security for any man of the bodyguard, the *‘arīfs*, the supporters and the fighters who prayed the night prayer (anywhere) except in the mosque. Not an

hour passed before the mosque was full of people. After ordering his caller (to call for prayer), he rose for the prayer. His guard rose behind him but he told them to guard him against anyone coming in (to try) to assassinate him. After praying with the people, he went up on the pulpit. When he had praised and glorified God, he said. "Ibn ʻAqīl, stupid and ignorant (man as he is) has attempted the opposition and rebellion which you have seen. There will be no security from God for a man in whose house we find him. Whoever brings him, will have the reward for his blood. Fear God, you servants of God, and keep to obedience and your pledge of allegiance. Do not do (anything which will be) against yourselves. Ḥusayn b. Numayr, your mother will lose you, if any of the gates of the lanes of Kūfa is open or this man gets away. And you do not bring him to me. I give you authority over the houses of the inhabitants of Kūfa. Send lookouts (to inspect) people on the roads. Tomorrow morning clear out (the people from) the houses and search them thoroughly so that you bring me this man."

Al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr was in charge of the bodyguard and was of the Banū Tamīm. After this Ibn Ziyād went back into the palace. He gave ʻAmr b. Ḥurayth his standard and put him in charge of the people. In the morning he held an assembly and gave permission for the people to come to him. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʻath approached.

"Welcome to one of those whose loyalty is above suspicion," he said to him and sat him by his side.

That same morning the son of that old woman went to ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʻath and told him about Muslim b. ʻAqīl being with his mother. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān went to his father who was with Ibn Ziyād. He went to him and Ibn Ziyād learned his secret.

"Get up and bring him to me immediately," said Ibn Ziyād to (Muḥammad b. al-Ashʻath), poking a cane into his side. He sent

(‘Amr b.)[15] ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abbās al-Sulamī with him, together with seventy men from the tribal group of Qays.

They went to the house where Muslim b. ‘Aqīl was. When the latter heard the beating of horses’ hooves and the voices of men, he knew that it was him whom they had come for. He went out against them with his sword (drawn) as they rushed blindly towards the house. He fell upon them and struck them with his sword so that he drove them away from the house. They repeated the attack, and Muslim counter-attacked in the same way. He and Bakr b. Ḥumrān al-Aḥmarī exchanged blows and Bakr struck Muslim’s mouth, cutting his top lip and slicing down to the lower lip to knock out two of his teeth. Muslim struck him a terrible blow on the head and repeated it again, cutting a nerve along his shoulder with a blow which almost reached his stomach. When the people saw that, they (went up and) looked down on him (Muslim) from the tops of the houses, and began to hurl stones at him and to light canes of wood with fire which they threw from the top of the house. When he saw that, he went out against them into the lane with his sword unsheathed.

“You can have my guarantee of security,” said Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath. “don’t kill yourself.”
But he continued to fight against them saying:

> I swear I will only be killed as a free man, although I see death as something horrible,
> Or it makes the cold a bitter heat and deflects the ray of the sun (for ever).
> Every man one day will meet an evil, I fear that I will be cheated and deluded.

“You will not be cheated, deluded or deceived,” replied Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath. “These people (ie. the Banū Umayya) are your cousins and they will not fight against you or strike you.”

15 ‘Amr supplied from al-Ṭabarī, II, 263.

He had been hurt by stones and weakened by the fighting. He was out of breath and he was propping his back up against the wall of that house. Ibn al-Ashʿath repeated the offer of security to him.
"Am I granted security?" he said.
"Yes," he replied and he said to the people who were with him, "he is given security by me."
"Yes," replied the people, except (ʿAmr b.) ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās al-Sulamī.
"I have neither she-camel or camel in this (i.e. I will have nothing to do with it)," he said and he turned aside.
"If you will not grant me security," declared Muslim, "I will not put my hand in yours."

A mule was brought and he was put on it. They gathered around him and pulled his sword away. At that he was in despair for his life and his eyes filled with tears.
"This is the first betrayal," he cried.
"I hope no harm will come to you," called out Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath.
"Is it only hope?" he retorted as he wept. "Where then is your guarantee of security? Indeed We belong to God and to Him we will return."
"One who has sought for the like of what you have sought for, should not weep when there befalls him what has befallen you," ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās goaded him.
"I would not weep for myself," he replied, "nor would I grieve 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-Ḥusayn and the family of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them."
Then he went closer to Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath and said: "O servant of God, by God, I see that you are unable to grant me a guarantee of security. Yet do you have the goodness to be able to send one of your men with my message so that it will get to al-Ḥusayn? For I have no doubt that he has already set out towards you, or will be setting out soon with his House. (This messenger) would say: 'Ibn ʿAqīl has sent me to you. He is a prisoner in the

hands of the people, and he does not expect to see evening before he is killed; and he says: Return, may my father and mother be your ransom, with your House and do not let the Kūfans tempt you, for they were the followers of your father and he desired to leave them even through death and murder. The Kūfans have lied to you. A liar has no judgement'."
"By God, I will do that," replied Ibn al-Ashʿath, "and I will inform Ibn Ziyād that I have given you a guarantee of security."

Ibn al-Ashʿath went with Ibn ʿAqīl to the door of the palace. He asked permission to enter. Permission was given him and he went in (to see) Ibn Ziyād. He gave a report about Ibn ʿAqīl and Bakr's blow against him, and about his own guarantee of security to him.

"What (is this about) you and a guarantee of security?" demanded ʿUbayd Allāh, "as if we sent you to guarantee him security when we only sent you to bring him."
Ibn al-Ashʿath fell silent.

While Ibn ʿAqīl remained at the palace door, his thirst had become severe. At the palace door there were people sitting waiting for permission to enter. Among them were ʿUmāra b. ʿUqba b. Abī Muʿayt, ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth, Muslim b. ʿAmr and Kathīr b. Shihāb. There was a jug of cold water placed at the doorway.
"Give me a drink of that water." asked Muslim.
"See how cold it is," replied Muslim b. ʿAmr. "but by God you will never taste a drop of it until you taste the heat of Hell-fire."
"Shame on you whoever you are!" cried Ibn ʿAqīl.
"I am the one who recognized the truth when you denied it; who was sincere to his Imām when you deceived him; who was obedient to him when you opposed him. I am Muslim b. ʿAmr al-Bāhilī."
"Your mother has been bereft of a son," replied Ibn ʿAqīl. "How coarse you are, how rough, how hard your heart is. Man of Bāhila, you are more appropriate for the heat of Hell-fire and to remain there forever, than I am."

He sat down, propping himself against a wall. ‘Amr b. Ḥurayth sent one of his boys to bring a jug with a napkin and cup. He poured water into it and told him to drink. But whenever he went to drink, the cup filled with blood so that he was not able to drink. He did that once and then twice. When he made as if to drink for the third time, his tooth fell into the cup.
“Praise be to God.” he said, “if it had been a provision granted to me (by God), I could have drunk it.”

Ibn Ziyād’s messenger came out and ordered him to go to (see) him. He went in but did not greet him as governor.
“Don’t you greet the governor?” demanded the guard.
“If he wants my death, what is (the point of) my greeting him with words of peace?” he replied. “if he did not want my death, my greetings (of peace) to him would be profuse.”
“By my life, you will be killed,” declared Ibn Ziyād.
“So be it,” he replied.
“Indeed, (it will).”
“Then let me make my will to one of my fellow tribesmen”
“Do (so).”

Muslim looked those sitting with ‘Ubayd Allāh. Among them was ‘Umar b. Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ. He said to him “‘Umar, there is kinship between you and me and I have need of you. So you could carry out what I need of you. But it is secret.”
‘Umar refused to listen to him.
“Why do you refuse to consider the need of your cousin?” asked ‘Ubayd Allāh.
So ‘Umar got up with him and sat where Ibn Ziyād could watch both of them.
“I have a debt in Kūfa,” said Muslim. “I borrowed seven hundred dirhams when I came to Kūfa. Sell my sword and armour and pay the debt for me. When I have been killed, ask Ibn Ziyād to give you my corpse and bury it. Send to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, someone 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.”

“Do you know what he said to me, governor?” ‘Umar said to Ibn Ziyād. “He mentioned these things.”
“The faithful would not betray you,” said Ibn Ziyād to (Muslim), “But the traitor was confided in. As for what you have, it is yours, and we will not prevent you from doing with it what you like. As for the body when we have killed it, we do not care what is done with it. As for al-Ḥusayn, if he does not intend (harm) to us, we will not intend (harm) to him.”

Then Ibn Ziyād said: “Ibn ‘Aqīl, you came to the people while they were all (united) and you scattered them and divided their opinions so that some of them attacked others.”
“No,” replied Ibn ‘Aqīl, “I did not come for that but (because) the people of the town claimed that your father had killed their best men, shed their blood and appointed governors among them like the governors of Choesroe and Caesar. We came to enjoin justice and to urge rule by the Book.”
“What are you (to do) with that, you great sinner?” cried Ibn Ziyād. “Why did you not do that among the people when you were drinking wine in Medina?”
“Me, drink wine! By God, God knows you are not speaking the truth, and have spoken without any knowledge, for I am not like what you have said. It is you who are more correctly described as drinking wine than me, (you) who lap the blood of Muslims and kill the life whose killing God has forbidden and (you are one) who sheds sacred blood on behalf of usurpation, enmity and evil opinion while he (Yazīd) enjoys himself and plays as if he had done nothing.”
“You great sinner (*fāsiq*),” shouted Ibn Ziyād, “your own soul made you desire what God prevented you from having (i.e. authority) (because) God did not regard you as worthy of it.”
“Who is worthy of it, if we are not worthy of it?’ asked Muslim.
“The Commander of the faithful, Yazīd,” answered Ibn Ziyād.
“Praise be to God,” called out Muslim. “We will accept God’s judgement between us and you in every circumstance.”
“May God kill me, if I do not kill you in such a way as no one in Islam has (ever) been killed before,” retorted Ibn Ziyād.

“You are the person with the most right to commit crimes of innovation in Islam which have not been committed before,” Muslim replied, “for you will never abandon evil murder, wicked punishment, shameful practice and avaricious domination to anyone (else).”

Ibn Ziyād began to curse him, and to curse al-Ḥusayn, ‘Alī and ‘Aqīl, peace be on them, while Muslim did not speak to him.
“Take him up to the top of the palace,” ordered Ibn Ziyād. “and cut off his head, (throw it to the ground) and make (his body) follow it (to the ground).”
“By God,” said Muslim. “if there was any (real) kinship between you and me, you would not kill me.”
“Where is the man whose head Ibn ‘Aqīl struck with (his) sword?” asked Ibn Ziyād. Then Bakr b. Ḥumrān al-Aḥmarī was summoned and he told him: “Climb up, and you be the one who cuts his head off.”

He went up with him. He (Muslim) said: “God is greater (*Allāhu Akbar*).” He sought forgiveness from God and prayed for blessings on the Apostle, saying: “O God, judge between us and a people who have enticed us, lied against us and deserted us.”

They (took) him to a part which overlooked where the shoemakers are today. His head was cut off (and thrown down) and his body was made to follow his head. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath, then approached ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād and spoke to him of Hāni’ b. ‘Urwa. He said: “You know of the position of Hāni’ in the town and of his House in the clan. His people know that I and my colleague brought him to you. I adjure you before God, hand him over to me for I would not like (to face) the enmity of the town and his family.”

He promised to do that but then afterwards something occurred to him and he ordered Hāni’ (to be) taken (immediately) to the marketplace and (his head) cut off.

Hāni' was taken in chains until he was brought to a place where sheep were sold. He began to shout "O Madhḥij! There is no one from Madhḥij for me today! O Madhḥij, where is Madhḥij?"

When he realised that no one was going to help him, he pulled his hand and wrenched it free of the chain, crying: "What is there, stick, knife, stone or bone, with which a man can defend his life?"

(At this) they jumped upon him and tied the chain (more) tightly. He was told to stretch out his neck but he answered: "I am not so liberal with my life and I will not help you (to take) my life."

A Turkish retainer (*mawlā*) of 'Ubayd Allāh called Rashīd struck him with a sword but it did not do anything.

"To God is the return. O God to Your mercy and Your paradise," called out Hāni'. Then (Rashīd) struck him with another blow and killed him.

Concerning Muslim b. 'Aqīl and Hāni' b. 'Urwa, may God have mercy upon them, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Asadī said:[16]

> If you do not know what death is, then look at Hāni' in the market-place and Ibn 'Aqīl:
>
> (Look at) a hero whose face has been covered with wounds and another 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 spattering of blood which has flowed abundantly;
>
> A young man who was (even) more bashful than a shy young woman, was more decisive than the polished blade of a two edged sword.

16 Al-Ṭabarī reports that the verses are also attributed to al-Farazdaq, II, 266.

Is Asmā' riding in safety a mount which moves at walking pace while Madhḥij urged him to seek vengeance

And Murād wander around him? Are all of them in fear of the questioner and the questioned?

If you do not avenge your two brothers, then be harlots satisfied with little.

When Muslim and Hāni' were killed, the mercy of God be on them, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād sent their heads with Hāni' b. Abī Ḥayya al-Wādi'ī and al-Zubayr b. al-Arwaḥ al-Tamīmī to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya. He ordered his secretary (*kātib*) to write to Yazīd about what had happened to Muslim and Hāni'. The secretary who was 'Amr b. Nāfi' – wrote but he was very wordy (in his style). He was the first to be wordy in writing letters. When 'Ubayd Allāh saw the letter, he disliked it.

"What is this prolixity and this excess?" he asked.

"Write:

Praise be to God, 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 that Muslim b. 'Aqīl took refuge in the house of Hāni' b. 'Urwa al-Murādī. I set look-outs and spies on them, concealed men against them, I tricked them until I brought them out. God gave me power over them. Thus I came upon them and had them executed. I have sent their heads to you with Hāni' b. Abī Ḥayya al-Wādi'ī and al-Zubayr b. al-Arwaḥ al-Tamīmī. They are both people who are attentive and in obedience to you, and of sincerity. Let the Commander of the faithful ask them about whatever of the affair he may wish; for they have knowledge and truth.

Farewell. Greetings."

Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya wrote (back):

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 satisfied me, been sufficient for (the task) and corroborated my view of you and my opinion of you. I have summoned your two messengers and 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 been informed that al-Ḥusayn has set out for Iraq. Therefore set look-outs and watches, be vigilant and detain suspicious (characters). Put to death (any who are) accused and write to me about any news which occurs. God, the Exalted, wishing.

Muslim b. ʻAqīl's (attempted) rising in Kūfa was on Tuesday, 8th of Dhū al-Ḥijja in the year 60 A.H. (680). He, may God have mercy on him, was killed on Wednesday, 9th of Dhū al-Ḥijja, the Day of ʻArafa. Al-Ḥusayn, the blessings of God be on him, set out from Mecca to Iraq on the day of Muslim's (attempted) rising in Kūfa, that is the Day of *Tarwiya*,[17] after staying in Mecca for the rest of Shaʻbān, the month of Ramaḍān, Shawwāl and Dhū al-Qaʻda, and eight days of Dhū al-Ḥijja. In his stay in Mecca, peace be on him, a number of Ḥijāzīs and Baṣrans had gathered around him, joining themselves to his household and his retainers (*mawāli*).

When he determined on journeying to Iraq, He made the circumambulation of the (sacred) House and the ritual running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.[18] Then he left the state of consecration (for the pilgrimage) (after) he had performed the lesser pilgrimage (*ʻumra*) because he was not able to perform the greater pilgrimage (*ḥajj*). Through fear of being apprehended in Mecca, and being taken to Yazīd b. Muʻāwiya, He, peace be upon him, had set out early with his House, his sons and those of his Shīʻa who had joined him.

17 The Day of ʻArafa is the day when the pilgrims assemble on Mount ʻArafa for the pilgrimage. The Day of *Tarwiya* is the day before it when the pilgrims collect water from the well of Zamzam.

18 These are the rituals of the *ʻumra*, lesser pilgrimage, but they also form part of the ritual of the greater pilgrimage.

[As it has been reported to us:]
News of Muslim's (capture and death) had not yet reached him because (it had only happened) on the day he set out.

[It is reported that al-Farazdaq, the poet, said.]
I made the pilgrimage with my mother in the year 60 A. H. (680). I was driving her camel when I entered the sanctuary. (There) I met al-Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī, peace be on them, leaving Mecca accompanied by (some men carrying) swords and shields.

"Whose caravan is this?" I asked.
"al-Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī's, peace be on them." was the reply. So I went up and greeted him.
"May God grant you your request and (fulfil) your hope in what you want, by my father and mother, son of the Apostle of God," I said to him. "But what is making you hurry away from the pilgrimage?"
"If I did not hurry away, I would be apprehended," he replied. Then he asked me; "Who are you?"
"An Arab," I answered and he did not question me (about myself) any further.
"Tell me about the people you have left behind you," he asked.
"You have asked a good (question)," I answered. "The hearts of the people are with you but their swords are against you. The decision comes from Heaven and God does what he wishes."
"You have spoken truly of the affair belonging to God," he replied. "*Every day He (is involved) in (every) matter* (LV, 29). If fate sends down what we like and are pleased with, we praise God for His blessings. He is the One from Whom help should be sought in order to give thanks to Him. However, although fate may frustrate (our) hopes, yet He does not destroy (the souls of) those whose intention is the truth and whose hearts are pious."
"True, God brings you what you wish for (ultimately) and guards you against what you are threatened by," I said. Then I asked him about matters concerning vows and pilgrimage rites. He told me about them and then moved his mount off, saying farewell, and so we parted.

When al-Ḥusayn b ʻAlī, peace be on them, left Mecca, Yaḥyā b. Saʻīd b. al-ʻĀṣ met him with a group (of men). They had been sent to him by ʻĀmr b. Saʻīd.
"Come back from where you are going," they ordered. But he refused (to obey) them and continued. The two groups came to blows and hit at each other with whips. However al-Ḥusayn and his followers resisted fiercely. Al-Ḥusayn continued until he got to al-Tanʻīm. There he met a camel-train which had come from Yemen. He hired from its people (additional) camels for himself and his followers to ride.
Then he said to the owners (of the camels): "Whoever (of you) wants to come with us to Iraq, we will pay his hire and enjoy his company and whoever wants to leave some way along the road we will pay his hire for the distance he has travelled."

Some of the people went with him but others refused. ʻAbd Allāh b. Jaʻfar sent his sons, ʻAwn and Muḥammad, after him, and he wrote a letter to him which he gave to them. In it, he said:

> I ask you before God (to return) if you have set out when you see 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 House. If you are destroyed today, the light of the land will be extinguished; for you are the (standard) of those who are rightly-guided and the hope of the believers. Do not hurry on your journey as I am following this letter.
> Greetings.

ʻAbd Allāh, then went to ʻAmr b. Saʻīd and asked him to write to al-Ḥusayn (offering him) a guarantee of security, and (promising) to favour him, so that he would return from where he was going. ʻAmr b. Saʻīd wrote a letter in which he offered him favour and a guarantee of security for himself. He dispatched it with his brother Yaḥyā b. Saʻīd. Yaḥyā b. Saʻīd went after him (as did) ʻAbd Allāh after dispatching his sons. The two handed (ʻAmr's) letter to him and strove (to persuade) him to return.

“I have seen the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family, in my sleep,” answered (al-Ḥusayn) “and he ordered me (to do) what I am carrying out.”
“What was that vision?” they both asked.
“I have not told anyone of it,” he answered, “and I am not going tell anyone until I meet my Lord, the Mighty and Exalted.”

When ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far despaired of (persuading) him, he told his sons, ‘Awn and Muḥammad, to stay with him, to go with him a to struggle on behalf of him. He returned with Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd to Mecca.

Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, pressed on swiftly and directly towards Iraq until he reached Dhāt ‘Irq.

When ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād had learnt of the journey of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, from Mecca to Kūfa, he had sent al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr, the commander of the bodyguard (*shurta*) to station himself at al-Qādisiyya and to set up a (protective) link cavalry between the area of al-Qādisiyya to Khaffān and the area al-Qādisiyya to al-Quṭquṭāniyya. He informed the men that al-Ḥusayn was heading for Iraq.

When al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, reached al-Ḥājiz (a hill above) Baṭn al-Rumma, he sent Qays b. Mushir al-Ṣaydāwi - some say it was his brother-in-nurture, ‘Abd Allāh b. Yuqṭur - to Kūfa.[19] For He, peace be upon him, had not yet learnt the news of the fate Ibn ‘Aqīl. He sent a letter with him:

> In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate
> From al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī
> To his brother believers and Muslims,
>
> Greetings to you, I praise God before you, other than whom

19 Al-Ṭabarī reports two separate accounts concerning these two individuals, II, 289 and 293. As they both meet similar ends, al-Mufīd’s surmise seems reasonable.

there is no deity. Muslim b. ʻAqīl's letter came to me, informing me of your sound judgement and the agreement of your leaders to support us, and to seek our rights. I have asked God to make your actions good and reward you with the greatest reward. I set out to you from Mecca on 8th of Dhū al-Ḥijja, the day of *Tarwiya*. When my messenger reaches you, be urgent and purposeful in your affairs, for I am coming to you Within the (next few) days.
Greeting and the mercy and blessings of God.

Muslim had written to al-Ḥusayn seventeen days before he was killed and the Kūfans had written to him: "Here you have a hundred thousand swords. Do not delay."

Qays b. Mushir went towards Kūfa with the letter. However, When he reached al-Qādisiyya, al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr apprehended him and sent him to ʻUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.
"Go up on the pulpit." ʻUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād ordered him. "and curse the liar, al-Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī, peace be on him"

Qays went up on the pulpit and praised and glorified God. Then he said: "People, this man, al-Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī, the best of God's creatures, the son of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Apostle, may God bless Him and His Family and grant them peace, (is nearby). I am his messenger to you. Answer him."

Then he cursed ʻUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and his father and prayed for forgiveness for ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and blessed him. ʻUbayd Allāh ordered him to be thrown from the top of the palace. They threw him and he was smashed to pieces.

[It is (also) reported:]
He fell on the ground in chains and his bones were crushed and there only remained to him his last breath. A man called ʻAbd al-Malik b. ʻUmayr al-Lakhmī came to him and cut his throat. When he was told that that had been a shameful (thing to do) and he was blamed for it, he said: "I wanted to relieve him (of his suffering)."

(While this had been going on) al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, had left Ḥājiz in the direction of Kūfa until he came to one of the watering (places) of the Arabs. There was ʻAbd Allāh b. Mutīʻ al-ʻAdawī, who was staying there. When he saw al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, he got up and said to him: "(May I ransom) my father and mother for you, son of the Apostle of God, what has brought you (here)?" He brought him (forward) and helped him to dismount.

"It is a result of the death of Muʻāwiya as you would know," replied al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. "The Iraqis have written to me urging me to (come to) them."
"I remind you, son of the Apostle of God, (of God) and the sacredness of Islam, lest it be violated. I adjure you before God (to think) about the sacredness of Quraysh. I adjure you before God (to think) about the sacredness of the Arabs. By God, if you seek that which is in the hands of Banū Umayya, they will kill you, If they kill you, they will never fear anyone after you. Then it will be the sacredness of Islam which is violated, and the sacredness of Quraysh and the sacredness of the Arabs. Don't do it! Don't go to Kūfa! Don't expose yourself to Banū Umayya!!"
Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, insisted on continuing his journey. (In the meantime) ʻUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād had ordered (the area) which was between Wāqiṣa and the roads to Syria and Baṣra to be occupied (so that) they should not let anyone enter, nor anyone leave (Kūfa).

However, al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, went on without knowing anything (of that) until he met some Arabs. He asked them (about the situation) and they told him: "No, by God, we don't know (anything about it) except that we cannot get into or out of (Kūfa)." He continued on his journey.

[A group of Fazāra and Bajīla reported (the following account). They said:]
We were with Zuhayr b. al-Qayn al-Bajalī when we came from Mecca. (Although) we were travelling alongside al-Ḥusayn, peace

be on him, there was nothing more hateful to us than that we should stop with him at a halting place. (Yet) when al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, travelled and halted, we could not avoid halting with him. Al-Ḥusayn halted at the side (of the road) and we halted at the (other) side (of the road). While we were sitting, eating our food, a messenger of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, approached, greeted us and entered (our camp).

"Zuhayr b. al-Qayn," he said, "Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, has sent me to you (to ask) you to come to him."

Each man of us threw away what was in his hands (i.e. threw up his hand in horror): it was (as surprising) as if birds had alighted on our heads.
"Glory be to God," (Zuhayr's) wife said to him, "did the son of the Messenger of God send for you? Then aren't you going to him? If you went to him, you would hear what he had to say. Then you could leave him (if you wanted to)."

Zuhayr b. al-Qayn went (across) to him. It was not long before he returned to announce that he was heading east. He ordered his tent (to be struck) and (called for) his luggage, mounts and equipment. His tent was pulled down and taken to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, then he said to his wife: "You are divorced, go back to your family, for I do not want anything to befall you except good."

Then he said to his companions: "Whoever wants to follow me (may do so), otherwise he is at the end of his covenant with me (i.e. released from obedience to follow Zuhayr as the leader of his tribal group). I will tell you a story (of something which happened to me once): We were raiding a rich land. God granted us victory and we won (a lot of) booty. Salmān al-Fārsī, the mercy of God be on him, said to us: 'Are you happy with the victory which God has granted you and the booty you have won?' We said: 'Yes.' Then he said: 'Therefore when you meet the lord of the young men of the family of Muḥammad be happier to fight with them than you are with the

booty which you have obtained today.' As for me, I pray that God may be with you."

He remained among the people with al-Ḥusayn until he was killed.

['Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān and al-Mundhir b. Musham'ill both from Asad, reported:]
When we had finished the pilgrimage, there was no concern more important to us than to join al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, on the road, so that we might see what happened in his affair. We went along trotting our two camels speedily until we joined him at Zarūd. As we approached, there we (saw) a man from Kūfa who had changed his route when he had seen al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, had stopped as if he wanted (to speak to) him, but (the man) ignored him and went on. We went on towards the man. One of us said to the other: "Come with us to ask this man if he has news of Kūfa."

We came up to him and greeted him. He returned out greeting.
"From which (tribe) do you come, fellow?" we asked.
"(I am) an Asadī," he answered.
"We also are Asadīs," we said. "Who are you?"
"I am Bakr b. so and so," he answered and we told him our lineage.
"Tell us of the people (you have left) behind you?" we asked.
"Yes," he replied, "I only left Kūfa after Muslim b. 'Aqīl and Hāni' b. 'Urwa had been killed. I saw them being dragged by their legs into the market-place."

We went on to join al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, and we were travelling close to him until he stopped at al-Tha'labiyya in the evening. We caught up with him when he stopped and we greeted him. He returned our greeting.
"May God have mercy on you," we said, "we have news. If you wish, we will tell it to you publicly or if you wish, secretly."
He looked at us and at his followers.
"There is no veil for these men," he answered.

“Did you see the rider who whom you were near, yesterday evening?”
“Yes,” he answered. “I had wanted to question him.”
“We have got the news from him and spared you (the trouble of) questioning him,” we said. “He was a man from our (tribe), of sound judgement, honesty and intelligence. He told us that he had only left Kūfa after Muslim and Hāni’ had been killed, and he had seen them being dragged by their legs into the market-place.”
“We belong to God and to Him we shall return; may God have mercy on them both.” said al-Ḥusayn and he repeated that several times.
“We adjure you before God.” we exhorted him. “for your own life and for your house that you do not go from this place, for you have no one to support you in Kūfa and no Shī‘a. Indeed we fear that such men (will be the very ones who) will be against you.”
“What is your opinion,” he asked, looking towards the sons of ‘Aqīl, “now that Muslim has been killed?”
“By God,” they declared, “we will not go back until we have taken our vengeance or have tasted (the death) which he tasted.”
Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, came near us and said. “There is nothing good (left) in life for these men.”
Then we knew that his decision had been taken to continue the journey.
“May God be good to you,” we said.
“May God have mercy on you both,” he answered.

Then his followers said to him: “By God, you are not the same as Muslim b. ‘Aqīl. If you go to Kūfa, the people will rush to (support) you.”

He was silent and waited until daybreak. Then he ordered his boys and servants to get a lot of water, to give (the people) to drink and more for the journey. They set out (once more) and went on to Zubāla. News of ‘Abd Allāh b. Yuqṭur reached him. He took out a written statement to the people and read it to them:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate,

> News of the dreadful murder of Muslim b. ‘Aqīl, Hāni’ b. ‘Urwa, and ‘Abd Allāh b. Yuqṭur has reached us. Our Shī‘a have deserted us. Those of you who would prefer to leave us, may leave freely without guilt.

The people began to disperse from him to right and left until there were only left with him those followers who had come with him from Medina, and a small group of those who had joined him. Al-Ḥusayn had done that because he realised that the Arabs who had followed him had only followed him because they thought that he was going to a land where the inhabitants’ obedience to him had already been established. And he did not want them to accompany him without being (fully) aware of what they were going to.

At dawn, he ordered his followers to provide themselves with water and with extra (supplies of it). Then they set out until they passed Baṭn al-‘Aqaba. He stopped there and was met by a shaykh of the Banū ‘Ikrima called ‘Amr b. Lawdhān.
“Where are you heading?,” he asked.
“Kūfa,” replied al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.
“I implore you before God,” exhorted the shaykh, “why are you going there? You won’t come to anything there except the points of spears and the edges of swords. If those who sent for you were enough to support you in battle and had prepared the ground for you, and you came to them, that would be a wise decision. However, in the light of the situation as it has been described I don’t think that you ought to do it.”
“Servant of God,” he answered, “wise decisions are not hidden from me. Yet the commands of God, the Exalted, cannot be resisted. By God, (my enemies) will not leave me till they have torn the very heart from the depths of my guts. If they do that, God will cause them to be dominated and humiliated until they become the most humiliated of the factions among nations.”

He, peace be on him, went on from Baṭn al-‘Aqaba until he stopped at Sharāf (for the night). At dawn he ordered his boys to get

water and more (for the journey). Then he continued from there until midday. While he was journeying, one of his followers exclaimed:
"God is greater (*Allāhu akbar*)!"
"God is greater (*Allāhu akbar*)!" responded al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. Then he asked: "Why did you say *Allāhu akbar*?"
"I saw palm-trees," answered the man.
"This is a place in which we never see a palm-tree," a group of his followers asserted.
"What do you think it is then?" asked al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.
"We think it is the ears of horses," they answered.
"By God, I think so too," he declared. Then he said: "(So that) we can face them in one direction (i.e. so that we are not surrounded), we should put at our rear whatever place of refuge (we can find)."
"Yes," (lit. we)[20] said to him, "there is Dhū Ḥusam over on your left. 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. Even before we had had time to change direction the vanguard of the cavalry appeared in front of us and we could see them clearly. We left the road and when they saw that we had moved off the road, they (also) moved off the road towards us. Their spears looked like palm branches stripped of their leaves and their standards were like birds' wings. al-Ḥusayn ordered his tents (to be put up) and they were erected. The people came up; (there were) about one thousand horsemen under the command of al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd al-Tamimī. (It was) during the heat of midday (that) he and his cavalry stood (thus) facing al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, and his followers were all wearing their turbans and their swords (ready to fight).

"Provide (our) people with water and let them quench their thirst and give their horses water to drink little by little." al-Ḥusayn ordered his boys. They did that and they began filling their bowls and cups and took them to the horses. When a horse had drunk

20 Mufīd has switched into the first person narrative of an eye-witness account as presented by Ibn al-Kalbī. cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 296

three or four or five draughts, the water was taken away and given to another horse until they had all been watered.

[ʻAli b. al-Taʻān al-Muḥāribī reported:]
I was with al-Ḥurr on that day, I was among the last of his followers to arrive. When al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, saw how thirsty both I and my horse were, he said: "Make your beast (*rāwiya*) kneel." I thought *rāwiya* meant water-skin so he said: "Cousin, make your camel (*jamal*) kneel." I did so. Then he said: "Drink." I did so, but when I drank, water flowed from my water-skin.
"Bend your water-skin," said al-Ḥusayn. I did not know how to do that. He came up (to me) and bent it (into the proper position for drinking). Then I drank and gave my horse to drink.

Al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd had come from al-Qādisiyya. ʻUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād had sent al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr and ordered him to take up (his) position at al-Qādisiyya. Then al-Ḥurr had been sent in advance with one thousand horsemen to meet al-Ḥusayn.

Al-Ḥurr remained positioned opposite to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, until the time for the midday prayer drew near. Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, ordered al-Ḥajjāj b. Masrūq to give the call to prayer. When the second call to prayer immediately preceding the prayer (*iqāma*) was about (to be made) al-Ḥusayn came out (before the people) dressed in a waist-cloth (*izār*) and cloak (*ridā'*) and wearing a pair of sandals. He praised and glorified God, then he said: "People, I did not come to you until your letters came to me, and they were brought by your messengers (saying), 'Come to us for we have no Imām. Through you may God unite us under guidance and truth.' Since this was your view, I have come to you. Therefore give me what you guaranteed in your covenants and (sworn) testimonies. If you will not and (if you) are (now) averse to my coming, I will leave you (and go back) to the place from which I came."

They were silent before him. Not one of them said a word. "Recite

the *iqāma*." he said to the caller for prayer (*mu'adhdhin*) and he recited the *iqāma*.

"Do you want to lead your followers in prayer?" he asked al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd.
"No," he replied, "but you pray and we will pray (following the lead of) your prayer."
Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, prayed before them. Then he returned (to his tent) and his followers gathered around him. Al-Ḥurr went back to the place where he had positioned (his men) and entered a tent which had been put up for him. A group 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 of them held the reins of his mount and sat in the shade (of its body).

At the time for the afternoon (*'aṣr*) prayer, al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, ordered his followers to prepare for departure. Then he ordered the call to be made, and the call for the *'aṣr* prayer was made, and the *iqāma*. Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, came forward, stood and prayed. Then he said the final greeting (of the prayer) and turned his face towards them (al-Ḥurr's men). He praised and glorified God and said: "People, if you fear God and recognise the rights of those who have rights, God will be more satisfied with you. We are the House of Muḥammad and as such are more entitled to the authority (*wilāya*) of this affair (i.e. the rule of the community) over you than these pretenders who claim what does not belong to them. They have brought tyranny and aggression among you. If you refuse (us) because you dislike (us) or do not know our rights, and your view has now changed from what came to us in your letters and what your messengers brought, then I will leave you."
"By God," declared al-Ḥurr, "I know nothing of these letters and messengers which you mention."
"'Uqba b Sim'ān," al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, called to one of his followers, "bring out the two saddle-bags in which the letters to me are kept."

He brought out two saddle-bags which were full of documents, and they were put before him.
"We are not among those who wrote these letters to you." said al-Ḥurr, "and we have been ordered that when we meet you we should not leave you until we have brought you to Kūfa to 'Ubayd Allāh."
"Death will come to you before that (happens)," al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, told him. Then he ordered his followers, "Get up and get mounted."
They got mounted and (then) waited until their women had been mounted.
"Depart," he ordered his followers.

When they set out to leave, the men (with al-Ḥurr) got in between them and the direction they were going in. "May God deprive your mother of you," said al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, to al-Ḥurr, "what do you want?"
"If any of the Arabs other than you were to say that to me," retorted al-Ḥurr, "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 God there is no way for me to mention your mother except by (saying) the best things possible."
"What do you want?" al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, demanded.
"I want to go with you to the governor, 'Ubayd Allāh," he replied.
"Then by God I will not follow you."
"Then by God I will not let you (go anywhere else)."

These statements were repeated three times, and when their conversation was getting more (heated) al-Ḥurr said: "I have not been ordered to fight you. I have only been ordered not to leave you until I come with you to Kūfa. If you refuse (to do that), then take any road which will not bring you into Kūfa nor take you back to Medina, and let that be a compromise between us while I write to the governor, 'Ubayd Allāh. Perhaps God will cause something to happen which will relieve me from having to do anything against you. Therefore take this (road) here and bear to the left of the road (to) al-'Udhayb and al-Qādisiyya."

Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, departed, and al-Ḥurr with his followers (also) set out travelling close by him, while al-Ḥurr was saying to him: "Al-Ḥusayn, I remind you (before) God to (think of) your life; for I testify that you will be killed if you fight."
"Do you think that you can frighten me with death?" said al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. "Could a worse disaster happen to you than killing me? I can only speak (to you) as the brother of al-Aws said to his cousin when he wanted to help the Apostle of God, may God bless him and grant Him and His Family peace. His cousin feared for him and said: 'Where are you going, for you will be killed?' but he replied:

> I will depart for there is no shame in death for a young man, whenever he intends (to do what is) right and he strives like a Muslim,
>
> (Who) has soothed righteous men through (the sacrifice of) his life, who has scattered the cursed and opposed the criminal.
>
> If I live, I will not regret (what I have done) and if I die, I will not suffer. Let it be enough for you to live in humiliation and be reviled."

When al-Ḥurr heard that he drew away from him. He and his follower, travelled on one side (of the road) while al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, travelled on the other, until they reached 'Udhayb al-Hijānāt. Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, went on to Qaṣr Banī Muqātil. He stopped there and there a large lent had (already) been erected.
"Whose is that?" he asked.
"That belongs to 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥurr al-Ju'fī," he was told.
"Ask him to come to me," he said.
The messenger went to him and said: "This is al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, peace be on them, and he asks you to come to him."
"We belong to God and to Him we shall return," said 'Ubayd Allāh. "By God, I only left Kūfa out of dread that al-Ḥusayn, peace be on

him, would enter Kūfa while I was there. By God, I do not want to see him, nor him to see me."

The messenger returned to him (al-Ḥusayn). Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, rose and went over to him. He greeted him and sat down. Then he asked him to go with him. ʻUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥurr repeated what he had said before and sought to excuse himself from what he was asking him (to do).
"If you are not going to help us," al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, said to him. "then be sure that you are not one of those who fight against us. For, by God, no one will hear our cry and not help us without being destroyed."
"As for that (fighting against you)," he replied, "it will never happen, If God, the Exalted. wishes."

Then al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, left him and continued to his camp. Towards the end of the night, he ordered his boys to get provisions of water. Then he ordered the journey (to continue). He set out from Qaṣr Banī Muqātil.

[ʻUqba b. Simʻān reported:]
We set out at once with him and he became drowsy while he was on his horse's back. He woke up, saying: "We belong to God and to Him we will return. Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds."

He did that twice or three times, then his son, ʻAli b. al-Ḥusayn approached him and asked: "Why are you praising God and repeating the verse of returning to Him?"
"My son," he answered, "I nodded off and a horseman appeared to me, riding a horse and he said: 'Men are travelling and the fates travel towards them.' Then I knew it was our own souls announcing our deaths to us."
"Father," asked (the youth), "does God regard you as evil? Are we not in the right?"
"Indeed (we are)," he answered, "by Him to Whom all His servants must return."

“Father,” said (the youth), “then we need have no concern, if we are going to die righteously.”
“May God give you the best reward a son can get for (his behaviour towards) his father,” answered al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.

In the morning, he stopped and prayed the morning prayer. Then he hurried to remount and to continue the journey with his followers, veering to the left with the intention of separating from (al-Ḥurr’s men). However al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd came towards him and stopped him and his followers (from going in that direction) and he began to (exert pressure to) turn them towards Kūfa, but they resisted him. So they stopped (doing that) but they still accompanied them in the same way until they reached Nīnawā, (which was) the place where al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, stopped. Suddenly there appeared a rider on a fast mount, bearing weapons and carrying a bow on his shoulder, coming from Kūfa. They all stopped and watched him. When he reached them, he greeted al-Ḥurr and his followers and did not greet al-Ḥusayn and his followers. He handed a letter from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād to al-Ḥurr. In it (was the following):

> When this letter reaches you and my messenger comes to you, make al-Ḥusayn come to a halt. But only let him stop in an open place without vegetation. 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.
> Greetings.

When al-Ḥurr had read the letter, he told them: “This is a letter from the governor ‘Ubayd Allāh. He has ordered me to bring you to a halt at a place which his letter suggests. This is his messenger and he has ordered him not to leave me until I carry out the order with regard to you.”

Yazīd (b. Ziyād) b. al-Muhājir al-Kindī who was with al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, looked at the messenger of Ibn Ziyād and he recognized him.

"May your mother be deprived of you." he exclaimed, "what a business you have come to!"
"I have obeyed my Imām and remained faithful to my pledge of allegiance," (the other man) answered.
"You have been disobedient to your Lord and have obeyed your Imām in bringing about the destruction of your soul," responded Ibn al-Muhājir. "You have acquired (eternal) shame (for yourself) and (the punishment of) Hell-fire. What a wicked Imām your Imām is! Indeed God has said: *We have made them Imāms who summon (people) to Hell-fire and on the Day of Resurrection they will not be helped*. (XXVIII 41) Your Imām is one of those."

Al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd began to make the people stop in a place that was without water and where there was no village.

"Shame upon you, let us stop at this village or that one," said al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. He meant by this, Nīnawā and al-Ghādiriyya, and by that, Shufayya.
"By God, I cannot do that," replied (al-Ḥurr), "for this man has been sent to me as a spy."
"Son of the Apostle of God," said Zuhayr b. al-Qayn, "I can only think that after what you have seen, the situation will get worse than what you have seen. Fighting these people, now, will be easier for us than fighting those who will come against us after them. For by my life, after them will come against us such (a number) as we will not have the power (to fight) against."
"I will not begin to fight against them," answered al-Ḥusayn.

That was Thursday, 2nd of (the month of) Muharram in the year 61 A.H. (680). On the next day, 'Umar b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ set out from Kūfa with four thousand horsemen. He stopped at Nīnawā and sent for 'Urwa b. Qays al-Aḥmasī[21] and told him: "Go to him (al-Ḥusayn) and ask him: What brought you, and what do you want?"

21 'Azra in al-Ṭabarī. II, 309. The same difference is maintained concerning the letter. cf. 85, footnote 8.

‘Urwa was one of those who had written to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, and he was ashamed to do that. The same was the case with all the leaders who had written to him, and all of them refused and were unwilling to do that. Kathīr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sha‘bī stood up - he was a brave knight who never turned his face away from anything - and said: “I will go to him. By God, if you wish, I will rush on him.”
‘“I don’t want you to attack him.” said ‘Umar, “but go to him and ask him what has brought him.”

As Kathīr was approaching him, Abū Thumāma al-Ṣā’idī saw him and said to al-Ḥusayn, “May God benefit you, Abū ‘Abd Allāh, the wickedest man in the land, the one who has shed the most blood and the boldest of them all in attack, is coming towards you.”

Then (Abu Thumāma) stood facing him and said: “Put down your sword.”
“No, by God,” he replied, “I am only a messenger. If you will 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.”
“I will take the hilt of your sword,” answered (Abu Thumāma), “and you can say what you need to.”
“No, by God, you will not touch it,” he retorted.
“Then tell me what you have brought and I will inform him for you. But I will not let you go near him, for you are a charlatan.”

They both (stood there and) cursed each other. Then (Kathīr) went back to ‘Umar b. Sa‘d and told him the news (of what had happened). ‘Umar summoned Qurra b. Qays al-Ḥanẓalī and said to him: “Shame upon you Qurra, go and meet al-Ḥusayn and ask him what brought him and what he wants.”

Qurra began to approach him. When al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, saw him approaching. he asked: “Do you know that man?”
“Yes,” replied Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir, “he is from the Ḥanẓala clan of Tamīm. He is the son of our sister. I used to know him as a man

of sound Judgement. I would not have thought that he would be present at this scene."

He came and greeted al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. Then he informed him of ʻUmar b. Saʻd's message.
"The people of this town of yours wrote to me that I should come," answered al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. "However, if now you have come to dislike me, then I will leave you."
"Shame upon you, Qurra," Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir said to him, "will you return to those unjust men? Help this man through whose fathers God will grant you (great) favour."
"I will (first) return to my leader with the answer to his message," replied Qurra, "and then I will reflect on my views."

He went back to ʻUmar b. Saʻd and gave him his report.
"I hope that God will spare me from making war on him and fighting against him," said ʻUmar and then he wrote to ʻUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. I am (writing this from) where I have positioned myself, near al-Ḥusayn, and I have asked him what brought him and what he wants. He answered: 'The people of this land wrote to me and their messengers came to me asking me to come and I have done so. However if (now) they have come to dislike me and (the position) now appears different to them from what their messengers brought to me, I will go away from them.'

[Ḥassān b. Qā'id al-ʻAbsī reported:]
I was with ʻUbayd Allāh when this letter came to him, he read it and then he recited:

> Now when our claws cling to him, he hopes for escape but he will be prevented (now) from (getting) any refuge.

He wrote to ʻUmar b. Saʻd:

> Your letter has reached me and I have understood what you

mentioned. Offer al-Ḥusayn (the opportunity) of him and all his followers pledging allegiance to Yazīd. If he does that, we will then see what our judgement will be.

When the answer reached ʻUmar b. Saʻd, he said: "I fear that ʻUbayd Allāh will not accept that I should be spared (fighting al-Ḥusayn)."

(Almost immediately) after it, there came (another) letter from Ibn Ziyād (in which he said): "Prevent al-Ḥusayn and his followers from (getting) water. Do not let them taste a drop of it just as was done with ʻUthmān b. ʻAffān."

At once ʻUmar b. Saʻd sent ʻAmr b al-Ḥajjāj with five hundred horsemen to occupy the path to the water and prevent al-Ḥusayn and his followers from (getting) water in order that they should (not) drink a drop of it. That was three days before the battle against al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.

ʻAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Azdī, who was numbered among Bajīla, called out at the top of his voice: "Ḥusayn, don't you see that the water is as if in the middle of heaven. By God, you will not taste a drop of it until you die of thirst."
"O God, make him die of thirst and never forgive him," cried al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.

[Ḥumayd b. Muslim reported:]
By God, later I visited him when he was ill. By God, other than whom there is no deity, I saw him drinking water without being able to quench his thirst, and then vomiting. He would cry out, "The thirst, the thirst!" Again he would drink water without being able to quench his thirst, again he would vomit. He would then burn with thirst. This went on until he died, may God curse him.

When al-Ḥusayn saw the extent of the number of troops encamped with ʻUmar b. Saʻd, may God curse him, at Nīnawā in order to do

battle against him, he sent to ‘Umar b. Sa‘d that he wanted to meet him. The two men met at night and talked together for a long time. (When) ‘Umar b. Sa‘d went back to his camp, he wrote to ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād, may he be cursed.

> God has put out the fire of hatred, united (the people) in one opinion (lit. word), and set right the affairs of the community. This man, al-Ḥusayn, 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 - he will 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 have the consent (to what you have demanded) and the community gains benefit.

When ‘Ubayd Allāh read the letter, he said: “This is the letter about a sincere man who is anxious for his people.”
“Are you going to accept this from him,” demanded Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan, jumping up, “when he has encamped on your land nearby? By God if he was a man from your land and he would not put his hand in yours, whether he was in a position of power and strength (or) whether he was in a position of weakness and impotence you would not give this concession, for it would be (a mark) of weakness. Rather let him and his followers submit to your authority. Then if you punish them, (it will be because) you are the (person) most appropriate to punish, and if you forgive them, you have the right (to do so).”

“What you have suggested is good,” replied Ibn Ziyād. “Your view is the correct view. Take this message to ‘Umar b. Sa‘d and let him offer al-Ḥusayn and his followers (the opportunity of) submitting to my authority. If they do that, let him send them to me in peace. If they refuse, he should fight them. If he (‘Umar b. Sa‘d) acts (according to) my instructions, then listen to him and obey him. However if he refuses to fight them then you are the commander of the army (lit. people), attack him, cut his head off and send it to me.”

Then he wrote to ‘Umar b. Sa‘d:

> I did not send you to al-Ḥusayn 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 make excuses for him, nor to be an intercessor on his behalf with me. Therefore see that if al-Ḥusayn and his followers submit to my authority and surrender, you send them to me in peace. If they refuse, then march against them to fight them and to punish them; for they deserve that. If al-Ḥusayn is killed, make the horses trample on his body, both front and back; for he is a disobedient rebel, and I do not consider that this will be in any way wrong after death. But it is my view that you should do this to him if you kill him. If you carry out your command concerning him, we will give you the reward due to one who is attentive and obedient. If you refuse, then we withdraw (the command of) our province and army from you and leave the army to Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan. We have given him our authority.
> Greetings.

Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan brought the letter to ‘Umar b Sa‘d. After he had brought it and read it, ‘Umar said to him: “Shame upon you, what is this to you? May God never show favour to your house. May God make abominable what you have brought to me! By God, I did not think that you would cause him to refuse what I had written to him, and ruin for us a matter which we had hoped to set right. Al-Ḥusayn will not surrender, for there is a spirit like (his) father’s in his body.”
“Tell me what you are going to do,” demanded Shamir. “Are you going to carry out the governor’s command and fight his enemy or are you going to leave the command of the army to me?”
“No, (there is going to be) no advantage to you. I will carry that out instead of you. You take command of the foot-soldiers.”

‘Umar b. Sa‘d prepared to (do battle with) al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, on the night of Thursday, 9th of the month of Muḥarram. (In

the meantime) Shamir went out and stood in front of the followers of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.

"Where are my sister's sons?" he demanded. Al-'Ābbās, Ja'far, 'Abd Allāh and 'Uthmān, sons of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, peace be on him, came forward.
"What do you want?" they asked.
"Sons of my sister, you are guaranteed security," he said.
"God curse you and curse the security which you offer without offering it to the son of the Apostle of God," the young men replied.
"Cavalry of God, mount and announce the news of Heaven (i.e. death)," 'Umar b. Sa'd called out and the people mounted and he approached (the supporters of al-Ḥusayn) after the afternoon (*'aṣr*) prayer.

Meanwhile, al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, was sitting in front of his tent dozing with his head on his knees. His sister heard the clamour (from the enemy's ranks). She came up to him and said, "My brother, don't you hear the sounds which are getting nearer?"
"I have just seen the Apostle of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, in my sleep," said al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, as he raised his head. "He said to me: 'You are coming to us'."

His sister struck at her face and cried out in grief.
"You have no (reason) to lament, sister," al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, told her. "Be quiet, may God have mercy on you."
Then he turned to al-'Abbās b. 'Alī: "Brother, the enemy have come, so get ready, but first, al-'Abbās, you, yourself, ride out to meet them, to talk to them about what they have (in mind) and what appears (appropriate) to them and to ask about what has brought them (against us)."

Al-'Abbās went towards them with about twenty horsemen, among whom was Zuhayr b. al-Qayn.
"How do you see (the situation)?" he asked. "What do you want?"

“The command of the governor has arrived that we should offer you (the opportunity of) submitting to his authority, otherwise we (must) attack you,” they answered.
“Do not hurry (to do anything) until I have gone back to Abu ‘Abd Allāh (al-Ḥusayn) and told him what you have said,” al-‘Abbās requested.
They stopped (where they were) and told him: “Go to him and inform him, and tell us what he says to you.”

Al-‘Abbās went galloping back to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, to give him the information. While his companions remained exchanging words with enemy, trying to test them and dissuade them from fighting against al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, (al-‘Abbās) told him what the enemy had said.
“Go back to them,” he, peace be on him, said, “if you can, delay them until the morning and (persuade) them to keep from us during the evening. Then, perhaps, we may be able to pray to our Lord during the night to call upon Him and seek His forgiveness. He knows that I have always loved His formal prayer, the recitation of His Book and (making) many invocations to Him, seeking His forgiveness.”
Al-‘Abbās went back to the people, and returned (after) being with them, accompanied by a messenger on behalf of ‘Umar b. Sa‘d, who had said: “We will grant you a day until tomorrow. Then if you surrender, we will send you to our governor, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād but if you refuse we will not leave you (any longer).”

(After) he departed towards the evening al-Ḥusayn gathered his followers around him.

[‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, Zayn al-‘Ābidīn. reported:]
I went near to hear what he would say to them (even though) at that time I was sick. I heard my father say to his followers: “I glorify God with the most perfect glorification and I praise Him in happiness and misfortune. O God, I praise You for blessing us with prophethood, teaching us the Qur’ān and making us

understand the religion. You have given us hearing, sight and hearts, and have made us among those who give thanks (to You). I know of no followers more loyal and more virtuous than my followers nor of any House more pious and more close-knit than my House. May God reward you well on my behalf. Indeed, I do not think that there will be (any further) days (left) to us by these men. I permit you to leave me. All (of you) go away with the absolution of your oath (to follow me), for there will be no (further) obligation on you from me. This is a night (whose darkness) will give cover to you. Use it as a camel (i.e. ride away in it)."

His brothers and sons, the sons of his sisters and the sons of ʻAbd Allāh b. Jaʻfar said: "We will not leave you to make ourselves continue living after your (death). God will never see us (do) such a thing."

Al-ʻAbbās b. ʻAlī, peace be on them, was the first of them to make this declaration. Then the (whole) group followed him, (all) declaring the same thing.

"Sons of ʻAqīl," said al-Ḥusayn, "enough of your (family) has been killed. So go away as I have permitted you."
"Glory be to God." they replied, "what would the people say? They would say that we deserted our Shaykh, our lord, the sons of our uncle, who was the best of uncles; that we had not shot arrows alongside them, we had not thrust spears alongside them, we had not struck swords alongside them. (At such an accusation) we do not know what we would do. No, by God, we will not do (such a thing). Rather we will ransom you with our lives, property and families. We will fight for you until we reach your destination. May God make life abominable (for us) after your (death)."

Then Muslim b. ʻAwsaja arose and spoke: "Could we leave you alone? How should we excuse ourselves before God concerning the performance of our duty to you? By God, I will stab them with my spear (until it breaks), I will strike them with my sword as long

as the hilt is in my hand. If I have no weapon (left) to fight them with, I will throw stones (at them). By God we will never leave you until God knows that we have preserved through you (the company of His Apostle) in his absence. By God, if I knew that I would die and then be revived and then burnt and then revived, and then scattered, and that would be done to me seventy times, I would never leave you until I met my death (fighting) on your behalf. So how could I do it when there can only be one death, which is a great blessing which can never be rejected?"

Zuhayr b. al-Qayn, may God have mercy on him, spoke: "By God, I would prefer to be killed and then recalled to life; and then be killed a thousand times in this manner; and that in this way God, the Mighty and Exalted, should protect your life and the lives of these young men of your House."

All his followers spoke in similar vein, one after the other. Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, called (on God to) reward them well and then went back to his tent.

[ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them, reported:]
I was sitting on that evening (before the morning of the day) in which my father was killed. With me was my aunt, Zaynab, who was nursing me when my father left to go to his tent. With him was Juwayn, the retainer (*mawlā*) of Abū Dharr al-Ghiffarī, who was preparing his sword and putting it right. My father recited:

> Time, shame on you as a friend! At the day's dawning and the sun's setting.
>
> How many a companion or seeker will be a corpse! Time will not be satisfied with any substitute.
>
> The matter will rest with the Mighty One, and every living creature will have to journey along my path.

He repeated it twice or three times. I understood it and realised

what he meant. Tears choked me and I pushed them back. I kept silent and knew that tribulation had come upon us. As for my aunt, she heard what I heard – but she is a woman and weakness and grief are part of the qualities of women; she could not control herself, she jumped up, tearing at her clothes and sighing, and went to him.

"Then I will lose (a brother)," Zaynab said to him. "Would that death deprived me of life today, (for) my mother, Fāṭima, is dead, and my father, ʻAlī and my brother, al-Ḥasan, peace be on them (all)."
"O sister," al-Ḥusayn said to her as he looked at her with his eyes full of tears. "don't let Satan take away your forbearance. (Remember:) If the sandgrouse are left (alone) at night, they will sleep (i.e. let nature take its course)."
"O my grief, your life will be violently wrenched from you and that is more wounding to my heart and harsher to my soul," she lamented, and then she struck at her face. She bent down to (the hem of) her garment and (began to) tear it. Then she fell down in a faint.
Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, got up and bathed her face with water. Then he said to her: "Sister, fear God and take comfort in the consolation of God. Know that the people on the earth will die and the inhabitants of heaven will not continue to exist (for ever). For everything will be destroyed except the face of God Who created creation by His power (*qudra*); He sends forth creatures and He causes them to return; He is unique and alone. My grandfather was better than me, My father was better than me and my mother was better than me. I and every muslim have an ideal model in the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family."

By this and the like he tried to console her and he said: "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 with grief and loss when I am destroyed."

Then he brought her and made her sit with me. He went out to his followers and ordered them to bring their tents (much) closer together so that the tent pegs came within the area of each other's tents, and so that if they remained among their tents, the enemy could only approach (them), from one side (for there would be) tents behind them, and to their right and left. Thus (the tents completely) surrounded them except for the one way which the enemy could come against them.

(After that) he, peace be on him, returned to his place and spent the whole night in performing the prayer, and in calling on God's forgiveness and in making invocations. In the same way, his followers performed the prayers, made invocations and sought God's forgiveness.

[Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. ʻAbd Allāh reported]
(A contingent of) ʻUmar b. Saʻd's (continually) passed us keeping watch over us while al-Ḥusayn, himself recited: "*Let not those who disbelieve think that our giving them a delay is better for their souls. We give them a delay only that they might increase their wickedness. They shall have a disgraceful punishment. God does not leave the believers in the situation you are in until He has made the evil distinct from the good*." (III 178-179)

A man called ʻAbd Allāh b. Samīr, (who was) among those horsemen heard that. He was given to much laughter, and was a brave fighter, a treacherous knight and a noble. He cried out: "By the Lord of the Kaʻba. we are the good, we have been distinguished from you."
"O terrible sinner," cried Burayr b. Ḥuḍayr. "has God made you one of the good?"
"A curse on you, whoever you are" he shouted back.
"I am Burayr b.Ḥuḍayr," he replied. And they both cursed each other.

In the morning al-Ḥusayn, peace be on hin, mobilised his followers

after the morning prayer. He had with him thirty-two horsemen and forty foot-soldiers. He put Zuhayr b. al-Qayn in charge of his right wing and Ḥabib b. Muẓāhir in charge of his left wing, and he gave his standard to his brother, al-ʻAbbās. They positioned themselves with the tents at the rear. He ordered (the) firewood and cane which was behind the tents to be left in a ditch which had been dug there and to be set on fire, fearing that they would attack them from the rear.

ʻUmar b. Saʻd began the morning of that day - it was Friday, or Saturday as some say - by mobilising his followers. He went out with the men with him towards al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. ʻAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj was in command of his right wing, Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan of the left Wing, ʻUrwa b. Qays was in command of the cavalry, Shabath b. Ribʻi of the foot-soldiers. He gave his standard to Durayd, his retainer (*mawlā*).

[ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn, peace be on them, reported:] When the cavalry began to approach al-Ḥusayn, he raised his hands and said: "O God, it is You in Whom I trust amid all grief. You are my hope amid all violence. You are my trust and provision in everything that happens to me, (no matter) how much the heart may seem to weaken in it, trickery may seem to diminish (my hope) in it, the friend may seem to desert (me) in it, and the enemy may seem to rejoice in it. It comes upon me through You and when I complain to You of it, it is because of my desire for You, You alone. You have comforted me in (everything) and have revealed its (significance to me). You are the Master of all grace, the Possessor of all goodness and the Ultimate Resort of all desire."

When the enemy began to move around the tent of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, they saw the ditch behind and the fire burning the firewood and cane which had been thrown in it. (At this) Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan called out at the top of his voice: "Al-Ḥusayn, are you hurrying towards the fire (of Hell) before the Day of Resurrection?"

“Who is that?” asked al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. “(It sounds) like Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan?”
“Yes, (it is),” they told him.
“Son of a goat-herdess, you are more worthy to be burnt by that.” he retorted.

Muslim b. ‘Awsaja wanted to shoot an arrow at him, but al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, stopped him from (doing) that. “Let me shoot at him,” he asked, “for he is a wicked sinner, one of the enemies of God, and the great tyrants. (Now) God has made it possible (to kill) him.”
“Do not shoot at him,” ordered al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, “for I am unwilling to begin (the fighting) against them.”

Then al-Ḥusayn called for his mount and mounted it. He called out at the top of his voice: “O people of Iraq,” - and most of them (began to) listen to him - “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 and so that (by telling you the true circumstances) I may free myself from any blame in (your attacking me). If you give me justice, you will become happier through that. If you do not give me justice of your own accord (as individuals), *then agree upon your affairs (with your associates); let not your affairs be in darkness to you. Then carry (it) out against me and do not reflect (any further)* (X 71). *Indeed my guardian is God, Who created the Book; He takes care of the righteous* (VII 196).”

Then he praised and glorified God, and mentioned what God is entitled to. He called for blessings on the Prophet, may God bless Him and His Family, and on the angels and (other) prophets. No speaker has ever been heard before or after him more eloquent in his speech than he was. He continued: “Trace back my lineage and consider who I am. Then look back at yourselves and remonstrate with yourselves. Consider whether it is right for you to kill me and to violate the honour of my womenfolk. Am I not the son of the daughter of your Prophet, of his testamentary trustee (*waṣī*) and

his cousin, the first of the believers in God and the man who (first) believed in what His Apostle, may God bless Him and His Family, brought from his Lord? Was not Ḥamza, the lord of the martyrs, my uncle? Was not Ja‘far, the one who flies in Heaven, my uncle? Have you not heard the words of the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family, concerning myself and my brother: ‘These are the two lords of the youths of the inhabitants of heaven?’ Whether you believe what I am saying - and it is the truth, for by God I have never told a lie since I learnt that God hated people (who told) them - or whether you regard me as a liar, there are among you those who, if you asked them, would tell you: Ask Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, Sahl b. Sa‘d al-Ṣā‘idī, Zayd b. Arqam and Anas b. Mālik to tell you that they heard these words from the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family, concerning myself and my brother. Is there not (sufficient) in this to prevent you shedding my blood?”

“If I understand what you are saying,” interrupted Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan, “then I only worship God (very shakily) on the edge.” “I think that you worship God (very shakily) on seventy edges,” said Ḥabib b. Muẓāhir “For I testify that you are right. You do not understand what he is saying. For God has impressed (ignorance) upon your heart.”

“If you are in any doubt about this,” al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, told them, “you are in doubt that I am the Son of the daughter of your Prophet. By God there is no son of a prophet other than me among you and among the peoples from East to West. Shame on you, are you seeking retribution from me for one of your dead whom I have killed, or for property of yours which I expropriated, or for a wound which I have inflicted?”

They did not say anything to him. They he called: “Shabath b. Rib‘ī, Ḥajjār b. Abjar, Qays b. al-Ash‘ath, Yazīd b. al-Hārith, didn’t you write: ‘The fruit has ripened; the dates have grown green; come to an army which has been gathered for you?’”

“We don’t know what you are talking about,” said Qays b. al-Ash‘ath. “Submit to the authority of your kinsmen (the Umayyads). They have never treated you with anything but what you liked.”
“By God, I will never give you my hand like a man who has been humiliated; nor will I flee like a slave,” said al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. Then he called out, “*O Servants of God, I take refuge in my Lord and your Lord from your stoning* (XLIV 20) *I take refuge in my Lord and your Lord from every haughty man who does not believe in the Day of Reckoning* (XL 27).”

He made his mount kneel and ordered ‘Uqba b. Sim‘ān to tie its reins. They (the Kūfans) began to advance towards him (al-Ḥusayn). When al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd perceived that the people were determined to fight al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, he said to ‘Umar: “Are you going to fight this man?”
“Yes,” he replied, “it will be a terrible battle, the least part of which will be heads falling and severed hands flying (through the air).”
“Haven’t you any other way of getting what you want?”
“If the matter rested with me,” answered ‘Umar, “I would do (anything else), but your governor has refused (any alternative).”

Al-Ḥurr went and stood apart from the people. With him was a man from his tribe called Qurra b. Qays.
“Qurra, have you watered your horse, today?” he asked.
“No.”
“Do you want to Water it?”

[Qurra reported (later):]
I thought that he (al-Ḥurr) was going to leave the battle, and did not want to be present at it but was unwilling to be seen when he (left). So I said: “I have not watered it and I was going to water it.” Then I left him where he was. By God, If he had told me what he was intending to do, I would have gone with him to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.”

He (al-Ḥurr) began gradually to draw closer to al-Ḥusayn.
"What do you want, Ibn Yazīd?" asked Muhājir b. Aws, but he did not answer. (Instead) a great shudder came over him.
"Your behaviour is suspicious," said Muhājir. "By God, I have never seen you act like this before. If I was asked who was the bravest of the Kūfans, I would not (normally) neglect (to mention) you. What is this I see in you, (today)?"
"By God, I am giving my soul the choice between Heaven and the fire (of Hell)," answered al-Ḥurr. "By God, I will not choose anything before Heaven, even though I am cut to pieces and burnt."

(With that) he whipped his horse and (galloped over) and joined al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.

"May I be your ransom, son of the Apostle of God?" he said. "I was your companion who stopped you from returning. I accompanied you along the road and made you stop in this place. But 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. By God, if I had known that they would finish up (by doing) what I am seeing (them do) to you, I would not have committed what I have committed against you. I repent to God for what I have done. Will you accept my repentance?"
"Yes," replied al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, "God will forgive you. So get down."
"You will have (no) horseman better than me, (nor), while I am on foot, any foot-soldier," he said. "I will continue fighting on foot to the (bitter) end."
"Do so," replied al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. "May God grant you mercy (though) what He has revealed to you."

He advanced, in front of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, and called out: "People of Kūfa, your mother(s) will be deprived of their sons and tears will come to their eyes. Have you summoned this righteous man (to come to you), then, when he has come to you,

have you handed him over (to his enemies)? Did you claim that you would fight with your own lives for him, and then have you begun to attack him in order to kill him? You have laid hold of his life; you have seized his throat; you have encircled him on every side in order to prevent him returning to God's broad land (i.e. the Ḥijāz). He has come into your hands like a prisoner who no longer has the power to use his own life and cannot defend it against harm. You have prevented him, his womenfolk, his children and his people from (getting) the water of the Euphrates which Jews, Christians and Majians may drink, and which the pigs and dogs of Sawād drink. They (al-Ḥusayn's family) are likely to die of thirst. How wickedly you have treated the offspring left by Muḥammad. May God not give you water to drink on the Day of Thirst."

Some of the foot-soldiers attacked him by shooting arrows at him. He went and stood in front of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.

"Durayd." 'Umar b. Sa'd called out, "bring forward your standard (for us)."
He brought it forward. ('Umar) put an arrow in his bow and let it fly. He said, "(All of you) be witnesses of who was the first to shoot."

The people began to shoot at each other and to come forward (for single combat). Yasār, retainer (*mawlā*) of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, came forward (from 'Umar's army). 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umayr (al-Kalbī) came forward (from al-Ḥusayn's ranks) to meet him.

"Who are you?" Yasār asked him, and (Ibn al-Kalbī) gave him his lineage.
"I do not know you," (Yasār) answered. "Let Zuhayr b. al-Qayn or Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir come out against me."
"Son of a prostitute, you wanted to do single combat with one of the people," retorted 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umayr (al-Kalbī).

With that (Ibn al-Kalbī) struck him with his sword until he had

quietened him. While he was occupied with striking against him, Sālim, retainer (*mawlā*) of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, attacked him (Ibn al-Kalbī). Al-Ḥusayn's followers cried out (in warning): "The (other) servant is closing in on you!" (Ibn al-Kalbī) did not notice (Sālim) until the latter was upon him. With his left arm he warded off Sālim's blow but the fingers of his hand were cut off. Then he turned on (Sālim) and struck him and killed him. After (thus) killing them both, (Ibn al-Kalbī) came forward and recited:

> If you do not know me, I am Ibn al-Kalbī: I am a man of bitterness and anger, I am not a weakling in the face of disaster.

ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj, with the Kūfans under his command, launched an attack on the right wing of the supporters of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. When they drew near, the followers of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, knelt down and pointed their spears at them. The (attackers') horses would not come forward against the spears and they swung round to retreat. The followers of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, began to shoot arrows at (the enemy), killing some of them and wounding others.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥawza, one of the Banū Tamīm, approached al-Ḥusayn's camp and the people called out to him, "Where are you going, may your mother be deprived of you?"
"I am (in the right) advancing to a merciful Lord and an intercessor who is listened to (i.e. the Prophet)," he answered.
"Who is that?" al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, asked his followers.
"Ibn Ḥawza al-Tamīmī," he was told.
"O God, drive him into the fire!" (al-Ḥusayn) exclaimed. With that his horse upset him in its stride and fell. His left leg was stuck in the stirrups and his right leg was free. Muslim b. ʿAwsaja attacked him and struck his right leg and cut it off. The horse galloped off (dragging) him (along) and his head struck every stone and clod of earth until he died. God hurried his soul to (Hell) fire. (More) fighting then broke out and more men were killed.

Al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd attacked the followers of ‘Umar b. Sa‘d and (as he did so), he recited the words of ‘Antara:

> With my charger’s neck and breast thrust forward I will launch myself at them again and again until (the beast) is clothed in blood.

Yazīd b. Sufyān, from Banū al-Ḥārith (of Tamīm), came forward to meet him. Soon al-Ḥurr killed him.

(In the meantime) Nāfi‘ b. Hilāl came forward, declaring:

> I am the son of Hilāl. I believe in the religion of ‘Alī.

Muzāhim b. Ḥurayth came against him, crying, “I follow the religion of ‘Uthmān.”
“Rather you follow the religion of Satan,” Nāfi‘ replied and attacked and killed him.

“You stupid fellows.” ‘Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj cried out to (his) men, “don’t you realise whom you are fighting? (These) knights of the town are people who are seeking death. Don’t let any of you go forward to fight them in single combat. They are only few and their time is running out. If you only threw stones at them, you would kill them (eventually).”
“True, you’ve come to the right conclusion,” ‘Umar b Sa‘d said to him. Then he sent (the message) to the commanders that none of their men should fight in single combat.

‘Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj and his men launched an attack against al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, from the direction of the Eupharates. They fought together fiercely for a time. Muslim b. ‘Aswaja was struck down, may God have mercy on him, (but) ‘Amr and his men withdrew. When the dust settled, (al-Ḥusayn’s followers) found Muslim stretched out dying. Al-Ḥusayn, peace he on him, walked towards him and he was on the point of death.

“Muslim, may God have mercy on you” said (al-Ḥusayn). “*of them*

(the believers) is he who has accomplished his vow, and of them is he who waits; they have not changed at all" (XXXIII 23).

Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir approached and said, "Muslim, your death is hard for me to bear but I bring you good news of Heaven (where you are going)."
"May God bring you good news too," replied Muslim in a weak voice.
"Even if I knew that I would follow you at this very moment. I would still like you to appoint me to carry out everything which concerns you."

Then the people came again against al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan attacked with his left wing (and thrust at) (al-Ḥusayn's) left wing, but they stood firm against him and forced him away (with their spears). Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, and his followers were attacked on every side but the followers of al-Ḥusayn fought fiercely. Then their cavalry began to attack and even though they were only thirty-two horsemen, they did not attack any side of the Kūfan cavalry without putting it to flight.

When 'Urwa b. Qays saw that - he was in command of the Kūfan cavalry - he sent word to 'Umar b. Sa'd: "Don't you see what my cavalry is receiving today from this small number (of men)? Send the foot-soldiers and archers against them."

He sent the archers against them. Al-Ḥurr b Yazīd's horse was lamed. He dismounted and began to shout:

> You have tamed my (horse) but I am the son of freedom and braver than a manned lion.

He struck out against them with his sword but a great number came against him. Ayyūb b. Musarriḥ and another of the Kūfan horseman shared in killing him.

The followers of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, continued to fight

fiercely against the enemy until it was midday. When al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr – he was in command of the archers – perceived the steadfastness of the followers al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, he advanced against his supporters with five hundred archers so that they showered the followers of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, with arrows. They continued shooting at them until they had lamed (most of) their horses and wounded some of their men. Then they moved against them and a fierce battle was fought between them for some time. Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan (also) attacked them with his followers but Zuhayr b. al-Qayn with ten of the followers of al-Ḥusayn (counter) attacked and drove them away from the tents. Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan turned back against them but (some) of his men were killed and the rest retreated to their positions. (The number) of killed was apparent among the followers of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, because of the fewness of their number while it was not so apparent among the followers of ʻUmar b. Saʻd because of their great number. The battle (continued to be) fought fiercely and desperately. The number killed and wounded among the followers of Abū ʻAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, continued to grow until the sun began to decline. Al-Ḥusayn and his companions prayed the prayer according to the rite of the prayer of fear.

Ḥanẓala b. Saʻd al-Shibāmī advanced in front of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, and called out "People of Kūfa, *O people I fear for you the same (that happened) on the Day of Parties. I fear for you on the Day of Summoning*. (XL 30, 32). O people, do not kill al-Ḥusayn for God will destroy you with punishment. *He who forges a lie will be disappointed* (XX 61)."

He advanced and fought until he was killed, may God have mercy on him. After that, Shawdhab, retainer (*mawlā*) of Shākir, went forward, (after saying): "Greetings, Abū ʻAbd Allāh and may God store his mercy and blessings for you." He fought until he was killed, may God have mercy on him.

Then came ʻĀbis b. Shabīb al-Shākirī. He greeted al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, and fought until he was killed. Each man of (al-Ḥusayn's) followers continued to go forward and be killed until there only remained with al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, the members of his own House.

His son, ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them, whose mother was Layla daughter of Abū Murra b. ʻUrwa b. Masʻūd al-Thaqafī, was (the next) to advance. He was one of the most handsome men of the time. On that day he was nineteen years of age. He attacked the enemy declaring:

> I am ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī. By the House of God, we are those rightly (endowed) with the Prophet.
>
> By God, the son of a spurious son will not judge us. I will strike with my sword in defence of my father.
>
> I will strike with the blow of a Hāshimī, a Qurayshī.

He did that several times, and the Kūfans were afraid to kill him. Then Murra b. Munqidh al-ʻAbdī 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) if I do not deprive his mother of him."

(ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn) continued to attack the enemy as he had been doing but then Murra b, Munqidh came against him and stabbed him. He was struck down and the enemy fell upon him, cutting him with their swords. Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, went out until he stood over him and said: "May God kill (the) people who killed you, my son. How foolhardy they are against the Merciful and in violating the sacredness of the family of the Apostle, may God bless Him and His Family."

His eyes filled with tears and he said: "There will (only) be dust on the world after you."

Zaynab, the sister of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, came hurrying out, crying: “My brother, my nephew!”

She came up and threw herself on (her dead nephew). Al-Ḥusayn raised her head and then led her back to the tent. He told his young (sons): “Carry your brother back.”

They carried him and put him before the tent which they had been fighting in front of. (Then) one of ʻUmar b. Saʻd’s men called ʻAmr b. Ṣubayḥ shot an arrow at ʻAbd Allāh b. Muslim b. ʻAqīl. ʻAbd Allāh put his hand to guard his brow. The arrow struck his hand and penetrated through his brow, and riveted the hand to it. He was not able to move it when another man came down on him with a spear, thrust it into his heart, and killed him.

ʻAbd Allāh b. Quṭba al-Ṭāʾī attacked ʻAwn b. ʻAbd Allāh b. Jaʻfar b. Abī Ṭālib and killed him.

ʻĀmir b. Nashhal al-Tamīmī attacked Muḥammad b. ʻAbd Allāh b. Jaʻfar b. Abī Ṭālib and killed him.

ʻUthmān b. Khālid al-Hamdānī launched himself against ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʻAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, and killed him.

[Humayd b. Muslim reported:]
It was like that among us (i.e. many of al-Ḥusayn’s supporters had been killed by ʻUmar b. Saʻd’s army) when a young lad came out against us. His face was young 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. ʻUmar b. Saʻd b. Nufayl al-Azdī said to me: “Let me attack him.” I said: “Praise be to God, what do you want to do that for? Leave him. While even one of the family of al-Ḥusayn remains, that will be enough to take vengeance on you for his (death).” But he insisted: “By God, let me attack him.” So he rushed against him and did not turn back until he had struck his head with his sword

and split it in two. The young lad fell face downwards and he called out: "O uncle!"

At this, al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, showed himself just like the hawk shows itself. He launched into attack like a raging lion and struck ʻUmar b. Saʻd b. Nufayl with his sword. That man tried to fend off the blow with his arm but his arm was cut off from the elbow, and he gave a great shriek (of pain) which was (even) heard by the people in the camp. As al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, turned away from him, the cavalry of Kūfa attacked in order to save him but they (only succeeded) in trampling him to death beneath the horses' hooves, and the dust rose.

I saw al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, standing by the head of the young lad, looking at his feet and al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him was saying: "May the people who have caused your death perish. For the one who will oppose them on the Day of Resurrection on your behalf will be your grandfather (ʻAlī, or great-grandfather, i.e. the Prophet)." Then he continued: "By God, it is hard on your uncle that you called him and he did not answer you, or rather he answered but your cry was (too late) to help you. For by God, those who kill his relatives are many but those who help him are few." Then he carried him in his arms. It is just as if (even now) I am looking at the two legs of the boy making marks (as they trail) on the ground. He took him and put him with his son, ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them both, and the other members of the household who had been slain. I asked about the boy and was told that he was al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, peace be on them.

Then al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, sat in front of the tent. He brought his son, ʻAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, who was (just) a baby and sat him on his knee. But one of the Banū Asad shot an arrow which slaughtered the child. Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, caught the child's blood in the palm of his hand. When his palm was full, he poured (the blood) 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 because (Your purpose) is better than (immediate

help). Take vengeance on these people who are (such) oppressors." Then he carried the child and laid him with the (other) members of his household who had been slain.

(Just then) ʻAbd Allāh b. ʻUqba al-Ghanawī shot an arrow at Abu Bakr b. al-Ḥasan b. ʻAlī, peace be on them, and killed him. When al-ʻAbbās b. ʻAlī saw the number of his family who had been killed, he said to his brothers on his mother's side - ʻAbd Allāh, Jaʻfar and ʻUthmān: "My brothers through my mother, go forward so that I may see that you have remained true to God and His Apostle. For you have no children (to defend)."

ʻAbd Allāh, may God have mercy on him, advanced and fought fiercely He exchanged blow with Hāni' b. Shabīb al-Ḥadrāmī and Hāni' killed him. After him Jaʻfar went forward and Hāni' also killed him. Khawalī b. Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī, may God curse him, went against ʻUthmān who had taken the place of his brother. He fired an arrow at him and brought him down. One of the Banū Dārim attacked him (while he was down) and cut off his head.

The group then launched an attack against al-Ḥusayn, peace he on him, and cut off his access to his camp. His thirst became severe, and he set off towards the dam, trying to reach the Euphrates. In front of him was his brother, al-ʻAbbās. However, the cavalry of Ibn Saʻd, may God curse him, blocked his route. Among these was a man from the Banū Dārim; he said to (the cavalry): "Woe upon you! Prevent him from reaching the Euphrates, don't let him get water."

Then al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, cried nut: "O God, I am thirsty." The Dārimī became angry and shot an arrow at him which lodged in his throat. Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, pulled out the arrow and held his hand below his throat. Both his palms were filled with blood which he shook away, then he said: "O God, I complain to You about what is being done to the son of the daughter of Your Prophet." Then he 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-Ḥusayn). Single-handed he began to attack them until he was killed, may God have mercy on him.The two who took part in killing him were Zayd b. Warqā al-Ḥanafī and Hakīm b. al-Ṭufail al-Shabsī, after he had been covered with wounds and could not move.[22]

When al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, came back from the dam to his tents, Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan advanced towards him with a group of his followers and surrounded him. The fastest of them was a man called Mālik b. al-Nusayr al-Kindī. He cursed al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, and struck him on the head with his sword. (Al-Ḥusayn) was wearing a cap. (The sword) went through it right into his head and made it bleed. The cap was filled with blood.

Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, said to him: "May you never eat or drink with your right hand! May God gather you (on the Day of Judgement) with those people who are wrong-doers." Then he threw away the cap and called for a cloth which he tied around his head. Then he called for another cap, put it on and bound it (in place).[23]

Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan and those who were with him had withdrawn from him to their (earlier) positions. After a short delay they came again against him and surrounded him. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, peace be on them, came out against them, he was only a boy, not yet mature enough to leave the women. He rushed forward until he stood beside his uncle, al-Husayn, peace be on him. Then Zaynab, the daughter of 'Alī, peace be on him, came after him to stop him, and al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, told her to stop him. However he refused (to take any notice of her) and determinedly prevented her (from taking him away). He said: "By God, I will not leave my uncle."

22 The account of al-'Abbās' death is missing from al-Ṭabarī.

23 This attack and the account of the cap are also missing from al-Ṭabarī.

(At this) Abjar[24] b. Ka‘b rushed towards al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. With sword (in hand), the young lad said to him: “Woe upon you, you son of an impure woman, are you trying to kill my uncle?” Abjar struck at him with his sword. The boy tried to fend off (the blow) with his arm. The sword cut through (his arm) to the skin (on the other side). There was the arm hanging (by the skin). The boy cried out: “O my mother!” Al-Ḥusayn took hold of him and embraced him. He said to him: “My nephew, try to bear what has come to you and be comforted with the news that God will unite you with your righteous ancestors.” Then al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, raised his hand and said: “O God, even as You have made life pleasant for them for a time, divide them into factions and make them follow the ways of factions and let their rulers never be pleased with them. They summoned us so that they might support us and then they became hostile to us and killed us.”

The foot-soldiers launched an attack from right and left against those who were left with al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, until only a group of three or four remained with him. When al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, saw that, he called for of pair of dazzling Yemenī trousers (*sarāwīl*). He tore them and put them on. He tore them so that he should not have been plundered after he had been killed. When al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, was killed, Abjar b. Ka‘b set on him, plundered him of the trousers and left him naked. After that the two hands of Abjar b. Ka‘b, may God curse him, became so dry in the summer that they were like sticks and then soaking wet in the winter so that they sprinkled drops of water and pus, until God destroyed him.

When nobody except a group of three members of his family was left with al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, he moved against the people, while the three protected him until (all) three were killed. Al-Ḥusayn, was left alone. Despite being weighed down by wounds in his head and body, he began to strike against them with his sword and they scattered to right and left, away from him.

24 Baḥr in al-Ṭabarī, II, 363.

Then Ḥumayd b. Muslim said: “By God, I have never seen such persistence. His sons have been killed, and the members of his household and his followers, yet he is still as brave as ever and he has not allowed his spirits to leave him. When the soldiers attack him, he fights back with his sword and scatters them to right and left of him like goats when a wolf comes upon them.”

When Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan realised (the position), he called for the cavalry and they came up at the rear of the foot-soldiers. He ordered the archers to shoot at (al-Ḥusayn) and they showered him with arrows until he became (quilted with arrows) like a hedgehog (is with spikes).

He drew back from them and they stood facing him. His sister, Zaynab, came to the door of the tent and called out to ‘Umar b. Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ: “Woe unto you, ‘Umar. Is Abū ‘Abd Allāh being killed while you (stand by and) watch?” But ‘Umar did not answer. Then she called out: “Woe upon you (all), is there not a Muslim among you?” But no one answered.

Then Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan shouted at the foot soldier and the cavalry: “Why are you waiting for the man? May your mothers be deprived of you!” So they attacked him from every side.

Zur‘a b. Sharīk struck him on the left shoulder-blade and cut into it. Another of them struck him on the shoulder. He fell prostate on his face. Sinān b. Anas al-Nakha‘ī stabbed him with a spear and killed him. Khawalī b. Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī hurried to him and bent down to cut off his head but he trembled (too much). Shamir[25] said to him: “May God crush your arm, why are you trembling?” Then Shamir bent down and decapitated him. He lifted the head (and handed it) to Khawalī saying: “Take it to the commander ‘Umar b. Sa‘d.”

Then they began to plunder (the body of) al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. Isḥāq b. al-Ḥayāt al-Ḥaḍrāmī, may God curse him, took his

25 Sinān in al-Ṭabarī, II, 366.

shirt. Abjar b. Ka‘b, may God curse him, took his trousers. Akhnas b. Marthad, may God curse him, took his turban. One of the Banū Dārim took his sword. They plundered his saddle and his camel and they looted his womenfolk.[26]

[Ḥumayd b. Muslim reported:]
By God, I did not see one of his women or daughters or the women of his family who did not have her clothes ripped from her back, taken away and removed from her forcibly. Then we came to ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them both. He was stretched out on a bed and he was very ill. Shamir had a group of foot-soldiers with him and they asked him, “Shall we kill this sick one?” I said: “Praise be to God, will boys be killed (too)? This is only a youth even though he is what he is.” And I went on (arguing) until I had moved them away from him.

Then ‘Umar b. Sa‘d arrived and the women cried out and wept in his face. He ordered his followers: “None of you should enter the tents of these women nor disturb this sick boy.” The women asked him to return what had been taken from them so that they could clothe themselves again. So he commanded that whoever had taken any of their belongings should return them to them. But by God, none of them returned anything. He then entrusted charge of the main tent and the tents of the women to a group (of men) who were with him. He said: “Guard (the women) so that none of them may leave and do not harm them.”

After this, he returned to his tent and called out to his followers: “Who will volunteer (to go) to al-Ḥusayn and make his horse trample on (al-Ḥusayn’s body)?” Ten volunteered. Of these, Isḥaq b Hayyat and Akhnas b. Marthad trampled on (the body of) al-Ḥusayn with their horses until they had broken and bruised his back. ‘Umar b. Sa‘d despatched on that day - it was the day of ‘Ashūrā’, - the head of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, with Khawalī b. Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī and Ḥumayd b. Muslim al-Azdī, to

26 The names of the plunderers and the plundered objects are different in al-Ṭabarī, II, 366.

‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād. Then he ordered the heads of the remainder of his followers and members of his House (who had been slain) to be cut off. There were seventy-two heads. He sent Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan, Qays b. Ash‘ath and ‘Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj with these. They journeyed until they brought them to Ibn Ziyād. He (‘Umar b. Sa‘d) remained there for the rest of that day, and the next day until just after midday. Then he summoned the people for the journey, and set out towards Kūfa. He took with him the daughters and sisters of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, together with ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. The latter was still sick with a dysentery and was almost on the point of death.

When Ibn Sa‘d departed, some of Banū Asad, who had been staying at al-Ghāḍiriyya went to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, and his followers. They performed the funeral prayer over them. Then they buried al-Ḥusayn at the place where his tomb still is, and they buried his son ‘Alī. b. al-Ḥusayn al-Asghar (the younger) at the foot of the body. They dug around the area next to the two feet of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, for the martyrs from his House and his followers. They gathered them together and buried them all together. However, they buried al-‘Abbās b. ‘Alī, peace be on them both, in the place where he was killed, on the road to al-Ghāḍiriyya, where his tomb still is.[27]

When the head of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, arrived and after Ibn Sa‘d arrived on the next day (bringing) with him the daughters and household of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, Ibn Ziyād sat before the people in the governor’s palace. He had given the people a general summons and had ordered them to be present (to see) the head. He put it in front of him, and he began to look at it with a smile. In his hand he had a cane and he began to poke at the teeth with it.

When Zayd b. Arqam, a companion of the Prophet who was (then) an old man, saw him poking at the teeth with the cane, he said: “Take your cane away from those two lips. For, by God, other than Whom there is no deity, I have seen the lips of the Apostle of God,

27 These details are not given by al-Ṭabarī.

may God bless Him and His Family, touch those two lips countless times."
(With that) he began to weep.

"Does God make your eyes weep?" asked Ibn Ziyād. "Or are you weeping because of God's victory? 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 have cut off your head."

Zayd b. Arqam stood up in front of him and went to his house. (Meanwhile) the family of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, was brought before Ibn Ziyād. Zaynab, the sister of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, came in the middle of the group, pretending not to be herself; she was wearing her dirtiest clothes. She went and sat in a corner of the palace and her maids crowded her.

"Who is that woman who has gone to the side and has sat in a corner with her women?" Ibn Ziyād demanded but Zaynab did not answer. He repeated the question about her a second time.

"This is Zaynab, daughter of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Apostle of God, may God bless him and grant him peace," one of her women told him.

"Praise be to God Who has disgraced you, killed you and revealed the false nature of your claims," said Ibn Ziyād as he came towards her.
"Praise be to God Who has favoured us with His Prophet, Muḥammad, may God bless Him and His Family," answered Zaynab "and He has purified us completely from sin. He only disgraces the great sinner and reveals the false nature of the profligate. Such men are not among us, praise be to God."
"How do you consider God has trealed your House?" asked Ibn Ziyād.
"God decreed death for them and they went forward (bravely) to their resting places," Zaynab replied. "God will gather you and us

together. You will plead your excuses to Him and we will be your adversaries before Him."
Ibn Ziyād became enraged and burnt with anger.

"Governor," intervened ʻAmr b. Ḥurayth, "She is only a woman and women are not responsible for anything that they say. Do not blame her mistakes."
"God has healed my soul from your tyranny and the rebellion of your House," he said to her.
Zaynab, peace be on her, became weak and wept.

"By my life," she cried out to him, "You have killed the mature ones (of my family); you have pierced my family; you have cut down my young branches; and you have pulled out my root. If this heals you, then you have been healed."
"By my life," declared Ibn Ziyād, "this is a woman who makes poetry. Your father was a poet."
"What has a woman to do with poetry?" she answered. "Indeed I have (things) to distract me from poetry but my heart causes me to say what I am saying."

ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them, was presented to him.
"Who are you?" he asked.
"I am ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn," he answered.
"Didn't God kill ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn?"
"I have a brother who is also called ʻAlī," answered ʻAlī, peace be on him, "the people killed him."
"Rather God killed him," affirmed Ibn Ziyād.
"*God receives the souls at the time of their death*" (XXXIX 42).
"How dare you answer me like that!" shouted Ibn Ziyād angrily, "and that will be the last of you because of (your) answer to me. Take him away and cut his head off!"

Zaynab, his aunt, clung on to him, pleading: "O Ibn Ziyād. haven't you had enough of our blood?"
Then she clung on to him and said : "By God, I will not leave him. If you kill him, kill me with him."

Ibn Ziyād looked at her and at him, and said, "How wonderful is family relationship! I think she wants me to kill her with him. Leave him, for I see him (now) for what he is."

He rose from his assembly to leave the palace and go to the mosque. He went up on the pulpit. He praised and glorified God, then he said: "Praise be to God Who has revealed the truth and the followers of the truth, and has given victory to the Commander of the faithful, Yazīd, and his party, and has killed the liar who is the son of a liar and his Shī'a."

At this 'Abd Allāh b. 'Afīf al-Azdī, who had been one of the Shī'a of the Commander of the Faithful (i.e. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib) stood in front of him and shouted: "O enemy of God, you are the liar and your father and (the man) who appointed you and his father. O Ibn Murjāna, you kill the sons of Prophets and take the place of men of truth on the pulpit."
"Get him for me," ordered Ibn Ziyād.

The soldiers seized him but he gave the battle cry of al-Azd. Seven hundred of them (quickly) gathered and took him away from the soldiers.

At night Ibn Ziyād sent someone to get him out of his house. He was executed and crucified in al-Sabkha, may God have mercy on him.

The (next) morning 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād sent the head of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, (to Yazīd) after it had been taken through all the streets and tribes of Kūfa.

[It is reported from Zayd b. Arqam:]
It was brought past, it was stuck on a spear and I was in a room in my (house). As it was opposite me I heard it recite: "*Or do you think that the Companions of the Cave and the inscription were among Our wonderful signs*." (XVIII 9). My flesh shuddered and I

called out. “O son of the Apostle of God, your head is miraculous, miraculous.”[28]

When they had finished taking it around Kūfa and had brought it back to the palace door, Ibn Ziyād gave it to Zaḥar b. Qays and he (also) gave him the heads of his companions. He despatched him to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya and he sent with him Abū Burda b. ʿAwf al-Azdī, and Ṭāriq b. Abī Ẓubyān al-Azdī together with a group of Kūfans, to take them to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya in Damascus.

[ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabīʿa al-Ḥimyarī reported:]
I was with Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya in Damascus when Zaḥar b. Qays brought the head to him.

“Woe upon you! What is behind you? What have you got?” demanded Yazīd.
“O Commander of the faithful,” he replied, “I bring good news of God’s victory and support. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, peace be on them, came against us with eighteen men of his House and sixty of his Shīʿa. We went out to meet them and we asked them to surrender and submit to the authority of the governor, ʿUbayd Allāh b. 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 and they began to flee without having any refuge (to go to). They (tried to) take refuge from us on the (open) hills and in the hollows, like the doves seek refuge from a hawk. By God, Commander of the faithful, it was nothing but the slaughtering of animals for slaughter. (It was only the time taken by) the sleep of a man taking his siesta (before) we had come upon the last of them. There were their naked bodies, their blood-stained clothes their faces thrown in the dust. The sun burst down on them, the wind scattered (dust) over them; their visitors were (scavenging) eagles and vultures.”

28 This account is not in al-Ṭabarī.

Yazīd looked down for a time, then he raised his head and said: "I would have been satisfied with your obedience (to my orders) without this killing of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. If it had been me who had accompanied him, I would have let him off (such a fate)."

After ʻUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād had despatched the head of al-Ḥusayn, he ordered the women and the young boys to be made ready for travelling. He ordered ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them, to be chained with a chain around his neck. Then he despatched them, to follow the heads, with Muḥaffir b. Thaʻlaba al-ʻĀʾidhī and Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan. They set out with them until they caught up with the people with the head. ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn did not speak a word to any of the people who had the head on that Journey. Eventually they reached (their destination). When they reached the door of Yazīd's (palace), Muḥaffir b. Thaʻlaba raised his voice and shouted: "Here is Muḥaffir b. Thaʻlaba who has brought the Commander of the faithful these vile profligates."

ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn,[29] peace be on him, answered him. "What did the mother of Muḥaffir give birth to more evil and more grievous (than him)?"

When the heads were put in front of Yazīd and among them was the head of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, Yazīd recited:

> We will split the skull of proud men (who come) against us; they were very disobedient and oppressive.

Yaḥya b. al-Ḥakam, the brother of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam recited:

> On the bank (of the river) a great army met him who is closer in kinship (to Yazīd) than Ibn Ziyād (is), the man with a false lineage.
>
> The offspring of Sumayya has acquired status, while the offspring of the daughter of the Apostle of God is (given) none.

29 Yazid in al-Ṭabarī, II, 376.

Yazīd struck his hand against the chest of Yaḥya b. al-Ḥakam and shouted, "Be quiet!"

Then he said to ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them: "Son of al-Ḥusayn, your father cut (the bond of) kinship with me and showed ignorance of my rights, trying to deprive me of my position of authority. (Now) God has treated him in the way you have seen."
"*No misfortune strikes the earth nor yourselves unless it has been written in a book before We bring it into existence; that is easy for God.*" (LVII 22) replied ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn.
"Answer him," Yazīd urged his son, Khalīd. However Khalīd did not know what to say in reply. So Yazīd answered: "Say rather: *whatever misfortunes has struck you is because of what your hands have earned. And (God) forgives much* (XLII 30)."

He summoned the women and the children and they were made to sit in front of him. What he saw was dreadful.

"May God detest Ibn Murjāna," he said: "If there had been (any bond of) kinship between him and you, he would not have done this to you; he would not have sent you in this state."

[Fāṭima, daughter of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, reported:]
When we sat before Yazīd, he showed pity on us. An Aḥmar of the Syrians stood up and said to Yazīd; "Commander of the faithful, give me this one."

He meant me. (Then) I was a pretty young girl. I shuddered for I thought that that would be allowed to them. I caught hold of the skirt of my aunt Zaynab and she told (me) that that would not happen. She said to the Syrian: "By God, you are a liar. By God, you are (too) lowly born! Such a thing is not for you nor for him (to decide)."
"You are a liar," Yazīd cried out angrily. "That is for me (to decide). If I wish to do anything, I can do it."

“No, by God,” she replied, “God would only let you do that if you left our faith and professed belief in another (religion).”
“It is me,” screamed Yazīd, distraught with anger. “whom you are treating in this (way). It is your father who has left the religion, and your brother.”
“I am led by the religion of God, the religion of my father and the religion of my brother,” she answered, “and (it is what) you are led by, and your grandfather and your father, if you are a Muslim.”
“Enemy of God, you lie,” he shouted.
“You are a Commander of the faithful, (yet) you vilify unjustly and you have become oppressive with your authority,” she answered.
(At this) he was ashamed and became silent.

“Give me that girl,” repeated the Syrian.
“Be a bachelor,” Yazīd said to him, “May God strike you dead!”

Then he ordered the women to be lodged in a house on (the) banks (of the river). With them (also he sent) their brother, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them. (Later) a house was set aside for them, which was attached to Yazīd’s own house. They resided (there) for several days. (After a short time) he summoned al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr and told him to make preparations to take these women back to Medina. When he was about to despatch them, he summoned ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them. He took him aside.
“God curse Ibn Murjāna,” he said. “If I had been with your father, he would never have asked me for a favour without me granting him it; I would have protected him from death with all my power. But God has decreed what you have seen. Write to me from Medina and everything that you need will be yours.”

He presented clothes to him and to his family. He sent with them in the group (of men under the command) of Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, a messenger, who brought him (al-Nuʿmān) the order to set out with them in the night; and that they should go in front of him but they should never be out of his sight. When they stopped, he should go aside from them and he and his followers should separate around

them like a group of guards over them. He should (only) keep away from them when any person of their group wanted to wash or perform a need, so he (or she) would not be ashamed.

(The messenger) set off with them amid the group of al-Nuʿmān. (Al-Nuʿmān) continued to stay close to them along the road but he was kind to them as Yazīd had instructed him and he looked after them until they entered Medina.
*****

After Ibn Ziyād had despatched the head of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, to Yazīd, he went to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī al-Hārith[30] al-Sulamī and told him, "Go to ʿAmr b. Saʿid b. al-ʿĀṣ in Medina and give him the good news of the killing of al-Ḥusayn (peace be on him)."

[ʿAbd al-Malik reported:]
I rode my mount and went towards Medina. (On the way) one of Quraysh met me.
"What is the news?" he asked.
"The news is for the governor, (then) you will hear it," I answered.
"We belong to God and to Him we will return," he said. "By God, al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, has been killed."
When I went to ʿAmr b. Saʿid, he asked: "What is your purpose?"
"What will please the governor." I answered, "Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, has been killed."
"Go out and announce his being killed," he told me.

I announced (it). I have never heard such wailing as the wailing of the Banū Hāshim in their houses for al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, peace be on him, when they heard the announcement of his death. I went back (in) to ʿAmr b. Saʿid. When he saw me, he smiled at me and laughed. Then he quoted a verse of ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib:

> The women of Banū Ziyād raised a great lament like the lamentation of our women mourning (after the battle) of al-Arnab.

30 Al-Ḥārith in al-Ṭabarī, II, 383.

“This lamentation is in return for the lamentation for ‘Uthmān,” ‘Amr exclaimed. Then he went up on the pulpit and informed the people about the killing of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, and he summoned (them to obey) Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya. (After that) he went down.

One of the retainers (*mawāli*) of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib, peace be on him, went to him and announced the news of the killing of his two sons and he said that we (all return) to God.

“This is what we have through al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, peace be on them,” said Abū Salāsil, the retainer (*mawlā*) of ‘Abd Allāh.

“O son of an obscene (woman),” exclaimed ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far, taking off his shoe (to strike him). “Are you saying this of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him? If I had been present with him, I would have preferred not to leave him and to be killed with him. By God, I would not have withheld those two from him and I take consolation from what befell them in that these two were struck down with my brother and cousin, consoling him and enduring with him.”

He went forward to those who were sitting with him and said: “Praise be to God, Who has (made life hard for me) through the death of al-Ḥusayn. For I did not console al-Ḥusayn with my own hands, my two sons consoled him.”

Umm Luqmān, the daughter of ‘Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, may God have mercy on them, came out crying when she heard the news of the death of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him. With her were her sisters Umm Hāni’, Ramla and Zaynab, daughters of ‘Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, may God have mercy on them. She wept for her (relatives) slain on the bank and she recited:

> What would you say if the Prophet asked you: What have you, the Last of the (religious) communities, done
>
> With my offspring and my family after my departure from

them? They are prisoners and slain and have been stained with their own blood

What sort of reward is this for my advice to you, that you should oppose me by doing evil to my blood relations?

On the night of the day upon which ʻAmr b. Saʻid had given the public notice of the killing of al-Ḥusayn b ʻAlī, peace be on them, in Medina, in the middle of the night the Medinans heard a voice calling out. They listened to the voice but they did not see any person. (The voice called out:)

O men who ignorantly killed al-Ḥusayn, hear the news of punishment and chastisement.

All the people of heaven, prophets, angels and slain, prosecute you.

You have been cursed by the tongue of the son of David and (that) of Moses and (that) of the master of the Gospels.

The Names of the Members of the House who were killed with al-Ḥusayn in the Plain of Karbalā

There were seventeen souls. In addition to al-Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī, peace be on them both:

1. Al-ʻAbbās.
2. ʻAbd Allāh.
3. Jaʻfar.
4. ʻUthmān.

(These were all) sons of the Commander of the Faithful, peace be on them, and their mother was Umm al-Banīn.

5. ʻAbd Allāh.
6. Abū Bakr.

(Both of these were) sons of the Commander of the Faithful, peace be on them and their mother was Laylā, daughter of Masʻūd al-Thaqafī.

7. ‘Alī.
8. ‘Abd Allāh.

(These were) two sons of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, peace be on them both.

9. Al-Qāsim.
10. Abū Bakr.
11. ‘Abd Allāh.

(These were) sons of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, peace be on them.

12. Muḥammad.
13. ‘Awn.

(They were) two sons of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib, may God be pleased with them all.

14. ‘Abd Allāh.
15. Ja‘far.
16. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

(They were) sons of ‘Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, may God be pleased with them.

17. Muḥammad.

(He was) the son of Abū Sa‘id b ‘Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, may God have mercy on them all.

These seventeen souls, all members of Banū Hāshim, may God be pleased with them all, included brothers of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him and them, sons of his brother and sons of his two uncles, Ja‘far and ‘Aqīl.

They were all buried at the feet of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, at the scene of his martyrdom. A trench was dug for them, they were all put in it, then the earth was flattened over them. (That is all of them) except al-‘Abbās b. ‘Alī, peace be on them both. He was buried at the place where he was killed, by the dam on the road to al-Ghāḍiriyya. His grave is clearly distinguishable but that is not the case with the graves of his brothers and his family whom we

named after (him). A visitor may only visit their graves at the tomb of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, if he directs his greetings to them towards the ground at the feet of al-Ḥusayn. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them both, is among their number; it is said that he is the one of them who is buried nearest to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.

The followers of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him and the mercy of God be on them, who were killed with him, were buried nearby. We are not able to find out accurate details about (the whereabouts of) their corpses. However, we have no doubt that that ground covers them, may God be pleased with them, make them happy and let them dwell in the Gardens of Paradise.

A Sample of the Outstanding Virtues of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Peace be on Him, the Merit in Visiting (His Grave) and Mention of His Tragedy

[Saʿid b. Rāshid reported on the authority of Yaʿlā b. Murra, who said:]
I heard the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family, say: "Ḥusayn is from me and I am from Ḥusayn. God loves whoever loves him. Ḥusayn is indeed an (outstanding) grandson among grandsons."[31]

[Ibn Lahīʿa reported on the authority of Abū ʿAwāna (with an interrupted chain of authorities) (*rafaʿahu*) back to the Prophet, may God bless Him and His Family:]
The Apostle of God said: "Al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them, are the ornaments of the throne (of Heaven). Indeed Heaven, itself, said, 'O my Lord, You have filled me with weak and poor inhabitants.' God, the Exalted, replied to it: 'Are you not content that I have adorned your corners with al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them?' Then it swaggered as a bride swaggers with happiness."

31 cf. al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-ashraf, III, 142.

[‘Abd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ reported on the authority of Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, peace be on them, who said:]
Al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them, were wrestling in front of the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family.
“Ḥasan, catch hold of Ḥusayn,” said the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family.
“Apostle of God, are you encouraging the big one against the little one?” said Fāṭima, peace be on her.
“It is Gabriel, peace be on him, who is saying to al-Ḥusayn: Ḥusayn, catch hold of al-Ḥasan,” replied the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family.

[Ibrāhīm b. al-Rāfi‘ī reported on the authority of his father, on the authority of his grandfather, who said:]
I saw al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them, walking to the pilgrimage. They did not pass a rider who did not dismount and walk too. It became arduous for some of them. They said to Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ: “Walking is arduous for us. We would prefer to ride but these two young lords (sayyid) are walking.”
“Abū Muḥammad,” said Sa‘d to al-Ḥasan, peace be on him, “walking is hard on a group of those with you. Yet the people cannot make themselves feel better by riding when they see you two walking. If you rode, (it would be easier for them).”
“We will not ride,” replied al-Ḥasan, peace be on him. “We have pledged ourselves to walk to the Sacred House of God on our feet. However, we will turn aside from the road.”
They both went aside from the people.

[Al-Awzā‘ī has reported on the authority of ‘Abd Allāh b. Shaddād, on the authority of Umm al-Faḍl, daughter of al-Ḥārith:]
She visited the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family and said: “Apostle of God, I have had a strange dream during the night.”
“What was it?” he asked.
“It was terrible,” she said.
“What was it?” he repeated.

"I saw (something) like a piece of your body cut up and put in my lap," she answered.
"You have seen well," said the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family. "Fāṭima will give birth to a boy when she is sitting on your lap (to give birth)."

[She reported:] Fāṭima did give birth to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, and he was in my lap just as the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family, had said. One day I took him to the Prophet, may God bless Him and His Family, and I put him in his lap. His gaze turned away from me. Behold, both the eyes of the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family, were flowing with tears. I said: "(May I ransom you) with my father and mother, Apostle of God, what is the matter with you?"
"Gabriel, peace be on him, came to me," he said. "He told me that my community will seek to kill this son of mine and he brought me dust made red by his (blood)."[32]

[Simāk reported on the authority of Ibn al-Mukhāriq on the authority of Umm Salama, may God be pleased with her, who said:] One day while the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family, was sitting down, and al-Ḥusayn was sitting on his knee, his eyes suddenly filled with tears. I said to him: "Apostle of God, why do I see you weeping, may I be your ransom?"
"Gabriel, peace be on him, came to me," he said. "He consoled me for the death of my son, al-Ḥusayn, and he told me that a group of my community will kill him. May God never let them have infercession from me."[33]

[It is reported with another chain of authorities on the authority of Umm Salama, may God be pleased with her, that she said:]
One evening the Apostle of God left us and was away for a long time. He came back, he was dishevelled and dusty and his hand was holding (something). I said to him: "Apostle of God, why do I see you dishevelled and dusty?"

32 cf. Ibn al-A'tham, IV, (Hyderabad, 1971), 211-2.
33 cf. Ibn al-A'tham, IV, 213.

He said: “I have just been on a night journey to a place in Iraq called Karbalā’. There I saw the death of my son, al-Ḥusayn, and a group of my children and the members of my family (*ahl al-bayt*). I could not stop (myself) from gathenng (some of) their blood and here it is in my hand.”
He opened his hand and said: “Take it and look after it.”

I took it. It was like red soil. I put it in a phial, fastened its top and kept it. When al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, left Mecca on his way to Iraq, I look out that phial every day and night. I used to smell it and look at it. Then I would weep for his fate. On the 10th of (the month of) al-Muḥarram, the day on which al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, was killed, I took it out. At the beginning of the day it was in its usual condition, but at the end of the day, behold, it was fresh blood. I shrieked (with grief) and wept. Then I restrained my anger out of fear that the enemies (of the family of the Prophet) in Medina would hear and would hurry to rejoice at their misfortune. I have kept it secret up to the present time, even to the day when the messenger bringing the news of his death came to announce it. Then what I had seen was proved.[34]

It is reported that one day the Prophet, may God bless Him and His Family, was sitting down. Around him were ‘Alī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them. He asked them: “How would you feel If when you were killed, your tombs were scattered around (the country)?”
“Will we die an (ordinary) death or will we be killed?” al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, asked.
“Rather you will be killed unjustly, my little son, and your brother will be killed unjustly,” he answered. “Your offspring will be scattered over the land.”
“Apostle of God, who will kill us?” asked al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.
“The evil men among the people.” he said.
“Will anyone visit (our graves) after we are killed?” he asked.
“Yes, my little son,” he told him. “a group (*ṭā‘ifa*) of my

34 cf. Ibn al-A‘tham, IV, 212-4.

community will gain my benificence and favour through visiting (your graves). On the Day of Resurrection, I will bring them to the place so that I may take them by the arms and save them from its terrors and sorrows."

[ʻAbd Allāh b. Sharīk al-ʻĀmirī reported:]
I heard the followers of ʻAlī say when ʻUmar b. Saʻd went through the gate of the mosque: "There is the killer of al-Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī, peace be on him." That was some time before he was killed.

[Sālim b. Abī Ḥafṣa reported:]
ʻUmar b. Saʻd said to al-Ḥusayn: "Abū ʻAbd Allāh, stupid people have come to me claiming that I will kill you."
"They are not stupid," al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, told him. "They are men who dream (of the future). Yet it pleases me that you will not enjoy the land of Iraq for long after me."

[Yūsuf b. ʻAbīda reported: I heard Muḥammad b. Sīrīn say:]
Such a redness which was in the sky was never seen except after the killing of al-Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī, peace be on him.

[Saʻd al-Iskāf reported: Abū Jaʻfar, peace be on him, said:]
The killer of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā (John the Baptist) was a son born out of wedlock. The killer of al-Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī was a son born out of wedlock. The sky only went red for those two.

[Sufyān b. ʻUyayna reported on the authority of ʻAlī b. Zayd, on the authority of ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them, who said:]
We set out with al-Husayn, peace be on him. We did not stop at any halting-place without him setting off from there by (first) mentioning Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā and his death. He would say: "There was a day - and it was a day of the humiliation of the world before God - when the head of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā was given to one of the prostitutes of the Banū Isrā'īl."

Reports have already been presented (which show) that none of the killers of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, and his followers, may God

be pleased with them, managed to avoid being killed or suffering tribulation in such a way as put them to shame before their death.

*****

Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, came to his death on Saturday, the 10th of (the month of) al-Muḥarram in the year 61 A.H. after the (time for) the mid-day prayer. (He was) killed wrongfully, while thirsty, always showing fortitude but forced to be detained, as we have already explained. His age on that day was fifty-eight years. Of these, he spent seven with his grandfather, the Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family, thirty-seven with his father, the Commander of the Faithful, peace be on him, and forty-seven with his brother, al-Ḥasan, peace be on him. The period of his succession (to the Imāmate) after his brother was eleven years. He, peace be on him, used to use henna and a black dye (*katam*). When he, peace be on him, was killed, the dye came off (the beard on) his two cheeks.

*****

Many reports have come down about the great merit (to be acquired) by visiting his (grave), indeed of it being necessary for everyone who accepts the Imāmate of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, (as being bestowed on him) by God, the Mighty and High.

It is reported from al-Ṣādiq Ja'far b Muḥammad, peace be on him, that he said: "Visiting the grave of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, is equal to a hundred acceptable pilgrimages and a hundred acceptable lesser pilgrimages (*'umra*)."

The Apostle of God, may God bless Him and His Family, said: "Whoever visits the grave of al- Ḥusayn, peace be on him, after the latter's death, will have heaven (as his reward)."

Reports of this kind are numerous and we have given sufficient detail of them in our book *Manāsik al-mazār* "The rites of Visitations"

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The Children of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Peace be on them

Al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him, had six children:
1. ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Akbar (the elder).
His kunya was Abū Muḥammad and his mother was Shāhzanān, daughter of Choesroe Yazdigard.

2. ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar (the younger).
He was killed with his father on the banks (of the Euphrates) as has already been mentioned earlier. His mother was Laylā daughter of Abū Murra b. ʻUrwa b. Masʻūd al-Thaqafī.

3. Jaʻfar b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.
He had no survivors. His mother was a woman of (the tribe of) Qudāʻa and he died during the lifetime of al-Ḥusayn.

4. ʻAbd Allah b. al-Ḥusayn.
He was killed while still a baby child with his father. An arrow came, while he was in his father's arms, and killed him. Mention of that has already come earlier also.

5. Sukayna, daughter of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.
Her mother was Rabāb, daughter of Imru' al-Qays b. ʻAdī of Kalb of Maʻd. She was also the mother of ʻAbd Allah b. al- Ḥusayn, peace be on him.

6. Fāṭima, daughter of al-Ḥusayn, peace be on him.
Her mother was Umm Ishāq, daughter of Talḥa b. ʻUbayd Allāh of Taym.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE HOLY PROPHET, HIS DAUGHTER AND THE TWELVE HOLY IMĀMS

NOTE : Where there are differences of opinion on the dates of birth or death, the most popular view has been quoted.

Sl. No.	Designation	Agnomen (*Kunyah*)	Name	Father's Name	Title (*Laqab*)	Date of Birth	Date of Death	Martyred by means of	Place of Burial
1.	The Last Prophet of Allāh	Abu'l-Qāsim	Muḥammad	ʻAbdullāh	Rasūlu'l-Lāh, Nabīyu'l-Lāh, an-Nabī	17th Rabīʻ I, in the Year of the Elephant, (25.8.570 AD)	28th Ṣafar, 11 AH (25.5.632 AD)	Natural	Holy Medina, al-Munawwarah, Saudi Arabia
2.	- - -	Umm Abīhā	Fāṭimah	Muḥammad	az-Zahrā', aṣ-Ṣiddīqah, al-Batūl, Sayyidatu'n-Nisā'	20th Jumādā II, in the fifth Year after the declaration of the Prophet (2.1.615 AD)	3rd Jumādā II, 11 AH (26.8.632 AD)	Injured	
3.	1st Imām	Abu'l-Ḥasan, Abu'l-Ḥasanayn	ʻAlī	Abū Ṭālib	Amīr al-mu'minīn, al-Waṣī, al-Murtaḍā, (Ḥaydar)	13th Rajab, 10 Years before the decleration of Prophet (25.5.600 AD)	21st Ramaḍān, 40 AH (28.1.661 AD)	Sword - while he was engaged in prayers	Holy an-Najaf, al-Ashraf, Iraq
4.	2nd Imām	Abū Muḥammad	al-Ḥasan	ʻAlī	al-Mujtabā, as-Sibṭ (al-Akbar)	15th Ramaḍān, 3 AH (1.3.625 AD)	7th Ṣafar, 50 AH (6.3.670 AD)	Poison	Holy Medina, Saudi Arabia
5.	3rd Imām	Abū ʻAbdillāh	al-Ḥusayn	ʻAlī	Sayyidu'sh-Shuhadā', as-Sibṭ (al-Aṣghar)	3rd Shaʻbān, 4 AH (8.1.626 AD)	10th Muḥarram, 61 AH (10.10.680 AD)	Sword - in the Battle of ʻĀshūrā.	Holy Karbalā', (aṭ-Ṭaff), Iraq
6.	4th Imām	Abū Muḥammad	ʻAlī	al-Ḥusayn	Zaynu'l-ʻĀbidīn, Sayyidu's-Sājidīn, as-Sajjād	5th Shaʻbān, 38 AH (6.1.659 AD)	25th Muḥarram, 94/95 AH (31.10.712/20.10.713 AD)	Poison	Holy Medina, Saudi Arabia

7.	5th Imām	Abū Ja‘far	Muḥammad	‘Alī	al-Bāqir	3rd Ṣafar, 57 AH (16.12.676 AD)	7th Dhi’l-ḥijjah, 114 AH (28.1.733 AD)	Poison	Holy Medina, Saudi Arabia
8.	6th Imām	Abū ‘Abdillāh, Abū Mūsa	Ja‘far	Muḥammad	aṣ-Ṣādiq	17th Rabī‘ I, 83 AH (20.4.702 AD)	25th Shawwāl, 148 AH (14.12.765 AD)	“	“
9.	7th Imām	Abu’l-Ḥasan (*al-Awwal* = The First), Abū Ibrāhīm	Mūsa	Ja‘far	al-Kāẓim, al-‘Abd aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, al-‘Ālīm	7th Ṣafar, 129 AH (28.10.746 AD)	25th Rajab, 183 AH (1.9.799 AD)	“	Holy al-Kāzimiyyah, Iraq
10.	8th Imām	Abu’l-Ḥasan (*ath-Thānī* = The Second)	‘Alī	Mūsa	ar-Riḍā	11th Dhi’l-qi‘dah, 148 AH - (29.12.765 AD)	17th Ṣafar, 203 AH (24.8.818 AD)	“	Holy Mash’had (Ṭūs - Khurāsān), Iran
11.	9th Imām	Abū Ja‘far (*ath-Thānī* = The Second)	Muḥammad	‘Alī	al-Taqī, al-Jawād	10th Rajab, 195 AH (8.4.811 AD)	30th Dhi’l-qi‘dah, 220 AH (25.11.835 AD)	“	Holy al-Kāzimiyyah, Iraq
12.	10th Imām	Abu’l-Ḥasan (*ath-Thālith* = *The Third*)	‘Alī	Muḥammad	an-Naqī, al-Hādī	2nd Rajab, 212 AH (27.9.827 AD)	3rd Rajab, 254 AH (28.6.868 AD)	“	Holy Sāmarrā’, (Surra-man-ra’ā), Iraq.
13.	11th Imām	Abū Muḥammad	al-Ḥasan	‘Alī	al-‘Askarī	8th Rabī‘ II, 232 AH (3.12.846 AD)	8th Rabī‘ I, 260 AH (1.1.874 AD)	“	“
14.	12th Imām	Abu’l-Qāsim	Muḥammad	al-Ḥasan	al-Mahdī, al-Qā’im, al-Ḥujjah, al-Ghā’ib, Ṣāḥibu’z-Zamān, Ṣāḥibu’l-Amr.	15th Sha‘bān, 255 AH (29.7.869 AD)	Still alive but in occultation.	- - -	- - -

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